

Robert Mayer

A Scripture of  
The Ancient Tantra Collection  
The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis



KISCADALE PUBLICATIONS

*In memory of my father, Philip Mayer, 1910-1995*  
*Professor of Anthropology*



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THE ANCIENT TANTRA COLLECTION  
The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis

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## Preface

In the normal run of things, PhD dissertations are considerably rewritten before publication in book form, and not without justification. Much of this volume, however, comprises little more than a raw version of my proefschrift (PhD dissertation), which was defended at the Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden only a few days before publication of the book. The only changes to have been attempted are to the section on the textual criticism of the Tibetan text, but these still remain substantially unfinished, representing a first preliminary approach to this difficult task and not a fully considered final version. I had hoped to complete more extensive re-thinking and re-writing before publication, but this has not been possible because of a combination of ill health and governmental policies for higher education beyond any individual's control. I can only apologise to my readers: had I not been dogged by ill health and had I been able to hold back publication by four or five months, I could have thought through the many outstanding problems of textual criticism that I feel remain as yet so ill-digested, collated an important new manuscript already in my possession, and integrated additional data that might have substantially influenced the findings of this book. Also, I would have liked to have expanded and made improvements to the introductory chapters, especially Chapter 1, which in several respects remains quite unfinished. However, I was required to meet the deadline for the British higher education "Research Assessment Exercise".

It remains only to give thanks and acknowledgement to those who have helped me in the course of my academic research. First and foremost among these is my wife, Dr. Cathy Cantwell, whose learning is considerable in most fields covered by this study, and whose advice and critical opinion I have sought at every turn.

Next I must thank my two Promotores at the Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Professor Tilmann Vetter and Professor Alexis Sanderson (of All Souls College, Oxford): without their generous and consistent support, this work would never have achieved completion. In particular, I have known Alexis Sanderson for many years, over which time I have drawn constant inspiration from Alexis' uncompromising



commitment to good scholarship and intellectual integrity, such rare qualities. My Co-promotor, Dr. Peter Verhagen, also proved himself a true friend, whose minute word-by-word analysis of my translation demonstrated his unequalled grasp of Tibetan grammar. My Referent, Professor Leonard van der Kuijp. (of Harvard University), was extremely generous in his judgement of my work, for which I would like to thank him. Likewise, I extend my thanks to my two Overige leden, Professor K.R. van Kooij and Professor B.C.A. Walraven, for the kindness they have shown me.

A special thanks must be offered to all at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, who so generously made me welcome and gave me help and support during difficult periods when I was without any other institutional backing. Professor Richard Gombrich, Alexis Sanderson and Dr. David Gellner all proved the most reliable and truest of friends: I thank them.

Help came from several other quarters as well. In particular, the renowned peripatetic Tibetologist, Dr. Dan Martin, has had a transforming influence on this work from the sidelines, just as he has done with several other recent Tibetological publications, including some of great significance. By introducing me to choice passages from the polemical literature, he changed the entire scope and orientation of the introduction. However, I have not been able to agree with him on one key point: the origins of the *mantroddhāra* in Chapter Nineteen. I continue to harbour lurking fears that this failure to agree with such a fine scholar as Dan Martin might owe much to an inordinate degree of *rang bzo* (freethinking) on my part; or else to my *ris med pa* ideological biases, that seek to exonerate the *gsar ma pa* polemicists from the charge of senseless fault-finding, and instead try to identify the main locus of differing views on canonicity within the multivalent structure of Buddhism itself. As a lover of the rNying-ma-pa tradition and its literature, I will of course be absolutely delighted if Dan's analysis in the end proves more correct than my own. In the meantime, I should add that Dan supplied much of the data on the history of the rNying-ma'i rgyud-'bum editions, most of the remainder being supplied by Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard, to whom I am also indebted for two excellent microfilms. The stemma could never have been made without the generous help of Dr. Paul Harrison, who so patiently

explained to me the basics of the genealogical method of textual criticism, and carefully guided me to the conclusions arrived at; I am greatly indebted to him. Dr. Helmut Eimer gave additional very valuable advice on the edition and stemma, for which I would like to thank him; I hope he can forgive me for failing to have time to do the job as he and I would have liked. In addition, Dr. Harunaga Isaacson very kindly found the time to give his concentrated attention to my beginner's attempts at textual criticism, and in the simplest of terms offered the most learned suggestions. Professor Paul Stirling, Professor Geoffrey Samuel, and Paul Harrison also read some of the introductory chapters, and made important theoretical comments that were incorporated into the draft, while Professor David Jackson likewise made some valuable suggestions that helped tighten up the references. The English translation benefitted from the comments of Professor Thubden Nyima (Ven. Zenkar Rinpoche), who answered my interminable queries on difficult passages within the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* with great patience. Dr. Gyurme Dorje interpreted at my sessions with Prof. Nyima, and also made very valuable suggestions of his own to the translation. At an earlier stage, gSang-sngags Rin-po-che of Kathmandu also answered several queries about the translation, with Kunga Rinpoche interpreting.

The costs of producing this volume were met in full by a generous subvention from the University of Wales at Lampeter; I am extremely grateful to all my colleagues there, and especially to Professor Paul Badham, head of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies. I must equally thank my good friend of so many years, Paul Strachan, for so generously arranging publication of such a specialised and entirely non-commercial volume at such short notice. Likewise I must thank Jim Lavis, whose good humour and calm professionalism made remarkably short work of all the last minute hitches.

Finally, I should thank my children, Angela and George, for the constant happiness and comfort they have given me throughout the tiresome task of writing a PhD and a book. To all those who have been mentioned here, and to many others who must remain unmentioned, I extend my thanks.



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE rNYING-MA-PA TANTRAS AND THE ISSUE OF AUTHENTICITY

From the very beginning of Western scholarship's encounter with Tibetan religion about one hundred years ago, a largely unanalyzed assumption of Buddhist Studies has been that the scriptural corpus known as the Kanjur constitutes something readily identifiable as "The Tibetan Buddhist Canon". A natural consequence of this assumption has been that the rNying-ma-pa tantras, traditionally not included in the Kanjur, came to be regarded as Buddhist "apocrypha" when contrasted with the "fully authentic Buddhist scriptures" of the Kanjur. It is only with the recent works of authors such as Janet Gyatso, Paul Harrison, Matthew Kapstein and David Snellgrove that this initially somewhat monolithic assumption has begun to be re-evaluated. Such revisionism is very welcome, because without it, a tendency would probably develop to marginalise the rNying-ma-pa tantras from the mainstream of academic Buddhology: instead, they would be seen as more properly the domain of the related discipline of Tibetology. In other words, the traditional or emic grounds upon which the rNying-ma-pa tantras were excluded from the Kanjur,<sup>1</sup> could be mistaken by modern Buddhologists as grounds for their exclusion from the etic remit of modern Buddhology as well. As I hope to show below, in support of a now growing body of opinion, such an exclusion would be neither historically accurate nor Buddhologically advisable, quite apart from any sectarian problems it might imply.

Related to the perception of the rNying-ma-pa tantras as "apocrypha" is an equally widespread perception of the rNying-ma-pa school as constituting a popular but semi-autochthonous "religious underground", marginal traditions of comparatively little-educated

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<sup>1</sup> The main emic grounds are their partly non-Indic origins and their intertextuality with Bon-po materials, phenomena widely accepted but as yet very little studied by modern scholars. The only published study I know of the second item is Karmay 1988:216-223, in which the focus is on rDzogs-chen traditions shared by the Bon-po and rNying-ma-pa. In these particular instances, the movement seems to have been from the Bon-po into the rNying-ma-pa. I shall discuss the other item, their origins, below.

village shamans and ritualists whose scriptures were "rejected *en bloc* by all the other schools" (Kvaerne 1984:262). In some instances this can be evocative of the "Great and Little Traditions" hypothesis suggested by Redfield and others in the context of India (Redfield 1956), here juxtaposing the rNying-ma-pa as a rural and popular Tibetan "Little Tradition" against a more centralised and élite clerical "Great Tradition" represented by the gSar-ma-pas.<sup>2</sup> In other instances, this outlook is evocative of the by now long-abandoned attempts of Indologists such as Max Müller to discriminate between imported (Aryan) and aboriginal (non-Aryan) strands in Indian civilisation. Perhaps the most influential Tibetological thinker along these lines (even if with diametrically opposite values to the likes of Müller, privileging the indigenous) was R.A. Stein. In the introduction to his festschrift, Michel Strickmann summarised Stein's Tibetological life-work as follows:

"Throughout his Tibetan studies, and especially in his work on the epic, Stein had encountered elements of Buddhism. Its imprint was everywhere in Tibetan culture. Originally, he conceived of it as a later intrusion, masking the deeper levels of indigenous belief, like the calcification of a richly decorated fresco. This attitude is patent in the opening words of the introduction to his Gesar text: 'When one undertakes the study of the civilisation and history of Tibet in its own right, a great difficulty stands in the way. At every step, the Buddhism of India and Central Asia interposes itself like a thick veil'. Stein's mission had been to lift that veil and disclose the original Tibetan culture beneath, to recover that civilisation whose every element had, as he stated, been tintured by a lamaistic dye." (Strickmann 1981:xii)

Strickmann goes on to explain that Stein sought textual sources for this original Tibetan culture above all in the tantras of the rNying-

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<sup>2</sup> For typical recent examples that reflect various aspects of this outlook, both highly sympathetic to the rNying-ma-pa, see Kvaerne 1984:262, and Dreyfus 1994:213.

ma'i rgyud-'bum (*Ancient Tantra Collection*: henceforth NGB) (Strickmann 1981:xiii). A major purpose of this thesis is to question and reassess what I take to be Stein's understandably oversimplified yet still highly influential understandings from thirty years ago, which, although extremely valuable, nevertheless came at the earliest period of tentative pioneering work in this area of Tibetan religion. With the hindsight of several decades, it is time to put forward constructive criticisms of his ground-breaking work on the rNying-ma-pa. In this context, we must reflect that even if it is still possible at the distance of a millennium to separate out Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements in Tibetan culture (an enterprise fraught with great methodological difficulties), the scriptures of the NGB do not seem to be an easy primary source for such an enterprise. They do not seem (in the light of current research) to comprise a body of predominantly autochthonous texts overlaid with a thin veneer of imported Buddhist materials. Rather, they seem to comprise wholly Buddhist texts albeit often produced in Tibet, in which wholly Buddhist ideas of Indic origin are sometimes developed yet further along predictable Buddhist lines of development, and in which some very few autochthonous elements are occasionally given a subsidiary place after undergoing a thorough Buddhist overcoding; yet, often enough, even these few autochthonous elements show signs of originating in a post-Buddhist environment.<sup>3</sup> In thus "converting" a handful of non-Buddhist

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<sup>3</sup> There are two aspects to this:

(i) genuinely pre-Buddhist elements are first reconstructed in Buddhist terms, then incorporated into Buddhism; for example, lHa-btsun nam-mkha' 'jigs-med (born 1597) incorporated the indigenous juniper offering rites into his *Rig-'dzin srog-sgrub gter-ma* cycle, and Mi-pham (1846-1912) brought the epic figure of Ge-sar into mainstream Buddhist sādhana, but both of these had already been reconstructed in Buddhist terms long before incorporation into Buddhism.

(ii) secondly, and more interestingly, Buddhism constructs its own "other" in the form of an "indigenous tradition" that exists primarily to be converted by Buddhism. As Sonam Chhoki has shown, the indigenous local *nenjorm-pow* tradition of Bhutan is not by any means pre-Buddhist, but quite manifestly both post-Buddhist and also Buddhist-generated (Chhoki 1993); in other words, the niches occupied by the *nenjorm-pow* are niches generated by and conceptually crucial to a socially dominant Buddhist Tantrism, the fundamental rationale of which demands a constant supply of local deities to be converted (Day 1989:419ff). In most cases, it seems to be these

elements, the NGB scriptures were self-consciously continuing the classic "converting" activity of Indian Tantric Buddhism, which likewise never ceased to overcode and incorporate non-Buddhist materials; the result is what seems in the light of present knowledge to be a thoroughly Buddhist body of material that gives less scope than might have been hoped for in recreating the religion of pre-Buddhist Tibet.<sup>4</sup>

Fortunately, in recent years, virtually all aspects of our initial misperceptions of the rNying-ma-pa and their scriptures seem to be heading towards a much welcomed revision. The Aryan/non-Aryan approach to Indology<sup>5</sup> and the Redfieldian anthropological hypothesis have moved to the intellectual periphery. Our understanding of the Kanjur and the forces seeking its closure have become more refined and complex.<sup>6</sup> Our enquiries into the very idea of a "canon" in Buddhism have become more subtle.<sup>7</sup> Our knowledge of the considerable intertextuality of the "canonical" Sanskrit tantras with Hindu materials has advanced,<sup>8</sup> alongside a growing understanding of the nature of the intertextuality of Chinese Buddhist and Taoist materials.<sup>9</sup> We have come to understand more about apparently pan-Asian traditions governing the revelation of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna

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already post-Buddhist and Buddhist-produced forms of local religion that become incorporated into rNying-ma-pa tantric traditions.

<sup>4</sup> David Germano's exhaustive research in rDzogs-chen literature seems to have come to the same conclusion as mine in Mahāyoga. He repeatedly makes the point that the rNying-ma-pa tantras might well be written in Tibet, but they nevertheless are almost exclusively composed of Buddhist materials of Indic origins (Germano 1994).

<sup>5</sup> The currently best-known but by no means only critique of this enterprise comes from Madeleine Biardeau (1989a, 1989b).

<sup>6</sup> Harrison 1994:309; Harrison n.d., *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Kapstein 1989; Collins 1990; Buswell 1990; Davidson 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Kalff 1979; Sanderson 1985; Sanderson 1988; Sanderson 1990; Sanderson 1993; Sanderson 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Mochizuki Shinkō 1946; K. Ch'en 1964; Kamata 1969; Makita Tairyō 1976; Strickmann 1990; Buswell 1990; Barrett 1991:5-6; et.al.

scriptures.<sup>10</sup> Studies of "apocrypha" in other Buddhist countries have entered the mainstream of Buddhist Studies.<sup>11</sup> A consequence of all these developments is that any possible grounds for excluding the rNying-ma-pa tantras from the mainstream of Buddhology are becoming weakened. Likewise, I suspect, our historical perception of the rôle played by the rNying-ma-pa school in Tibetan religious life is quite likely to change in the near future: with the adoption of anthropologically more sophisticated perspectives on Tibet's politically plural and often decentralised society, we are becoming less willing to equate the mere repudiation of a particular type of clerical organisation with religious marginality.<sup>12</sup> It is simultaneously becoming clearer that the rNying-ma-pa gter-ma and tantric commentarial literature represent formidable scholastic traditions in their own right, moreover traditions more often than not keenly subscribed to by many of the leading ecclesiastical powers and intellectual élites throughout most of Tibetan history.

In recent years, parallel revisions have rapidly been taking place in the study of Far-Eastern Buddhism, where "apocryphal" texts played such a crucial rôle in the historical development of the Buddhist religion there; likewise, the issue of "canonicity" in Theravāda Buddhism and in Buddhism as a whole has also become subjected to an unprecedented scrutiny. One purpose of the present study is to add to this growing movement of recent scholarship in re-evaluating Buddhist "apocrypha", here represented by the *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (henceforth PCN): I hope to show that not only does a study of this scripture and its surrounding culture tell us something about Tibet and the rNying-ma-pa school, it

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<sup>10</sup> Williams 1989:30, 221; Buswell 1990; Strickmann 1990; Mayer 1994.

<sup>11</sup> The volume on Chinese apocrypha edited by Robert E. Buswell (Buswell:1990) is a notable example. In similar vein, if with a different emphasis, Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere have produced a full-scale study of contemporary religious innovation in Ceylon (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988).

<sup>12</sup> Geoffrey Samuel's theoretically sophisticated anthropological study *Civilized Shamans* (Samuel 1993) will probably, with hindsight, be seen to have irrevocably revised the previous perception of the rNying-ma-pa as marginal to Tibetan Buddhism in any simplistic sense.

also reveals underlying patterns that tell us something about Buddhism as a whole, both in India and throughout Asia.

### 1.1 Canonicity in Buddhism

Canonicity is a complex topic, raising important issues in Philosophy, Anthropology, Politics, Religious Studies, History, and other disciplines as well. Canonicity raises above all the issues of power relations between competing ideologies. To clarify succinctly what I mean by this, one can take for argument's sake a conveniently radical position, and assert that the criteria for declaring anything to be a "canon", such as the Bible or the Koran, have been largely historically or socially accidental; in this sense canonicity is not a "real" issue that can be self-evidently established one way or the other; it is a purely ideological issue. As such, on purely theoretical grounds alone, both and neither side must always end up as equally meriting the victory in any dispute over canonicity (although in the real world the more powerful party can always impose itself by force). If I then propose to reveal on the basis of historical *evidence* that this predictable combination of ideology and power has pertained in the case of the Buddhist religion too, one might smartly object at the outset that this could just as well have been established from first principles as well: there can be no such thing as authentic Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Marxism, Thatcherism, Postmodernism or anything else, apart from the attempted political impositions of an orthodoxy, so why make such an enquiry in the first place?<sup>13</sup>

To my mind the real issue with the rNying-ma-pa tantras is one of establishing greater historical accuracy, rather than indulging unresolvable circular ideological disputes. For many decades now, sympathetic modern scholars have told the rNying-ma-pa that their scriptures are perfectly valid ideologically speaking or anthropologically speaking, *even while at the same time declaring them invalid by the rNying-ma-pa's own criteria of a definite historical Indian Buddhist precedent*. On the other hand, the

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<sup>13</sup> My thanks to Prof. Paul Stirling for his thought-provoking comments on this section.

accusations made against the rNying-ma-pa by their Tibetan opponents have been assumed to be historically true. It is this assumption that I wish to re-examine: is the traditional apologetic of the rNying-ma-pa really as baseless as we have heretofore sometimes assumed? In assuming this, might we have been excessively influenced by the politically dominant voices of the rNying-ma-pa's Tibetan opponents?

By carrying out researches in such topics as the iconography of Vajrakīlaya, the phur-pa and the origins of the gter-ma tradition, it became apparent to me that the rNying-ma-pa claims in these key areas are at the very least no less well founded than those of their opponents, and are indeed more accurate in important respects. At the same time, it also appeared likely that important traditional criticisms of the rNying-ma-pa's historical claims for the NGB were sustainable. But to establish these points a posteriori, detailed arguments from historical evidence were required. No argument from first principles could have made the difference. Likewise, it is with my eye on the historical implications that I am going to begin by entering into a discussion of canonicity within largely traditional Buddhological categories, rather than more anthropological or political ones.

Following Sheppard (1987) and Olivelle (n.d.), Steven Collins has defined two types of canonicity found in Indian religions, *open canonicity* and *closed canonicity* (Collins 1990:90). By an open canon, Collins means a canon which holds a certain list of texts to be canonical while not denying that other texts might also be canonical, and by a closed canon he means a canon that holds only the texts found within it to be canonical, and all other texts to be non-canonical. In this sense, Collins discusses the Pāli Canon as an example of a closed canon, and cites the collection of Vedic literature as an example of an open canon.

In the present study, I wish to adopt Collins' terms, but with a particular proviso. It can be argued *contra* Collins that no actual Buddhist canon has ever been presented as irrevocably closed: even the contemporary Theravāda accept the theoretical possibility, however remote, of additional scripture that meet all their criteria of canonicity being added to their canon in the future, while it is undeniable that new materials such as the Abhidhamma were added to their canon in the past. Rather, the Theravāda conceive of their canon as being *in*

*principle closable*: it is conceived as a finite collection of speech acts uttered within history that could in theory be recovered in its entirety, although in practice this might be unlikely, since at least some scripture is held to be irrevocably lost. Because it is generally understood that most recoverable scriptures have already been recovered, the likelihood of any more texts being found is considered negligible; hence the canon is *de facto* considered more or less closed. Other Buddhist cultures which adhere to the notion of a closed canon tend to follow a similar pattern to the Theravāda. Hence it is in this sense, of a theoretically closable canon that is widely considered to be *de facto* already closed, that I use the term "closed canon".

There is strong evidence to suggest that many or most of the earliest followers of the Buddha made considerable efforts to preserve his teachings according to a conception approximating that of a closed canon, using Vedic-style mnemonic techniques (Gombrich 1990). Nevertheless it is now widely accepted that not only did no particular version of a proposed closed canon ever become successfully established in Buddhist India, but also that wherever closed canons eventually did come into existence in other Asian countries, they seem to be largely a result of politically enforced impositions on an otherwise much more plural sectarian-scriptural milieu. We can look at this pan-Buddhist phenomenon in the four major Buddhist cultural regions for which reliable data survives: India, Ceylon, China and Tibet.<sup>14</sup> In each case, it seems that the degree to which a Buddhist cultural region actually achieved a closed canon is linked to the degree to which it had a centralised state with an interest in Buddhism.

### **1.1.1 India**

Buddhism was a minority religious tradition in India, and the greater Indic cultural region was never united into a unitary state

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<sup>14</sup> Since Nepal is a survival of Indian Buddhism, and South-east Asia, Korea and Japan, and Inner Asia derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, China, and Tibet respectively, they can in part be regarded as sub-sets of the primary regions. The universal identification of "Indianness" with "canonicity" gives rise to a slightly different situation facing the areas that did not receive their Buddhism directly from India.



except for a short period under Aśoka. Buddhist sects could extend beyond the boundaries of individual states or power holders of any kind, and no individual states or power holders of any kind could deny Buddhist sects access to all important centres of resource; at the same time the regulation of the saṅgha was rarely of such crucial importance to political life as in more predominantly Buddhist countries.

Perhaps these were ultimately the reasons why, as Lamotte observed, "no [Indian] Buddhist sect, so long as it remained vital and alive with the inspiration of the teaching, completely closed its canon. It continued to include later material in its canon as the 'teaching of the teacher'" (cited in Davidson 1990:302). Bareau believed that the different sects began to establish their own differing versions of what the Buddha taught (perhaps we could call them proto-canons), about 150 years after his parinirvāṇa<sup>15</sup>, and we know that several (conventionally, eighteen) different schools were already established by Aśoka's time. It is certainly true that fresh revelation of new scripture continued unbroken in Buddhist India right up until the end.

Nevertheless, as Richard Gombrich has argued very powerfully (Gombrich 1990), there does seem evidence to suggest that the very earliest Buddhists preserved an oral body of text using Vedic-style mnemonic techniques that was both in concept and in practice tantamount to a closed or at least largely closed canon: no materials would be memorised by the saṅgha as a whole if not from a likely source and entirely congruent with accepted scripture. Thus Gombrich argues that even if individual Buddhists might have had their own revelations from a very early period, such apocrypha could only be appreciated by a limited audience and could not have been preserved over time. But when writing was introduced to preserve mainstream Buddhist scripture just before the turn of the millennium, any such apocrypha could also be preserved in writing; thus the Mahāyāna texts could be preserved along with the mainstream texts, and the wider development of Mahāyāna tendencies could proceed.

Gombrich nevertheless does not deny that the appearance of a developed Mahāyāna literature by the 1st century CE is suggestive of

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<sup>15</sup> The dates of the Buddha's life and of early Buddhist history are not yet agreed upon, so this figure of 150 years might be open to revision.

both the tendencies leading towards a closed canon and those leading towards an open canon co-existing from quite early. Although starting with a closed canon, an irrevocable *de facto* opening of the Buddhist canons in India followed the introduction of writing in the first century BC, even if this was perhaps not foreseen or intended by those who introduced the writing of the mainstream scriptures, nor ever acceptable in principle to all Buddhist groups. Hence the idea of a closable canon was as old as Buddhism itself, while the contrasting idea of additional revelations was also comparatively old. Because "apocrypha" were institutionally peripheral, their earliest development and background remain unknowable, undocumented in surviving mainstream sources, and we cannot know when they began.

Ronald Davidson has argued that the plural and open nature of the various Buddhist "canons" from an early period was a feature deriving directly from its founder's dispensation. The Buddha's understanding of reality entailed that words other than his own could equally accurately represent the dharma, since the dharma was simply a pre-existent truth he had discovered, and which others could equally discover for themselves (Davidson 1990:294). This understanding rendered a strict codification of a Buddhist canon as the Buddha's speech acts virtually impossible, since from the start, the Buddha himself seems to have established the notion that the Dharma included the speech acts of persons other than himself. These others were either senior disciples speaking from their own understanding and authorised to teach, or other persons standing near the Buddha and directly inspired by his presence to speak, or even the repetition by ordinary disciples to their colleagues of teachings they had heard from the Buddha or senior disciples (Davidson 1990:294). All these types of speech acts were included under the rubric of Dharma from the start. This left the door open for unending later revelation. Eventually, in Buddhist India, justification for new revelation would routinely either be found in interpretations of the theme that "whatever is well spoken is the speech of the *tathāgata*", or, if circumstances demanded, new scriptures (such as the Theravāda Abhidhamma) could be attributed to the recovery of texts taught by the historical Buddha but not distributed until later (Davidson 1990).

Perhaps significantly, the nearest Indian Buddhism ever came to

the establishment of a single closed canon came at its only moment of political union under Aśoka, with the so-called Third Council of Pāṭaliputra, which was, however, accepted only by the Theravādins. Bechert has argued that this was never more than a meeting of a single sect which was retrospectively portrayed as involving the entire saṅgha (cited in Hallisey 1991:142). The lasting importance of the council of Pāṭaliputra was that it established a model by which later Theravāda kings of Ceylon and beyond were to measure their relation to the dhamma and the saṅgha (Hallisey 1991). However, it seems likely that this model of regulation of the saṅgha by a Dharmarāja was advocated by some Mahāyāna schools too: it certainly appears later in both China and Tibet.

### 1.1.2 Sri Lanka

In an influential article, Steven Collins (1990) has demonstrated how the closed Pāli Canon of the Theravāda tradition is not in the least what its followers claim it to be: far from being the pre-existing corpus of scriptures produced in India at the time of the historical Buddha which served as the basis of the Theravāda school, Collins has shown the Pāli Canon to be a product of that school, a set of scriptures favoured by the Mahāvihāra monasteries of Ceylon in the early centuries of the first millennium C.E. Originally, there were at least three *nikāya* or sects in Ceylon, the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavana, each with their own different version of the "canon", while there were also an undisclosed number of possibly independent institutions in the remoter countryside of which we know very little (Gombrich 1988:158). The "canon" of the Mahāvihārins (what we now know as the Pāli Canon), only finally became imposed as the single legitimate Buddhist canon of Ceylon with the centralisation of the saṅgha and the forcible suppression of the competing and more Mahāyānist canonical collections of the Abhayagiri monks by King Parakkamabāhu in the 12th century. In Theravāda eyes, the Pāli Canon was perceived as genuine scripture because uttered by the historical Buddha or his immediate associates, while Mahāyāna scriptures were perceived as fraudulent apocrypha because they were not uttered by the historical Buddha. In this, the Theravāda do seem to have preserved in good faith one of the attitudes genuinely attested in early

Buddhism (cf Gombrich 1990), and their motivations were surely doctrinal as well as political. Unfortunately for modern historians of Buddhism, however, no Abhayagiri texts survive in Ceylon outside the collections of their rivals (Collins 1990)<sup>16</sup>. Here, the extension of state power was wide enough to prevent the Abhayagiri canon surviving intact elsewhere within its indigenous cultural region. Theravāda's successful expansion into South East Asia can also be linked to the closure of the Pāli canon: canonical closure and the model of Aśoka as regulatory dharmarāja offered monarchs the prospect of power over religious matters through the promotion of a single Buddhist school that accepted state regulation of its affairs.

### 1.1.3 China

In China we can see how the degree of closure or openness of the canon fluctuated with the degree of state control. The Six Dynasties period (about 300-589 C.E) was a time of political disunity and foreign rule in the North, and it is this period, characterised as the formative years of Chinese Buddhism (Zürcher 1989:123), which has also been dubbed "China's gnostic centuries", a period in which a great quantity of "apocrypha" were produced (Strickmann 1990:76). Such "apocrypha" tended to be Chinese reformulations or developments of imported Buddhist texts and ideas, but more closely configured to Chinese preoccupations than the imported texts; hence some Chinese notions were included, usually subordinate to a central structure of more orthodox Buddhist soteriology (Strickmann 1990), a configuration not dissimilar to Tibetan rNying-ma-pa literature. A growing intertextuality with Taoism also became evident, and by the late sixth century Taoism, a tradition which had flourished in its own right before the advent of Buddhism, was becoming vulnerable to the accusation of being mere "crypto-Buddhism" (Barrett 1991:5), a relationship to Buddhism in some ways parallel to Tibetan Bon's.

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<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, the rNying-ma-pa tradition holds that much of their earliest scriptures, specifically very early tantric materials, were first revealed in Ceylon, especially at Adam's Peak (e.g. Dudjom 1991:454-5, et.al.). Whether this has any bearing on the Abhayagiri tradition is unclear. Peter Skilling has possibly located some surviving Abhayagiri texts (JPTS, vol 19, 1993).

Buddhist "apocrypha" in turn showed a detailed knowledge of Taoism and popular religion alike (Strickmann 1990:94, 97ff), but it is not yet clear if single authors produced scriptures for both Taoism and Buddhism, as they did in Tibet for both Buddhism and Bon.

With the accession of the emperor Liang Wu-ti (r. 502-549), the situation began to change: despite undiminished public demand for new revelations both Buddhist and Taoist, the new emperor prohibited such innovations. Although a wave of new revelation burst upon the scene with the monarch's death, his reign had ushered in the beginnings of stringent Buddhist textual cataloguing in China, with special sections reserved for "suspect scriptures" and "falsifications" (Strickmann 1990). Until now, the revealers of Chinese "apocrypha" had justified themselves in terms borrowed from the Indian Mahāyāna scriptures they had so freely adapted, namely through interpretations of the idea that "whatever is well spoken is the word of the Tathāgata", or else by claiming to have recovered texts spoken by the historical Buddha but not intended to be distributed until much later (Strickmann 1990:86ff). From Liang Wu-ti onwards, however, as was to be the case in Tibet after the 11th century, and, indeed, as was eventually to be the case throughout all the various cultural regions of converted Buddhist Asia, "authentic" scriptures were now held to be only those translated from Indic originals, and all others were deemed false (Buswell 1990:1). With the Sui reunification of 581 and onwards, this critical cataloguing of Buddhist scriptures became very important throughout the subsequent history of Buddhism in China, giving rise to an entire genre of bibliographical catalogue deeply concerned with the codification and "authenticity" of scriptures (Lancaster 1989:147, Tokuno 1990). Although some new revelation did still continue despite the new ideology, particularly if it served the direct political purposes of the ruling powers (Strickmann 1990:102; Forte 1990), from now on the regulation by the state of the saṅgha became a basic theme in the history of Chinese Buddhism, with a particular emphasis on the prevention of all "uncontrollable" Buddhist activities beyond immediate state control, including revelation. This culminated in the curbing of the saṅgha in 845 (Zürcher 1989:124-5). Yet by the time such controls were placed upon unregulated Buddhist revelation, it was already too late: we now know that about one

quarter of the entire Chinese Canon comprises "apocryphal" texts of East Asian origin, most of them supplied with false colophons describing them as translations of Indic originals (Hayashiya Tomojirō 1945). Such canonically-accepted "apocrypha" include many of the most important and influential scriptures within all East-Asian Buddhism (Strickmann 1990:78); thus, when in the late 10th century the Sung emperors standardized as a national canon the first printed edition of the canon which they had commissioned, by sending out printed copies to all the regions, many such "apocrypha" were already securely included under the cover of their false colophons.

#### 1.1.4 Tibet

Tibet's political history has resulted in a more complicated and unresolved situation in which a single corpus, the Kanjur, is simultaneously interpreted by some groups as an open canon and by others as a closed canon, with a wide variety of intermediate positions being held as well. However, at the risk of over-simplifying this very complicated situation, we can say in general terms that while the rNying-ma-pa, all of the bKa'-brgyud-pa schools, most of the smaller schools like the Jo-nang-pa and Bo-dong-pa, and some among the Sa-skya-pas and dGe-lugs-pas regard the Kanjur as an open canon, with the rNying-ma-pa scriptural collections existing alongside as additional canonical corpora, others among the Sa-skya-pas and the dGe-lugs-pas contest this interpretation and regard the Kanjur as a closed canon, thereby also holding the rNying-ma-pa tantras to be "apocrypha".

Once more, initiatives from the various centres of political government appear to have been key factors in the various attempts to create a closed canon. The first attempt might have been made under Khri-srong lde'u-btsan with the so-called "Council of Lhasa" or "Debate of Samye" (792-794).<sup>17</sup> This is often thought to have been an effort to exclude certain Buddhist teachings from a permitted national curriculum, and the existence of scriptural lists like the lDan-kar-ma point in the same direction (although we cannot yet be quite

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<sup>17</sup> D. Seyfort Ruegg describes as the background to this debate that "the Tibetan rulers were evidently striving toward a normalization of the Buddhist teachings being propagated in their realm" (Ruegg 1989:130).

certain to what extent these can be seen as attempts to actually close the canon as opposed to creating an open canon; the polemics contained in our historical sources preclude certainty).<sup>18</sup> There clearly was, however, a "Religious Council" presided over by the Abbot of bSam-yaś, which, according to Samten Karmay, was "a very powerful and fastidious body which certainly tried to contain the spread of Tantric teachings in the country" (Karmay 1988:6). This is a clear indication of at least some notion of state-sponsored canonical control even if not of closure, since the power-conferring tantric teachings were not so much excluded as restricted to an élite. But with the division and collapse of the Tibetan Empire, the spread of such Tantric teachings could no longer be restricted, and the traditions now known as the rNying-ma-pa began to proliferate freely beyond central control.

With the advent of the gSar-ma-pa period (11th century onwards), new politically-led efforts in the general direction of a closed canon began to be made, but now on a more local level: the kings of Pu-rangs who invited Atiśa to Tibet and launched broadsides against the rNying-ma-pa scriptures ruled only a small section of Tibet's far-west. Nevertheless, they retained a clear conception of themselves fulfilling the role of Dharmarāja, in the specific sense of the application of political power to the maintenance of the purity of the Buddhist dispensation. We have evidence for this in the ordinance (bka'-shog) of King Ye-shes 'od, in which he laments that the spread of the false doctrines of rDzogs-chen had been made possible precisely because of the radical decline of centralised royal power (Karmay 1980b:154). Clearly, Ye-shes 'od hoped to reverse this process as far as possible by the exercise of his own political power, slight though it was compared to that of the great Religious Kings of the Imperial

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<sup>18</sup> Ruegg argues that the decrees attributed to the Tibetan rulers according to which the (Mūla)Sārvāstivāda should be the standard Nikāya tradition for Tibet, that the Madhyamaka tenet system of Nāgārjuna should be followed there, and that the dissemination of the Vajrayāna should be restricted, were not intended to anathematize other traditions (Ruegg 1989:130). Hence Ruegg sees the debate as one intended more to establish an open canon than a closed canon.

period.<sup>19</sup> Apologetics for the rNying-ma-pa, or even full-scale polemical exchanges between gSar-ma-pa and rNying-ma-pa authors, became a feature of the following period (for example, as evidenced in the writings of Rong-zom-pa in the 11th century, or of Orgyan-pa in the 13th) (Karmay 1988:13; Dudjom 1991:889-892). It might have been under the political pressures of this period that, as in China, false colophons were added to some rNying-ma-pa scriptures revealed or redacted in Tibet, claiming them to be translations from Indic originals; for although the collection of rNying-ma-pa tantras contains a great deal of Indic material, some of it also reveals evidence of Tibetan influences, even when ostensibly of purely Indic origin.

About three hundred years after Atiśa, the historical process with which the kings of Pu-rangs had so fervently identified came closer to fruition with the development of the Kanjur proper. Unfortunately, although the text-critical study of the Kanjur is now well established, we know far too little about the general historical factors governing its formation, and the detailed history of the forces leading to its creation remains to be written. Clearly, the ideal of a closed canon was one inherited from the more clerical strands of Indian Buddhism, valiantly upheld within Tibet throughout the post-Imperial period by figures such as Ye-shes 'od and Chag Lo-tśā-ba. Nevertheless we know from the Blue Annals that when the first compilations of the Kanjur began at the bKa'-gdams-pa monastery of sNar-thang in the early 14th century, it was at least in part inspired or encouraged by a great scholar called 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs, who was a former pupil of bCom-dan rig-pa'i ral-gri at sNar-thang, but later became court chaplain to

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<sup>19</sup> The idea of royal regulation of scripture is not uncommon in the polemical genres of bka'-shog (royal ordinance) and 'byam-yig (scholastic circular), and other forms of clerical polemics. For example, in the mid-13th century, Chag lo-tśā-ba in his springs-yig (letter) ascribed the following statement to four Indian paṇḍits, one of whom seems to have been called Rāhulaśrībhadra of Nālandā: "If we in India were to make up such teaching traditions and false dharmas invented by ourselves (such as those Tibetan ones in question), we would feel the force of both Dharma and Royal law, and the perpetrators would be destroyed along with their lineage" (*nged rgya gar du 'di 'dra'i rang bzo'i chos log dang gzhung lugs byas nal chos khirms dang rgyal khirms gnyis ka phog nas/ de byed mkhan gyi rigs rgyud bcas brlag 'gro'o/*) [folio 5]. (Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji 1979). Thanks to Dan Martin for this reference.



Buyantu Khan, Yüan Emperor of China (r.1311-1320). There seems little doubt that 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs' interest in the development of a Kanjur had a lot to do with a wish to emulate the Chinese model of a canon, regulated according to stringent bibliographical analysis and sponsored by the state (Roerich:410-412; Harrison n.d:8).

Interestingly, the rNying-ma-pa histories tell us that the first attempts to codify the rNying-ma-pa collections came at exactly the same time: they were made by Zur bzang-po dpal, who likewise spent much time at the court of Buyantu (Dudjom 1991:669-670). However, given the dominant Chinese understanding that Indianness constituted a necessary (if not sufficient) criteria for canonicity, it seems inevitable that the rNying-ma-pa must have found themselves forever at a disadvantage at the Chinese courts; one might speculate that someone in Zur's position might have had ample cause to turn his back on the traditional attitudes to canonicity of his school, and compose false translator's colophons to attach to those rNying-ma-pa tantras that were not actually translated from Sanskrit.

The scholars who have done most work in the field of Kanjur research so far are Helmut Eimer, whose work established the field often called "Kanjur Studies", and those who have followed in his wake, such as Paul Harrison. Summarising the current state of research as he sees it, Harrison writes

the more I myself delve into these matters, the more acutely I become aware of the political implications of the production of bKa' 'gyur editions, and how, from the very beginnings of Buddhism in Tibet, the quest for the standardized and authoritative text or collection of texts has been driven by the struggle for prestige, power and hegemony, as much as by more scholarly imperatives. Thus all the standard editions we now use, as well as their ancestors we are obliged to reconstruct, were produced at the behest of some of the most powerful leaders of Tibet (and China), and without doubt their creation fulfilled agendas which ranged far beyond a scholarly concern for accuracy. After all, it can hardly be an accident that the very formation of the bKa' 'gyur as we know it at the beginning of the 14th century and the astonishing proliferation of editions in

the ensuing years which gZhon nu dpal records in the *Blue Annals* co-incided with one of the most turbulent periods in Tibet's history, during which those involved in the deadly struggle for power also engaged in the struggle for religious prestige, vying with each other to harness the charisma of great scholars like Bu ston to their own purposes and make a name for themselves as great patrons of the Dharma (Harrison 1994:309).

A crucial factor in Tibetan history is that following the fall of the empire in the 9th century, despite much manoueuvering, no single political grouping ever achieved lasting hegemony over all Tibet, which remained a politically plural and frequently decentralised nation until the Chinese conquest of the 1950's. The outcome of this lack of a strong centralised state was that not even the keenest proponents of a closed canon were ever able to enforce their interpretation onto the cultural region as a whole; rather, they had to resort to exploiting the *idea* of a closed canon to promote their own sectarian or political interests in a much more limited way. The outcome was an unresolved situation in which some authorities interpreted the Kanjur as a closed canon and rejected the rNying-ma-pa scriptures, while as many others interpreted the very same Kanjur as an open canon, thereby accommodating the rNying-ma-pa within the pale of orthodoxy.

An interesting feature of Tibetan history is that traditions such as the dGe-lugs-pa and the Sa-skyapa have taken quite different views at different times about the closure of the canon and the status of the rNying-ma-pa scriptures. The general historical pattern of these fluctuations seems at first glance to support the theory that canonical closure was an idea typically emphasised or downplayed as political conditions demanded, but detailed research still needs to be done before we can be certain about this.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the actual *criteria*

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<sup>20</sup> Some examples: the 17th century dGe-lugs-pa of the Fifth Dalai Lama, newly victorious but politically isolated, vigorously supported and promoted the rNying-ma-pa tradition, perhaps as a counterbalance to the combined weight of the other schools. The 20th century dGe-lugs-pa of Pha-bong-kha-pa, however, just as vigorously attacked the rNying-ma-pa, seeing them as the linchpin of the burgeoning Ris-med synthesis that so threatened dGe-lugs-pa hegemony especially in East Tibet, even if not in Central Tibet. Likewise, the 13th century Sa-skyapas of the Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita, backed by

for a closed canon remained constant: as in China, whose example had an influence on Tibet's "canon"-makers, scriptures and doctrines were only to be deemed authentic if they could demonstrate a purely Indic origin, and, preferably, to have been uttered by the historical Buddha as well (Kapstein 1989).

Many of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, on the other hand, tended to more consistently favour an open canon, in part because several of their key founding hierarchs (for example, the earliest Karma-pas, and O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen dpal), had already made such irrevocably strong commitments to the rNying-ma-pa teachings before the firm establishment of the Kanjur that these could not later be contradicted without a major discontinuity of tradition. This support from the bKa'-brgyud-pa, for several centuries the dominant force in Tibetan politics, ensured that the rNying-ma-pa traditions could never become marginalised, even if the rNying-ma-pa's traditional diffusion of authority among multiple independent family lineages such as Zur etc, a pattern established in the early period before the advent of the gSar-ma-pas, militated against their setting up large centralised structures of

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Mongol might, were critical of key aspects of the bKa'-brgyud-pa and rNying-ma-pa in equal measure: sGam-po-pa's innovative development of the dkar-po gcig-thub from out of the Mahāmudrā he inherited from Mi-la ras-pa aroused particular criticism from Sa-paṅ (Jackson 1994:passim), who also criticised the all-important rNying-ma-pa system of producing new scriptures by gter-ma discovery (Jackson 1994:105). Yet by the 19th century, the Sa-skyapa-pas of mKhyen-brtse dbang-po, effectively marginalised by the dGe-lugs-pa in their home territory of Central Tibet, anchored an alliance of Sa-skya, bKa'-brgyud and rNying-ma-pa in far-off East Tibet (the Ris-med synthesis) that eventually overturned dGe-lugs-pa pre-eminence in the East and overshadowed its prestige everywhere. By now, this important Sa-skyapa figure of mKhyen-brtse dbang-po was himself widely recognised as an incarnation of sGam-po-pa, and was also an extremely important gter-ston in his own right. Yet these developments need not be seen in an exclusively cynical light: political movements can be undertaken with the best of motives, and the aspiration of responsible Buddhist leadership has always been to restore or redress a balance between the clerical and shamanic currents in Buddhism. Faced with the catastrophic destruction of Buddhist tradition in India on the one hand, and proliferating innovation within Tibet on the other, Sa-paṅ valiantly struggled to preserve what little was left of the clerical heritage in his time. Likewise, faced with the stagnation of institutional Buddhism in his own period, mKhyen-brtse dbang-po sought to revitalise the shamanic currents by making new contacts with the meditational traditions (sgrub-rgyud).

their own. Rather, the rNying-ma-pa continued their traditional pattern of decentralised organisation, while gaining great additional impetus from the new scholastic institutions established by sympathetic gSar-ma-pa schools such as the bKa'-brgyud-pas, in which, as is still the case today, rNying-ma-pa cycles were frequently taught alongside those of the gSar-ma-pa.

Most importantly for the rNying-ma-pa, however, the absence of a strong centralised state in Tibet resulted not only in the rival sets of interpretations of the same "canon": it also allowed for the unique survival of the rNying-ma-pa's gTer-ma and Dag-snang systems, which together constitute a Tibetan revelatory tradition that remains to this day every bit as vigorous as were those of Buddhist India or 5th century China. Like their Indian and Chinese counterparts, the Tibetan scripture-revealers justify their activities in two ways: by invoking the notion that "whatever is well spoken is the speech of the Tathāgata", as well as by claiming to recover texts uttered by enlightened ones of the past but not intended for distribution until the present.

### 1.1.5 Summary

A fairly consistent and universal pattern can be seen to occur throughout the Buddhist world regarding the problems of "canonicity" and "apocrypha":

- [a] in each missionised Buddhist cultural region, initially, the canonical collections were *de facto* open, along the Indian model, where fresh scriptural revelation never ceased;
- [b] subsequent attempts to select and close the canon invariably involved political factors;
- [c] actual canonical closure could only be achieved where there existed sufficient intervention from a political state, effective repression.

Furthermore, throughout the Buddhist world, at most times in its history:

- [d] there were some who favoured canonical closure, typically in terms of the notions that "only uttered by the historical Buddha

= authentic", or "only Indic = authentic", or both;

[e] there were some who favoured canonical openness, typically in terms of "whatever is well said is the word of the Tathāgata", or that previously undistributed teachings by the historical Buddha were still being discovered, or both;

[f] under pressure, "apocrypha" tended to freely claim to have been uttered by the historical Buddha or translated from Indic originals;

[g] whether produced in India, China or Tibet, "apocrypha" or new scriptural revelation tended to show a constant pattern of relationship to its environment: it typically added to the received corpora by reformulating received scripture to more precisely suit contemporaneous and local needs; this could include the free introduction of previously extraneous categories, if subordinated and adapted to received Buddhist ones;

[h] whether produced in India, China or Tibet, "apocrypha" or new scriptural revelation tended to show a significant degree of intertextuality with the surrounding Hindu, Taoist and Bon-po traditions.

The above would suggest that several new understandings are opening up in our treatment of Buddhist "apocrypha". Not only are they self-evidently important and interesting in their own right: we can also see that if "apocrypha" are excluded from the field of Buddhist Studies, we deprive ourselves of important data that could shed light on important universal features of the Buddhist religion as a whole. Moreover, we can see that if we were only to accept "canonical" texts as the proper remit of Buddhist Studies, we would be too naïve, in that we would quite arbitrarily be heeding some traditional voices (those who had political power) while excluding others, on the basis of no rigorously analyzed criteria, and certainly not on the basis of any strictly-speaking Buddhological criteria.

## **1.2 Shamanic Buddhism and clerical Buddhism: through wisdom to means, through means to wisdom**

The occurrence of such constants in attitudes to canonical closure and canonical openness in such widely divergent Buddhist periods and cultural regions seems to imply something about Buddhism as a whole. The purpose of the next section of this introduction is to approach this problem, not so much in the expectation of arriving at any important conclusions, but more to indicate how fruitful such analysis involving the issues surrounding Buddhist "apocrypha" might become. To put this another way, I hope to explore the possibility of going beyond the temporal and regional compartmentalisations and the traditional dichotomy between Indic and local forms of Buddhism that characterises traditional Buddhology, by moving towards the possibility of establishing more universal perspectives on Buddhism. By this I emphatically do not mean the identification of a normative global form of Buddhism (a thoroughly unsound project in my view), but rather the presentation of the ongoing conversation on the issue of canonicity that Buddhism has held within itself for over two millennia.

Despite widely divergent theoretical frameworks, and even if not with this particular problem in mind, a number of previous analyses seem to have impinged on the question of what it might be about Buddhism that produces such constant repetitions in its historical conversations about "apocrypha" and "canonicity". Max Weber, who made a major study of Indian religion including Buddhism and even Tibetan Buddhism (Weber 1958), analyzed the differences between charismatic, traditional and bureaucratic religious authority and discussed the religious types of prophets and priests (Weber 1964). Paul Demiéville explored "subitism" and "gradualism" in several world religions, especially Buddhism in China and Tibet (Demiéville 1987). Louis Dumont contrasted the South Asian contemplative ascetic as individual-outside-the-world with the village-dwelling domesticated religious specialist as man-in-the-world (Dumont 1980). More recently, and specifically in the context of Tibetan Buddhist notions of "canonicity", Matthew Kapstein has correlated the supporters of a closed canon with philosophical realism, and their opponents with philosophical idealism (Kapstein 1989:221ff). In similar vein, S.

Hookham has contrasted different sets of attitudes that typify Tibetan followers of the gZhan-stong and Rang-stong interpretations of tathāgatagarbha doctrine (Hookham 1991a). Most recently, Geoffrey Samuel has produced the most comprehensive and theoretically sophisticated analysis of Tibetan Buddhism as a whole made so far, based on his categories of shamanic and clerical currents or "modal states" within Buddhism (Samuel 1993). Several common strands run through all the above analyses, and I shall look at each of them in turn.

### 1.2.1 Max Weber

Max Weber's broad-ranging theories of religion still remain, almost a century after their initial formulation, among the most influential for the contemporary sociology of religion. Most pertinent for this study is Weber's distinguishing of three fundamental types of social activity which are associated with different forms of religion: the rational, the traditional and the charismatic. The rational is found typically in the modern west, and is associated with bureaucratic control, routinization, and depersonalization. The traditional is found typically in conservative pre-modern societies and is characterised by a pious acceptance and devotion to the way things have always existed. The charismatic can appear in any society but manifests particularly at times of crisis, and produces creative and heroic leader figures often credited with supernatural powers and characterised by unusual behaviour. If the new movement introduced by such a charismatic prophet or leader is successful, it will become subject to a process of routinization (Weber:1964; Evans-Pritchard 1965:117):

More specifically, Weber analyzed the distinctions between the two contrasting religious types of prophets (whose authority is charismatic) and priests (whose authority is traditional or bureaucratic). Although this distinction did not entirely originate with Weber, it is his analysis of it that has informed much subsequent anthropological and sociological writing. In his study of *kuaar twac* ("leopard-skin priests") and *gwan kwoth* ("spirit-possessing prophets") in Nuer religion, E.E. Evans-Pritchard presented a famously eloquent and graphic exposition of Weberian theory:

The [Nuer] priest's powers are transmitted by descent from the first priest - a social heritage; the [Nuer] prophet's powers are charismatic - an individual inspiration. The virtue of the priest resides in his office; that of the prophet in himself...But the most outstanding conceptual difference is that whereas in the priest man speaks to God, in the prophet God, in one or other of his hypostases, speaks to man. The priest stands on the earth and looks to the sky. Heavenly beings descend from the sky and fill the prophets. The prophet is the mouthpiece of a spirit, its interpreter; it is he who speaks but he speaks under its control....(Priests are) the representatives of man to the divine, (prophets are) the representatives of the divine to man (Evans-Pritchard 1974:304).

We can see that, in support of Weber's theory, Evans-Pritchard's ethnography showed that the Nuer prophets were primarily oriented towards the absolute of "Spirit" (in Evans-Pritchard's parlance), while the Nuer priests were primarily oriented towards the relative world of social convention. Evans-Pritchard, like Weber, saw this distinction as similar to that of the prophets and priests in ancient Judaic tradition.

### **1.2.2 Paul Demiéville**

Paul Demiéville was a polyglot scholar of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism who made specialised studies of the late 8th century Council of Lhasa and of the mid-8th century Chinese debate between the competing Ch'an schools of Shen-hsiu and Shen-hui. Both these controversies contested the correct balance of "sudden" and "gradual" approaches to Buddhist practice.

Demiéville produced a seminal essay first published in 1947 called *Le miroir spirituel*, in which he studied the metaphor of the mirror found in many different religions. In introducing this study, he formulated a universal theory of "Subitism" and "Gradualism" as contrasting polarities characteristic of human religion in general. He sought illustrative examples from all the world's major religions.

He proposed that both Subitists and Gradualists see the mind as intrinsically pure, but soiled by "adventitious passions". However, while Gradualism accepts the need to make conventional spiritual



efforts to purify these veils, Subitism will not concede any real existence to any impurities to be cleansed; rather, it considers only the essential purity of the absolute, which is by its very nature beyond any duality of pure and impure, and from the point of view of which no impurities can exist. Subitists hence aspire to intuitively, all at once, through no effort of their own, perceive the immanent absolute. Gradualists on the other hand approach the absolute analytically, believing it should be comprehended by use of traditionally passed on intellectual and religious methods, and attained bit by bit through exertion in the positive cultivation of virtues. Hence Subitism emphasises the absolute and relies directly on the primal purity of mind as its method, while Gradualism emphasises the relative, and relies on the purification of mental defilement as its method. Demiéville saw both Gradualism and Subitism as being evidenced in Indian Buddhism, and he presents a verse from Asaṅga's *Madhyānta-vibhāga* (1.21-22) as seeking a "middle course between the extremes of purity and defilement, absolute and relative" (Demiéville 1987:15-16).

### 1.2.3 Louis Dumont

Louis Dumont suggested nearly forty years ago that "the secret of Hinduism may be found in the dialogue between the renouncer and the man-in-the-world" (Dumont 1980:270). Although his writings on India have been subjected to intense debate and criticism, much of it still remains of great interest.<sup>21</sup> Dumont suggested the religious

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<sup>21</sup> Marxist authors and other champions of the socially oppressed classes in Indian society attacked Dumont at the outset as an apologist for caste, and joined others in criticising his outlook as implying a static structure while neglecting historical economic and social forces. More recently, anthropological writers such as T. N. Madan, F. Marglin and V. Das have suggested that the important topic of *auspiciousness* has been understated in Dumont's analysis of purity and pollution. These critiques can be seen as pertinent to this discussion, especially since Marglin uses "auspiciousness" as a cover term for non-structural, non-hierarchical, especially female, and above all non-Brahmanic elements, with some affinities to Samuel's use of the term "shamanic" (thanks to Geoffrey Samuel for his comments on these issues). Also relevant to this study, the Indologist Johannes Bronkhorst has argued that the Indological underpinning of Dumont's analysis of asceticism is false: Bronkhorst sees two independent sources of Indian asceticism, one Vedic and one non-Vedic. These

specialist as man-in-the-world was represented by the Brahmin, who participated in the world and upheld the social order, and the renouncer or individual-outside-the-world was represented by the *saṃnyāsin*, who was ritually dead to the world and had no part in its workings himself, although without rejecting the validity of its rules or dharma for others. The universes of the two types of religious specialist were united in the overarching structure of the four *varṇāśramadharmas*: while the Brahmin pursued *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma* and *mokṣa* (the latter with some ambivalence), the renouncer focused on *mokṣa* alone, but did not deny the validity of the other three *varṇāśramadharmas* for other persons. According to Dumont, caste society does not allow the existence of individuality in a Western sense: only renounced ascetics could achieve individuality by renouncing caste society; hence his choice of terminology. Dumont saw caste society with its strict laws of dharma as a correlate of the round of transmigration with its strict laws of karma, and the renounced state as a correlate of *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa*. He observed that much of the history of Indian religion comprised the adoption or domestication by Brahmin men-in-the-world of the many spiritual developments and innovations introduced by ascetic individuals-outside-the-world (Dumont 1980:267-286).

Dumont emphasised that his categories of renouncer and man-in-the-world represented nothing more than "ideal types, which in fact combine more and more in the course of time"(275); in other words, Dumont intended his terms to be understood in a stipulative rather than a lexical sense. Nevertheless, Dumont implies that original Buddhism taught primarily or essentially the ascetic path of the individual-outside-the-world, and only secondarily or incidentally the settled path of the man-in-the-world. This is a popular outlook that goes back many years and is found in many unrelated sources, but

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two types gave rise to differing forms of asceticism with differing aims and outlooks. Bronkhorst's conclusion is that "les partis qui s'opposent ne sont pas le renonçant et l'homme-dans-le-monde, mais plutôt "l'homme védique" et "l'homme non-védique". Both the Vedic and non-Vedic types alike have their own versions of renouncers and men in the world, and the real matrix of development is in the interaction of the two cultures (Bronkhorst 1993). I am not clear how much influence Bronkhorst's work is having on the Dumontian and broader anthropological debates.

perhaps most importantly in Weber's writings on India, in which the "routinization" of the historical Buddha's "charisma" with the formation of the settled monastic tradition, is seen as in some sense a betrayal of the Buddha's teachings. Most recently, such an outlook has been restated (if from different sources and in a modified form) by the recent major publication of Reginald Ray (Ray 1994). Despite the perennial appeal of this view, it is nevertheless a view which I find as yet unproven on current hard evidence as it stands.

On the other hand, I do find a quite different proposition, one also restated most recently by Ray, much more convincing: summarising much widely accepted work in the field of philology and archaeology, Ray argues that the historical Pāli tradition demonstrates a decisive movement away from Buddhism's forest contemplative traditions, towards a heavily predominant focus on town-and-village traditions of renunciation. But this movement so clearly discernible in the literature of the Pāli tradition is not in itself evidence that the Buddha himself, or very early Buddhism, never wholeheartedly intended town-and-country monasticism, as Dumont and even Ray in parts would tend to presuppose. Could it be that Dumont and Ray are perhaps in this instance inspired respectively more by previous Indological and sociological theory and by popular traditional accounts of Buddhist decline, both of which tend to stigmatise settled monasticism as a betrayal of "original Buddhism", rather than by any concrete philological or archaeological evidence?

Dumont has deservedly been a dominant figure in the anthropology of South Asia, and much modern ethnographical research was to some extent informed by his outlook. Such ethnographies showed, for example, that most contemporary Theravāda monks, ie those that live in villages, correspond much more closely to Dumont's category of religious specialist as man-in-the-world than to his category of individual-outside-the-world, which latter was, following Dumont's own theory, often implicitly seen as more desirable or to be expected in a Buddhist renunciant. On the contrary, Theravāda monks typically function as pillars of the social order and repositories of national culture, many spending little or no time in solitary ascetic contemplation. Hence an obvious but possibly unintended outcome of Dumont's theory is that ethnographic material could be misinterpreted

to indicate that village monks are inherently aberrant in some sense. This outcome is all the more likely in that it coincides closely with ancient narratives of Buddhist decline.

Yet it could be argued that it is not always useful to evaluate contemporary Buddhist traditions in the light of modern analyses of how Buddhism must originally have been taught, even if many indigenous voices might make similar judgements. It could be more helpful if we were to desist from judging such town-and-village monks by any Dumontian yardstick; instead, we might consider how binary oppositional theories such as Dumont's will inevitably have difficulties in adequately describing the non-oppositional mediatory compromise that I see as so central to Buddhism. To my mind, Theravādin village monks might be better seen as exponents (whether better or worse) of one valid aspect of Buddhism, even if under-representing its other major aspect. My view is that early Buddhism was a mediatory movement which deliberately set out to resolve the radical dichotomisation of Indian religion by producing a new form of religion that could simultaneously fulfil key elements of both rôles (cf. Gombrich 1988: 61, 96-8). Hence the saṅgha as a body was intended to function in society in a significant if restrained manner, while simultaneously maintaining a moderately ascetic tradition to be followed by individual monks. In short, I disagree that the Buddhist town or village monk as "man-in-the-world" per se is a mistake or an aberration. On the other hand, I do agree that such traditions were ideally intended to exist in conjunction with a lively forest tradition (which is in any case very much the norm in some Theravādin societies such as contemporary Thailand, where the forest tradition was never so weakened as in other societies such as Ceylon).

#### **1.2.4 Matthew Kapstein**

Matthew Kapstein sees two competing strands in Indian Buddhist attitudes to scriptural authenticity, which were inherited by Tibetan Buddhism with their contradictions still unresolved.

The earlier one was a historical realism which sought to see all Buddhavaṇa as either the speech acts of the historical Buddha, or as equivalent speech acts systematically correlated to the speech acts of the historical Buddha (ie those directly inspired by him, spoken in his

presence, etc). Kapstein correlates this outlook to the naive metaphysical realism characteristic of the early Buddhist schools.

According to Kapstein, two problems bedeviled this historical understanding of scriptural authority. Firstly, no precise record of the Buddha's actual speech acts had been made in the Buddha's lifetime, neither through writing nor through a Vedic-style mnemonic tradition. Here Kapstein (1989:223 n14) is apparently in slight disagreement with Gombrich (1990), in that he explicitly denies that the early Buddhists used "anything like the Vedic system of checks and balances"; I find Gombrich more plausible, in that Kapstein possibly underestimates the bhāṣaka tradition. Secondly, it proved impossible to establish precise and agreed criteria for assessing which other speech acts (such as those directly inspired by the Buddha etc) were genuinely equivalent to the utterances of the historical Buddha.

Kapstein identified dGe-lugs-pa masters such as Sum-pa mkhan-po as the heirs to the historical and philosophical-realist outlook within Tibet. Although he is not explicit on this point, Kapstein might have been alluding to the dGe-lugs-pa Mādhyamikas' acceptance of common-sense or naive realism in every-day transactional or vyavahāra analysis, and their rejection of the very need for the Yogācāra's complex endeavours in the sphere of relative truth. Such a "common-sense" attitude sits nicely with a straightforward historical realism.<sup>22</sup>

In agreement with Davidson, Kapstein believes the debate in early Buddhist India over the criteria for speech acts equivalent to those of the historical Buddha even if not uttered by his own mouth, eventually opened up a new set of perspectives. The various criteria originally developed for the historical debate (ie "in accord with reality", "in accord with other accepted doctrine", "agreed by consensus" etc) were liberated from their historical moorings and applied in a purely hermeneutical fashion by philosophical idealists who saw historical questions as irrelevant. For these idealists, no

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<sup>22</sup> However, I am not entirely clear how specialists in the dGe-lugs-pa tradition such as José Cabezon would understand this issue, or even if they would agree with the characterisation of the dGe-lugs-pa tradition as historical and philosophical-realist in this sense.

systematic correlation with the historical Buddha was needed anymore: merely being "in accord with reality" etc was enough. Kapstein saw the Yogācāra tradition and the scriptures of the "Third Turning" and also the *Ghanavyūhasūtra* as exemplifying this tendency. He singled out the *Ratnagotravibhāga* tradition according to its gzhan-stong interpreters as the main extension of this outlook in Tibet.

### 1.2.5 S.K. Hookham

Shenpen Hookham perceives "two fundamentally different views of the nature of man, the mind and the spiritual path within the Buddhist tradition, each of which has equal claim to orthodoxy." These are expressed within the Tibetan tradition as the views of self-emptiness (rang-stong) and other-emptiness (gzhan-stong). She epitomises these two complex doctrinal positions with the statement that "roughly speaking self-emptiness is the empty nature of illusory phenomena that are not actually there and other-emptiness is the empty nature of reality which actually is there" (Hookham 1991a:149). Hence, while self-emptiness analyzes the everyday world and finds it empty of real existence, other-emptiness "means Emptiness as a designation for ultimate reality which is explained in the *Tathāgatagarbha sūtras* and elsewhere as the vividness of non-dual awareness/experience complete with all the Buddha qualities" (Hookham 1991a:150). In other words, the primary orientation for the follower of gzhan-stong is the absolute, while the primary orientation for the follower of rang-stong is the relative.

Hookham suggests that the two views are associated with contrasting features in terms of Buddhist practice. While self-emptiness stresses pure conduct and monasticism, other-emptiness stresses transcending dualistic concepts such as pure and impure, and hence does not disparage the lay life. While self-emptiness gives priority to a highly developed discriminative intellectual understanding and hence to the scholastic path, other-emptiness holds that true knowledge arises through a relaxation of dualistic clinging achieved in contemplation, which it therefore prioritises. While self-emptiness prefers reason to faith, other-emptiness prefers faith to reason. While self-emptiness tends to see Buddhahood as remote and not very accessible in the Dark Age, other-emptiness sees Buddhahood as being

directly accessible to devotees even in this Dark Age (Hookham 1991a:153-4).

Hookham continues by linking the self-emptiness model to social hierarchy and centralisation, and the other-emptiness model to a form of egalitarianism and political decentralisation. She observes that centralised powers within Tibetan history have tended to support the self-emptiness model at the expense of the other-emptiness model. (Hookham 1991a:158-161).

### 1.2.6 Geoffrey Samuel

Geoffrey Samuel's encyclopedic work *Civilized Shamans* (Samuel:1993) is substantially the most comprehensive as well as being the most recent study of Tibetan religion as a whole, and in itself summarises much previous work; I shall therefore briefly outline his central motifs here, and utilise his terms in my discussion. Applying his theoretical work of 1990 to Tibetan Buddhism, Samuel introduces two basic categories of shamanic and clerical Buddhism. Carefully distinguishing his stipulative use of the word shamanic as an interpretive device from any specific lexical or historical referent (such as Siberian ritual specialists), he writes:

I use the term 'shamanic' as a general term for a category of practices found in differing degrees in almost all human societies. This category of practices may briefly be described as *the regulation and transformation of human life and human society through the use (or purported use) of alternate states of consciousness by means of which specialist practitioners are held to communicate with a mode of reality alternative to, and more fundamental than, the world of everyday experience* (italics given in the original; Samuel 1993:8).

His initial formulation of the contrast between shamanic and clerical currents in Tibetan Buddhism can be summarised as follows:

Shamanic Buddhism works in terms of a direct relationship with an alternative mode of reality, often a Tantric deity, evoked to achieve enlightenment, which is perceived as a potentiality present within all individuals. The alternative reality can also be invoked to bring about

desired effects within this mode of reality, such as health etc. The primary mode is analogy and metaphor. The typical figure is the Tantric lama who undergoes prolonged retreat to gain shamanic power, to use on behalf of others. The textual base comprises the rNying-ma-pa and gSar-ma-pa tantric corpora, and the gTer-ma.

Clerical Buddhism shares with shamanic Buddhism the goal of ultimate enlightenment. It dismisses as irrelevant all saṃsāric activities other than avoiding evil and doing good. Its primary mode is scholarship, philosophical analysis, and monastic discipline. Its typical figure is the scholar-monk, studying texts and debating philosophy. Its textual base comprises the Vinaya, the Sūtras, and the Śāstras (condensed from Samuel 1993:9-10).

Samuel sees the interaction of these two currents as providing an underlying tension that shapes the development of Buddhism throughout its history. He writes, "the tension is between the visionary and yogic side of Buddhism, with its recurrent struggle to recreate and maintain the shamanic vision, and the clerical and scholarly side, with its orientation towards the development of the Buddhist community as part of the wider hierarchical social order" (Samuel 1993:373). Yet Samuel sees these two currents as primarily complementary and interdependent, as well as conflicting: both are inherent to Buddhism. He sees the history of Buddhism in Tibet in particular as a "series of syntheses between the two aspects".

Samuel describes these two currents as being active within three spheres of religious activity, as follows:

1. *Pragmatic*. The realm of this-worldly concerns, conceived of in terms of interactions with local gods and spirits, and carried out by a variety of ritual practitioners, foremost among them being the lamas, who employ the techniques of Tantric practice for this purpose;
2. *Karma-oriented*. The sphere of death and rebirth, past and future lives, again seen in terms of karma and the 'ideology of merit' and mediated by Buddhist monks and lamas. This is the primary realm of 'clerical Buddhism';
3. *Bodhi-oriented*. The pursuit of Enlightenment, here seen as having a strongly social or altruistic component, and carried out



through Tantric practice (Samuel 1993:31).

In the case of Tibet, Samuel underlines the involvement of shamanic Buddhism in spheres 1 and 3, in particular emphasising the interconnection between spheres 1 and 3 in Tibet to a degree greater than that found in Theravāda Buddhism. Although Samuel's theory seems sound enough in general, there are some additional important distinctions that he has slightly understated and which could be seen as generating anomalies to his theory. An important feature of the Bodhi orientation of sphere 3 is that it manifests two quite different characteristic ideal types: the world-renouncing ascetic who pursues the Bodhi orientation through Tantric practice while emphatically rejecting any involvement with the pragmatic sphere, and the world-affirming householding lama who pursues the Bodhi orientation through Tantric practice while emphatically asserting his involvement in the pragmatic sphere.

The rtogs-ldan ascetics of the 'Brug-pa school are a typical example of the first ideal type. These élite virtuoso heirs to the yogic tradition of Milarepa ideally (and also in practice) spend most of their religious careers in mountain hermitages, practising the advanced Tantric yogas of the Six Doctrines of Nāropa which is their hallmark; yet they are also all required to be fully-ordained monks (*dge-slong*), and cannot become rtogs-ldan without being *dge-slong* as well. Above all, they are famous for their strict avoidance of the pragmatic sphere, to an extent far greater than that of any ordinary *dge-slong*: their mountain hermitages are seen as a means to increase their isolation from women or their possible exposure to lay devotees seeking to request the employment of their siddhis for pragmatic ends.<sup>23</sup> Hence their asceticism is explicitly understood as an intensification of the monastic career, perhaps analogous to the Therāvādin practice of the additional austerities or *dhutanga*. The case of the rtogs-ldan and other related types of shamanic practitioner are at first glance anomalous in Samuel's schema, in that they comprise significant groupings of tantric practitioners whose orientations are to spheres 2 and 3 (the karma and bodhi orientations), while bearing little relation to sphere 1, the

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<sup>23</sup> Interview, H.E. Choegon Rinpoche, August 13, 1994.

pragmatic. It is unclear whether the full range of Samuel's term "shamanic" can apply to these types, especially in the social rather than the religious senses of the term. On the other hand, they do retain the *potential* to engage powerfully in the pragmatic sphere; hence they could also be seen as not presenting any theoretical difficulties to Samuel's schema, which, in any case, is not based upon the unnecessary and implausible claim that all Tibetan practitioners will divide perfectly neatly into its categories.

On the other hand, householder tantric lamas such as the rNying-ma-pa sngags-pa support Samuel's schema with no complications; here the bodhi orientation is indubitably linked to the pragmatic orientation, and the characterisation of such practitioners as shamanic seems fitting, both in the religious and the social aspects of the term.

Much of Samuel's analysis is, at face value, very similar to Weber's: as Samuel himself explains, the shamanic-clerical distinction can be seen as very similar to Weber's distinction between charismatic and rational-bureaucratic modes of religious authority (Samuel 1993:361). However, in his underlying assumptions, Samuel moves away from Weber and much closer to postmodernist and, as he himself obliquely acknowledges, Buddhist points of view (Samuel 1993:565). Weber assumed a radical dichotomisation of the world of ideas and the world as it is: hence religion and economics, for example, constituted entirely separate processes that nevertheless interacted with each other. Samuel, on the other hand, cites the developments in the natural sciences since Weber's time as necessitating a shift towards accepting that "the world cannot be separated from the human beings who observe it and interact with it".<sup>24</sup> For Samuel, religion and economics (for example) should be seen as parts of a single process that takes place simultaneously in the minds of individuals and in the development of new economic and political institutions (Samuel 1993:565). By taking such a non-dichotomising view of the world of ideas and the material world and

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<sup>24</sup> It can be argued that Weber is misrepresented on this point by postmodernist thinkers such as Rosaldo (1989:172); Weber himself wrote that "there is no absolutely "objective" scientific analysis of our culture...or...of "social phenomena" independent of special and "one-sided" viewpoints" (Weber 1968:85). See S.P. Reyna 1994:559.

awarding primacy to neither, Samuel moves towards the central tenets of the Cittamātra branch of the Yogācāra school of Buddhist philosophy. Likewise, in his previous theoretical study (Samuel 1990), Samuel proposed a "social manifold" in which any number of different "modal currents" could manifest without dichotomisation between the individual and society; in this, Samuel seems to have developed for modern social theory a parallel to the ancient ālayavijñāna and vāsana doctrines of the Yogācārins.<sup>25</sup>

The analyses I have selected above by no means exhaust the field. Many other modern authors perceive similar structures in human experience: for example, Stanley Tambiah talks of two modes of human thought, one concerned with causality and reason, the other concerned with participation and magic (Tambiah:1990). More importantly for this study, many traditional Buddhist analyses make remarkably similar statements: the long-debated division of religious practitioners into *rim-gyi-pa* (gradualist types) and *gcig-car-ba* (all-at-once types), to this day so fundamental to the doctrines of the 'Brugpa and other Mahāmudrā schools, is a particularly well-known example (Broido:1980; Karmay 1988:86-106). I have selected the examples above because they are convenient for my analysis, not because they exhaust the possible range.

To relate the various categories I have discussed above to notions of "canonicity", we can see at once that Samuel's shamanic Buddhists tend towards favouring an open canon; as, in the case of Buddhism, do Weber's charismatic forms of social action and his prophets; Demiéville's subitists; Dumont's individuals-outside-the-world; along with Kapstein's philosophical idealists and Hookham's proponents of *gzhan-stong*. Likewise, Samuel's clerical Buddhists tend towards

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<sup>25</sup> In response to my suggestion of Buddhist influences on his work, Geoffrey Samuel wrote me a letter in reply as follows: "Your comments on the Buddhist influences on my work are interesting and plausible. I was more aware of the Madhyamaka influence on the outer frame of my framework than of the Cittamātra-ish tinge of the modal states. I hadn't read much Cittamātra material at the time. I was however quite conscious of trying to construct a language which made sense in Western scientific terms and within which I could make sense of Tibetan (and other "shamanic") procedures." (Geoffrey Samuel, letter to Rob Mayer, March 30, 1995).

favouring a closed canon as, in the case of Buddhism, do Weber's rational and traditional forms of social action and his priests; Demiéville's gradualists; and Dumont's men-within-the-world; along with Kapstein's philosophical realists and Hookham's proponents of rang-stong.

### 1.3 Buddhist Perspectives

I have mentioned above that I intend to use Samuel's categories in this study. Samuel's analysis is located in modern Social Anthropology, and his theory of shamanic and clerical "modal states" suggests these as universal categories that he has arrived at through largely anthropological and other Western modes of investigation. Nevertheless, as Robin Horton has suggested, "A first step in the analysis of an alien religious system must always be the search for an area of discourse in one's own language which can appropriately serve as a translation instrument" (Horton 1979:284). For this reason, I find Samuel's postmodernist adaptation of Weberian terms, with their close relation to Buddhist concepts, particularly suitable to this study. It is worthwhile expanding on this theme.

In the particular case of Buddhism, it is interesting that a traditional distinction with several points of correspondence to the various ones discussed above (and in particular to Samuel's terms) is implied in a number of early Buddhist texts, including the vinaya. These texts indicate that from the very beginning, the Buddha seems to have encouraged his disciples in equal measure in two contrasting types of activity: those aimed at cultivating insight within oneself, and those aimed at creating spiritual opportunities for others (Mayer 1985). In so doing, the Buddha seems to have consciously sought to mediate between and skilfully reconcile the two rival strands of religion that existed in his day, namely the shamanic world-renouncing traditions of the śramaṇa ascetics and the clerical world-affirming social religion of the caste Brahmins. A lasting consequence of the Buddha's formulation of his new synthetic "Middle Way" is that both shamanic and clerical currents, both individualistic and social forms of religion, have typically remained distinctively visible yet inseparably interdependent in all subsequent Buddhist teaching.

In Weberian terms, it could be said that the Buddha was a "prophet" with a remarkable sociological awareness, who brilliantly directed the routinisation of his own charismatic legacy. In promulgating the vinaya, the Buddha carefully transplanted his personal ascetic charisma into a monastic order with a sophisticated social aspect (cf. Weber's concept of *Gentilcharisma*; see Weber 1964:xxxiv), hence securing its undiluted continuity after his death. But in doing this, he did not abandon the ascetic ideals; as an "ethical prophet" to be emulated by his followers, the Buddha also established the standard pattern to be repeated throughout Buddhist history: ascetic meditators turn away from the world to create charisma through intense practice in isolation, then turn around once more and direct the charisma they have generated to society at large through the medium of the (mainly) monastic establishments.

In Dumont's terms, it could be said that the Buddha created a new religious form that united within one system the previously mutually exclusive opposites of individual-outside-the-world and man-in-the-world, capturing the perceived essential features of both in a carefully honed synthesis that united these opposites at the level of religious meaning and religious affiliation, while retaining their quite radical differences at the level of religious practice.

In terms of the Theravāda tradition, the first of the two types of activity in which the Buddha encouraged his disciples encompasses, broadly speaking, the practice by an individual, ideally in isolation, of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* to achieve their own *nibbāna*, prescribed in texts like the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Mayer 1985:2). In terms of Samuel's categories, this famous text gives a highly shamanic version of Buddhism: renunciation, solitude, prolonged meditation, and the realisation of supernormal powers, leading to enlightenment. This type of activity derives directly from the world-renouncing ascetic *śramaṇa* tradition of the Buddha's time.

The second type of activity encompasses, broadly speaking, the necessarily communal and social activities of organisation and teaching that make the saving medicine of Dhamma available to others, prescribed in texts such as *Mahāvagga* III and *Cullavagga* VI or *Vinaya* I,21,22 (Mayer 1985:2). In terms of Samuel's categories, these passages in the *Vinaya* give a highly clerical version of Buddhism: the

first two prescribe in great detail the building and administration of large monastic establishments and their relationships with society at large, and the third contains the admonition to the first 61 arahants to go out into the world and preach.<sup>26</sup> This type of activity seems to have been intended as a new Buddhist alternative or counterpart to many of the social functions carried out by the caste Brahmins in the Buddha's time.

This dual orientation of two contrasting but interdependent strands of religious activity at the very heart of the Buddhist dispensation has continued throughout Buddhist history and can be seen as its major structuring tension (Mayer 1985:3; Samuel 1993:373). Its existence as a deep structure at the very core of Buddhism can at least in part account for the constants revealed in the debates over canonicity in different times and cultural regions, as well as for a host of other Buddhist constants.

Quite how deep this structure is can be seen by examining traditional accounts of the historical Buddha's attainment of enlightenment, an event which has universally been seen as the core event for the entire Buddhist religion. According to the *Mahāvagga* 1,5,1-13, a clear distinction is made between the Buddha's initial achievement of perfect insight at the initial moment of his enlightenment, and his subsequent decision to found the *sāsana* by turning the wheel of Dhamma for others. The decision to found a *sāsana* was only arrived at some weeks after his enlightenment, arising in response to a request from the deva Brahmā-Sahampati; in other words, it constitutes an aspect of the Buddha's realised mind clearly distinguishable from yet essentially inseparable with his achievement of insight.

Given that (to use Weber's language) Buddhists are meant to emulate their founder, it is this dual aspect of the Buddha's own enlightened state which contains, in germ form, the later distinctions

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<sup>26</sup> Of course, the precise details of these specific passages of the Pāli vinaya might well represent a later Mahāvihāra adaptation rather than the historical Buddha's original rulings (Schopen 1994). Nevertheless, it is extremely probable that my general point would still prove valid, were we to succeed in recovering the Buddha's own utterances on the vinaya.

between Buddhist activities aimed at achieving insight for oneself, and those aimed at creating spiritual opportunities for others: in achieving insight within oneself, one emulates the Buddha's initial realisation of insight, and in creating spiritual opportunities for others, one emulates the Buddha's subsequent decision to establish his *sāsana* (Mayer 1985).

In Theravāda Buddhism (with its disparagement of speculative philosophy), as far as I am aware, this distinction is not expressed doctrinally; rather, it is more generally subsumed within an understanding of the Middle Way as a whole, and more specifically within the twin monastic vocations of "meditation duty" (*vipassanādhura*) and "book duty" (*ganthadhura*), or within categories such as the *āraññavāsin* (forest monks) and *gāma*vāsin (village/urban monks) (Mayer 1985).

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, however, these two aspects are systematically analyzed at the doctrinal level in several ways. Particularly relevant to this discussion is the conventional analysis of the twin aspects of enlightened mind (*bodhicitta*): the absolute aspect of wisdom (*prajñā*) and the relative aspect of compassion (*karuṇā*); or, from another point of view, wisdom (*prajñā*) and methods (*upāya*), the unity of which symbolises enlightenment in Tantric Buddhism.

In general, Buddhist practitioners were free to approach Buddhism through either or both of these aspects, each one of which, though distinct, implies and serves the other. Buddhism allows methods to be approached through wisdom, or wisdom to be approached through methods. The two can never be separated in essence; even if they constitute opposite approaches, they are opposite approaches to the same path. For those who emphasised the absolute *bodhicitta*, insight was striven for in remote hermitages, but only in order to gain the ability and authority to teach others the Dharma through appropriate means. For those who emphasised the relative *bodhicitta*, they were encouraged in the building of monasteries and preaching of Dharma, but only if done with the purpose of leading beings to insight. The former correspond to Samuel's shamanic Buddhism "with its recurrent struggle to recreate and maintain the

shamanic vision"<sup>27</sup>, and the latter to Samuel's clerical Buddhism, "with its orientation towards the development of the Buddhist community as part of the wider hierarchical social order" (Samuel 1993:373).

As I have said above, the two orientations are directly germane to the issues surrounding canonicity. As early as a few centuries or even decades after the Buddha's time, among those who sought primarily to emulate the Buddha's insight, there might well have been some who believed they had succeeded to the extent that they were prepared to produce their own scriptural texts or utterances of spiritual truth as skilful means to benefit their students. Yet just as some might have valued these new texts as highly as or more highly than the mainstream scripture passed on by the saṅgha as a whole, others primarily oriented towards emulating the Teacher's diffusion of his dispensation in its full purity might have seen them as presumptuous and unnecessary forgeries.

Since, to use the Mahāyāna terms, both orientations towards ultimate and relative bodhicitta equally express aspects of Enlightened Mind, there could be no question of a fundamental conflict between them: rather, the historical tendency of Buddhism has been to seek avoid any imbalance between the two, and this is one possible meaning of the term "Middle Way": neither to err towards the ultimate, nor to err towards the relative. Typically within Buddhism, those more prone to err in the direction of the ultimate, of excessive asceticism, and other-worldliness are the shamanic meditators (who might also produce new scriptures), while those more susceptible to err in the direction of the relative, and of temptation in the direction of excessive this-worldliness, are the clerical scholars (who might be strict in maintaining the purity of the textual tradition). Hence, from one point of view, it is in avoiding any imbalance between the two aspects of bodhicitta that constitutes the Buddhist Middle Way, and it is often in pursuit of this that tensions have inevitably and constantly occurred. In that such tensions are necessary to the well-being of

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<sup>27</sup> Or, to be more precise, they correspond to the yogins, who are problematic for Samuel's schema in that they have great potential for pragmatic activity, but are discouraged from using it.



Buddhism as a whole, their manifestation can be seen as a sign of Buddhist vitality, of Buddhism struggling to attain the correct balance in the face of changing historical conditions, and need not be regarded as pathological; nevertheless, on the ground, they may be experienced as a very real and bitter conflict between the shamanic and clerical parties involved. Throughout Buddhist history, a primary battle-ground within which such conflicts expressed themselves was over the opening or closure of canons. The historically most influential of such conflicts in Buddhism was that between the Mahāyānists and the Śrāvakayānists. While the Mahāyānists all vowed to emulate the Buddha and achieve an equal enlightenment and found their own śāsanas in due course (a predominantly shamanic current), the Śrāvakayānists saw themselves as servants of an incomparable Teacher engaged in preserving the pristine purity of his unique message (a predominantly clerical current).

Samuel points out that the shamanic and clerical currents are complementary and interdependent in Tibetan Buddhism, but that shamanic Buddhism is more marginalised or has less autonomy in Theravāda Buddhism (Samuel 1993:7). Nevertheless, as he and other scholars have pointed out, even in Theravāda the shamanic current is necessarily an integral part of the Buddhist religion. To illustrate this point, we can turn to the example of Ceylon. As Samuel (1993) and many others have shown, in the course of history the clerical wing of Buddhism is correlated with strong centralised states in most Buddhist cultural regions, and this is particularly so in Ceylon (Walpola Rahula:1974). Nevertheless, not even this most clerical of Buddhist traditions at its most clerical moment ever thought to eradicate the shamanic orientation altogether: even the *Mahāparākramabāhu Katikāvata*, a contemporaneous official document presenting the centralisation of the Ceylonese saṅgha in the 12th century, made at least some compulsory state-sponsored provision for vipassanādhura within the mainstream saṅgha, even while expressing a higher evaluation of ganthadhura (Mayer 1985:17). Influential commentarial texts for Ceylon such as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* likewise contain much shamanic material, as do the Pāli scriptures themselves. In a modern context, one can point to the success of Thailand's highly shamanic Wat Pak Nam forest tradition and its development into the

urban Dhammakaya Foundation, or to the politically significant use (or abuse!) of a strictly-controlled shamanic tradition by the Burmese military. The awareness that a balance is being sought is never lost in any successful Buddhist development, even if interpretations of what the correct balance might be are perennially a bone of contention. Not even the highly centralised Theravādin tradition can afford to completely marginalise the shamanic current.

Samuel's stress on the interdependence of the two currents within Tibet is very sound. Tibetan Buddhist history is filled with evidence that supports his observation: the shamanic culture-hero Mi-la ras-pa bequeathed his lineage to the scholastically trained monk, sGam-po-pa; the radical clerical reformer Tsong-kha-pa received his inspiration for radical clerical reform through prolonged retreats and through direct visionary experiences of Mañjuśrī, highly shamanic procedures; while perhaps the most articulate champion of the superiority of the shamanic current in Tibetan Buddhism, the 'Brug-pa sage Padma dkar-po, almost exclusively expressed his orientation through composing many volumes of abstruse scholastic writings and founding monasteries, both highly clerical activities.

We can also look at meaning within individual Buddhist acts in this way. In doing Buddhist logic, a monk might seem far removed from the shamanic current: yet this is not necessarily so. In the context of Buddhist logic, Tilmann Vetter has spoken of a "Mystik des Begriffs", which he defines as "a mysticism evoked by analysing concepts in such a manner that no concepts remain". Vetter has found verses from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* particularly evocative of this idea, while pointing out that the existence of such notions within Buddhist logic is historically dependent upon the earlier *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna (Vetter 1992:329, n.8).<sup>28</sup> Some of Buddhist

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<sup>28</sup> The term "Mystik des begriffs" was presented in Vetter's earlier work, *Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti*, Wien 1964. The verses are PV III 213: *tatraikasyāpy abhāvena dvayam apy avahīyatel tasmāt tad eva tasyāpi tatvaṃ yā dvayaśūnyatāll*. Vetter writes: "The gist of the verses is that a thorough inquiry into the object of cognition cannot stop at establishing the appearance of an object as a part of cognition itself, but loses the concept of cognition too. It is possible to interpret Dh[armakīrti]'s statement as a pure denial of developing true concepts and theories; but also to see it as pointing to a process where thinking is transformed into a

epistemology comprises the analysis and celebration of categories with distinctly shamanic overtones to their nomenclature, such as the "direct perception of yogins" (*yogi-pratyakṣa*), a complex term with different meanings in different systems, but which can in many instances concern the analysis of the supernormal perceptual states of meditatively advanced Bodhisattvas and Buddhas (Lati Rinbochay 1980:64).<sup>29</sup> Likewise, the whole of Madhyamaka analysis is famously geared towards an intellectual understanding of conceptuality leading to a direct realisation of the non-conceptual, ie the domain of the shamanic. Conversely, in practising rDzogs-chen, a yogin is of necessity invoking a scholastic hinterland of doctrinal texts by learned authors such as Klong-chen-pa or 'Jigs-med gling-pa, who in turn

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perception which transcends theories." (Vetter 1992:329, n.8).

<sup>29</sup> It must be born in mind, however, that the term *yogi-pratyakṣa* has had a wide range of meanings in the varied and complex literature of Buddhist logic, sometimes more directly "shamanic", sometimes less so. Tilmann Vetter (1992) has studied an early Tibetan commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, gTsang nag-pa's *Tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa'i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsduṣ-pa*, which is thought to have been composed in the second half of the 12th century. Vetter has shown that in this text, the term *yogi-pratyakṣa* did not indicate a state of consciousness radically different to that of ordinary persons. As Vetter remarks: "note that in the section on *yogi-pratyakṣa* the term "cognition in the highest sense" does not occur and that this perception is dealt with besides, not above, other kinds of perception." (Vetter 1992:328). Contrast this, however, with a modern dGe-lugs-pa manual by dGe-bshes 'jam-dpal bsam-'phel (d. 1975), where the term *yogi-pratyakṣa* is defined in a much more shamanic sense: *rang gi thun mong ma yin pa'i bdag rkyen du gyur pa'i zhi lhag zung 'brel gyi ting nge 'dzin las skyes pa'i rtoḡ bral ma 'khrul ba'i 'phags rgyud kyi mkhyen pa rnal 'byor mngon sum gyi mtshan nyid/ (Blo-rig-gi rnam- bzhaḡ nyer-mkho kun-'dus blo-gsar mig-'byed, n.p., n.d; folio 4r, lines 1-2)*. This has been translated as follows: "The definition of a yogic direct perceiver is a non-conceptual non-mistaken exalted knower in the continuum of a Superior that is produced from a meditative stabilization which is a union of calm abiding and special insight and which has become its own uncommon empowering condition" (see Lati Rinbochay 1980:61-2). In this modern dGe-lugs-pa understanding, *yogi-pratyakṣa* can occur only in those above the Path of Seeing (*darśana-mārga*), in other words, an exalted state of being that implies considerable accomplishment of meditative stability (*samādhi*) in both *samatha* and *vīpaśyanā* (Lati Rinpochay 1980:16-20). Such accomplishments in *samādhi*, of course, have since Buddhism's earliest period been the main aim and purpose of its shamanic current.

depend on such clerical figureheads as Nāgārjuna and Aśaṅga.

In my view, then, and in agreement with Samuel's analysis, there can be no such thing as an exclusively clerical or an exclusively shamanic form of Tibetan Buddhism. I feel the same is probably true of Theravāda and all other Buddhist traditions as well. This reflects the most central of all Buddhist structures, the Middle Way, as well as its specifically Mahāyāna derivative doctrines of the inseparability of the two truths (the ultimate truth and the relative truth), or, to take another perspective, the two aspects of bodhicitta (the relative and the absolute bodhicitta). The Middle Way and its Mahāyāna derivatives in turn are all closely related to actual historical events in the founding of Buddhism: the historical Buddha's unique mediation between the previously radically dichotomised world-renouncing śramaṇa and world-affirming Brahmanic religious currents of his time. In all subsequent Buddhism, either non-conceptual wisdom is approached through means (the clerical orientation, bearing the imprint of an ancient Brahmanic religion), or means are approached through non-conceptual wisdom (the shamanic orientation, bearing the imprint of an ancient śramaṇa religion).

To return to the theme of canonicity: the only two major exceptions to clerical predominance in Buddhist history were the little-centralised regions of Buddhist India and Tibet. Nevertheless the fact that the all-important region of Buddhist India was rarely unified into a single centralised state was of absolutely crucial importance to all subsequent Buddhist history, especially Mahāyāna history. The free expression afforded the shamanic current in Buddhist India meant that from the more clerical later Chinese and Tibetan points of view, the canonical horse had already long bolted before they could shut the stable door. The closure of canons in China and Tibet filled with Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures falsely claiming to be the speech-acts of the historical Buddha is the anomalous consequence of dominant clerical currents outside India vainly trying to deny an irrevocably shamanic past in politically decentralised Buddhist India. I shall now turn to the study of this phenomenon in Tibet.

## 1.4 Shamanic and Clerical Attitudes in Tibetan Debates over "Canonicity"

rNying-ma-pa scriptures like the PCN and the debates surrounding their "canonicity" can provide useful case studies for exploring the wider Buddhist themes introduced above. Previous decades of Tibetological research have already given us a clear picture of which elements within Tibet favoured an open "canon", and which favoured a closed "canon". By listing the characteristics of these two broad groupings, who are by implication also the supporters and opponents of the rNying-ma-pa Tantras, clear patterns emerge (although this is not by any means to deny that some movements, like many of the early bKa'-brgyud-pa and bKa'-gdams-pa, might fall between or move backwards and forwards between the two lists, just as their attitudes to the rNying-ma-pa tantras tended to vary).

Proponents of the open "canon" and supporters of the rNying-ma-pa Tantras tend to be:

- [1] Shamanic in Samuel's terms (which includes many of the terms below)
- [2] Accepting of prophetic and charismatic authority in Weber's terms
- [3] Subitist in Demiéville's terms
- [4] Individuals-outside-the-world in Dumont's terms
- [5] Oriented more towards decentralised organisational structures
- [6] Philosophical idealists, cf Kapstein
- [7] Proponents of gzhan-stong, cf Hookham
- [8] Oriented more towards tantras and gter-mas
- [9] Oriented more towards the Resultant Vehicle<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Most traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, not only the rNying-ma-pa but also other Tantric literature, make a distinction between the Resultant Vehicle ('bras-bu theg-pa) and the Causal Vehicle (rgyu mtshan-nyid/phyi'i theg-pa). The Resultant Vehicle corresponds primarily to the Tantric traditions, and its essential feature is that it "makes the result into the path". This means that the direct contemplation of an immanent absolute, glossed as the Tathāgatagarbha, the Mahāmudrā, the Great Perfection, or even a Tantric deity, is taken as the main spiritual practice. The Causal Vehicle, on the other

- [10] Oriented more towards Dharmas of Realization
- [11] Oriented more towards meditation and yoga
- [12] Oriented more towards silence
- [13] Concerned to achieve supernormal powers

In terms of general Buddhism, their primary inspiration is to emulate the Buddha's initial realisation of insight, through which they hope to achieve the ability to benefit others through numerous skilful means. In Mahāyāna terms, their direct orientation is towards the absolute aspect of bodhicitta, and hence they value its immanent expression as fresh scriptural revelation.

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hand, corresponds to the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna paths; in these, various procedures to purify the mind are taken as the causes of Buddhahood, for example the practice of the vinaya, conventional virtues, and the study of philosophy and doctrine. A useful discussion of these two categories can be found in Dudjom 1991:244 ff; see also Sopa 1985:140 for a dGe-lugs-pa view. Thinley Norbu discusses them in terms of the four ways in which the Resultant Vehicle is superior to the Causal Vehicle: while both alike teach the path to liberation, the Resultant Vehicle is:

(i) *ma-rmongs-pa*, "without ignorance": in terms of the absolute truth, this means that while the Causal Vehicle teaches the absolute truth of dharmatā as the great emptiness free from all discursiveness (*spros pa thams cad dang bral ba stong pa chen por gan la phab*), the Resultant Vehicle establishes the absolute truth of dharmatā as the dhātu and jñāna inseparable (*dbyings dang ye shes dbyer med*) (perhaps cf. *Ratnagotravibhāga* Vajrapada 6, especially in its gZhan-stong interpretation). Since the Causal Vehicle excludes the inseparable jñāna, the Resultant Vehicle is superior to it. Likewise, in terms of the relative truth, while the Causal Vehicle teaches merely the illusory or dream-like nature of phenomena, the Resultant Vehicle teaches the relative truth as the inseparability of pure appearances (*dag snang*) and jñāna; hence the Resultant Vehicle is once again superior to the Causal Vehicle.

(ii) *thabs mang-ba*, "having many skilful methods": while the Causal Vehicle does indeed have many *samādhis*, it lacks the more powerful Tantric methods of the generation and completion stages unique to the Resultant Vehicle, which those of pure *samaya* can practice simultaneously.

(iii) *dka'-ba med-pa*, "without asceticism": While the Causal Vehicle requires the abandonment of the objects of desire ('*dod-yon*), this is not required in the Resultant Vehicle.

(iv) *dbang-po rnon-po*, "for those of keen faculties": even if the followers of the Causal Vehicle have sharper faculties than ordinary folk, those following the Resultant Vehicle have even greater *prajñā*, and thus have no fear of the deeper view, or of unusual behaviour. (Norbu 1978:20-21).

Proponents of the closed "canon" and opponents of the rNying-ma-pa Tantras tend to be:

- [1] Clerical in Samuel's terms (which includes most of the terms below)
- [2] Gradualist in Demiéville's terms
- [3] Accepting of priestly or traditional and bureaucratic authority in Weber's terms
- [4] Men-in-the-world in Dumont's terms
- [5] Oriented more towards centralised organisational structure
- [6] Philosophical realists in Kapstein's terms
- [7] Proponents of rang-stong, cf Hookham
- [8] Oriented more towards vinaya, abhidharma, śāstras, and sūtras
- [9] Oriented more towards the Causal Vehicle
- [10] Oriented more towards Dharmas of Transmission
- [11] Oriented more towards scholarship and philosophy
- [12] Oriented more towards debate
- [13] Concerned to achieve conventional powers

In terms of general Buddhism, their primary inspiration is to emulate the Buddha's activities in creating spiritual opportunities for others by establishing the śāsana and teaching Dharma, through which they hope to bring other beings to realisation of insight. In Mahāyāna terms, their direct orientation is towards the relative aspect of bodhicitta; hence they value the analysis and exposition of established scripture, while remaining uninterested in and sceptical of purported direct contacts with the absolute bodhicitta and whatever fresh scriptural revelations might be claimed to ensue from this.

#### **1.4.1 The Clerical View of Canonicity in Tibet**

My argument is that both sides represent deeply-held Buddhist positions that go far beyond their obvious political rivalry. When Tibetan clerical "culture-heroes" such as the Sa-skya Paṇḍita pronounced the rNying-ma-pa Tantras suspect because their genuine

Indic origin could not be proven,<sup>31</sup> there was undoubtedly more at stake than the mere emulation of the official attitudes prevailing in Chinese Buddhism, or simple political manoeuvring. Sa-paṅ was expressing a deep and widespread Buddhist fear that the shamanic current could get too strong, that the line between mysticism and madness might have been overstepped, and that it was a far sounder proposition to remain on the safe ground of the attestably Indic scriptures than to venture forth into the uncharted territory of fresh revelation.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> To be absolutely precise, Sa-paṅ believed non-Indic and non-Buddhist texts had entered the gSar-ma-pa collections as well; for example, in his *sDom-gsum*, he mentions a tantric text called *gTsug-tor nag-mo* as Tibetan, and one called *lHa-mo gnas-mkhar* as non-Buddhist. Likewise, he attacks three sūtras as composed in Tibet: the *Ko'u-shi-ka'i mdo*, the *'Phags-pa shig-can*, and the *Blo-gros bzang-mo chung-ngu* (?)(DS III 539 =42b-43a) (thanks to Dan Martin for informing me of these references). But it seems to me it is the claims to Indian origins attached to the rNying-ma-pa scriptures that must by implication if not by name have been the main target of Sa-paṅ's critique: as David Jackson reports, Sa-paṅ in the *Sdom-gsum* condemned as inauthentic the following categories of apocrypha: [1] volumes recovered from hidden caches (gter nas byung ba'i glegs bam), [2] religious traditions stolen from others (gzhan nas brkus pa'i chos lugs), [3] doctrines one has composed [oneself] (brtsams chos), [4] doctrines based on dreams (rmi lam chos), [5] doctrines which had been [merely?] memorized (blo bzung ba yi chos lugs) (Jackson 1994:105). Such criteria certainly excluded such key rNying-ma-pa scriptures as the *rGyud bcu-bdun*, root scriptures for the all-important rDzogs-chen snying-thig which had been recovered from a hidden cache by lCe-btsun seng-ge dbang-phyug, as well as many other rNying-ma-pa tantras for which no Sanskrit originals could be demonstrated. The fear that a few Tibetan compositions had gained currency among the gSar-ma-pa tantras goes back at least as far as Pho-brang zhi-ba 'od in the late 11th century, who makes this point in his *bka'-shog* (Karmay 1980a:14). But Zhi-ba 'od too undoubtedly sees the rNying-ma-pa tantras as the main target of his *bka'-shog*.

<sup>32</sup> It might at face value seem curious how various figures such as Sa-paṅ in his *sDom-gsum*, or dBon sher-'byung, the author of the closely contemporaneous anti-Bonpo polemic, the *dGongs-gcig yig-cha*, apparently accepted without demur most scriptural revelation by Indian sages, while simultaneously rejecting scriptural revelation by non-Indian sages in general. This policy of Sa-paṅ and dBon sher-'byung et. al. might at first glance seem to approximate an exaggerated national humility or inverted racism. Perhaps that was the case in some instances, but, as I shall show below, with deeper-thinking figures such as Sa-paṅ at least, we can clearly see that more profound questions of Buddhist globalism versus Buddhist localism seem to have



An important phenomenon evidenced by the clerical position was the impulse towards a historicism in the form of an attempt to concentrate more and more scripture and more and more of later Buddhist development within the single figure of the historical Buddha (Kapstein 1989), in some ways reminiscent of the Theravāda. One aspect of this was the importance that the figure of Śākyamuni Buddha developed in dGe-lugs-pa Tantric liturgy as an object of devotion: while Vajradhara was the central figure in the bKa'-brgyud-pa tshogs-shing or "Refuge Tree", and Guru Rin-po-che in the rNying-ma-pa, Buddha Śākyamuni was often the central figure in the dGe-lugs-pa version, indicating him, rather than Vajradhara, as the source of the Tantric tradition and object of Tantric guru-devotion. Typically, the exponents of a closed "canon", such as Sum-pa mkhan-po in the late 18th century, felt compelled by the force of their own logic to take the position that all scriptures within the Kanjur, including all the tantras, *must* be the speech acts of the historical Buddha: were they not so, they would be mere apocrypha like the rNying-ma-pa tantras, which were not uttered by the historical Buddha (Kapstein 1989:237). Even the more moderate clerical figure of the contemporary Fourteenth Dalai Lama, while accepting the rNying-ma-pa Tantras as valid, still states categorically that the Kālacakra Tantra was taught by the historical Buddha during his life-time (Newman 1985).

John Newman has made a useful summary of a typical dGe-lugs-pa account of the origin of the Kālacakra cycle, which includes their account of the origins of the other Tantras and the Mahāyāna sūtras as well. Although other accounts also exist among the dGe-lugs-pa, they are in general similar enough that Newman's presentation can be taken as representative.<sup>33</sup> According to this dGe-lugs-pa account, the

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been the real issue that concerned them. In particular, Sa-pan's critique of the rNying-ma-pa was not a vulgar one.

<sup>33</sup> For example, there seem to be two origin myths of the Kālacakra tradition, one found in the *Vimalaprabhā* and one in the *Sekoddeśa-tikā*. While one has the *Mahākālacakra* taught at Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa, the other mentions Śambhala; either way, the Dalai Lama feels this happened in the historical Buddha's lifetime. There are similar variations regarding the origins of other tantric traditions, but they add little to my analysis.

historical Buddha taught the Kālacakra Tantra one year after his enlightenment, at an astrologically auspicious moment, at the Dhānyakaṭaka Stūpa (near Amarāvātī, in Andhra country). While appearing within the magically-enlarged stūpa in the form of a tantric deity, the Buddha taught the Cakrasaṃvara and Vajrabhairava and all the other tantric cycles, as well the Kālacakra. However, at the very moment of his mystical appearance at Dhānyakaṭaka, the Buddha was also simultaneously teaching the Mahāyāna Sūtras in a more anthropomorphic form at the Vulture's Peak in Bihar (Newman 1985).

From this account, we can see how the clerical current in Tibetan Buddhism employed historicist myth to justify canonical closure and to negate the possibility of ongoing revelation. By identifying all scripture within their particular redaction of the closed canon as the speech acts of the actual historical Buddha, they were trying to give that corpus and that corpus alone the status of true Buddha-dharma. They could argue that since their closed canon comprised only the speech acts of the actual historical Buddha, it must have more value than the mere revelations of later seers and saints. Hence alternative scriptural corpora which were not able to claim all their texts as the speech acts of the historical Buddha and which therefore necessarily accepted revelation by others than Śākyamuni, could be judged spiritually interesting at best, but certainly not canonical. Those who claimed canonical status for such non-Indic corpora might well be deemed spiritually dangerous and irresponsible, in need of restraint if the safety of Buddhism was to be ensured. As was the case in China (Buswell 1990:6), and in the Theravāda countries with their chronicles and historicist interpretation of the Pāli canon, the clerical proponents of a closed "canon" in Tibet came to rely heavily on such historicist myths to sustain their position and justify attacks on perceived enemies, and debates over the veracity of these historicist myths came to be a key area of polemic: as Sum-pa mkhan-po remonstrated in one of his famous anti-rNying-ma-pa historical passages, "while some (ie the rNying-ma-pa) explain that after Śākyamuni's passing new tantras emerged, this is difficult to prove" (Kapstein 1989:237).

### 1.4.2 The Shamanic View of Canonicity in Tibet

In contrast to the gSar-ma-pa, the rNying-ma-pa characteristically locate the major part of Mahāyāna and especially Vajrayāna scripture as the utterances of various transcendent Buddhas outside of time and space. These are typically said to enter history in a multiplicity of times and places, as revelations by historical human personages (Thondup 1984;<sup>34</sup> Gyatso 1993; see below). Unlike their clerical opponents, the rNying-ma-pa frequently emphasise that the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures alike were (and still are) revealed to the human world by sages who lived after the historical Buddha's parinirvāṇa. Perhaps unlike any other Mahāyāna school, they sometimes even appear to hold the position that only Hīnayāna scriptures were ever actually uttered as speech acts by the historical Buddha. Although these views are very typical of the rNying-ma-pa, they are not exclusively adhered to: in some sources, rNying-ma-pa authors can give similar accounts of scriptural origins to those of their gSar-ma-pa counterparts, and sometimes they achieve a different perspective from the gSar-ma-pas by emphasising different aspects of otherwise quite similar origin accounts.

Their understanding of scriptural origins has long been fundamental to rNying-ma-pa identity, and is emphatically not based upon a modern-style historical rationalism. Central to their claim to authenticity is the notion that in revealing new scripture, they are directly continuing an ongoing tradition of revelatory or *living* Buddhism that, as the intended extension of the process initiated by Śākyamuni, continued with Indian Mahāyāna and then with Indian Vajrayāna, to be transferred into Tibet and their own gTer-ma tradition

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<sup>34</sup> A rather diplomatic compromise on this issue is frequently evidenced by some rNying-ma-pa authors: while locating gSar-ma-pa tantras unimportant to the rNying-ma-pas in the mouth of the historical Buddha, thus avoiding insult to their gSar-ma-pa colleagues, they continue to describe their own tantric corpus in its entirety as revealed. Compare Thondup 1984:xi: "at the age of 81 (sic), Śākyamūni Buddha gave the teachings of the Kālacakra etc., the Anuttara Tantras etc...", with Thondup 1984:1ff, in which he summarises the standard rNying-ma-pa account of the entirety of the Vajrayāna as a revealed tradition, not taught by the historical Buddha. Tulku Thondup's home monastery of rDo-grub in East Tibet was a rNying-ma-pa monastery which maintained dGe-lugs-pa connections.

as Indian Buddhism came to an end. It is this *living* quality of ongoing fresh revelation which they perceive above all as conferring upon their tradition a unique vitality and validity which, they believe, constitutes a virtual equivalence to Indian Buddhism in its creative golden age. As the great gter-ston and redactor of the NGB 'Jigs-med gling-pa points out in his *Dris-lan rin-po-che'i bstan-bcos*, the difference between the gSar-ma and rNying-ma tantras is that while the former merely describe the experiences of the Buddhas of the three times and ten directions, the latter actually *are* that experience in a very direct, living sense (Kawamura 1992:130). Clearly, from the rNying-ma-pa point of view, the very idea of a closed canon, even a closed canon containing all their own scriptures, is completely and totally anathema.

According to 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul's (rNying-ma-pa congruent) history of Buddhism in India as contained in his *Shes-bya kun-khyab mdzod*, the Mahāyāna scriptures were revealed or discovered in India by named masters of the Kuṣāṇa period, and then compiled on Mt Abu (Roberts 1990:17). While not denying that many although not by any means all of these might have been initially uttered by the historical Buddha and then concealed in various secret realms, the rNying-ma-pa tend to emphasize the multifarious discovery aspect and play down the centralising utterance aspect. Dudjom Rinpoche presents the same tradition as follows:

..in the time of King Kaniṣka's son, five hundred masters who proclaimed the greater vehicle came forth. All of them received precepts transmitted by the Lord of Secrets (Vajrapāṇi) and others and they all acquired miraculous powers. They were invited to the west by King Lakṣāśva, who built a temple on the summit of Mount Abu, and requested them to live there...The king thought that the piṭaka should be written down, and he asked how large it was. The masters replied, "Speaking generally, they are innumerable, but these here comprise ten million [verses altogether]". To this, the king responded that they should be written down, despite the large quantity....From this time on the greater vehicle was widely propagated...(Dudjom 1991:456).

An alternative tradition is also reported by Dudjom Rinpoche, but one which likewise stresses the Mahāyāna as a revealed tradition postdating the historical Buddha:

..Candrarakṣita became the king of Oḍiviśa. It is said that the sublime Mañjuśrī entered his house in the guise of a monk, taught some doctrines of the greater vehicle, and left behind a book [the *Aṣṭa*]. It is said that this was the first appearance of the greater vehicle in the human world..(Dudjom 1991:441).

A different perspective, seemingly intended to protect the gTer-ma tradition against critics, is taken by Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1270): here all Buddhist scripture whatsoever is described as gTer-ma "hidden in the mind of Śākyamuni Buddha", to be gradually released bit by bit over succeeding centuries as circumstances required (Gyatso 1994). Gu-ru Chos-dbang wrote at a time of polemic between the gSar-ma-pa and rNying-ma-pa, in the period leading up to the codification of the Kanjur. Perhaps this is why his schema so neatly combines a clerical-congruent origin with the historical Buddha, with the usual shamanic notion of gradual revelation over succeeding centuries by named persons. To illustrate, while Gu-ru Chos-dbang still attributes most of the Mahāyāna scriptures to a discovery made in the north-west of India after the Buddha's time by a monk called Nerpan Rakṣita,<sup>35</sup> nevertheless the discovery was of teachings that had been "hidden in the mind" of the historical Buddha, and hence taught by him. According to Janet Gyatso's study, Gu-ru Chos-dbang describes the revelation of the tantras and even his own gTer-ma in similar terms, a position unusual among other rNying-ma-pas who very rarely claim their gTer-ma as hidden by the historical Buddha

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<sup>35</sup> Gu-ru Chos-dbang's account seems to have been taken up by later authors. mKhyen-rab rgya-mtsho (History, A:311.6, B:414.5) states that "the Mahāyāna sūtras were for the most part concealed in the area of O-rgyan and Tho-gar. Later, it is said, they were extracted from the treasure sites by Nor-ban Rag-shi-ta" (*theg chen gyi mdo phal cher ni/ o rgyan tho gar gyi yul du sbas pal physis nor ban rag shi tas gter nas phyungs par bshād/*). Ratna gling-pa's *Chos-'byung* (63.1) and passages in Sog-zlog-pa (Collected Writings, vol. 2, 129.3), make similar statements. Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me these references.

(Gyatso 1994).

The now standard rNying-ma-pa account of the origins of the all-important Three Inner Tantras of Mahā, Anu and Ati is in terms of the three types of transmission: the Mind Transmission of the Buddhas (rgyal-ba'i dgongs-brgyud), the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādhara (rig-'dzin brda'i-brgyud), and the Heard Transmission of the Yogins (rnal-'byor snyan brgyud). (The less important Outer Tantras of Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga, which do not concern us so much here, are understood to have arisen in slightly different fashions, closer to the Mahāyāna systems). It is not yet clear when the structure of the three types of transmission of the Inner Tantras was first described, but contemporary traditional authors cite as their sources figures that go back as far as Klong-chen-pa (Thondhup 1984:5).

In this highly systematised schema, the Tantras can also be divided between the "Long Transmission" (ring-brgyud) of texts revealed in India and translated into Tibetan, and the "Short Transmission" (nye-brgyud) of texts revealed to Tibetan gTer-stons; both are scriptural to an equal degree, and both also reinforce each other, in that the ring-brgyud can be constantly revived by the nye-brgyud.

The Mind Transmission of the Buddhas describes how the Buddhas transmit teachings to one another; the perspective is completely ahistorical, completely located within mythic time (the emic phrase used is the "Fourth Time", beyond the triad of past, present and future). It describes a process in which the dharmakāya figure of Samantabhadra takes the form of Vajradhara to teach a circle of sambhogakāya deities which are inseparable from himself, such as Mañjuśrī etc.

The Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādhara is subdivided into the transmission to non-human vidyādhara alone, and the transmission to both human and non-human vidyādhara together. The first process describes the teaching of tantras by the celestial bodhisattva retinue of Samantabhadra (such as Mañjuśrī), to the devas, nāgas, and yakṣas. In particular, the rDzogs-chen teachings are given via Vajrasattva and his emanation Sattvavajra, to the devas in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. The process described is still entirely mythic and ahistorical, but it begins to enter history with the next

process, the transmission to both human and non-human vidyādhara together. In this narrative, the Tantras, already known to the gods, first appear in secrecy on the earth a mere 28 years after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. Fulfilling a prophecy, five sages with miraculous powers, a nāga, a deva, a yakṣa, a rākṣasa and a single human sage, knew by miraculous means when the Buddha had passed away, and, by telepathy, arranged to meet together upon Mt Malaya in Laṅkā. Urged by all the Buddhas, Vajrapāṇi appeared before them and taught them the tantras in secret. These were written by the rākṣasa sage onto golden pages in malachite ink and hidden in the sky as gTer-ma in a casket guarded by ḍākiṇīs. King Indrabhuti of Uḍḍiyāna was prophesied as the future discoverer of this gTer-ma.

The Heard Transmission of the Yogins picks up the story: many years later, in fulfillment of the prophecy, King Indrabhuti discovered as sky-treasure many tantric texts written on gold paper in malachite ink. Receiving empowerment directly from Vajrapāṇi, he practised the texts he had discovered and attained realisation. From him stems the transmission of tantra among humans.

What is striking in this account is the dearth of references to the historical Buddha, the identification of the atemporal dharmakāya Samantabhadra as the source of all Tantra, and the identification of all Tantra as treasure, underlining the canonical parity accorded Tantras anciently revealed in India and Tantras contemporaneously revealed in Tibet (or by implication, anywhere else). In this shamanic perception, Samantabhadra, symbol of the dharmakāya immanent within each individual as the true nature of their own mind, is identified as the sole source of all Tantric scripture, and the historical Buddha is reduced to a mere cypher. Rather than enter the human world at a single point as the dGe-lugs-pa would have it, here Mahāyāna and Tantric scripture alike are said to enter from a myriad different points, including both human sages, non-human spirits, and, in the case of the Vajrayāna and rDzogs-chen, the deities worshipped by the Hindus resident in the various heavens.

## 1.5 Tibetan Buddhism, Modernity, and Postmodernity

Tibetan Buddhism first encountered the full force of the modern world in the devastating guise of military conquest by a hostile and colonialist Chinese Communism. Yet had Tibet been able to achieve modernity as an independent state, Tibetan Buddhist history might have followed a quite different trajectory. A key feature of modernity was that improved systems of communications and transport permitted a far greater degree of centralisation of both power and knowledge, empowering and legitimating the centre at the expense of the periphery. In the case of an independent, modernising Tibet, such a process might well have led to a radical change in the balance between the clerical and shamanic strands of religion: the clerical strands (perceived as more global) would have been strengthened, and the shamanic strands (perceived as more local) would have been weakened. The clerical critique of the shamanic strand, centred as it was geographically in the capital in Lhasa, and ideologically in the global Buddhist Sanskrit literary tradition, would in all probability have become realised as a hegemonic discourse (cf Foucault) by which the shamanic strands would have been simultaneously defined and controlled. Centralising developments during the reign of the 13th Dalai Lama, and sectarian developments in the period after his death, could be seen as lending support to this hypothesis. Similar processes have happened in some Islamic societies, where modernisation allowed the suppression of the more local and peripheral mystical Sufi traditions by the more ascetic traditions of global literary Islam centred in the urban tradition (Turner 1994:85).

In his volume *Orientalism, Postmodernism & Globalism*, Bryan Turner has made a useful distinction between postmodernity and postmodernism. He describes postmodernity as a social condition of late capitalism, characterised by the extension of the processes of commodification to everyday life, and the impact of mass consumer cultures on cultural systems, blurring the distinctions, for example, between high culture and low culture (Turner 1994:9). Closely associated with this process is the globalization of the world economy, and the associated globalization of cultures, brought about by tourism, world sport, world news, McDonaldization, AIDS, human rights, etc.



(Turner 1994:9). These conditions of the late capitalist world have profound repercussions for academic intellectual life and for religions alike. Turner writes:

What makes religious faith or religious commitment problematic in a globalized postmodern society is that everyday life has become part of a global system of exchange of commodities which are not easily influenced by political leaders, intellectuals, or religious leaders. The corruption of pristine faith is going to be brought about by Tina Turner and Coca Cola and not by rational arguments and rational inspection of presuppositions and the understanding of Western secularism (Turner 1994:10).

Postmodernism can be seen as an intellectual expression of some of these postmodernist "modal states" (cf. Samuel 1990) that characterise late capitalism (perhaps controversially, since postmodernism vehemently associates itself with a trenchant critique of capitalism). J-F Lyotard originally defined postmodernism as "incredulity towards metanarratives", and subsequent postmodernists have linked themselves with a condemnation of all universal, hegemonic or hierarchical "grand narratives", while celebrating difference, heterogeneity, paradox, contradiction, and local knowledge (Turner 1994:11). Hence postmodernism has links with various minority rights movements (sometimes even feminism<sup>36</sup> and anti-colonialism), and the indigenisation of knowledge. From one point of view, this apparently entails the global commodification of ideologies and belief systems, a liberalisation of intellectual possibilities that matches the economic liberalisation of world markets.

The significance of this for Tibetan Buddhism is that Tibet was not able to achieve modernity under its own terms, and Tibetan Buddhist history has thus taken a quite different course. Tibetan Buddhism has, in effect, moved almost directly from a pre-modern to a postmodern situation, in which, increasingly, a globally distributed international public of individual Buddhist consumers are free to choose between any of the wide variety of Buddhist commodities

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<sup>36</sup> In the case of feminism, not by any means unproblematically.

being made available throughout the world by the Tibetan diaspora. In terms of Weberian sociology, the pressure of movement is from the partially closed, predominantly traditional, communal (*gemeinschaft*) relationships of pre-modern Tibet<sup>37</sup>, towards more open, ecumenical and individualist associational (*gesellschaft*) relationships<sup>38</sup> (Turner 1994:93). This development will most likely serve to preserve the non-hegemonic shamanic strand in Tibetan religions, rather than weaken it as would probably have been the case had an independent Tibet had the opportunity to modernise and centralise. At the same time, Tibetan Buddhism has to face for the first time the power of a highly rationalised modern academic analysis.<sup>39</sup>

These twin forces of rationalised academic scholarship and the rapid global commodification of Buddhism are now having a significant (if as yet unmeasured) impact on the construction and reconstruction of Tibetan Buddhism. It is precisely in such areas as their attitudes to "canonicity" that the global community of contemporary academic scholars and the educated international public of consumers of Buddhism typically make value judgements about the various Tibetan Buddhist schools' "credibility", "tolerance", "authoritarianism", or "commitment to human rights". It therefore seems probable that the analysis of "canonicity" by the global academic community will have a definite effect upon contemporary Tibetan Buddhist policy making, as Tibetan Buddhism trims its self-presentation to meet the expectations of the new international

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<sup>37</sup> Where longstanding traditional family ties to particular monasteries, and other similar features, were commonplace.

<sup>38</sup> The full range of the *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft* dichotomy might not seem to apply all round, especially the fleeting or temporary qualities associated with *gesellschaft*. Guru, disciple and vajra sibling relationships are in themselves intrinsically affective, long-lasting, and communal; the ideal types of relationships between individuals within the Buddhist saṅgha are unlikely to change.

<sup>39</sup> Postmodernism remains very much a minority strand among those members of the global academic community who study Tibetan Buddhism; nevertheless, postmodernism is having an impact, mainly in the normative domains of attitude and evaluation, rather than in the more empirical, lexical descriptions of historical and philological items.

community of consumers and sponsors.

In the short term, it is the dGe-lugs-pa who have faced the most immediate pressures for change. In the 18th century, Sum-pa mkhan-po was able to argue powerfully that "while some (ie the rNying-ma-pa) explain that after Śākyamuni's passing new tantras emerged, this is difficult to prove" (Kapstein 1989:237). For Sum-pa mkhan-po's contemporary dGe-lugs-pa descendants, an unforeseen consequence of history has been that with the advent of rationalised modern academic scholarship, this is no longer so difficult to prove, and it is the clerical exponents of a closed "canon" who now appear in the eyes of many influential Buddhist scholars to have depended crucially upon obfuscation of the real conditions under which their own most revered scriptures had actually been produced in India.

This is true in more respects than merely their extravagant historicist claims regarding the entire Kanjur as the utterances of the historical Buddha. To give another example, there were over the centuries many among the more clerical circles of the gSar-ma-pa who rejected rNying-ma-pa Tantras because of their often undisguised intertextuality with Bon-po scriptures: yet they were ignorant of - or ignored - the fact that their own *Laghuśaṃvara*<sup>40</sup> and *Abhidhānottara* Tantras, basic texts of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle so important to the dGe-lugs-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa, were themselves overwhelmingly intertextual with earlier Śaiva materials. They remained unaware of this even though the little-heeded voice of Bon-po polemic seems to have occasionally remarked upon Buddhist Tantrism's intertextuality with Hinduism,<sup>41</sup> while extensive mythological materials in the

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<sup>40</sup> I am following Alexis Sanderson's extensive unpublished research into the śaṃvara/śaṃvara question, based on Śaiva and Buddhist sources in Sanskrit and Tibetan. While Cakrasaṃvara is correct, most other instances should be -śaṃvara.

<sup>41</sup> Dan Martin (1991a) discusses a figure called Rong-ston Chos-rje, who criticised several of the major Buddhist Tantric cycles, including *Hevajra* and *Guhyasamāja*, "as purely, or mostly, Tīrthika in inspiration". Rong-ston also observed that the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara is the same as the Hindu *deva* Lokeśvara, and made other similar criticisms of *chos* syncretism with the Tīrthikas. Likewise, a modern Bon-po author, Nam-mkha' bzang-po (*Theg-pa'i rim-pa* 308.5), locates Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra and Bhairava as originating in a presumably Śaiva scripture called "*The Tantra of the White Sash of Maheśvara*".

Cakrasaṃvara texts themselves also clearly point to this fact.<sup>42</sup>

With the advent of modern rationalised scholarship, the centuries of silence on this issue too has inevitably been broken. A contemporary Indologist, Alexis Sanderson, has already identified (through textual criticism) a good quarter of all the verses in the long and important *Laghuśaṃvara* as having been adapted or borrowed virtually unchanged word-by-word from earlier Śaiva texts such as the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala*, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and the *Yoginīśaṃcāra[prakaraṇa]* (which latter appears in the third Śaṅka, or section of 6000 verses, of the composite *Jayadrathayāmala*). This is remarkable for several reasons. Firstly, the *Laghuśaṃvara* is often considered the single most important text of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle. Secondly, the quarter of the text so far demonstrably incorporated from Śaiva sources might not reveal the full extent of the dependency, since not all the corpus of relevant Śaiva texts survive; for example, the *\*Yoginījālaśaṃvara* and the *\*Sarvavīrasamāyoga* are two lost Śaiva texts that were influential in the eighth century, a period when a matrix of Buddhist Yoginītantras were produced whose very names may have been calques on the Śaiva texts (*Ḍākiṇījālaśaṃvara* and *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*). Thirdly, a good part of the *Laghuśaṃvara* consists of Mantroddhāras and the like that are written very much in the manner of a Śaiva text, but which obviously could not be lifted directly from Śaiva sources, given the important function of mantras as a text's unique signatures. Since the important Cakrasaṃvara vyākhyāntātra (explanatory tantra), the *Abhidhānottara*, seems to draw on similar materials to the [proto-] *Laghuśaṃvara*, a quantity of the same Śaiva materials is found there as well, probably in an earlier form than the *Laghuśaṃvara* as we have it now (Sanderson 1990; 1993; 1995).<sup>43</sup> A more well-digested, fluent and systematized if equally lexical dependency on Śaiva materials is also evidenced by the

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<sup>42</sup> The myths of the taming of Maheśvara by Heruka that explain the origins of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle (Kalff 1979, Macdonald 1990, Huber 1993) and the sharing of the 24 sacred places (pīṭha etc) by both religions.

<sup>43</sup> Among other shared materials are the all-important samayāḥ (tantric vows of conduct).

*Kālacakratāntra* in particular,<sup>44</sup> another crucially important scripture for the dGe-lugs-pa, as well as in numerous other Vajrayāna scriptures.

From the present perspective, it appears, with the advantage of hindsight, that when the Tibetan proponents of clericalism were drawn into an over-negation of the shamanic aspects inherent in Indian Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism (here in the form of ongoing scriptural revelation), they forced themselves into positions that denied the centuries of highly shamanic Indian Buddhist reality from which they themselves and their scriptures were irrevocably descended. Their well-intentioned attempt to establish a correct balance in the context of 14th century Tibet developed over time into an overbalance, and their association with this overbalance of the past few centuries has now become an ideological embarrassment in the present. From the contemporary viewpoint, it now appears that as far as canonicity was concerned, the dGe-lugs-pa resorted to what transpired to be "pie-in-the-sky" historicist myth, while their routine condemnations of intertextuality look unjustifiably hegemonic and uncomfortably hypocritical. Buddhist positions established with such good faith and reforming zeal in earlier centuries are now barely tenable in the modern world!

The pressures of global modern scholarship on the rNying-ma-pa will also be considerable, but they will also find some vindication. On the one hand, the rNying-ma-pa (like the Bon-po) have made or been forced into strong historicist claims for the origins of many of their scriptures that are likely to be seriously challenged by rationalised modern scholarship, and there will be further pressures on them to

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<sup>44</sup> For example, the famous root mantra of Kālacakra (om̐ kṣa ma la va ra ya) is calqued upon the "nine-fold" (Navātma-) Mantra which appears throughout the Śaiva tradition, both in the systems of the ordinary or fundamental scriptures known as the Siddhāntas, and, in modified forms, in those of the extraordinary or esoteric scriptures that constitute the Bhairava, Kaula and Trika divisions of the canon; see, e.g., *Somaśambhupaddhati* (Brunner-Lachaux 1977:130); Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* 31.11c-12b; Sanderson 1988, p. 687 (p.155); Goudriaan and Schoterman 1994, p. 73, n. 3. Pheṃ, which is the seed-syllable of Kālacakra's consort Viśvamātā, is, with many variants and elaborations, that of the Mothers in Esoteric Śaivism; see, e.g., *Tantrāloka* 31.45c-49 and -viveka ad loc. (pheṃ, phreṃ, khphreṃ, hshrpheṃ). Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for these references.

revise these claims. Likewise, their heavy emphasis on the miraculous and the irrational as a commonplace of religious life, however popular in some environments, might serve to restrict their constituency to some degree within others.

On the other hand, a distinctive feature of the rNying-ma-pa position is that by accepting undiluted the strongly shamanic nature of Indian tantrism as it was, they were enabled to represent it and conceptualise it without the distortion that ensued from the dGe-lugs-pa efforts to depreciate it. Hence from one point of view at least, less historicist myth-making or unsustainable condemnations of intertextuality were demanded of the rNying-ma-pa. They were free to admit that the Mahāyāna tradition first appeared with the Kuṣāṇa empire, that the Tantras appeared much later still mainly in Uḍḍiyāna, that Tantric and rDzogs-chen teachings came from the devas worshipped by the Hindus before entering Buddhism, that their scriptures could be intertextual with those of other traditions, and that all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures alike are revealed. In all of this they remain fortuitously parallel to historical fact as modern global scholarship understands it, and stand to gain by that.<sup>45</sup>

On balance, the evidence seems to suggest that the impact of modern global scholarship upon the "canonicity" debate will be to comparatively strengthen the shamanic current in Tibetan Buddhism at the expense of the hegemonic claims of the clerical current.<sup>46</sup> This process might be further reinforced by the decline of any centralised political control over Tibetan religion in the post-1950's situation. The Tibetan government in exile and the dGe-lugs-pa hierarchy in general

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<sup>45</sup> This might in part also be accounted for by their preservation of Indic or other historical narratives that were suppressed by the clerical exponents of a closed "canon". If this is indeed the case, the rNying-ma-pa assertion that Ceylon was a source of proto-Tantric scriptures might also turn out to be a valuable clue for modern historians.

<sup>46</sup> By contrast, the Pāli Canon and (as Paul Harrison has pointed out) the Chinese Āgamas will remain ever more highly valued as the closest *credible* approximation to the historical Buddha's actual speech acts, in other words, as the purest scriptural examples of the clerical current. The Mahāyāna texts will possibly be re-interpreted in a more shamanic light; this movement seems already to be much in evidence in the work of Paul Harrison, among others.

seem to have made a similar assessment: in the modern period, and in all their dealings with Westerners in particular, they now make strenuous efforts to be seen to accept the rNying-ma-pa scriptures, while even the Bon-po are endorsed as a valid religion. In similar spirit, the Dalai Lama has discouraged the anti-rNying-ma-pa practices popular among some dGe-lugs-pa of the earlier half of this century, and has himself begun to give many rNying-ma-pa teachings and empowerments.

Nevertheless, for understandable historical reasons, it has been the clerical side of Tibetan Tantrism that has been much more highly valued by Western Buddhologists (if not by Tibetologists) over the last decades. One purpose of the present study is to attempt to redress the balance within Buddhology by emphasising the perspective of the shamanic current of Tibetan Tantrism through an examination of a typical "apocryphal" scripture, the PCN.

While the indigenous voices of the rNying-ma-pa in support of their Tantras have already been closely studied by Janet Gyatso (Gyatso 1986, 1992b, 1993, 1994) and others, the question of the situation of the rNying-ma-pa Tantras within Buddhism as a whole has not yet been broached. My hope is to begin to explore this problem, and to do so, I have adopted three lines of enquiry:

[1] a comparison of the PCN's claimed method of revelation with more ancient Indian and Chinese precedents;

[2] an analysis of the contents of the PCN: to what extent are they Indic, to what extent Tibetan, and what does this tell us?

[3] a comparison of the PCN's probable relationship to its matrix of utterance, with those of its more ancient Indian and Chinese predecessors.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PCN AND THE CLAIMED METHODS OF REVELATION OF THE MAHĀYOGA TANTRAS

I have described above how the advocacy of ongoing scriptural revelation is a crucial component of the rNying-ma-pa legitimation of their tantric tradition and their scriptures, and of their claims to an unequalled and unique Buddhist orthodoxy. They believe that ongoing scriptural revelation is and always has been an integral and universal feature of the Buddhadharmā as a whole, and to the degree that other traditions reject ongoing revelation, they are, in rNying-ma-pa eyes, partially ossified forms of Buddhism, deprived of the full blessings of a living Buddhist energy. It follows that in their view, an integral and important part of the tantric culture they inherited from their Indian predecessors included precise visionary techniques of recovering fresh scriptural revelation.

So far, the more old-fashioned among Western scholars have given little credence to what they see as these subaltern voices from the religious periphery, and have to some degree endorsed the Tibetan clerical critique of the rNying-ma-pa tradition of ongoing revelation as unsupported by Buddhist tradition. In this chapter, building on the work of previous authors such as Janet Gyatso and Paul Harrison, I seek to comprehensively revise this misunderstanding: I present evidence that the rNying-ma-pa cultures of ongoing revelation are indeed, as the rNying-ma-pa claim, directly continuous with older Indic models. In this way, the key rNying-ma-pa claim that their revelatory traditions are directly germane to the debate on scriptural authenticity is supported. I shall approach this complex topic by first analyzing the traditional account of the transmission of the PCN, or, to be more precise, of the class of texts to which the PCN belongs.

The PCN is a text with no colophon, and as far as I am aware, the tradition makes no specific claims in any other sources concerning its unique origins as an individually named text. However, the PCN is counted in all the NGB editions available to me as a member of an important grouping of Mahāyoga root scriptures called the "Eighteen tantras" (tantra sde bco-brgyad). Furthermore, all of these editions



agree that the PCN is one of the "Five tantras of the explanations of sādhana practice" (sgrub-pa'i lag-len ston-pa'i rgyud-sde lnga) from among these eighteen key root-texts for the entire Mahāyoga tradition.<sup>1</sup> Since the tradition does make detailed statements about the

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<sup>1</sup> The most widely used contemporary listing of the titles of the eighteen and the five is found in footnote two to the Preface to the Translated Summaries below. However, the history of all such NGB doxographical categories as the Eighteen Tantras of Mahāyoga and the Five Tantras of Sādhana still remains to be written. As David Germano has shown, rNying-ma-pa doxographical structures seem to have been fluid and variable: even a single author such as Klong-chen-pa, for example, quite happily produced a number of quite different doxographical systems to suit his different purposes at different moments (Germano 1994). The very idea of a fixed, unitary doxographical structure to the rNying-ma-pa tantras never seems to have become very firmly established, perhaps even less than it did with the Kanjur texts. An important feature is that individual texts or even entire cycles can be interpreted from different points of view, say, according to Mahāyoga, according to Anuyoga, or according to Atiyoga. Thus they can (as far as I am aware, without much problem), be ascribed to different doxographical categories on different occasions. For example, in his *Ngal skor gsum*, Klong-chen-pa at one point identifies the Vajrakīlaya cycle as Anuyoga, equivalent to the gSar-ma-pa category of Mother Tantra (Germano 1994:244), even though on most other occasions it is classified as a quintessential Mahāyoga cycle, by Klong-chen-pa himself just as much as by other authorities. Likewise, within a single chapter of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, Klong-chen-pa sometimes classes the *Candraguhyatilaka* as Anuyoga, and sometimes as Mahāyoga (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan edition, Ch. 7, 343.6, 344.6; thanks to David Germano for this information). Of course, similar flexibility is sometimes displayed within the Kanjur, where texts such as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* can be classed as either Anuttarayogatantra (associated with the Kālacakra cycle) or Yoga-tantra (following the earlier traditions of Līlavajra et. al), but my initial (largely untested!) impression is that the doxographical arrangements of the rNying-ma-pa tantras might, if anything, have been even more fluid than those of the Kanjur.

That having been said, it is nevertheless a fact that the notion of a grouping of eighteen basic tantras of Mahāyoga has long been widely accepted, and was certainly known to Klong-chen-pa. It is not clear how far back this enumeration of eighteen goes. There is an interesting parallel with the comparatively early eighteen-fold grouping of Amoghavajra's *Shih-pa-hui chih-kuei* (Taishō 869), which is associated with such Yoga-tantra titles as the larger *Vajroṣṇisa*, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the *Vajraśekhara*, and others. Amoghavajra (705-774) was an Indian Buddhist monk and tantric master, who achieved great honour in China, and became the leading translator and expounder of Tantric Buddhism there. The connection of his eighteen-fold grouping with that of Mahāyoga has been explored by Kenneth Eastman, but as far as I am aware, his findings have not been published.

Nevertheless, the comparison of the "Eighteen Assemblies" of the *Shih-pa-hui chih-kuei* with the Eighteen Tantras of Mahāyoga suggests that the notion of an eighteen-limbed collection of tantras goes back to an early Indic model, even if a consistent enumeration of its eighteen member texts was not firmly established. It might also be relevant to note in this context that in India, the Purāṇas were normally counted as eighteen-fold, even if the various local traditions of the Indian sub-continent might enumerate different actual lists of texts to fill the traditionally required eighteen niches.

Although the PCN is nowadays almost universally counted among the "Five Tantras of the Explanations of Sādhana Practice" from out of the "Eighteen Tantras" in all available editions of the NGB, it is not clear when this attribution began. Its firm establishment as such in the extant editions of the NGB might derive from as recently as the work of gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714), whose arrangement of the Mahāyoga sections of the NGB is said to have been adopted by the influential editor of the sDe-dge NGB, dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita (Thondup 1989:30). Nor is it clear as yet if gTer-bdag gling-pa devised this classification for the first time, or if (as I suspect), he adapted an earlier model that was already reasonably similar. At any rate, Dudjom (1991) follows dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita's schema (as one would expect given the general dependence of his text on dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita's material), and in addition explains that all eighteen tantras were originally transmitted in ancient times through King Indrabhūti to Kukkurāja in Uḍḍiyāna (Dudjom 1991:462).

But earlier rNying-ma-pa sources can give different arrangements of the eighteen. For example, according to Dorje and Kapstein (Dudjom 1991 vol.2:222) and Dorje (1987:33), Klong-chen-pa's *sNgags kyi spyi don tshangs dbyangs 'brug sgra* gives a different enumeration of the eighteen tantras, although likewise associating their origins with the texts compiled by the ancient Indic figure of Kukkurāja. Here Klong-chen-pa divides the eighteen into six sections of sku (body), gsungs (speech), thugs (mind), yon-tan (qualities), phrin-las (activities), and spyi'i (general), each of which is further divided thrice into sku, gsung, and thugs, ie sku'i sku, sku'i gsung, sku'i thugs, etc. Some of the eighteen texts named are the same as those enumerated by dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita, but not all, and where we might expect to find the PCN, instead we find the "*Bidyotamala 'bum sde*". This is a reference to a very famous but obscure and perhaps partly legendary Vajrakīlaya text in 100,000 verses, called the \**Vidyottamanta*, which is traditionally held to have once existed as a single massive whole, but to no longer exist except in fragmentary form. Dunhuang and later texts describe it as the huge Vajrakīlaya cycle brought from Nālandā to the Asura Cave at Pharping, Nepal, at the behest of Padmasambhava (for the Dunhuang account, see Bischoff and Hartmann, 1971). It is traditionally believed that the PCN, along with many other Phur-pa scriptures, are extracts from this huge original text. It is therefore not impossible that in this context, the PCN is intended by Klong-chen-pa as a single text chosen to stand for the "*Bidyotamala 'bum sde*" as a whole. Dorje also reports a schema presented by dPa-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba in his *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (Dorje 1987:35). This has a similar overall structure to Klong-chen-pa's one mentioned above, but with some different titles, and where we might expect the PCN, we get instead a text called

mythical source of these texts as a whole grouping, claiming them to have been transmitted through King Indrabhūti to Kukkurāja in ancient Uḍḍiyāṇa (Dudjom 1991:462), we can therefore use this as a basis for examining the claimed method of revelation of the PCN.

I have described above how the rNying-ma-pa do not usually claim that their Mahāyoga tantras were uttered by the historical Buddha. Instead, they usually explain the origins of their Mahāyoga (and Anu and Ati) cycles in terms of the three types of transmission, namely the Mind Transmission of the Buddhas, the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādharas, and the Heard Transmission of the Yogins. A crucial aspect of this tripartite system is its employment of the gter-ma or treasure system of scriptural revelation: in the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādharas, especially in its key second section of transmission to human and non-human vidyādharas together, the tantric scriptures are revealed upon Mt. Malaya in Laṅkā by Vajrapāṇi to the five sages (one of whom was human), and then written by the rākṣasa sage onto golden pages in malachite ink and hidden in the sky as sky-treasure in a treasure casket guarded by ḍākiṅis. King Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāṇa was prophesied as the future discoverer of this gter-ma. In the subsequent account of the Heard Transmission of the Yogīs, King Indrabhūti discovers these sky-treasures, and then, being the first human in the lineage, receives the empowerments for them directly from Vajrapāṇi.

As well as this all-inclusive application of the gter-ma system to explain the origins of the Mahāyoga texts in general, there is another more specific instance of the usage of the treasure system within Mahāyoga which, although not usually envisaged as involving the PCN directly, does involve another section of the Mahāyoga corpus (the so-called treasure section of the sādhanā section, or sgrub-sde'i gter-byon) which itself includes another important Vajrakīlaya

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the *Kilaya yig 'bru bcu gnyis*, which might or might not be the same text (Dorje 1987:35). Kaneko 1982:65-6 also discusses various different enumerations; I am unable to benefit from his research, since I cannot read Japanese.

scripture.<sup>2</sup> It might be informative to briefly describe this further instance of the treasure system within Mahāyoga as well.

Tulku Thondup (1984:17-18) has made a summary of six different traditional sources to provide a brief account of the transmission of the treasure section of the sādhana section.<sup>3</sup> According to Thondup's summary, these particular scriptures were originally taught by Samantabhadra (manifesting as Vajrasattva and Mahottara Heruka) in his Pure Land. The disciples were manifestations of Samantabhadra's own self-awareness, and the teachings were Vajrayāna tantras expressed by "the vajra self-sound of the dharmatā". The time at which the teachings were given was "the state of equality beyond beginning or end", and immediately after they were given, the teachings were compiled into textual form by the bodhisattva Vajradharma.<sup>4</sup> After that, Vajradharma entrusted the texts he had compiled to the ḍākiṅī Mahākarmendrāṅī, who divided them up and inserted them into different caskets. She then concealed these caskets at the Śaṅkarakūṭa Caitya in the Śītavana cemetery.

Much later, eight great sages were alerted by their visionary powers to assemble in the cemetery; the ḍākiṅī reappeared and gave each of them their pre-ordained section of scripture. As is usually the case in the treasure narratives, named persons conceived of as historical individuals play a crucial rôle in the process of revelation: here, the Vajrakīlaya section was given to Prabhāhasti and, in some accounts, also to Padmasambhava.

These two personages of Prabhāhasti and Padmasambhava are always associated with the Vajrakīlaya tradition, and not only in the treasure section as described above: the bka'-ma or oral transmission

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<sup>2</sup> The *bde-bar gshegs-pa thams-cad-kyi 'phrin-las 'dus-pa phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud*, T vol.Āḥ (32), no. 384 in Kaneko's catalogue; or D vol. BA, item 4. Given the variation that can occur in different sources, it is not impossible that this gter-ma transmission might sometimes be seen to apply to a broader range of texts.

<sup>3</sup> His six sources include works by: Zhe-chen padma nmam-rgyal, Lo-chen dharmasri, Klong-chen-pa, two by 'Jigs-'bral ye-sheš rdo-rje or bDud-'joms rin-po-che, and 'Jigs-med gling-pa.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter One of the PCN presents a scenario very similar to this.

section of the *sādhana* section, which is more important than the treasure section in that it accounts for the greater bulk of the Vajrakīlaya (and other Mahāyoga) scriptures, equally connects the Vajrakīlaya cycle with Prabhāhasti, who in this case receives the Vajrakīlaya corpus as passed down from their first appearance to King Indrabhuti. Likewise the tradition holds that the *bka'-ma* section of the Vajrakīlaya corpus (like the *gter-ma* section) was also subsequently added to and developed by Padmasambhava, particularly during his sojourn in the Asura's cave at Yang-le-shod in Pharping, Nepal. In this narrative, Padmasambhava's best known addition to the tradition was to tame a group of Nepalese goddesses to make them important protectors of the Vajrakīlaya cycle. This particular story must be quite early, since it is clearly attested in documents from Dunhuang (Bischoff and Hartmann 1971). The PCN and many *sādhana* texts from Tibet also carry this important motif related to Padmasambhava's stay at Yang-le-shod.

We can see that the notion of transmission through the treasure method is of central importance to the Vajrakīlaya tradition and to the whole of Mahāyoga. Likewise, we can note that in this context, no difficulty is seen in attributing important scriptural revelations or developments to named personages who either are (or are conceived of as) historical, and who are not identified with the historical Buddha. While both these features are clearly comparable to the later *gter-ma* tradition in Tibet, the question remains as to how closely they compare with the data we have from earlier Buddhist India and China. It is this question which I now intend to address. Methodologically speaking, however, the best way to address it seems to be to compare the fully-fledged *gter-ma* tradition of later Tibet with what we know of the Indian and Chinese past. This is our best method because while there is comparatively little usable data available on whatever treasure elements might have in fact been employed in the original appearance of the Mahāyoga tantras, we do know without doubt that the later *rNying-ma-pas* conceptualised that process as having been essentially the same as or at least extremely similar to their contemporary ongoing *gter-ma* system, with which it theoretically forms a seamless whole (Gyatso 1993:111-115). In their "shamanic" outlook, a synchronic rather than a diachronic notion of the revelatory process is

emphasised, and hence precisely the same tripartite system of transmission by which the first tantras are said to have appeared in the human world still applies to this day in the contemporary revelation of modern gter-ma; and we do have a great deal of reliable data on the later gter-ma tradition. The question thus becomes, how close is the surviving rNying-ma-pa gter-ma system as a whole to anything found in the earlier Buddhism of India or China?

## 2.1 The Treasure and Pure Vision Systems of Scriptural Revelation

Although much has been written about the Tibetan gter-ma tradition in recent decades, its interesting continuities with earlier Indic and Chinese systems of scriptural revelation seem so far to remain understated. In this chapter I therefore intend to argue that the Tibetan gter-ma tradition is primarily a Tibetan elaboration of Buddhist systems already well attested in Indian and Chinese literature many centuries before the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet - rather than a syncretic development derivative of indigenous Tibetan religion, or a Buddhist invention entirely unique to Tibet, as some scholars have suggested. Thus gter-ma would appear very much in line with the rest of Tibetan Buddhism, a salient feature of which is the acceptance of various received largely Indian Buddhist ideas, followed by their subsequent development within Tibet. To illustrate: Tibetans, not Indians, developed the bodhisattva doctrine into the sprul-sku or incarnate lama system; concretised the division of the Madhyamaka into its Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika branches (Lang 1990); and developed the tathāgatagarbha doctrine into the comprehensive "Great Madhyamaka" (dbu-ma chen-po) (Hookham 1991b). What characterises such Tibetan developments is that they are not syncretic; in other words, they do not involve the admixture of indigenous Tibetan beliefs with imported Buddhist beliefs. Nor are they fresh inventions entirely unique to Tibet. On the contrary, they are more fruitfully understood as Buddhist developments of Buddhist ideas, albeit worked out on Tibetan soil. What I wish to argue is that this seems as true of the gter-ma tradition, as of, say, the systematic division of Madhyamaka into Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika.

What then are the Indian antecedents from which the gter-ma tradition evolved? In this chapter, I shall be concentrating on only two of several such antecedents: firstly, the systems of revelation and transmission described in the early Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* (henceforth PraS); and secondly, the tantric cult, both Hindu and Buddhist, of discovering hidden treasures (nidhi). Other relevant topics I shall not discuss here include the well-known but as yet little-analyzed revelatory mystical journeys of such sages as Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga; other as yet less available Mahāyāna sūtra texts that describe scriptural revelation; and the as yet very little-studied features of the revelation of tantric scriptures that are hinted at in some colophons in the Kanjur. All these features of Indian Buddhism seem at first glance to have clear parallels, survivals, or revivals, in the Tibetan revelatory traditions, but have not yet been thoroughly researched by other Western scholars, and are thus not yet reliably and easily applicable to this study without a great deal of additional work beyond my scope at this juncture. Hence I shall not analyze them here. Nevertheless, there is one important exception that must be mentioned: the doctrines of the Prajñā-pāramitā sūtras, especially the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, are not only closely associated with the doctrines of the roughly contemporaneous PraS,<sup>5</sup> but also provide a doctrinal basis and spiritual outlook that seems to underpin the entire process of Mahāyāna revelation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Harrison 1978a; Harrison 1990:xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Tilmann Vetter for making this point. The *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* in its introduction or *nidāna* describes the following situation:

"The Lord said to the Venerable Subhūti, the Elder: Make it clear now, Subhūti, to the Bodhisattvas, the great beings, starting from perfect wisdom, how the Bodhisattvas, the great beings go forth into perfect wisdom!

Thereupon the venerable Śāriputra thought to himself: Will that Venerable Subhūti, the Elder, expound perfect wisdom of himself, through the operation and force of his own power of revealing wisdom, or through the Buddha's might?

The Venerable Subhūti, who knew, through the Buddha's might, that the Venerable Śāriputra was in such wise discoursing in his heart, said to the Venerable Śāriputra: Whatever, Venerable Śāriputra, the Lord's Disciples teach, all that is to be known as the Tathāgata's work. For in the dharma demonstrated by the Tathāgata they

### 2.1.1 The PraS

The PraS, or The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, received increased western scholarly attention after Paul Harrison's critical edition of the Tibetan text was published in 1978, followed by his annotated English translation published in 1990; see, for example, the careful attention paid to this text in Williams 1989. It was in 1983, after reading Harrison's unpublished PhD thesis, that Paul Williams first drew my attention to the PraS as a precursor of the Tibetan gter-ma tradition. Likewise Harrison himself has also commented that chapter 13 of the PraS "is an interesting adumbration of the later Tibetan gter-ma tradition" (Harrison 1990:xvii).

According to Harrison, the PraS is, along with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, the oldest datable Mahāyāna sūtra. The Chinese translations of both scriptures were presented on the same day in 179 C.E. by Lokakṣema, the Indo-scythian translator then active in the Chinese capital of Luoyang (Harrison 1990:vii). The PraS was also one of the first scriptures to be translated into Tibetan, since it is listed in the IDan-kar-ma Catalogue (Harrison 1978b:xi). The PraS became very important in the Far East for the Pure Land school, and it might have been important in Central Asia, from where one Sanskrit fragment has been recovered (Harrison 1990:xxv).

In India, although the type of doctrine the PraS teaches was widely accepted, there is little hard evidence of the PraS itself being very popular, since it is mentioned only obliquely in a few extant Sanskrit sources (Harrison 1990:xxiii). Nor is it usually mentioned in the surviving standard Mahāyāna compendia of sūtra materials, except for one interesting exception - the third *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla (Harrison 1990:xxiii). This may be historically significant, because Kamalaśīla wrote his *Bhāvanākrama* especially for the people of Tibet at the time of their first conversion to Buddhism, and he was also associated with Padmasambhava, with whom his master Śāntarakṣita

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train themselves, they realise its true nature, they hold it in mind. Thereafter nothing that they teach contradicts the true nature of the dharma. It is just an outpouring of the Tathāgata's demonstration of dharma. Whatever those sons of good family may expound as the nature of dharma, that they do not bring into contradiction with the actual nature of dharma." (Trans. E. Conze; Conze 1975:83).



formed a close partnership (Snellgrove, 1987:430); and it is the figure of Padmasambhava, of course, who lies at the heart of the Tibetan gter-ma tradition. Thus, we have some historical evidence that the gter-ma-like doctrines of the PraS were known among the very circles of people that Tibetan sources maintain were responsible for creating their gter-ma tradition.

According to traditional sources, there are three systems of scriptural production and transmission counted by the rNying-ma-pa: the bka'-ma (or Oral Transmission), the gter-ma (or Treasure Tradition), and the dag-s nang (or Pure Vision Tradition). The bka'-ma is uncontroversial, comprising simply the lineal transmission of scripture from master to pupil, in many cases reputed to begin with the historical Buddha, and hence acceptable to clerical as well as to shamanic currents within Tibetan Buddhism. The other two systems of transmission (which people sometimes tend to conflate, despite the major conceptual differences between them), are both highly shamanic and hence controversial among the clerical Buddhists. Both are dealt with at length in the PraS, from where we can see how the highly shamanic Treasure and Pure Vision systems aroused precisely the same kind of criticism two thousand years ago in India that they still arouse today among some Tibetans. For example, in PraS Ch13, the future treasure discoverers lament the difficulty they will face in the future in propagating scriptures which will never have been heard of before; likewise, the whole of Chapter 6 of the PraS is devoted to a defence of the Pure Vision teachings (Harrison 1990:xxi; 54-60; 100; 104). Nevertheless, subtextual nuances suggest that the PraS and Tibetan revelatory traditions alike attempt to derive a degree of inverted legitimation precisely from the indignation they arouse in their more clerical critics, whom they typically characterise as being more concerned with discursive thinking than direct experience of the absolute truth, and as being more concerned with the letter of the dharma rather than its mystical essence: in short, as being insufficiently realised or vast-minded.

The samadhi after which the PraS is named - the Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present - is the main teaching of the PraS, largely contained in Chapter 3; it describes the deliberate cultivation of a Pure Vision type of transmission. But in

Chapter 13, the PraS prophesies the history of its own transmission as a text, and this portrays a Treasure type of transmission. Although this chapter is largely concerned with the Treasure tradition, I shall nevertheless very briefly first touch upon the Pure Vision system.

### 2.1.2 The Pure Vision system

Chapter 3 of the PraS describes how meditators should systematically cultivate visionary encounters with celestial Buddhas (eg Amitāyus), by means of specific contemplations. Thus they can receive teachings directly from the celestial Buddhas, and subsequently propagate these as newly revealed scriptures (Harrison 1990:31-44). A noteworthy feature of these teachings of the PraS, which differentiate them from the teachings of such standard Pure Land texts as the *Sukhāvativyūha*, is their powerful espousal of the doctrines of emptiness (śūnyatā) associated with the Prajñāpāramitā literature, ie that all phenomena, or dharmas, are empty of "own-being" (svabhāva). In the case of the PraS, the visionary experiences of the celestial Buddhas are themselves made possible by, and are expressive of, the truth of emptiness.<sup>7</sup> Paul Williams believes that this teaching of visionary encounter with Buddhas, as expressed so vividly in the PraS but included in other sūtra texts as well, "provides a convincing basis for understanding the origins of at least some of the Mahāyāna sūtras" (Williams 1989:30). But in the PraS, there is an unexpected quality to this samādhi: it can be practised by ordinary persons without advanced supernormal powers (Williams 1989:221). This compares very closely with the rNying-ma-pa Pure Vision (dag-s nang) tradition. Tulku Thondup writes

Pure Vision teachings are not Terma. They are merely teachings given by Buddhas, deities and teachers in visions. For this discovery the discoverer does not need to be such a highly realised person (Thondup 1990:157; and see further Thondup 1986:90-91).

However, Dudjom Rinpoche seems to imply that the Pure Vision

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<sup>7</sup> Harrison 1990:xviii ff.

tradition does in practice, even if not in theory, often depend upon highly realised persons as the visionaries. Perhaps the visions of realised beings inspire greater confidence; or perhaps different scriptural sources vary a little. Dudjom Rinpoche cites the *Ārya-sarva-puṇya-samuccaya-samādhī-sūtra*, describing how realised bodhisattvas perpetually dwell in a purified perceptual sphere, which allows them to be in continuous dialogue with celestial Buddhas and deities. Thus they receive innumerable visionary teachings, which they sometimes propagate amongst their fortunate disciples. These, writes Dudjom Rinpoche, are the Pure Vision teachings (Dudjom 1991:747-8). In either case, it would appear that identical or similar methods to those by which Mahāyāna scriptures were produced in the early centuries CE., still continue to be used by present-day Tibetan visionaries in producing contemporary Pure Vision teachings.

### 2.1.3 The Treasure system

The Treasure system has a more complex and distinctive structure than the Pure Vision system, with diachronic as well as synchronic elements. It seems to be described in passing in several sūtras, for example in *The Manifestation of Lights Sūtra* from the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection (T 310) (Chang 1983:200-201, 216-218.),<sup>8</sup> and in many other as yet unidentified and unverified quotations in the traditional apologetic literature that seeks to justify gter-ma.<sup>9</sup> However, as far as I know, the Treasure system is most fully

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<sup>8</sup> The teachings of this sūtra seem to adumbrate the rDzogs-chen practice of thod-rgal.

<sup>9</sup> As a typical example of these, there are several scriptural citations from the collected works of Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Mkha'-khyab rdo-rje (Karmapa XV). mKha'-khyab rdo-rje wrote three defences of gter-ma. In the first one, he gives a long citation from a text identified only as "*Ting-nge-'dzin-gyi mdo*", which very clearly indeed refers to the gter-ma system. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this citation within the Kanjur as yet. The three works in defense of gter-ma are all available in *The Collected Works of H.H. the Fifteenth Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Mkha'-khyab-rdo-rje*, ed. Lama Ngodrub & Sherab Drimay (Paro 1979), vol. 12, pp. 323-409. The relevant work I have quoted is called *Phas-rgol 'joms-pa'i gtam rdo-rje'i me-char ma-rungs klad 'gems yang-dag snag-ba'i dga'-ston*, and the actual scriptural citations are on pp.331-336. Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me these references.

described in the PraS's Chapter 13, which describes a complex Treasure system which shares a basic structure and key technical terms with the Tibetan gter-ma system. The correspondences are so precise that it seems quite reasonable to conclude that the Tibetan system is at least in part derived from the system described in the PraS. Indeed, rNying-ma-pa apologists such as Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, Guru bKra-shis, and rDo-grub III attempt to make just such a connection: they explicitly mention the PraS as one among many sources of legitimation for their gter-ma tradition.<sup>10</sup>

Chapter 13 of the PraS opens with the layman Bhadrāpāla, here the Buddha's chief interlocutor, asking the Buddha a very significant question. Bhadrāpāla, famous in many Mahāyāna sūtra texts as the leader of the "Sixteen good [lay]-men",<sup>11</sup> appears here as the first among a group of eight great lay bodhisattvas, the principal recipients of the teachings that the Buddha gives in the PraS. They are accompanied by an important second grouping of five hundred monks, nuns, lay-men and lay-women, who are also attending the teachings as secondary recipients. Bhadrāpāla's question is: what will happen to the teachings the Buddha has just given, after his parinirvāṇa?

The Buddha replies to Bhadrāpāla's question with a major prophecy. He predicts that the teachings of the PraS which he has just given, will disappear forty years<sup>12</sup> after his parinirvāṇa. Just before that time, however, the eight great lay bodhisattvas led by Bhadrāpāla

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<sup>10</sup> See Sog-bzlog-pa's *Slob-dpon sangs-rgyas gnyis-pa padma 'byung-gnas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa yid-kyi mun-sel*, also known as the *bKa'-thang yid-kyi mun-sel*, National Library of Bhutan edition, published in Thimpu, p.141, line 2. Guru bKra-shis also quotes the PraS in the beginning of his chapter 4. See Martin 1991b:332 note 10. More accessibly, rDo-grub III, ie 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (1865-1926), also makes use of the PraS in his defence of gter-ma, translated into English and published as "*Wonder Ocean*" (see Thondup 1986:109). Gyatso 1993:105, note 17, mistakenly observes that the PraS was "not noticed by Treasure apologists". Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me these references.

<sup>11</sup> The ṣoḍaśa satpuruṣāḥ. See Harrison 1990:6.

<sup>12</sup> See Harrison 1990:96, note 2. He shows good reasons why the text must originally have given 40 years, despite the fact that the surviving Tibetan version gives 4000 years.

will make written copies of the teachings and seal them in caskets (sgrom-bu). These caskets will then be hidden in stūpas, in the earth, under rocks, and in the mountains; and will be placed under the guardianship of deva and nāga spirits. Then Bhadrāpāla and his friends will die and be reborn in the deva realms, where they shall remain for a long while. But at a terrible time in the future, the "last 500 years" when true Dharma is all but lost to mankind, Bhadrāpāla and his friends will be reborn on earth. There they will once more rediscover the teachings "entrusted" (gtad) to them by the Buddha at the time when he first taught the PraS. Having searched for and recovered from the guardian spirits the teachings they had in a past life sealed in caskets and hidden in stūpas and rocks etc., they shall practise them once more, and eventually propagate them among the beings of that "final epoch", for whom they had all along been specially intended by the all-seeing compassionate Buddha. The secondary recipients of the PraS described above will also be reborn into that same time and place, both to serve the rediscoverers, and also to be the principal holders and guardians of their teachings. Finally, a cryptic verse, found only in the Tibetan version, states that eight monks, as well as many "in the North" who rejoice in Dharma, will appear to receive these rediscovered teachings.<sup>13</sup>

The similarity of the Treasure system of the PraS to the Tibetan gter-ma tradition is unmistakable. By comparing the various parts of the two systems individually, we can see these similarities more clearly.

a. As we have seen, the PraS has two clearly demarcated groups of disciples with distinct functions. Similarly, the Tibetan gter-ma system has an exact parallel in the two categories of disciples who attend the initial teachings given by Padmasambhava: the primary recipients who

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<sup>13</sup> See Harrison 1990:104 note 14. The Tibetan text reads byang phyogs-su, possibly from an unusual Sanskrit formation with a different meaning. Later on, the rNying-ma-pa tradition may have picked up on this with its various lists of eight major treasure-rediscoverers, ie the Eight Gling-pa. There are several sources for various lists of the Eight Gling-pa, but the issue is not straightforward, since the situation became ever more complex over time as more and more gter-ston claimed gling-pa as part of their names. Thanks to Dan Martin for clarification of this issue.

will become the future gter-stons, and the secondary recipients who will be reborn along with them as their chos-bdag or "Doctrine-holders", to serve them and become the indispensable principal holders and guardians of the rediscovered teachings. Both gter-ston and chos-bdag alike should be prophesied in great detail by Padmasambhava.<sup>14</sup>

b. Just like Bhadrāpāla and his seven friends in the PraS, the Tibetan gter-ston is nearly always a lay bodhisattva. Except for a tiny minority who have been monks, a gter-ston is normally a householder with consort, children, and possessions. In fact, a female consort is thought to be very important for the gter-ston, if he is to function properly as a treasure rediscoverer (Thondup 1986:82).

c. Likewise, there exists a similar parallel between the 500 secondary recipients of the PraS, and their rNying-ma-pa counterparts, the chos-bdag. As far as I am aware, in both cases, their religious status is comparatively immaterial. They can be either lay men or women, or monks or nuns. What counts is their relationship to the Treasure teaching and its discoverer (Thondup 1986:88).

d. The rNying-ma-pa system is also extremely similar to the PraS in the manner of the treasure's concealment. As in the PraS, Padmasambhava's students supposedly committed his treasure teachings to writing,<sup>15</sup> and then sealed them in caskets. These caskets are invariably called sgrom-bu, precisely the same term used by the PraS. As in the PraS, the sgrom-bu were then supposedly hidden in stūpas, in the earth, under rocks, in the mountains, and so on, where deva and nāga spirits were appointed to guard them.

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<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the chos-bdag, see the explanation of rDo-grub III, as translated in Thondup 1986:162. This author was the third reincarnation of the chos-bdag of 'Jigs-med gling-pa.

<sup>15</sup> Often, the writing is in an extremely condensed symbolic or code form, designed to awaken within the gter-ston a memory of the teaching imprinted on his mind in his past life.

e. A key technical term in the rNying-ma-pa gter-ma system is the word *gtad-rgya*, translated by Tulku Thondup as "Mind mandate Transmission". He explains it as follows:

(*Gtad-rgya*) is the main instrument for the concealing of *gTer*. The transmission and concealment take place in the essential nature of the mind of a disciple by his power of concentration. The Guru integrates his enlightened mind with the awareness state of the mind of his disciple, and that integration is the absolute transmission and concealment of the teaching. Concealment of symbolic script etc. are supports of transmission (Thondup 1986:236).

In the PraS this same technical term occurs, although its meaning is not spelled out: the five hundred secondary recipients urge the Buddha to "entrust" (*gtad*) the PraS to the eight great lay bodhisattvas, so they can rediscover it in future lives.

Of course, there is one major difference between the PraS and the contemporary Tibetan *gter-ma* tradition: whereas in the PraS the historical Buddha is the originator of the Treasure teachings, in the contemporary rNying-ma-pa system, it is the historical Padmasambhava and, less frequently, a few other gurus of his time, who are the originators or at least the concealers of the Treasure teachings. In another sense, however, Samantabhadra can be seen as the source of the Treasure teachings (exactly as he is the source of the tantras according to the tripartite transmission system); thus Padmasambhava is only their medium. Be that as it may, the Tibetans can nevertheless justify any substitution of Padmasambhava for the Buddha, because of their notion that Padmasambhava, as a realised tantric guru, is himself a fully enlightened Buddha, a *nirmāṇakāya* of Amitābha, Śākyamuni, and others (Dudjom 1991:746). Thus they maintain a formal equivalence to the system described in the PraS.

An interesting consequence of the existence of such scriptures as the PraS is that the interpretation of this single text invokes a potential for tension between a highly shamanic current which is here presented as a religious orthodoxy, yet which is embedded in what later came to be seen as a typically clerical current manifesting as a textual

orthodoxy. Textually, the PraS, with its undeniably Indic origins and its decidedly Madhyamaka slant, is without question considered valid scripture by all Mahāyāna schools, and is in this sense orthodox from the clerical point of view, which insists on Indic origins and tends to favour Madhyamaka over Yogācāra. On the other hand, its shamanic teachings on how to systematically reveal new scriptures are potentially highly subversive of the clerical strand in Buddhist thinking, which understands orthodoxy as the strict preservation of a received scriptural canon and denies new revelation. Perhaps here we have evidence (if such evidence were needed) that the earliest Madhyamaka as represented by the PraS was far more shamanic than the exponents of its later clerical forms would admit; or, in Weber's terms, that the spiritual innovations of the charismatic prophetic religious specialists who produced the early Madhyamaka (such as the treasure-discovering Nāgārjuna), eventually became routinised by the upholders of the monastic scholastic tradition, eventually to become the very core of the clerical curriculum.

Within Tibetan Buddhism, predictably, the two characteristic responses to this dilemma posed by the interpretation of the PraS are instantiated by the dGe-lugs-pa and rNying-ma-pa schools respectively. The dGe-lugs-pa inspiration is to value consolidation of existing scriptures and doctrinal stability more highly than fresh scriptural production. As I understand it, they therefore take the view that meditational standards have declined so radically in recent centuries, that no new important scriptural production could reasonably be expected any more; hence the teachings of the PraS are considered to mainly apply to a previous age, rather than our own (ie they stand for routinisation, or domestication). With this hermeneutical stratagem, they feel they can favour a closed canon even while accepting the PraS as canonical.

The shamanic rNying-ma-pa, on the other hand, value fresh scriptural production very highly, and hence interpret the PraS as valid even for our own times (ie they do not stand for routinisation or domestication). Nevertheless, while they feel quite prepared to undertake the risks of ongoing revelation, they acknowledge its inherent hazards; to reduce the dangers of destabilisation through inappropriate revelation, they have developed an elaborate system of



checks and balances (the clerical pole of this predominantly shamanic current showing itself). They apply, for example, the category "False Treasure" (gter-rdzun) for purported treasure productions that are not adequately in accord with the established tradition. These can thus be rejected, usually by being identified as the effects of specific demonic forces attempting to mislead people by masquerading as genuine revelations. Usually, these are associated with certain wicked ministers of Padmasambhava's time who made evil aspirations to confound the true gter-ma and mislead future generations with false treasure-teachings (Thondup 1986:154-6).<sup>16</sup>

It is very well known that differing attitudes to ongoing revelation became an important cause of conflict throughout most of Tibetan Buddhist history, with some authorities rejecting fresh revelations as fraudulent, and others accepting them as valid. But it should not be forgotten that, as I have already shown in the previous chapter, this kind of tension seems to be inherent to Buddhism itself and to Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular, and is not by any means restricted to Tibet. In China, for example, an important text for Far-Eastern Buddhism called the *Kuan-ting ching* (*Book of Consecration*; T 1331), was produced by means of the treasure system in fifth-century Chiang-nan, during the Six Dynasties period, that is, seven centuries before the first appearance of gter-ma in Tibet. The *Consecration Sūtra* is quite explicit about its claimed origins as a treasure, describing at length its initial teaching by the historical Buddha, its subsequent concealment, and its eventual recovery from a grotto, where it had been hidden in a jewelled casket, written in letters of purple gold upon sandalwood tablets. But this process was clearly controversial, since the *Consecration Sūtra* also has a good deal to say about the fierce opposition its revelation will arouse among conservative monks. As it happened, the revealer of the *Consecration Sūtra*, probably a monk called Hui-chien, was able to see his revelation gain the canonical status which it still enjoys, because in his day the political and religious climate was favourable to fresh scriptural revelation. But in other historical periods, less fortunate

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<sup>16</sup> Inevitably, controversies and differences of opinion surround attempts to reject or accept certain gter-ma in the light of these criteria.

revealers of scripture could find themselves severely condemned as charlatans and rebels, and even the *Consecration Sūtra* only managed to retain its canonical status by rapidly acquiring a false identity in the traditional bibliographies, as a text translated from Sanskrit.<sup>17</sup> Clearly, as we have already seen, Chinese Buddhism suffered from a similar type of ambivalence and conflict regarding its apocrypha, as did Tibetan Buddhism. There is also of course (as I have pointed out above), plentiful evidence that Indian Buddhism suffered from tremendous tensions concerning the revelation of fresh scripture. Given that nearly all Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhist scripture, and even the Abhidharma, can be seen as apocryphal from the early Buddhist point of view, often claiming to be the utterances of the historical Buddha even when this clearly was not the case, such tensions were a fundamental feature of Indian Buddhism from an early period.

## 2.2 Nidhi

The second topic to be examined in this chapter is the tantric cult, both Hindu and Buddhist, of finding hidden treasures, usually material, called *nidhi* in Sanskrit. Within Buddhism, this cult was more prominent among the earlier *kriyā-tantra* texts than among the later *tantras*, a fact which lends support to the traditional claim that *Padmasambhava* was concerned with *nidhi*. It seems that elements of the *nidhi* tradition combined with the Mahāyāna traditions described above, in the formation of the Tibetan *gter-ma* tradition; for not only is the Tibetan word *gter-ma* a direct translation of the Sanskrit word *nidhi*, but the Tibetan *gter-ma* tradition also resembles the Indian *nidhi* tradition in several important respects. For example, it includes under the rubric of *gter-ma*, material treasures as well as sacred texts. Likewise, it shares a central characteristic of the Indian tantric cult, in placing a heavy emphasis on the role of fierce treasure protectors such as *nāga* and *yakṣa* spirits. Furthermore, it also incorporates the Indian tantric idea of treasures being repeatedly recoverable from the same special magically-endowed sites (*śrī-mukha* or *gter-kha*).

In the Hindu tantric and magical traditions, discovery of *nidhi*

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<sup>17</sup> Strickmann, 1990: 75-115.

has its own distinctive lore. It comprises a special set of rituals in its own right, and is not simply subsumed under the rubric of such standard categories as ākarṣaṇa, the attracting of women or wealth. On the contrary, nidhidarśana or nidhānalābha, "finding a hidden treasure", is listed in the Hindu tantric and magical compositions as a distinct and independent category.<sup>18</sup> Hence at least one entire text devoted to the subject survives in Sanskrit, the *Nidhidarśana* or "*Discovery of Treasure*", by Rāma Vājapeyin.<sup>19</sup> Finding treasure is also of course referred to in a host of other texts, ranging from the *Mahābhārata* to the *Jayadrathayāmala* and including the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*, the *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭāni*, the *Śaktisaṃgama Tantra*, the *Siddhanāgārjunakakṣaputa*, and the *Kāmaratna*.<sup>20</sup> Many such texts give entire sādhanā rites for the finding of treasure. For example, the third ṣaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala* has a pātālasiddhi chapter in the section on the sādhanā of the goddess Ghoraghoratarā Kālī, which deals with sādhanā at caves (bila-), the best of which are called śrīmukhas, and by means of which one can attain pātāla, the subterranean paradise of the nāgas and asuras, where treasure could be obtained.<sup>21</sup>

In such Hindu texts, the treasures were usually said to be guarded by fierce nāga spirits, but sometimes a yakṣinī or some other very dangerous spirit is mentioned instead. Thus it was believed that only an accomplished siddha, or those with the support of an accomplished siddha, could ever procure such treasures, since the treasure guardians would harm or even kill a merely ordinary human being who had the temerity to attempt to take out the treasure they guarded. Hence the rituals to extract the treasure were quite complex. They included rites to find out where the treasure was; for example, a siddha might propitiate the Śaiya goddess Nidhīśvarī, "Mistress of Treasure", said to be the wealth-god Kubera's mother, because it was

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<sup>18</sup> Goudriaan 1978: 294,307.

<sup>19</sup> Goudriaan and Gupta 1981:124.

<sup>20</sup> Goudriaan 1978:307.

<sup>21</sup> Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for sending me this data.

believed that she would grant a vision of where the treasure was hidden. Then the treasure seeker also needed very powerful rites to protect himself from the treasure protectors, and various ointments to make the treasure become visible.

The treasure was often believed to be located at a special site sometimes known as a śrī-mukha, or "wealth-opening", which, it was thought, could be visited repeatedly by many different siddha treasure-seekers over a long period of time, and still yield up treasure for all of them; in other words, the source was considered supernatural and thus not exhausted as a commonplace supply of treasure would be. The treasure itself was usually said to consist of magical elixirs and gold, and it was usually stated that a proportion at least of money thus discovered had to be used for directly religious purposes.<sup>22</sup>

Early Buddhist tantras, and, as we shall see, the Tibetan gter-ma tradition, include much of the same type of belief as the Hindu system. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is the Buddhist kriyā-tantra best known to Western scholars because a Sanskrit version of it has survived. In this text (and many other kriyā-tantra texts like it) we find a good deal of material on the recovery of nidhi, including such topics as the summoning of nāga or yakṣa spirits, or Gaṇapati, to allow one to see the treasure; and frequent references to "asura's caves" as an apparent loose equivalent to the Hindu śrī-mukha, sometimes linked to the notion of the nāga realms (pātāla) beneath the earth; in the Buddhist tradition, these asura caves are explicitly the sites where yogins can obtain every kind of desirable goal, over and above treasures, ranging from complete immortality and occult knowledge to sensual pleasures. It was in just such an "asura's cave" at Pharping in Nepal that Padmasambhava is said to have made significant additions to the scriptural corpus of the Vajrakīlaya cycle. We also find in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, as in the Hindu texts, an injunction that half of the wealth recovered as nidhi must be spent on the Three Jewels. Sometimes the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* insists that the treasure seeker has to begin his search during eclipses, with the recitation of mantras. But

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<sup>22</sup> This summary of the Hindu cult of nidhi draws upon Goudriaan and Gupta 1981, Goudriaan 1978, and information from primary sources very kindly given me by Alexis Sanderson.

good astrological moments are not always necessary; in another early Indian Buddhist *kriyā-tantra*, the *Kani-krodha-vajrakumāra-bodhisattva-sādhana-vidhi* (now preserved only in Chinese)<sup>23</sup>, we find the following description of a ritual to find *nidhi*:

There is also a rite for those who desire to acquire treasure (*nidhi*). Do not select a particular [astrological] season, day or hour, and it is not necessary to maintain the discipline. In the vicinity of the treasure, the mantrin should raise one foot and recite the mantra. Turning around to the right, he should gaze towards all of the four directions and take possession of the area (*sīma-bandha*). Carefully raising one foot, he should recite the mantra one hundred and eight times. If the guardians of the treasure obstruct him, then they will be burnt in a mass of fire. They will come screaming to the mantrin and bow before him vanquished. The mantrin should say to them, "Open this treasure store and give all that is herein to me!". They will then open it and give everything to the mantrin. If they are mean-spirited and do not give it to him, then he should say, "Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, Maheśvara, the warrior goddesses and \*\*\*\* will come and crush your treasure store. You give it to me quickly! If you do not do so, the wrathful Vajrakumāra will destroy all of your family!". When they have heard what he said, they will all obey and say to him, "Noble One! Come and take what you will, we shall not hinder you!". Then he should say to them, "You may open the store yourselves and give it to me!". They will then immediately open the treasure-store and give him [the treasure] respectfully.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> As I understand it, this text is listed bibliographically along with the *Vajrakumāra-tantra*, T1222. Some sources have claimed T1222 to be an excerpt from the *Susiddhikara*, but Stephen Hodge's reading of it seems to firmly refute this claim. Other related texts are the shorter *\*Vajrakumārajapayasādhana*, T1223, and a further text, T1224, probably composed in East Asia.

<sup>24</sup> From an unpublished partial translation made by Stephen Hodge.

The following is also from the same text:

There is another rite if you desire to locate hidden treasure. Get some yoghurt from a yellow cow, a snake skin, and some shark-oil, as well as some arka wood and cotton. Make a lamp with these things. Recite mantras to empower it, and then light it at night near the place where there is treasure. You will know the amount of treasure that is there by the size of the flame. If you need to expel the gods who guard the treasure and other obstructors, take a slab of rock or a pebble or some mustard seeds or some empowered water and cast it at the treasure. The obstructor on the treasure will withdraw. If you suspect that there is a large nāga there, this will also leave.<sup>25</sup>

It seems that in the Hindu and Buddhist tantric traditions alike, *nidhi* was predominantly seen as material wealth, a category in which magical elixirs are included. But in some of the more exoteric strata of Vedic or Hindu literature, the words *nidhi* (treasure) and *nidhipāḥ* (treasure protectors) carried a slightly different nuance. From citations in the *Kauśikasūtra* and the *Gṛhyasūtras*, Jan Gonda believes that *nidhi* here refers to something of spiritual value deposited in a spiritual realm. This was guarded by protectors called *nidhipa*, whose function was to ensure that only those who had deposited the *nidhi* in the first place, or those for whom it was intended, could eventually reclaim it, when they eventually arrived in the spiritual realm in person. Agni, Prajāpati, or Bṛhaspati would often act as "keepers of the deposits".<sup>26</sup> This classical use of *nidhi* to mean spiritual treasure does not seem to be entirely lost in the tantric tradition, since the material treasures discovered there retain at least a degree of spiritual connection - some or all of the otherwise worldly wealth must go to spiritual purposes, while consumption of the sacred elixirs is inherently spiritual. But despite a reasonable search, I have been unable to find any Indian tantric reference to the use of the term *nidhi* to mean a scriptural or

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<sup>25</sup> Stephen Hodge *ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> Gonda 1965:183-193.

textual discovery, as it so frequently does in the rNying-ma-pa system. Nevertheless the similarities between the Indic material mentioned above and the Tibetan gter-ma tradition are clear. By listing them point by point, they can be seen more easily:

a. Like the Indian tantric cult, the Tibetan tradition includes under the rubric of gter-ma the discovery of wealth, sacred elixirs, and valuable objects, just as much as the recovery of religious texts and scriptures. For example, Padma Gling-pa was offered a skullful of gold by the treasure-protector (gter-srung) Khari, who also promised to gradually give him all the wealth of the local rulers of Tibet.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Dudjom Rinpoche lists many longevity pills, jewels, flasks of the "waters of life", images, relics, and other valuable objects that were discovered by various gter-stons.<sup>28</sup> rDo-grub III echoes the Indian tantric tradition's emphasis on elixirs when he writes that, "according to some interpretations, the amṛta rendering liberation by tasting is praised as the best among the Terma substances".<sup>29</sup> All these various types of material treasures seem to be quite as widespread as the scriptural treasures. Both equally go by the name of gter-ma.

b. Like their Indian tantric antecedents, Tibetan gter-stons constantly revisited the same treasure sites, from which many generations of treasure-finders spanning many centuries could recover treasures. These were called gter-gnas, "treasure places", or gter-kha, literally "treasure faces", i.e. "treasure sites", and often were situated at very dangerous or inaccessible places. Within the gter-kha would be a gter-sgo or "treasure door", a miraculous door in the rock which only the appointed gter-ston could open and within which he would find the casket (sgrom-bu) containing the treasure. After the treasure was removed, the door would miraculously be resealed, leaving only a mark on the rock. This complex of gter-kha and gter-sgo seems very similar indeed to the Sanskrit notion of śrī-mukha; indeed, gter-kha

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<sup>27</sup> Aris 1989:57-8.

<sup>28</sup> Dudjom 1991, vol.II:319-327.

<sup>29</sup> Thondup 1986:152.

could possibly even be a direct Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit technical term.

c. The ambivalent nature of the guardian spirits of the treasures is again common to both traditions. In the Indian *nidhi* tradition and in the Tibetan *gter-ma* system alike, these guardians are extremely dangerous, despite the useful function they carry out. In his study of Padma Gling-pa, Michael Aris graphically describes the dire calamities thought to have befallen both humans and animals as a result of offending the *gter-ma* keepers (*gter-bdag*), whether unwittingly or not; all of which underscores the importance of constantly placating them.<sup>30</sup> *rDo-grub* III states this ambivalent nature of the treasure-guardians very clearly. He points out that many of the treasure-guardians were deliberately selected and appointed by Padmasambhava from among the chiefs of the various classes of evil demons opposed to Buddhism. The idea is the recurring tantric theme of controlling evil spirits: "by appointing their chiefs as [*gter-ma*] protectors, the subjects won't be able to transgress their orders".<sup>31</sup>

We can see from the paragraphs above that some of the aspects of the *rNying-ma-pa gter-ma* tradition which are not derivable from the teachings of such Mahāyāna sūtra scriptures as the PraS, are derivable from early Buddhist tantras of the *kriyā* class. Of course, there are also other elements, such as the role of *ḍākiṇīs*, taken from Indic tantric sources, that are not analyzed at all in this study because they are as yet insufficiently understood. Yet on closer analysis, much of the *kriyā* tantric material is essentially an expansion of aspects of the sūtra material, for the PraS already includes such topics as *nāga* and *deva* spirits who guard the treasures, and rocks and mountains in which they guard them. Thus it is clear that the most important basic structuring concepts of the *gter-ma* tradition come from the sūtra rather than the tantra tradition; it is only in the area of certain practical details of concealment and retrieval, and in the idea of material

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<sup>30</sup> Aris 1989:44.

<sup>31</sup> Thondup 1986:114.



treasures and elixirs being discovered, that elements are derived from the early tantric sources.

In conclusion, we can see that it might well be mistaken to regard the gter-ma and dag-snang systems as syncretic, or essentially indigenous to Tibet. On the contrary, it seems that these traditions constitute a predominantly Buddhist development of Indian Buddhist ideas, albeit carried out on Tibetan soil. Even the visionary journeys to receive teachings (for example directly from Padmasambhava in his paradise, or from the deities at Bodnath in Nepal), experienced so often by gter-stons such as Padma Gling-pa and others, and seen by some Western scholars as strong evidence of a non-Buddhist shamanism in the lexical sense of the word,<sup>32</sup> to my mind more probably carry a quite different connotation. Although, admittedly, we do have evidence of shamanistic journeys in ostensibly non-Buddhist Tibetan religion,<sup>33</sup> such journeys are also central to the Pure Vision tradition as described in classic Mahāyāna sources. Thus it would seem more likely that the visionary journeys of Padma Gling-pa and others are simply an emulation of the magical journeys of scriptural revelation made by exemplary Indian Buddhists such as Nāgārjuna, revealer of the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, and Aśaṅga, revealer of the famous teachings attributed to the Buddha Maitreya.

The prevailing Western academic view of gter-ma has so far tried to understand it predominantly in terms of the historical conditions influencing its first appearance in 11th century Tibet. Hence, it is seen largely in terms of a response by the followers of the rNying-ma-pa Tantras, to the challenge posed by the arrival in Tibet and translation of the gSar-ma-pa Tantras.<sup>34</sup> While not intending to take issue with this view, I think that such a sociological perspective can fruitfully be broadened by a textual consideration of the degree of fidelity that the actual methods of gter-ma production bear to the much older mainstream scriptural traditions.

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<sup>32</sup> Aris 1989:53-63.

<sup>33</sup> The extent to which such traditions are really non-Buddhist is of course debatable.

<sup>34</sup> Snellgrove 1987:397.

Such data tends to confirm the views of anthropologists such as Maurice Bloch (1986), that the nature of ritual can be extremely slow-changing even in rapidly changing political and economic contexts; and of Stanley Tambiah (1984:346), that the possession of a detailed written scriptural corpus can confer on a tradition the power of repeated regeneration to a very precise template over very long periods of time in which much else will change. Indeed, it seems possible that in observing the highly systematic workings of contemporary Tibetan scripture-revealers, we might in fact be observing a unique survival, or at least a close replica, of the workings of the revealers of many of the most famous Indian and Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the last two millennia. As a growing number of scholars have remarked in recent years, a close study of the methods of production of both Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist apocrypha might well yield a useful contribution towards an understanding of the development of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism in India. Indeed, it is by no means impossible that the Vajrakīlaya tantras were revealed (at least in part) by the Treasure method, as their apologists claim, just as it is by no means impossible that Padmasambhava himself did indeed prophesy the future recovery of gter-ma texts in Tibet. It can also no longer be regarded as impossible that Padmasambhava himself may have hidden a few such texts somewhere within Tibet for future discovery: the evidence suggests that if he in fact did so, he would have remained well within the accepted categories of the tantric culture of his time.

## CHAPTER THREE

### WHERE DID THE PCN COME FROM? THE EVIDENCE FROM ITS CONTENTS

#### 3.1 The NGB in Tibet

We have seen in the previous chapter that the methods of revelation employed by the rNying-ma-pa seem to have had clear antecedents in Buddhist India and China. The rNying-ma-pa understood such ongoing revelation as an entirely orthodox element in Buddhism stemming from ancient India, which certainly had to be taken into account in any discussion of canonicity. Their opponents, however, denied that such systems of ongoing revelation were an integral part of Buddhism at all, or that the rNying-ma-pa systems were in any legitimate sense continuations of the Indic revelatory processes. Most Western scholars have to varying degrees supported the opponents of the rNying-ma-pa on this issue, perhaps mistakenly, since there exists sufficient historical data to substantiate the rNying-ma-pa claim that Indian Buddhism itself understood ongoing revelation through treasure discovery and pure vision as an integral part of the Buddhist dispensation.

I have also discussed above the typical strategy of clerical Buddhism to associate scriptural canonicity or authenticity with an Indic geographical origin or with the speech acts of the historical Buddha. I pointed out how, in the face of powerful clerical attacks, the shamanic exponents of revealed texts would sometimes be driven to defend themselves by claiming Indic origins or origins from the mouth of the historical Buddha for their revelations. Within Tibet, the scriptures now comprising the NGB were regularly condemned by their clerical critics for not being of Indic origin, and for showing signs of having been composed in Tibet. Although the rNying-ma-pa freely admitted the non-Indic origins of their gter-ma scriptures, they eventually came to the defence of many scriptures now included within the NGB as being of unalloyed Indic provenance. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the contents of the PCN in the light of these issues: to what extent was the PCN Indic, and to what extent

Tibetan? To what extent and in what manner did the tradition defend it as Indic, and why?

First of all, it must be clearly understood that the rNying-ma-pa never claimed an Indic origin for the entire NGB collection. While many NGB texts do have translator's colophons directly claiming an Indic origin, an only slightly smaller proportion carry no colophons at all, while a few frankly identify themselves as the revelations of named Tibetan gter-ston discovered at named places in Tibet. For example, volumes Pha and Ba of the sDe-dge NGB carry eleven scriptures said to be revealed by Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa (1340-1396) at Pu-ri phug-mo-che in Tibet (the Bla-ma dgongs-'dus cycle), and sixteen revealed by Nyang nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136-1204) at the lHo-brag mKhan-mthing temple (the bDe-shegs 'dus-pa cycle); while the mTshams-brag NGB contains many more volumes of gter-ma scriptures. Perception of this important feature is usually obscured by a conventional "shorthand" that describes the NGB as Indic translations in contrast to the Tibetan-produced revelations of the gter-ma. In fact, the two categories overlap considerably, and the real situation is much more complex: not only does the NGB carry Tibetan-produced gter-ma, but Tibetan-produced gter-ma also more often than not carry copious quotes from Indic translation.

The PCN itself is one of the many NGB texts with no colophon. This is an interesting category. According to some voices among the later rNying-ma-pas, such texts had no colophons because they were translated at a time when colophons were not customary. To be more precise, they were claimed to have been translated during the reign of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan and soon after, and hence necessarily outside of the auspices of the official "Religious Council" (chos-kyi 'dun-sa) of that time, which had emphatically declared such k p lika systems as Mah yoga unsuitable for widespread translation and distribution in Tibetan. Hence, claim some among the later rNying-ma-pa, the lack of colophons. They also point out that even many texts from the Kanjur and Tenjur (bsTan-'gyur) also lack colophons. In the particular case of the PCN, it is argued that the text as we have it is only a fraction of what was once a longer text, and hence the colophon might

have become detached.<sup>1</sup>

Modern historical research lends some support to these claims. We know that such a ban on translating tantras did exist. We also have evidence suggesting that despite this ban, some such tantric texts probably were translated and practised in this early period, even (to some as yet unknown extent) within official centres such as bSam-yas (Karmay 1988:4). We might therefore infer or speculate that tantrism was (in accordance with Indian practice of the time) the secret preserve of an initiated minority, perhaps even, as tradition has it, largely associated with the power élites of the aristocracy and the royal family. Cycles like Vajrakīlaya in particular would certainly have had their uses for kings and princes, or their priests and ministers, and tradition claims that Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal, and 'Khon klu'i dbang-po were among the earliest Vajrakīlaya initiates. The traditional assertion that many NGB materials (including Vajrakīlaya) were translated secretly under such conditions seems at the least plausible, and might indeed account for the lack of colophons on many NGB texts. Likewise, Dunhuang sources describe the Phur-pa cycle as one massive collection in one hundred thousand verses, called the Vidyottama, which would support the traditional claim that the colophon of the PCN was missing because it became detached. It is also true that some Kanjur tantras have no colophons, although a smaller proportion than the NGB, and mainly shorter or less important texts.

On the other hand, these traditional explanations are not entirely adequate for a number of reasons. For example, as I shall attempt to show below, the PCN shows distinct signs of redaction within Tibet, and even of composition within Tibet on the basis of older Indic materials. Even more interestingly, little effort has been made by the various NGB redactors over the centuries to remove the tell-tale signs of these Tibetan interventions, even where they are obvious enough to incur the direct attention of hostile critics of the rNying-ma-pa (one of them is even remarked upon, apparently recognised as an anomaly, in a marginal gloss in the sDe-dge edition). This remains the case even where the passage in question might be unessential to the text as a

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to TN for this information.

whole.

My hypothesis is that such texts did not originally claim an unadulterated Indic origin at all, but that these claims were made at a later date, for two main reasons. Firstly, such stratagems constituted a standard Buddhist skilful means by which newly revealed shamanic texts responded to clerical criticism; for example, most of the scriptures in the Chinese Canon and in the Kanjur are justified by such stratagems, as is the Theravāda Abhidhamma, all claiming an origin as the speech acts of the historical Buddha when this can clearly not be the case. Similarly, the claims for the rNying-ma-pa tantras to be translations from Sanskrit might have been stepped up after they had become the targets of hostile polemics. The other reason is that more orthodox claims to origins were a natural byproduct of the progressively more thorough doxographical codifications that eventually resulted in the systematised NGB corpus. With this came the deployment of more clerical NGB classificatory categories such as "The Eighteen Tantras of Mahāyoga" (the composition of which varies with different NGB editions). Since the category of the 18 Tantras is (by now at least) usually considered (doxographically speaking) to comprise translations from Sanskrit, its component parts (which usually but not necessarily includes the PCN) have to be ascribed the same origin for reasons of consistency. But there still remains something half-hearted and even ironic in these claims to Indianness which were forced in large part by external political pressures, witnessed, for example, by the failure to excise reasonably obvious traces of Tibetan intervention in Chapter 19 of the PCN.

A very important factor from the late 8th century introduction of Buddhism to Tibet up to the 10th or 11th centuries was that tantric Buddhists in India were at that time themselves producing many new scriptures, providing a crucial model for Tibetans to emulate. We also know that the slightly later process of systematic NGB formation seems to have gathered momentum in a historical context in which a closely related proto-gter-ma tradition was already well underway; named gter-ston figures such as Sangs-rgyas bla-ma appear in history as early as the 11th century, but these early gter-stons might well have had many unknown predecessors who, like their Indian counterparts and rôle-models, were usually anonymous. Thus the materials now

collected in the NGB were for some time dispersed in an environment that already accepted the revelation of new scripture both in India and Tibet, but not yet in the highly codified and controlled manner characteristic of the later gTer-ma tradition with its bibliographical lists and prophecies.

It is highly likely that within such an unregulated environment that took as its model the Indian tantric tradition of anonymous ongoing revelation, a quantity of anonymous tantric scripture was produced in Tibet. This could have happened in several ways. Genuine early translations from Sanskrit might have been expanded and redacted and recombined into new wholes by Tibetan scholars, or texts might have been revealed or discovered by Tibetans using gter-ma or proto-gter-ma methods. Since these were deemed authoritative, they would have been incorporated into the earliest collections that formed the nucleus of the later NGB. Many of these might later have been considered to be translations from Sanskrit; given that "new" or discovered tantric scriptures (especially in Tibet) are so often little more than a reconstruction of existing materials, it is no straightforward task to distinguish a translation from Sanskrit from a Tibetan-made recombination of existing Indic elements into a new whole. We know with certainty that many discovered texts were included in the NGB; for example, the important 17 tantras of the Man-ngag sde branch of rDzogs-chen, all included within the NGB as translations from Sanskrit, were only discovered in the temple of Myang at the end of the 11th century by lDang-ma lHun-rgyal and lCe-btsun seng-ge dbang-phyug (Karmay 1988:210). Perhaps in a later century the rNying-ma-pa themselves would have classified such discoveries as gter-ma (of course, as Sog-zlog-pa points out in his *Nges-don 'brug-sgra*, critics of the rNying-ma-pa freely accused lCe-btsun of "authorship" of the 17 Tantras (Karmay 1988:210).<sup>2</sup> If, as I attempt to show below, there is reason to believe that the PCN was redacted in Tibet, and even in part composed in Tibet on the basis of older Indic manuscripts, it seems quite likely that this happened within

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<sup>2</sup> Some scholars, such as Matthew Kapstein and Dan Martin, would probably want to date the surfacing of the 17 Tantras to the late 13th century; if they are correct, my speculation is false.

the unregulated period between the late 8th century and the 11th century, ie before the gter-ma tradition was systematised and before the process of systematic NGB formation was underway.

It seems, then, that from a very early period, the rNying-ma-pa emulated their contemporaneous Indian mentors, and preserved a shamanic outlook that accorded a scripture equal validity whether it was revealed at the time of the historical Buddha, to later siddhas in India, or to yogins in Tibet. In this sense, the arguments about the canonicity of the PCN seem to be at cross-purposes, arising out of quite different sets of presuppositions: while opponents of the text claim it is non-canonical because it is non-Indic, the original redactors of the text seem to have implicitly accepted that it was not entirely Indic, but still presented it as authoritative. Only later, and under pressure, did more clerically-minded rNying-ma-pa savants rather lamely claim a pure unadulterated Indic origin for it as one of the 18 tantras of Mahāyoga. From their point of view, this claim of Indic origins was a perfectly legitimate exercise in Buddhist skilful means: given the great spiritual efficacy of the text, there could be no harm in disguising the unimportant details of its historical origins, if this would help persons victim to groundless doubts develop more faith. But originally, and even now at a deeper level (or so it seems to me), the real underlying debate is about criteria of canonicity in general, about what scriptural authority is, and not about the historical origins of the PCN.

As I have argued in previous chapters, the clerical current in Buddhism has a more rationalised and universalised notion of scripture, in which texts derive their authority from membership of a clearly delimited scriptural corpus with a single origin, purportedly defined by and handed down through a long scholastic tradition; in Tibet this has given shape to a highly restricted and closed body of immutable scriptures, the Kanjur (most of which, ironically, were highly shamanic in their original context, even if later interpreted in a more clerical light). The shamanic current understands scriptures as charismatic texts that can appear at any time to creatively mediate between timeless truths and new social or historical situations; hence they must derive their authority to a much greater degree from their own charisma or "spiritual efficacy", and need no "history". Like other



aspects of the Buddhist religion, Buddhist texts in themselves typically manifest both shamanic and clerical modalities, in widely differing proportions; later on, clerical and shamanic commentators typically put forward rival hermeneutical claims to appropriate prestigious scriptures for their own purposes, or to manufacture new and more expedient histories for their most important texts.

### 3.1.1 Ongoing revelation and the process of 'dul-ba

The PCN is, like much Mahāyāna and most Vajrayāna scripture, a predominantly shamanic text in origin. It is the product of a process of mystically-inspired bricolage (cf Lévi-Strauss 1976:16ff), or the manipulation of persisting cultural materials to create new cultural reconstructions that uses as its workspace the shamanic experience of alternative states of consciousness. Interestingly, its contents reveal two distinct historical strata of such shamanic activity, one older and Indic, and one less old and explicitly associated with Nepal and Tibet. The Indic level demonstrates an attempted shamanic mediation between timeless Buddhist truths and rival Śaiva categories, while the Nepali and Tibetan level demonstrates a shamanic mediation between Indian Buddhist categories (after the mediation with Śaivism was already accomplished), and rival Nepali religious categories; the latter event, through its incorporation in Padmasambhava's hagiography, became important for the construction of religious identity in Tibet.

Both mediations employed the specific shamanic stratagems and techniques known as conversion ('dul-ba), to create new forms of scripture and new forms of religious life. In this process religious tensions are resolved by resorting to the alternative reality of ritual, within which the unchallenged dominance of Buddhism can be asserted, while still retaining the non-Buddhist factors as converted elements now subordinate to the interests of the Dharma. It is precisely the process of the thoroughgoing Buddhist spiritual conversion of the extraneous elements that makes the text (emically at least) exclusively Buddhist rather than merely syncretic.

Conversion is a very important concept in Buddhist and Śaiva tantrism alike, and plays a key rôle in non-tantric Indic traditions too. A particularly important aspect of it is the conversion of demon-devotees (see below). The most complete study of 'dul-ba in Tibetan

religion made so far comes from Sophie Day (Day 1989). In this study of Ladakhi village oracles, Day portrays 'dul-ba as a conveyor-belt process in which spirits hostile to Buddhism are progressively converted to the Dharma. The process is historically structured: those spirits who were converted long ago are now enlightened, those who are half-tamed are now monastery protectors; and those who are only slightly tamed are village spirits (Day 1989:419-431). With time, converted deities move up the pantheon. As Day points out, 'dul-ba is a process of creating civilisation out of untamed spirits and persons, culminating in universal enlightenment, and it can be either gentle or forceful (Day 1989:418).

Day's study was specifically focused on the conversion of harmful village spirits in Ladakh, but in a broader Buddhist context, conversion is not only the conversion of specifically vicious beings: it is the never-ending process of the bringing to liberation of *all* sentient beings, whether vicious demons or noble gods, and it ultimately entails the conversion of the whole of existence into the Pure Lands of the Buddhas. Emically, it can be described as the expression of Buddha-activity ('phrin-las), which operates in four Atharvanically-derived modes taken from traditional Indian magic: peaceful (śānti), increasing (puṣṭi), magnetising (vaśīkaraṇa) and destroying (māraṇa). Vajrakīlaya is seen as an embodiment of the Buddha-activity, but with a special emphasis on the destroying mode.

In typically synthetic Tantric texts such as the many famous Vajrayāna scriptures of India or the PCN, conversion provides the underlying rationale that seeks to weave all the disparate cultural strands of the texts into a single whole intended to serve the single great purpose of Mahāyāna Buddhism (ekayāna), namely to bring all sentient beings to Buddhahood. Thus the process of conversion both requires and justifies the introduction of new synthetic forms of scriptural life that make a place for converted elements that were previously non-Buddhist. But conversion is open to varying interpretations, both clerical and shamanic. These sometimes work as an interesting measure of where any Buddhist grouping belongs on the spectrum of clericalism and shamanism: in general, the closer conversion is accepted towards the centre of the Buddhist maṇḍalas, the closer to the shamanic pole, while the more it is restricted to the

periphery, the closer to the clerical pole.

### 3.1.2 Colophons, "respectability" and "reputation"

As I have discussed above, the PCN lacks a colophon. This demonstrates a second typically shamanic modality: the very lack of a colophon, or of any other attempted explanation of its origins, seems in itself to be a deliberate and significant statement. Given that the identifiably Tibetan passages of the text are encapsulated in self-contained passages and could easily have been excised or disguised, the option of a convincing false colophon attributing the text to an exclusively Indic source was always a viable one. Yet rather than attempting this to satisfy clerical criteria of authenticity, as so many Chinese Buddhist apocrypha did with such success, the PCN makes no such efforts. On the contrary, the tradition insists on interpreting an acceptably timeless and Indic-looking passage of the PCN as being Nepali, and historically specific as well.

I wish to approach this feature through the use of Peter Wilson's categories of *respectability* and *reputation*, which have been felicitously introduced to the study of Tantric Buddhism by Geoffrey Samuel (Samuel 1993:215-217).

Wilson's study of English-speaking Caribbean societies showed that two distinctive value-systems were in evidence. The wealthy élite pursued "respectability" through a culture of church, comparatively early legal marriage, education, and other strictly defined cultural forms, historically based on the old slave-owners and later colonial British and North-American derived cultural canons. Pervading all society, the values of respectability were highly rationalised and hierarchical, stratifying the population according to a clearly visible unitary scale of race, wealth, and their concomitants such as education. Respectability attached to positions rather than persons, and made judgements of the whole person, who either was or was not respectable, high-class, or low-class (Wilson 1973:228).

But the poor, and especially the poor men with their history of "emasculatation" at the hands of slave-owning and colonial powers, historically had had very little realistic chance of ascending the hierarchies of respectability. Instead, they had evolved a different and

more egalitarian value system, which Wilson called reputation. To a degree, this had its historical roots in a resistance ideology formed in opposition to the colonial and slave-owners values of "respectability". Reputation was less linear and more relational, specific to occasion and situation. Its clearest expression was in the "crews", small informal egalitarian groups of men who formed very deep mutual loyalties based on the total confidence they placed in one another. While respectability lent itself to social stratification, reputation was explicitly egalitarian, emphasising personal differentiation while subverting stratification through the "crab-antics" of pulling down the high and mighty. As Samuel observes, the important point is that reputation did not imply "a total judgement of where an individual belonged on a linear scale" (Samuel 1993:216). Wilson describes reputation as follows:

[A person] may be a good singer, a poor fisherman, a mediocre stud, a kind father, and a silly drunkard. In each field he enjoys a degree of reputation for which there is no absolute standard, and as a whole person he is neither condemned nor elevated by any one status. There is no such thing as a perfect singer, the ultimate fisherman, the supreme stud, the ideal father, or the complete drunkard. Such status scales are relative to the given time and the actual performance of people in that time and place (Wilson 1973:227-228, cited also in Samuel 1993:216).

Samuel correlates reputation with the unstandardised and unpredictable world of the shamanic, and respectability with the rationalised and centralised world of the clerical. Although the societies of India and Tibet were of course somewhat different to those of the Caribbean, and while I am not convinced that Tantrism was a class [or caste] based resistance ideology like "reputation", it nevertheless seems useful to suggest that the wandering tantric siddhas and yogins gravitated more towards a reputation type of value-system, while Brahmins and monks gravitated more towards respectability.

In this context, I wish to extend Wilson's terms to a discussion of tantric scripture. I suggest that the original promoters of the PCN and similar texts with no "history" were content to attempt their initial

acceptance as authoritative scriptures through gaining for them a *reputation* as spiritually efficacious within a specific context, a typically shamanic stratagem, rather than through any immediate attempt to claim *respectability* for them either as members of an established Indic canon or as the products of a named gter-ston, two possible more clerical stratagems (although such a quest for canonical respectability might well follow later). The reputation of the actual individuals who first promoted such new scriptures was necessarily a further significant factor, as with the shamanic figure of lCe-btsun Seng-ge dbang-phyug who promoted the rDzogs-chen Man-ngag-gi sde scriptures (Karmay 1988:210); although, significantly, we do not know in most other cases who such individuals were. For the PCN, its inclusion of so much older Indic tantric materials, its impressive rituals, its inspirational Vajra verses, and its adoption by unknown but presumably reputed yogins seem on their own to have ensured it an eventual scriptural status without initial recourse to the formal legitimization of either a Tibetan gter-ma or an Indic translational origin.

I suggest that in preserving the two shamanic modalities described above (converting of non-Buddhist elements and initially relying on reputation with no hierarchical history rather than respectability with long traditional pedigree), the PCN (and by extension other rNying-ma-pa tantras) remain closely faithful to Indic tantric culture. My argument is that the conception of a tantric scripture in Buddhist India was very similar to the rNying-ma-pa understanding of a tantric scripture in Tibet: in both cultures, such a scripture was seen as a charismatic text that had to attempt to gain its initial acceptance as authoritative mainly by virtue of its reputation for yogic efficacy rather than by its respectability as the stock of the clerical hierarchy. It served as a typically shamanic mediator between the timeless truths of a received tradition on the one hand, and more specific historical (and sometimes antagonistic) extraneous factors on the other hand. It seems that the reception, adaptation and creation of new religious forms by shamanic individuals to deal with varying historical conditions was, even from an emic point of view, an essential component of the cultural matrices within which tantric scripture was produced in India and Tibet alike. The more static, universalised, and rationalised notions of tantric scripture familiar to

us from the classificatory catalogues of the Tibetan Kanjur and its highly bureaucratic Chinese bibliographical counterparts are, for all their undoubted virtues, outlooks not solely or uniquely attested in Tantric Buddhist India. In denying the role of the shaman in the production of new tantric scripture to meet specific new conditions, the clerical currents in Tibet and China alike in fact moved significantly away from an important aspect of the tantric culture of Buddhist India which they so much venerated, yet in which precisely that ongoing production of major new Tantric scripture which they so abhorred never ceased. Before discussing these topics further, however, I shall first examine the actual data yielded by the PCN.

It is of course impossible to provide an exhaustive revue of the contents of the entire PCN in this introduction. I intend to present here only a few important representative selections from the text which demonstrate respectively Indic, Nepalese, and Tibetan matrices of origin.

### **3.2 Indic materials**

By far the greater part of the PCN comprises typical Tantric Buddhist materials that are undoubtedly the products of an Indic cultural milieu. Over 90% of its contents are indistinguishable from the type of materials found in attestable Indic texts. Contradicting an occasional popular misconception, specialist scholars like Teun Goudriaan have emphasised how most tantric scriptures, whether Hindu or Buddhist, express a knowledge of sophisticated metaphysics and other forms of élite learning, even if their initial formulation might sometimes have been the work of only barely literate yogins (Goudriaan and Gupta 1981:9; Sanderson 1995). The PCN is no exception. It reveals detailed and accurate knowledge of extremely complex Tantric topics such as metaphysics, theories of language and letters, iconography, ritual, mantra, mudrā, and physiology, as well as many general Mahāyāna scholastic categories such as the complex interrelationships between the Five Paths and the Ten Levels. Apart from the inevitable depredations of scribal error in the copying process, the PCN seldom discloses an uneducated or ill-educated hand at work; the level of scholarly input is on the whole consistently high.

In the present study, my concern is with the interrelated issues of canonicity and origins; hence I will not analyze the general teachings of this doctrinally rather typical Mahāyoga text, especially since these themes have already been treated at length by Herbert Guenther, Gyurme Dorje, and others. Rather, I shall focus on a particular theme more specific to this text: the sacrificing and conversion of Śiva by means of the Vajrakīlaya deities and the kīla. Although this theme occurs elsewhere in many other Tantric texts, it is treated as the major focus and a recurring theme through several chapters of the PCN, notably Chapter 7.

Unfortunately, Tibetan studies and Buddhology have for years been bedeviled by a lack of meaningful exchange with Indology. What seems obvious to Indologists is not at all obvious to Buddhologists and Tibetanists, who have on the whole taken the erroneous *a priori* position that many rNying-ma-pa tantric categories are substantially indigenous to Tibet. Hence the phur-pa and the deity Vajrakīlaya alike have been seen as indigenous to Tibet by most Tibetologists. Until I published papers challenging these views (Mayer 1990, 1991), followed by a similar study from Martin Boord (Boord 1993),<sup>3</sup> no one had corrected these rather elementary misunderstandings (although many individuals had already perceived them to be misunderstandings). This is unfortunate, because until such historical confusions are clarified, rNying-ma-pa ritual cannot be adequately understood. As I shall try to show, an appreciation of the Indic context of utterance lends crucial meaning to much rNying-ma-pa material. In the following section, I assume an understanding that the phur-pa and the deity are Indic. Readers who still need convincing of that are referred to the studies mentioned above.

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<sup>3</sup> The bulk of Boord's book deals with the Byang-gter phur-pa tradition, but it also contains some introductory materials outlining the Indic background to these traditions. While our understandings of the deity are quite similar, there are different nuances in how we deal with the kīla as ritual object. While Boord emphasises above all its humble origins as the ubiquitous simple spike used in black magic, I focus more specifically on its aspect as a multiform of the Vedic sacrificial stake, with the many quite complex cultural notations that this implies.

### 3.2.1 'Dul-ba and sgrol-ba in Indic perspective

A central theme of the PCN (and to a certain extent of the Tibetan traditions of this deity in general) is the well-known myth narrating the conquest of the specifically *kāpālika* form of Śiva, here seen as a demon, by Buddhist deities, and of this *kāpālika* Śiva's subsequent conversion to Buddhism ('dul-ba) along with all his accessories and retinues. This great macrocosmic event is then repeatedly re-enacted microcosmically in regular ritual, particularly in the ritual known as *sgrol-ba* (liberation), probably the most important and quintessential *phur-pa* rite.

As in other Mahāyoga literature, the act of converting ('dul-ba) in the PCN is a process with two distinct stages: a demon is first killed, then revived; it is only after undergoing this double process that the demon and his entourage become devotees of their conquerors. There are sacrificial themes in the myth and in *sgrol-ba* which would suggest that the process of conversion can be seen as a rite of passage (cf. Leach 1976:77-93) in which demons (or negativities) are transformed into Bodhisattvas (or wisdom). The process involves slaying the demons with a sacrificial implement (*kīla*), and then feeding their corpses to Buddhist deities who eat, digest, and excrete the demons, a symbolic representation of the transformation of impurity still current in India and which in itself has sacrificial overtones (Parry 1985:621, 623). The demons are finally revived, and become Bodhisattvas. As in other Vajrayāna texts, it is specifically the *kāpālika* form of Śiva and his entourage who appear as the demonic beings who must be converted through their killing and resuscitation by superior Buddhist powers. To sum up, two distinct meanings are conveyed, one "historical" and one soteriological:

(i) a primary killing of the specifically *kāpālika* form of Maheśvara/Rudra,<sup>4</sup> envisaged as a single great event in mythic-

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<sup>4</sup> In the PCN, this figure, the "leader of the proud gods", is on one occasion named as Maheśvara (in Chapter Seven, T85, D207v), while in another passage what appears to be the same figure is referred to as Rudra (Chapter 12, T114, D219r). In a recent extremely valuable publication by R.A Stein, one of the suggestions made is that while the comparatively milder form of Maheśvara appears in a great number of tantras including those of Indic origin, the more fierce and terrible form of Rudra might essentially occur only in a single tantra, the *mDo dgongs-'dus* (itself a text of



historical time past, understood by the tradition to have resulted macrocosmically in the conversion ('dul-ba) of Śaiva Kāpālika ritual to Buddhist uses, and hence, in a sense, to the advent of the important and dominant kāpālika strands of Buddhist Vajrayāna (from yoga tantra onwards up to the later yoginī tantras);

(ii) a homologous microcosmic killing of the kāpālika Rudra (often as a small dough effigy), routinely re-enacted in Mahāyoga ritual principally in the symbolic sacrificial rite of sgrol-ba, intended to effect the transformation of the demonic (symbolised by Rudra) into the virtuous within individual persons.

These general themes, especially the first macrocosmic "historical" theme, are by no means unique to the rNying-ma-pa traditions. On the contrary, they are found in most Sanskritic Vajrayāna literature after the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*

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mysterious origins said to have been translated from the language of 'bru-sha, a tongue sacred to the Bon-po as well), from where it enters various gter-ma cycles (Stein 1995). Note that in the PCN, however, both Maheśvara and Rudra seem equally fierce and terrible. Stein's argument is as follows: he sees the *Me-lce 'bar-ba* (Peking Kanjur 466), the *BDud-rtsi chen-po* (464) and the untitled text that accompanies them (465), which mention Rudra rather than Maheśvara, as forming a group ("ensemble"); then shows the major text in the grouping, the *Me-lce.'bar-ba*, to be a gter-ma text from the 14th century, and explains that its version of the taming myth in important respects repeats the *dGongs-'dus* materials. I have found that the appellation Rudra occurs in Phur-pa tantras other than the PCN. For a few examples from the Thimpu (1973) edition of the NGB, vol 28 (SA): the *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa'i bshad-rgyud dri-med-'od*, Chapter 3, p. 34, names Rudra within the *gdug pa can btul ba'i le'u*, i.e. the taming narrative, pp.33-38. The *Phur-pa mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i rgyud chen-po* Chapter 2, p.286, also mentions Rudra by name, as does the same text at Chapter 4, p.291, and Chapter 6, p.303. There are also other examples. If Stein's hypothesis is correct in suggesting that the older, Indic traditions speak of Maheśvara, while the tantras mentioning Rudra are later Tibetan compilations, derivative of the tradition of the *mDo dgongs-'dus*, it would follow that all these Phur-pa texts are likewise Tibetan compilations ultimately derivative of the tradition of the *mDo dgongs-'dus*. Be that as it may, since in existing rNying-ma-pa sādhanas, the commentarial tradition, other secondary literature, and oral instruction, the name Rudra is more often used than Maheśvara, I have adopted the single and simple appellation Rudra in the chapters below, rather than Maheśvara or Maheśvara/Rudra.

(henceforth STTS; not later than 7th to 8th centuries?),<sup>5</sup> being especially prominent in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition. As the classic origin myth of Vajrayāna's all-important and dominant kāpālika strand, they have been treated at length by a number of previous Western Buddhological scholars (Tucci 1932; Stein AFC 1971-1979; Iyanaga 1985; Snellgrove 1987:136-141; Macdonald 1990; Davidson 1991; Huber 1993:36-39; et.al), although, alas, for various reasons, they remain largely unknown to Indologists.<sup>6</sup> Hence the location of this origin myth ('dul-ba) and its derivative soteriological application (sgrol-ba) within the broader context of Indic ritual culture seems so far to have received less attention from Western scholars than it deserves. It is upon this that I intend to focus.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> These dates for the STTS follow Yukei Matsunaga, 'A History of Tantric Buddhism in India', in *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization, Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Dharma Publishing, 1977. Reprinted in Yukei Matsunaga (ed.), *The Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978) [vii-xix], xvii-xviii. Matsunaga establishes that the shortest text of the STTS was composed around the end of the 7th century, while the largest text of the STTS was completed by the end of the 8th century.

<sup>6</sup> As far as I am aware, only one important version of the converting myth, that of the STTS, is known to have survived in Sanskrit; this single witness gives Sanskritists little inkling of the vast weight of the taming theme in Chinese and Tibetan sources alike. While the taming myth is fundamental and even indispensable to the Yoga, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Yoginī traditions in Tibet, and while these traditions insist on Sanskrit origins for the myth, no extant Sanskrit version survives other than the STTS. Davidson has thus speculated that the taming myth was partly an oral tradition in India (Davidson 1991:203). However, one Indologist is beginning to pay serious attention to these important sources: Alexis Sanderson is now taking a keen interest in this material, a development very much to be welcomed.

<sup>7</sup> At first glance, it might appear (somewhat deceptively) that the conflictual themes of the conversion of Śiva are offset by another quite contrasting frame within which the phenomena of Buddhist/Śaiva intertextuality could also be considered. There is an important and very well known and widely taught theme found in several Mahāyāna Sūtras and in the Yoga-tantras, that identifies Akaniṣṭha as the location within which the bodhisattva dwells as a great being, after achieving omniscience (a full traditional explanation can be found in Lessing and Wayman 1983:21-29). One popular Mahāyāna example is found in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, (Sagāthākam, verse 774, Nanjo edition p. 361, Suzuki 1973:284-5). Other much-quoted examples can be found in the *Ghanavyūha*, and also in the famous Yoga-tantra text, the STTS. Akaniṣṭha is, of

course, traditionally understood as an abode of Maheśvara, and in some Buddhist literature the bodhisattva in his final stages becomes identified with Maheśvara. A good example of this is in the *Daśabhūmika*: here we read that a bodhisattva of the tenth bhūmi often becomes Maheśvara [who resides in the Akaniṣṭha realms of the pure abodes]: *iyam bho jinaputra bodhisattvasya dharmameghā nāma daśamī bodhisattva-bhūmiḥ samāsa-nirdeśataḥ | vistaraśaḥ punar.... | yasyām pratiṣṭhito bodhisattvo bhūyastvena Maheśvaro bhavati devarājah* (Kondō 199.2-5; see also Rahder 94.20-95.6). The \**Mahāyānāvātāra* (T32:46b-47c) further expands on this, explaining that the virtues of the tenth bhūmi do not pertain in the kāmadhātu, and that hence a being cannot become a Buddha in Jambudvīpa; the enlightenment under the bodhi-tree is merely a manifestation or display of the enlightenment that occurs in the pure abode. Similarly, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla describe this state of being of the great Bodhisattva in Akaniṣṭha as "maheśvarabhavana"; the context is the *Pañjikā* on *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3549-3550, in which it is explained that Buddhas are beyond the destinies of saṃsāra, and hence cannot die; the body that appears to achieve enlightenment and die in the human world is only a transformation body of the actual Buddha who dwells in the Akaniṣṭha. An interesting statement possibly with some bearing on these Mahāyāna examples is found also in the *Bhayabherava-sutta* of the Pāli canon: here the bodhisatta gains the fourth jhāna (=Akaniṭṭha), on the basis of which the three knowledges leading to the knowledge of the destruction of the āsavas is attained (M I 21-24; Horner, Middle Length Sayings, I 27-30).

However, this topic has been studied at length by Nobumi Iyanaga in his article "Daijizaiten (Maheśvara)" in *Hōbōgin*, VI (Tokyo and Paris, 1983). It would appear that Maheśvara as Śuddhāvāsa deity is in all probability a quite separate being whose name's being the same as Śiva's is purely coincidental. Thus Iyanaga shows that some of the commentarial literature takes pains to interpret this material in terms that exclude Śaivism: "Dans le *Mahāyāna-avatāra-śāstra* de Sāramatī, Taishō XXXII 1634 ii 46b1-9 (cf. Lamotte, *Traité*, I, p.137-138 en note), on trouve une théorie qui distingue deux sortes de Maheśvara: d'une part, Maheśvara du Monde, connu comme le chef suprême des démons Piśāca; d'autre part, Maheśvara des "Demeures pures" (Śuddhāvāsa), qui est Le Bodhisattva de Dixième Terre. [...] On peut penser que Sāramatī, qui identifie Maheśvara au Bodhisattva de la Dixième Terre, a senti le besoin de le distinguer de Maheśvara-Śiva, dont la croyance générale en Inde fait le chef des démons malfaisants, tels que les bhūta, les preta, les vetāla ou les piśāca, qui hantent les cimetières" (Nobumi Iyanaga, *Hōbōgin*, VI, p.746b-747a).

Nevertheless some genuine syncretism did occur, especially in the later Tantric materials. For example, there is a text in the Tenjur by Udbhaṭṭasiddhisvāmin called the *Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra*, probably available only in Tibetan (sDe-dge bstod-tshogs, KA, 42b5-43b3). The translators are said to have been Rin-chen bzang-po and Jarandhara. As even the first few stanzas show, this text unambiguously praises Śiva as a Buddhist deity: "Homage to the Three Jewels! I seek refuge in he who is/ the god of gods (devātideva),/ the guru of the gods,/ the guru of gurus./ Homage to the Great Lord (Maheśvara),/ who has such greatness,/ might and lordliness,/ and who is free

There is an added complication: the specifically rNying-ma-pa derivation of the practice of *sgrol-ba* from the more general theme of 'dul-ba, so central to the Phur-pa tradition, became notorious as the focus of a polemical debate from the 11th century (Karmay 1980a, 1980b; 1988; Snellgrove 1987:474; etc.). This complex rNying-ma-pa ritual was considered heretical by some opponents, and this issue became prominent in the debate over the authenticity of the rNying-ma-pa tantras as a whole. What I hope to do in this section is look afresh at the vexed issue of *sgrol-ba*, but this time away from the obscure arena of Tibetan polemics and the characteristic circularity of its arguments (although I will return to these later):<sup>8</sup> instead, I wish

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from the three worlds./ With the blaze of wisdom's fire/ he incinerated the triple city/ whose nature is desire and confusion-/ I bow to the city's burner./ He always bears the skull of love (maitri),/ and he is smeared with the ashes of compassion (karuṇā);/ the moon of morality (śīla) adorns his head-/ I bow to the great lord (Maheśvara)". (Trans. John Dunne, Buddha-L, April 27 1994). The story continues with mythological traits of Śiva, all of which are interpreted in Buddhist terms. Jean Naudou, in his work *Les Bouddhistes kaśmīriens au Moyen age* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, pp.210-212), discusses such syncretic devotionism, giving the example of a hymn by Jonarāja which celebrates the underlying unity of all objects of worship, whether Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, or Buddhist. Likewise, as is well known from the popular traditional Buddhist sources, some of the legendary 84 siddhas were described as devotees of Mahādeva. (Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for his advice on this note. I culled much of the material from a "thread" on the email list BUDDHA-L in April-May 1994, which involved several scholars such as Rupert Gethin, Nobumi Iyanaga, Nobuyoshi Yamabe, Dan Lusthaus, Michael Sweet, John Dunne, Lance Cousins, et. al. Buddha L is available at BUDDHA-L@ULKYVM.LOUISVILLE.edu).

<sup>8</sup> What is so mystifying in the critique of *sgrol-ba* by gSar-ma-pa opponents is that the newer Tantras they favoured, especially those of the Yoginītantra type, were significantly more transgressive in their use of killing rituals than the older Mahāyoga texts of the rNying-ma-pa that they criticised. For example, the gentle Atiśa himself is said to have practised the tantric Tārā tradition, whose scriptures contain many killing rites; while the Vajrabhairava and Yamāntaka tantras so favoured by the fiercest critics of the rather staid \*Guhyagarbha tradition are considerably more violent and sanguine than the older and tamer \*Guhyagarbha itself. Indeed, some of these texts must comprise the most unremittingly sanguine texts ever to enter Vajrayāna Buddhism, far more violent than the PCN or the \*Guhyagarbha (see the particular Vajrabhairava and Yamāntaka scriptures used by the dGe-lugs-pa school, described in Siklos 1990). Given that gSar-ma-pa interpretations of such traditions as Yamāntaka clearly included the literal, physical killing of personal enemies from at least as early

to bring a new and so far unexamined perspective to bear in this debate by looking at sgrol-ba as the Indic ritual category (mokṣa) it so clearly was in origin, and to attempt to understand the interrelated complexes of 'dul-ba and sgrol-ba within their original Indic context of utterance.

### 3.2.2 Demon devotees in Indian religions

Far from being indigenous to Tibet, as some may have imagined, the basic structures of the rNying-ma-pa 'dul-ba/sgrol-ba tradition turn out to be a set of clichés somewhat unique to Indic ritual language. Again and again in Indian literature, we find deities, sometimes transgressive "criminals" in themselves, who convert their enemies into their devotees by killing them. Wendy O'Flaherty, Alf Hiltebeitel and others have used the term "demon devotees" for such figures (Hiltebeitel 1989). Hiltebeitel introduces the syndrome as follows:

"Criminal Gods" - if we can take the term criminal metaphorically, and extend it beyond societies with legal systems that give the term a technical application - are perhaps a worldwide phenomenon: gods who violate the sacred codes and boundaries by which other gods, and humans, would seek to live. What is specific to the "criminal gods" of Hinduism is the specifically Indian codes they violate - societal, sexual, theological, culinary, sacrificial - and the way they violate them. *"Demon Devotees", on the other hand, are perhaps uniquely Indian (though not necessarily Hindu), for their mythologies are shaped by a theology of bhakti, or devotion, in which the gods repeatedly convert their demon adversaries - sometimes by defeating them, but more often by killing them (implying the principle of reincarnation) - into their devotees.* Because demons are also violators of sacred codes and boundaries, and because criminals can be regenerated too, there is bound to be overlap

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as the eleventh-century figure of Rva Lo-tṣā-ba onwards (see, e.g., Martin 1990, Dudjom 1991:713), it is difficult to understand the gSar-ma-pa critique of the rNying-ma-pa practice of sgrol-ba. Could the differences have been more polemical than doctrinal?

between these two types." (my italics; Hiltbeitel 1989:1)

Indian religions document innumerable such conversions of demon devotees by killing. They occur in many of the most popular Epic and Purāṇic myths. Moreover, localised multiforms<sup>9</sup> of these Epic and Purāṇic myths occur in all regions of the sub-continent, the more recent or contemporary instances of which afford us direct evidence of the social and cultural dynamics that usually underpin the constant permutations and reformulations of the basic themes. Several of these have by now been researched by modern scholars. Since this topic might be unknown to Tibetological readers, I shall look at a few examples from the Epics and the Purāṇas, and then at a few contemporary examples with reference to their specific socio-historical contexts.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the source-text for the bhakti traditions focused on Kṛṣṇa. It contains several extremely well-known stories of Kṛṣṇa converting demons into his devotees by killing them. One such is the story of the infant Kṛṣṇa encountering a female demon called Pūtanā ("Stinking"). A serial killer of infants with tremendous magical powers, Pūtanā disguised herself as a woman of divine beauty and gained entrance to the infant Kṛṣṇa's home. She smeared her breast with a deadly poison, and offered it to the baby to suck. Well aware of what was happening, the tiny infant eagerly accepted the breast and proceeded to suck out Pūtanā's life force, killing her. On dying, her corpse reverted to its original demonic form. But in killing

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<sup>9</sup> I am using the rather word "multiform" here not in its usual dictionary sense (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary: "*adj.* Having many forms, shapes and appearances; *sb.* That which is multiform"), but as a more or less technical (and perhaps inelegant) Indological term following the well-established usage of several American Indologists. Wendy O'Flaherty, for example, uses the term in the sense I intend it throughout her study *Śiva the Erotic Ascetic* (O'Flaherty 1981:16, 22, 24 etc.). Later scholars such as Alf Hiltebeitel use the term in the same way (e.g., Hiltebeitel 1989:15, "...the liṅgam, a seeming multiform of the Vedic sacrificial stake..", or 1989:363, "...Pōttu Rāja-Pōrmannan's ritual weapons include the trident or pike, a portable multiform of the sacrificial stake, and the whip, a multiform of the rope that binds sacrificial victims to it..."). Likewise, Kathleen Erndl writes, "...a multiform of Bhaironāth appears as Bhairo Bali..." (Erndl 1993:42). In this technical Indological context, then, the term means, more or less, "an alternative form".

the stinking Pūtanā, Kṛṣṇa had destroyed all her sins; as a sign of this, when her demon corpse was cremated, a wonderfully sweet smell was produced. The Purāṇa tells us: "Pūtanā, a slayer of people and infants, a female Rākṣasa, a drinker of blood, had reached heaven...Kṛṣṇa touched her body with his two feet..and so, although an evil sorceress, she obtained heaven" (O'Flaherty 1975:214-217).

Another very well known story from the same source concerns Kṛṣṇa's slaying of the serpent-demon Kāliya. Kāliya had picked a fight with Kṛṣṇa's ally Garuḍa, and had also poisoned a pool of the river Kālindī, causing deadly harm to Kṛṣṇa's friends. Kṛṣṇa jumped in the poisoned pool, and Kāliya attacked him. Unharmmed by the serpent, Kṛṣṇa danced upon Kāliya's multiple heads, slowly crushing and killing him. Seeing that, Kāliya's wives and children surrendered, seeking refuge in Kṛṣṇa alone, with the following words: "You have favoured us, for your punishment of the wicked removes their impurity. Even your anger should be considered an act of grace..". Kṛṣṇa released the prostrate Kāliya, allowing him to revive. Repenting, Kāliya worshipped Kṛṣṇa, and so did Kāliya's wives. They became devotees, never harming others again (O'Flaherty 1975:221-228).

Demon-devotees are equally popular in the Śaiva tradition. The Kūrma Purāṇa tells the story of Andhaka. Produced by Śiva from his own eye, Andhaka ("Blind") was distorted and demonic. He was fostered out to a demon called Hiraṇyanetra. Eventually Andhaka returned as an evil-minded demon blind with lust, intent on raping Śiva's wife Pārvatī. Śiva responded by skewering Andhaka on his trident. Through this process, all Andhaka's sins were burnt away, and he obtained perfect knowledge, and became devoted to Śiva, offering praise. Pleased by this, Śiva made the converted demon-devotee leader of his hosts, with the words: "Your praise has thoroughly pleased me, demon. You will become a leader of my hosts and dwell with me as a follower of the lord Nandin, honoured even by the gods, free from disease or misery, and all your doubts will be dispelled". From now on a leading Śaiva deity, the demon was forgiven his attempted rape by his intended victim Pārvatī, who adopted him as her own obedient son (O'Flaherty 1975:168-173).

Another extremely popular myth is the story of Devī or Durgā

slaying the great Buffalo Demon, Mahiṣāsura, first popularised in the *Devīmāhātmya*. According to the Skanda Purāṇa, the Buffalo Demon was born of the asceticism of the grand-daughter of Diti, who had lost her sons in a battle with the gods. Mahiṣa was all along intended to oppress the gods to avenge the losses of his family members. Invincible, he could not be destroyed by any of the gods, and uniting all the demons into a great army, he wreaked havoc in the heavens, evicting all the gods. Eventually the gods produced Durgā as their joint emanation; she managed to kill Mahiṣāsura, cutting off his head. But Śiva had granted the demon a boon: the boon was that he would meet his death at the hands of the Goddess, since a death at the hands of the Goddess assures release from all sins and low rebirths. Thus it is that after death, Mahiṣāsura became the Goddess's servant, and is nowadays worshipped at her shrines as a subsidiary deity, often called Pōta Rāju, or Pōttu Rāja, etc (O'Flaherty 1975:238-249; Biardeau 1981:238; Hildebeitel 1989:340,355).

In contemporary Jammu, in northwestern India, the great pan-Indian goddess, subduer of Mahiṣāsura, Śumbha and Niśumbha, is worshipped in the form of Vaiṣṇo Devī, eldest of the "Seven Sisters", at a shrine with three svayambhū (naturally occurring) representations (piṇḍī) near a mountain cave. This vegetarian Vaiṣṇo Devī has a meat-eating male attendant, Bhairo. According to a legend which is in part a multiform of the Purāṇic Andhaka myth described above, Bhairo was originally a demon who, mad with lust, attempted to rape Vaiṣṇo Devī, not knowing she was the great goddess. Vaiṣṇo Devī cut off his head in the ensuing struggle; but in the very moment of his death at the hands of Vaiṣṇo Devī, Bhairo received mokṣa (spiritual liberation) through her grace. Now he too receives the worship of pilgrims visiting her shrine, and he works for her as her guardian. As in many Vajrayāna Buddhist converting myths, the demon devotee Bhairo is here clearly associated with the transgressive Tantric Śaiva deity Bhairava, a form of Śiva described in the Purāṇas and found all over India as a folk-deity (in the Purāṇic Andhaka myth, the demon devotee was a son of Śiva). In some versions of the story, Bhairo is explicitly identified with Goraknāth, leader of the Nāth sect and also counted as one of the Buddhist 84 Siddhas. Here he is tamed of his tantric excesses to become a servant of this strictly vegetarian



Vaiṣṇava goddess. It is widely accepted as an historical fact that Śāktism predated Vaiṣṇavism in this region of India. This myth may well be alluding to the local displacement of Śaivism by Vaiṣṇavism; the remaining Nāth followers are still allowed subsidiary rights over the Vaiṣṇo Devī temple complex (Erndl 1989, 1993:40-44).

Khaṇḍobā is a deity worshipped in the Western Deccan, roughly within the three hundred miles between Nasik (north of Bombay) and Hubli (inland from Goa) in the south. He has hundreds of village temples throughout this region, and eleven sacred places where his presence is "especially wakeful" (jāgṛt kṣetra), of which Jejuri in Poona District is the most important. Khaṇḍobā's story is told in the *Mallāri Māhātmya*, which has both Sanskrit and Marathi versions. Once the seven sons of Dharma established a holy and wondrously harmonious ashram on Mt. Mañical. Then a demon chief called Malla, aided by his sidekick and younger brother Maṇi, visited the ashram and set about wrecking it. The ṛṣis who lived there sought help from Indra; but Indra could only regretfully tell them he was unable to help, since the demon brothers' tapas had been so great that Brahmā had been compelled to grant them a boon of unstoppable pillaging. Viṣṇu's response was similar. But when the ṛṣis told their story to Śiva, he was enraged. Emanating a fearsome female form called Ghr̥tamārī, and himself taking a fearsome form called Mārtaṇḍ Bhairav (ie Khaṇḍobā), Śiva came to earth and defeated the demons in a tremendous battle. Yet after their defeat (according to the very fine Sanskrit version of this tale), by the very process of being slain by an emanation of Śiva, the two demon kings were ridded of their ego-clinging (ahaṃkāra), and thus attained union with the deity who slew them; in other words, they attained mokṣa, the highest spiritual goal. Meanwhile Śiva on earth as Khaṇḍobā took over many of the attributes and characteristics of the defeated demon, such as insignia, weapons, vehicles, etc. This story is typical of many that are often understood as commentaries upon a repeated historical social phenomenon, the rise to power of powerful bandit leaders or "robber kings" from outside the Brahmanical fold, usually charismatic leaders of Sūdra castes that achieve regional dominance by armed force (Sontheimer 1989; Sontheimer 1987:16ff; Waghorne 1989).

There are many variant versions of the Khaṇḍobā story; John

Stanley recounts one of them as follows, connected with a specific temple at Jejuri. Maṇi, the junior demon, totally repented after Khaṇḍobā crushed him; undergoing a total change of heart, he became a devotee of Khaṇḍobā, praying for the welfare of all beings, offering Khaṇḍobā his horse, and begging to be constantly in the deity's presence. Maṇi's wish was granted: he now has his place in Khaṇḍobā temples as a demigod, receiving worship there as a servant of the main deity, and Khaṇḍobā is always represented mounted on Maṇi's horse. But his big brother Malla was too wicked to genuinely repent: although he falsely pretended to repent, this did not deceive his conqueror, and did him no good. He was destroyed, and his head buried under the threshold of the Jejuri Khaṇḍobā temple. Unregenerable and unable to do anyone any good, Malla's energies were simply localised and contained under the steps of Khaṇḍobā's temple at Jejuri, from where they at least remain powerless to do any harm. This multiform of the Khaṇḍobā story is used to promote the claims of the Jejuri temple as the premier site in the world for the granting of boons (*navas*) to his *bhaktas* by Khaṇḍobā (Stanley 1989).

Two clear themes emerge. Firstly, Madeleine Biardeau has described how the logic of *bhakti* underpins the phenomena of the demon devotee. In the process of defeat, the demon is made to realise his total dependency on his conqueror. Acknowledging this, the demon takes his place with gratitude at the feet of his Lord as his devotee and servant. Thus the demon "lost his own wayward, but once independent power, for a share of God's own divinity" (Waghorne 1989:406).

Secondly, the demon-devotee syndrome functions as a prime metaphor for cultural mobility. The absorption of the religious categories of one social group into another are typically expressed in terms of the conversion of a demon-devotee. This applies *par excellence* to the absorption of impure meat-eating local deities to a new more orthodox Hindu definition (Biardeau 1981). Hence the importance of the violent *kāpālika Śaiva* forms of Bhairava and Virabhadra, who were conceived as the pre-eminent *kṣetrapāla* emanations of the transcendent Śiva, actually present and resident on earth, and hence always on hand to do the dirty work of forcibly converting the local deities (Sontheimer 1989:332). But it can just as easily apply to the absorption of different strands of elite religion into

one another: for example, Vaiṣṇo Devī's conquest of Bhairava (Erndl 1993:43).

### 3.2.2.1 Śiva as the Buddha's Demon Devotee

The Buddhist myths of the converting of Śiva must be seen in the context of the Indian category of the demon devotee. They are self-evidently a multiform of this theme, demonstrating all its usual range of features. Just as Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, and Durgā convert their demonic adversaries by killing and then reviving them, so the Buddhist deities convert their demonic adversaries in exactly the same way. Just as Śiva emanated special violent forms like Khaṇḍobā (= Mārtaṇḍ Bhairav) specially to tame demons such as Malla and Maṇi, so also the Buddhas emanate the special heruka forms to tame the kāpālīka demons. The Hindu demon devotees can often in themselves be criminal emanations of Śiva (for example Andhaka or Vaiṣṇo Devī's Bhairo); in just the same way the Buddhist demon devotees are usually criminal emanations of Śiva (Bhairava or the kāpālīka form of Rudra). Just as the Hindu conquering deities appropriate the accessories of their victims (for example, Khaṇḍobā takes those of Malla and Maṇi), so also the Buddhist conquerors appropriate the accessories of their victims (the herukas appropriate the kāpālīka apparatus of Rudra or Bhairava). Just as victorious Hindu gods convert their enemies' families and followers along with the demon kings (as did Kṛṣṇa with Kāliya's following), so do the Buddhist herukas convert Bhairava's or Rudra's entourage. Exactly the same logic of bhakti underpins Hindu and Buddhist accounts alike: through defeat, the demon is shown his dependency on the conquering deity, and gratefully becomes a devotee, receiving a share of the victor's enlightenment. Finally, just as the specific multiforms of the Epic and Purāṇic myths are generally thought to be commentaries upon specific historical and social processes, so also the Buddhist story is a commentary upon a specific historical movement: the absorption into Buddhism (at as yet unidentified historical moments) of the transgressive kāpālīka traditions centred mainly on Rudra or Bhairava. Clearly, it makes sense to understand the Buddhist myths within an Indological perspective before attempting to subject them to a Tibetological or Buddhological discussion. In the next section, I shall

first introduce the Buddhist converting myths in tantric literature in general, and then in the PCN in particular.

### 3.2.2.2 The Converting of Maheśvara Myths

In the Indic historical context under discussion (ie the period in which the Yoga, Mahāyoga and \*Anuttarayoga tantras were produced, between the 7th and 12th centuries), myth was more usually the domain of the exoteric Purāṇic rather than the esoteric Tantric scriptures. While Purāṇas typically carried a rich store of mythic/"historical" and other miscellaneous information intended for a general public, esoteric or secret Tantras were predominantly concerned with the more abstract highest spiritual truths, accompanied by specific tantric rites for achieving specific purposes: both the concern of a small initiated Tantric élite. There are therefore comparatively few mythic or other narrative materials in kāpālika tantric scriptures, whether Buddhist or Śaiva. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that the converting of Maheśvara is the only mythic theme carried prominently and consistently throughout the Yoga, Mahāyoga and \*Anuttarayoga strata of Vajrayāna literature. This distinction singles out the converting of Śiva as an important topic for Vajrayāna; as I have pointed out above, this importance hinges on its being the origin myth and legitimating charter of Buddhist kāpālikaism.

There seem to be two main multiforms of the myth current in Tibetan Buddhism, one Mahāyoga concerning the converting of Rudra, and one \*Anuttarayoga, describing the converting of Bhairava. Although describing essentially the same process, they have slightly different narratives and seem to be describing the conversion of different forms of Śiva.

An early prototype, possibly a common source for both later traditions, goes back to the most important text of the Yogatantra tradition, the STTS (Iyanaga 1985; Snellgrove 1987:136-141; Davidson 1991:198-202). This version is still current in East Asian

Buddhism.<sup>10</sup> Here the evil Śaiva demon devotee *per se* has the name Maheśvara, but he emanates wrathful kāpālika forms called variously Mahābhairava and Mahāraudra to do battle with his vanquisher, the yakṣa-bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who in his turn takes the form of Mahāvajrakrodha to win this struggle. Maheśvara/Mahābhairava/Mahāraudra is identifiably a kāpālika deity by more than mere name: Vajrapāṇi mocks him with the words "you eater of corpses and human flesh, you who use the ashes of funeral pyres as your food, as your couch, as your clothing!" (Snellgrove, 1987:140). All the essential elements of the later converting myth are present: Vajrapāṇi emanates special wrathful forms which slay and then revive Maheśvara and his retinues, and in the end Maheśvara becomes transformed into an enlightened being with a new Buddhist name,<sup>11</sup> and all his followers become bodhisattvas. The crucial point is that this converting episode is generally seen to mark the rise to prominence of Vajrapāṇi, who, as traditional source of all Vajrayāna scriptures, is himself inextricably linked to the development of Vajrayāna Buddhism (Snellgrove 1987:136; Davidson 1991:198ff).

The Yoginī tradition in Tibet, especially the Cakrasaṃvara branch of it, accords great importance to the converting myth. Most Tibetan Yoginītantra commentaries and a host of related works include frequent references to the important genesis or charter myth of the

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<sup>10</sup> Iyanaga notes that references to taming (gobuku and jobuku) are widespread in the Taishō indices, but he only actually cites those few examples in which he has a particular interest:

[1] The *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, the first of the 18 assemblies of the *Kongo-cho-kyo*. [2] The second assembly of the *Kongo-cho-kyo*, the *\*Sarvatathāgata-guhyapātiyoga*. [3] The fourth assembly of the *Kongo-cho-kyo*, the *\*Trilokavijayavajrayoga*. [4] A large number of commentaries upon the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*. These texts are attributed to the translational lineages of the Indian masters Subhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra. Davidson (1991:203) gives another Chinese source, which might be identical to one of the above: [5] *Trailokya-vijaya-mahākālpa-rāja*.

<sup>11</sup> Bhasmeśvara. Śiva is converted and receives this name already in the Sanskrit (but not Chinese or Tibetan) *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (P.L. Vaidya, ed. *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part 1, Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, No. 17, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1961: page 304).

Yoginī tradition, which describes the Buddhist conquest and appropriation of Śaiva tantrism and explains the iconographic similarity of Cakrasaṃvara to Śiva, and the related use of the prostrate Śaiva deities as the seats of the Buddhist kāpālika pantheon. The myth itself has already been dealt with by a number of Western authors in relation to Bu-ston's commentary on the *Abhidhānottara-tantra* (Kalff 1979), Tibetan pilgrimage sites (Macdonald 1990; Huber 1993), Sa-skya-pa history (Davidson 1991), and the relationship between Śaivism and Buddhism (Sanderson 1995), and I see no point in recycling their work here. In more general terms, Snellgrove, Sanderson and others have recognised the myth as an indicator of the dependence of the Yoginītantras upon Śaivism (Snellgrove 1987 152ff, 462-3; 1988:1361; Sanderson 1995). What has not yet been approached by Buddhological scholars is any attempt to understand this myth in Indological perspective: who exactly (from the Indological point of view) are the Śaiva forms tamed in the Yoginī tradition? Why and how and when did the Buddhists incorporate them? Nor is this enterprise very easily undertaken by Indological scholars on the basis of the myth itself, since no extant Sanskrit texts of the Yoginītantra version have so far been found.<sup>12</sup> Despite these difficulties, however, a considerable amount of directly relevant work has now been done by Alexis Sanderson (Sanderson 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995). Not only has Sanderson studied the taming myths from Tibetan sources, but he has also text-critically analyzed Buddhist Yoginītantras in the light of specific early Śaiva tantras, and has found substantial textual evidence that clearly confirms the interpretation of the converting narrative as an origin or charter myth for the Yoginītantras (some fundamentalist Buddhist scholars have tried to deny this interpretation). I will describe his important findings below. They are indicative of what might be possible for a similar study relating to Mahāyoga and Vajrakīlaya.

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<sup>12</sup> R.A. Stein found the following sources for the taming myth in the Tenjur, which are hopefully translations from Sanskrit:

[1] A commentary by Indrabhūti, Peking bsTan-'gyur 2129.

[2] Two commentaries by Vajra, Peking bsTan-'gyur 2128 and 2140.

[3] A commentary by Nāropa, Peking bsTan-'gyur 4628.

[4] Peking bsTan-'gyur. No.2624 [sic].

A study of these sources is clearly desirable.

A key feature of the Yoginītantra tradition in general and its Cakrasaṃvara cycle in particular are the well-known 24 power places. These play an important part in the Yoginītantra converting myth, which I shall summarise: A variety of evil non-human spirits occupy and rule over the 24 power places; they invite Śiva in extreme kāpālīka form as Bhairava and his consort Kālarātri/Kālī to be their lord, and they rule the 24 power-places in Bhairava's name. Bhairava is too busy making love to Kālarātri/Kālī to visit the sites in person, so he sets up liṅgams to represent himself and receive worship in each of the 24 power places. In this way, Bhairava and his following establish control over all who move in the entire triple world (khecara, bhūcara and nāgaloka), and encourage transgressive tantric practices that lead beings to hell. In response, Buddhist herukas emanate in forms identical to Bhairava, kill Bhairava, revive him, convert him to Buddhism, absorb all his wealth and power, and seize the power places and Bhairava's accoutrements, consorts and retinues and even mantras for their own Buddhist use. Bhairava and Kālarātri joyfully offer themselves in devotion as the Heruka's seats, as do all their following (Kalff 1979:67-76; Huber 1993:38-39). This narrative of the Yoginītantras possibly differs from the earlier versions in that the Śaiva deities are no longer revived and converted to Buddhism, and assigned positions on the periphery of the Buddhist maṇḍala: on the contrary, they disappear altogether, while their forms, mantras, sacred sites and so on are directly usurped by Buddhism (Sanderson 1995).

From this Buddhist narrative we get a picture that seems to correspond to Bhairava in his classic Kṣetrapāla function: it is a standard arrangement in Śaivism that every power-place has a Goddess, a cremation-ground, a tree, and a Bhairava who is the Kṣetrapāla (Alexis Sanderson, personal communication, March 1996). Much more precisely, however, Sanderson has located exact Śaiva sources for the Buddhist Yoginītantras among the extreme kāpālīka Vidyāpīṭha section of the Śaiva canon, which is devoted to the worship of Bhairava and Kālarātri. He has shown that the Buddhist Yoginītantras are textually heavily dependent upon long passages drawn from the Vidyāpīṭha tantras, in the sense that there are substantial passages redacted from the Śaiva texts into the Buddhist ones. To establish this, Sanderson has identified whole chapters from

the Śaiva *Picumata* or *Brahmayāmala* (PM), *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (YS) section of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (SYM), the *Nīśisaṃcaratantra* (NS) and the *Tantrasadbhāvantra* (TS) which are worked into the Buddhist Yoginītantras. For example, the Buddhist *Laghusaṃvaratantra* has at least 150 verses that are redacted in from the Śaiva YS, TS, SYM and PM. Likewise, Sanderson shows the all-important Buddhist list of the 24 pīṭhas found in the *Laghusaṃvara*, the *Saṃvarodaya*, the *Abhidhānottara*, and the Buddhist *Yoginīsaṃcāra* to originate in the Śaiva *Tantrasadbhāva*. A corruption in the Śaiva exemplar used by the redactor of the Buddhist *Laghusaṃvara*, where the list entered Buddhism, has led to an incoherent reading in all Buddhist versions, and this makes the direction of transmission from the Śaiva text into the Buddhist tradition unmistakable (Sanderson 1993, 1995). Sanderson also demonstrates that some of the names of the Buddhist yoginī scriptures are calques upon the titles of the Śaiva texts they are based upon; for example, the Buddhist name *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* is a calque on the Śaiva name *Sarvavīrasamāyoga*, and the Buddhist name *Ḍākiṅjālasaṃvara* is a calque on the Śaiva name *Yoginījālasaṃvara* (Sanderson 1991:8). Clearly then, in this case, we can precisely identify the Yoginītantra converting myth as a commentary (perhaps even a contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous one) upon the absorption into Buddhism of the Śaiva traditions connected specifically with PM, YS, SYM, NS, TS, and other related materials. Exactly where, when and why this happened is not yet clear. The possibility of making similar links between Śaivism and other Vajrayāna traditions is an exciting prospect, since it would bring our understanding of the historical origins of Buddhist tantra into a much sharper focus.

As far as I am aware, the taming myth of the Mahāyoga tradition to which the PCN belongs is very similar to that of the NGB's Anuyoga tradition. Although the Mahāyoga/Anuyoga myth follows the familiar pattern of the conversion of a Śaiva demon-devotee (in this case a kāpālīka form of Rudra with three heads, six arms, four legs and two wings), and is explicitly an origin or charter myth of the Mahāyoga/Anuyoga traditions, no precise source for this material within the Śaiva canon has yet been identified. Given the



emphasis on the transformation ("digestion") of the Śaiva deities in the Mahāyoga myth, it is possibly less likely that direct textual borrowings from Śaivism along the lines of the Yoginītantras will be found; rather, we can expect to find a set of calques and adaptations of Śaiva sources. Text dependence (rather than "lexical" dependence) seems to have begun with the later Yoginītantras, and to be extensive only with the Saṃvara cycle.

Many Western scholars have dealt with the Mahāyoga/Anuyoga converting myth (Stein AFC 1972-4, Dorje 1987, Mayer 1991, Kapstein 1992, Boord 1993) and I have no need to reproduce their work here. Dorje's translation of the converting account in Chapter 15 of the \**Guhyagarbha-tantra*, along with Klong-chen-pa's commentary on it, is particularly useful, and makes its meaning as an origin or charter myth extremely clear. But some significant distinctions between the Mahāyoga and the Yoginī myths have not yet been clarified, nor have Indological perspectives on the Mahāyoga myth been approached; I shall deal briefly with these two topics below.

Unlike the Yoginītantras, where conversion myths only appear in the commentarial literature, the Mahāyoga/Anuyoga tantras most frequently preserve them within the body of the main tantras themselves (as does the STTS). From a cursory reading, I estimate that a high proportion of Mahāyoga scriptures from the NGB contain at least some reference to the conversion of Śiva. Among the Phur-pa scriptures, I have found converting myths in the *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa'i bshad-rgyud dri-med 'od*, [NGB Sa, 28]; in the *Phur-pa mya-ngan-las-das-pa'i rgyud chen-po* [NGB Sa, 28]; as well as in the PCN Chapter 7. Guided to them by the rNying-ma-pa scholar Khetsun Zangpo, Stein studied what appear to be Mahāyoga converting accounts in the following NGB tantras: [1] the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa*, the main Anuyoga scripture, P 452, T.829; [2] the *Me-lce 'bar-ba*, P 466, T842; [3] P.464; [4] P.465; [5] P.462; [6] P.62 (sic); [7] the *Me-lce 'phreng-ba* (sic). Davidson (1991:203) identifies a few more that might be of the Mahāyoga type, in the *Vajraśekhara-mahāyoga-tantra* (T 480, sDe-dge rgyud-'bum Nya, fols.237a-247b) and in the *Candraguhya-tilaka-mahātantrarāja* (sDe-dge rgyud-'bum Ja, fols. 281a-287a).

The Mahāyoga/Anuyoga myth makes no mention of the 24 pīṭhas, but can (especially in the Anuyoga variants) mention a single

cemetery, sometimes situated in Laṅkā, in which the demon-devotee Rudra lives. Echoing in part a theme from earlier Buddhist tantras, it tries to claim a Buddhist origin in a previous aeon for the Śaiva traditions being absorbed. Thus Rudra is described as having had a previous existence in a past kalpa as an errant Buddhist called Thar-pa nag-po, or "Black Liberation". His misunderstanding of the Vajrayāna teachings and consequent transgressive actions are said to have led him via a long stay in hell to eventual rebirth in our kalpa as Rudra. The Buddhist story seems to lampoon Śaiva myths of the parthenogenetic birth of Rudra: on the contrary, say the Anuyoga texts, Rudra was born from the union of a prostitute and unknown demonic clients; by eating his mother as soon as he was born, he gave the illusion of being produced parthenogenetically. Rudra lived in the cemetery in which he was born, from where he developed the historic Śaiva kāpālīka tradition, and eventually took over the world. As with the Bhairava of the Yoginī tradition but unlike the evil Maheśvara of the STTS, Rudra is consistently identified as the "King of the Māras", thus demonstrating a Buddhist association of kāpālīka forms of Śiva with Māra that is apparently adumbrated as early as the *Māratajjaniya Sutta* of the Pāli MN, where the cemetery-dwelling Mahākāla, brother of Kālī, is said to be a Māra (Gombrich 1994:15).

More specific to Mahāyoga and especially to its Vajrakīlaya variants, sacrificial and digestive themes appear in the conversion myth. In the *\*Guhyagarbha-tantra*<sup>13</sup>, the flesh and blood of Rudra is consumed, digested and excreted by the Buddhist deities to achieve his conversion (although they refuse to eat Rudra's heart and sense organs). In the PCN, after Maheśvara himself is killed, a second round of conversion is used to deal with Maheśvara's attendant Vighnarāja (this refinement is presumably a specialisation connected with Vajrakīlaya's specific function of overcoming vighna or obstacles).<sup>14</sup> Here the killing is done with a kīla, iconographically described as a

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<sup>13</sup> Alexis Sanderson has suggested that the original title of this text was possibly *Guhyakośa*; he has found references to a *Guhyakośa* in Sanskrit commentaries by Bhavabaṭṭa and Vilāsavajra, that would seem to fit the text now known as *\*Guhyagarbha* (Sanderson 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Vajrakīlaya's basic mantra is an invocation to bind the vighna, or obstacles.

multiform of the sacrificial stake or *yūpa*, after which Vighnarāja's corpse is eaten as food by the Buddhist deity "Devourer Vajrakumāra" (za-byed rdo-rje gzhon-nu).

These sacrificial themes within the myth are explicitly reenacted in the famous Mahāyoga rite of *sgrol-ba* or *mokṣa*, itself an elaborate calque on Śaiva ritual in which a dough effigy (*liṅga*) of Rudra is often used to represent the sacrificial victim.<sup>15</sup> Here the effigy usually symbolises the sacrificer's own *ahaṅkāra* and other negativities, but very exceptionally can stand for an actual external enemy. The link between the Rudra of the myth and the Rudra of *sgrol-ba* is quite explicit in either case. To give an example, Chapter 12 of the PCN is concerned with the rarer kind of *sgrol* in which an actual specific human enemy is targeted; the interlocutor Karmaheruka asks the Lord Vajrakīlaya: "The teachings on the wrathful *kīla* took for the field of liberation the proud (Śaiva) gods in a bygone era [ie the Rudra of the myth and his retinue]; but whom should present day yogis wishing to practice in the same way take as the focus of their attentions, upon whom should they (practice liberation)?" In reply, a list of seven types of evildoers is given, all of whom are carefully associated with Rudra. They include those most heinous of sinners who kill their parents, destroy Buddhism, and practice black magic: "since such constitute the real Rudra", Vajrakīlaya explains, "even in liberating them with the *abhicāra* one remains unstained by sin".

In such practice of *sgrol-ba* as literal killing, the yogin attempts to destroy the bodies of evil persons and forcibly transfer their mind-streams to higher realms through the power of his ritual magic alone; no physical contact is allowed, and the practice is done at a distance. That the victim's mental continuum must be sent to a higher realm is firmly established in even the earliest materials of this kind. A Dunhuang ms which has several passages found in the PCN describes how in *sgrol-ba* the victims' bodies "will be smashed into dust, while their minds will be established in the supreme essence of complete liberation; think of them as being transformed into the basic state

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<sup>15</sup> For a detailed study of *sgrol-ba*, see Cantwell forthcoming.

which has no own-being whatsoever<sup>16</sup>" (IOL MSS Tib J 754, 81-82; translated in Mayer and Cantwell 1994:60). It is this "establishing" of the victim's mind in "complete liberation" that gives the rite its name, *sgrol-ba* or *mokṣa*, ie spiritual liberation. This is congruent with Śaiva sanguinary ritual in general, in which the victim achieves enlightenment or heaven. More specifically, as I have already pointed out above, virtually identical rituals of eradication can be found within the surviving Śaiva corpus. The *Viñāśikha-tantra*, for example, has a rite called *mokṣa*, in which an effigy is stabbed with a *kīla*, sometimes described as triangular, just like the Tibetan *phur-pa* (Goudriaan 1978:374; personal communication, Jan. 23, 1990), while the victim identified with the effigy is said to achieve *mokṣa* (Brunner-Lachaux 1988:248).

The Buddhist commentarial tradition (as it has come down to us) warns that there is no easy evasion of the law of karma in this practice. Even if much positive merit is generated by it, a yogin who intentionally kills specific demonic beings by *sgrol-ba* will still certainly have to suffer the full karmic retribution of taking life, unless he has with absolute certainty achieved the advanced *siddhis* that allow him to transfer the consciousness to a higher realm at will; on the other hand, if he does have such mastery, then he will not only benefit his victim, but will also gain power and an extended life-force for himself. In general, however, only a few of the most advanced or heroically compassionate yogins are capable of taking on such a potentially dangerous duty, to free specific demons from their demonic forms which can only perform negative acts, and liberate them into more positive rebirths from which progress is possible. In this way *sgrol-ba* is closely linked to the Mahāyāna tradition of exchanging one's own good fortune for the suffering of others (Nyima 1989:48-9): while the demon is despatched to a blissful higher realm and liberated from the demonic life-form which was incapable of virtue, the courageous yogin who killed him might well incur some karmic retribution for deliberately taking life, and will himself suffer illness

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<sup>16</sup> /*khro bo'i sprul pas bgig kyi lus drul phran bzhin bshigs/ lsems nam par thar pa'i mchog gi snying po la bgod/ lrang bzhin rngos po las ci yang ma yin ba'i ngang du gyur par bsam/*

and untimely death as a result, unless his mastery of the transference process is absolutely total.

This understanding of a Buddhist mercy-killing as a noble self-sacrifice and an expression of loving-kindness is derived from Mahāyāna literature. It is found, for example, in Sūtra 38 of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (Taishō 310, pp.594-607). Here the Buddha recalls how in a past life as a bodhisattva he stabbed to death with a spear a wicked bandit intent on the mass-murder of some merchants, and how this killing was an act of great merit, in that it saved the victim from a very long period in hell; furthermore, in doing the killing himself, the Buddha had saved others from having to accumulate the evil karma associated with it, taking this burden on himself instead (Chang 1983:456). An important commentarial text, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, makes the same point (Asaṅga ed. Wogihara, pp 165-167).

The rNying-ma-pa tradition makes an apparent allusion to the *Ratnakūṭa* story: an often-repeated formulation contained in the popular Yang-le-shod narrative (see below) states that

"Viśuddha Heruka is like a merchant engaging in trade; the achievement can be great, but so can the obstacles. Kīlaya is like an armed escort; he is needed to overcome the obstacles" (Tsogyal 1993:53).

To the basic Mahāyāna ethical structure the Vajrakīlaya practice of sgrol adds various tantric skilful means: for example, in sgrol, the actual taking of the victim's life can be done by forms or emanations of Mahākālī (such as rDo-rje sder-mo and Śvānamukhī), and Mahākālī is believed to directly confer liberation on all whom she kills. In addition, a type of transference of consciousness yoga (gnas-lung, lit. "tying to the higher realms") must be practised by the yogin, helping raise the victim's consciousness to an exalted new rebirth.

But such literal destruction of an evildoer was a very exceptional form of sgrol-ba indeed, intended to be used only in the direst of situations by accomplished and selfless great bodhisattvas prepared to pay the potentially high karmic price if the transference to a higher birth was unsuccessful. In nearly all cases, as we can see from the traditional literature, it was the yogin's own inner spiritual hindrances

that comprised the enemy. In this more usual form, *sgrol-ba* was very widely integrated into a large variety of popular tantric practices, especially the *gaṇacakra* celebration. The basic structure of these rituals is that *ahaṃkāra* and the *kleśa*, in the form of a dough effigy of Rudra, are destroyed and liberated into wisdom. These rituals can be extremely varied, but nearly always include the effigy of Rudra and its transfixion with a *kīla*. To give one fairly typical example, in NP, a modern *Vajrakīlaya* cycle, *sgrol-ba* is achieved through Rudra being transfixed with a *kīla*, bombarded with black mustard, sliced with a model sword, dismembered, and then fed to the deities and the tantric circle (*gaṇa*) as sacramental food. In this way, *sgrol-ba* is understood as a sacrificial rite of passage that repeats the sequence of the taming myth, marking the progress from ego-clinging to liberation. The sacrificial victim (Rudra=*Māra*=*ahaṃkāra*), the sacrificer (the yogin) and the main recipients of the sacrifice (guru, *iṣṭadevatā*, *ḍākiṇī* and *gaṇa*) are all ultimately different aspects of the practitioner's own person.

*Sgrol-ba* is a major topic within *rNying-ma-pa* doctrine, covering a broad spectrum of meanings. Another very important aspect is its inclusion within the category of *drag-po mngon-spyod* or *abhicāra*, the fourth of the four modes of enlightened activity (*'phrin-las-bzhi* or *catvāri karmāṇi*, ie *zhi-ba/śānti*, *rgyas-pa/puṣṭi*, *dbang/vaśa* etc.). These four are seen as the different styles through which tantric deities express their enlightened activity for the sake of beings. In this sense, *sgrol-ba* becomes an activity performed spontaneously by the deity being invoked, over which the supplicant yogin has no control and for which he has no direct responsibility. For example, a yogin might perform the ritual invocations of *Vajrakīlaya*, urge *Vajrakīlaya* to perform the four enlightened activities throughout time and space, and then dedicate the merit in a very general way for the enlightenment of all beings. If *Vajrakīlaya* in his spontaneous expression of enlightened activity takes the lives of several demons as a result, this has no potentially dangerous karmic repercussions for the yogin performing the invocation; indeed, the yogin might have no knowledge whatsoever of the result of the ritual, nor have envisaged any particular result when doing it. The activity of *sgrol-ba* is widely invoked in this very general way, as one of the four enlightened activities to which deities

are constantly urged through offerings and supplications.

To sum up, *sgrol-ba/mokṣa* is a Buddhist adaptation of Śaiva sacrificial and eradictory ritual. In *rNying-ma-pa* *sādhana* practice, it is typically transposed into ritual through the medium of the Mahāyoga origin myth of the conversion of Rudra. The transposition is appropriate because, as is so often the case in the conversion of demon-devotees, the procedure is concerned above all with the eradication of *ahaṃkāra* through a spiritually transformative process of killing and reviving (Hiltebeitel 1989:354-5; Sontheimer 1989:329). Thus the full panoply of *kāpālika* *abhicāra* and sanguinary ritual is symbolically enjoyed to the full in *mokṣa* (there is of course only an effigy to be sacrificed, not a living victim), but they are applied to Mahāyāna Buddhist purposes.

The above discussion again raises the question of the controversy over *sgrol-ba* in Tibet. The complaint that *sgrol* was practised literally, if true, might be to some extent illuminated by understanding the gulf between *mokṣa*'s original Indic context of utterance and its later reception in Tibet. Perhaps the full multivalent range of Indic cultural meanings associated with *mokṣa* were insufficiently accessible to some Tibetans, leading to a heavy-handed and narrow literalism in the interpretation of a symbolism that carried much lighter, broader and more subtle nuances to Indians, who were familiar with it as a commonplace literary motif found throughout their epics and *purāṇas* and rituals. On the other hand, this seems unlikely, given the sophisticated interpretations we find in the Tibetan texts and oral traditions. Perhaps it is more probable that there were social reasons why groups of proto-*rNying-ma-pa* yogins actually did - or were perceived to - practise "killing" rituals literally. It is also interesting that the non-controversial tantras of the *gsar-ma* period themselves contained numerous killing rites that were clearly taken literally by many, yet these texts caused no dispute in Tibet. Some aspects of the controversy still remain puzzling.

Finally, although we do not yet know from which precise section of the Śaiva canon the raw materials that became Mahāyoga entered into Buddhism, we can identify several indicative themes not found in any other Vajrayāna traditions but which are consistently present in Mahāyoga. In particular there are the distinctive iconographical

features of the Mahāyoga heruka, and the sacrificial and digestive themes of the taming myth. Further Indological research in this area is clearly a major desideratum for rNying-ma-pa studies.

### 3.3 The Conversion of the Four Malodorous Mumbling Earth-Mistresses: the Evidence Attributed to Nepal

Chapter 13 of the PCN lists the mantras used in the practice of the Vajrakīlaya cycle. The following mantras stand alone at the very end of the list of with no explanation whatsoever as to their name, origin, purpose or function:

Kha kha durmati marung rulu rulu hūṃ hūṃ bhyo bhyo  
 Kumadari  
 Śudari  
 Camundari  
 Kaṅkadari  
 Kharaṃ yoginī  
 Samaya amṛta arghaṃ pratīccha khāhi

Chapter 15 of the PCN describes the iconographic features of some of Vajrakīlaya's entourage. It includes the following verse, with no explanation as to context:

[When] the Lord sugata blood-drinker  
 Is surrounded by the four goddesses [on] four lotuses,  
 Their bodies are all of different colours,  
 And generated from [the syllables] ku, śu, ca and kaṃ.

Finally, in Chapter 19, the Mantroddhāra, the mantras are given a second time, but in a simple cypher based on ascribing numbers to each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Upon reconstitution, they come out as follows:

Ka ka durmatimatam rulu rulu hūṃ hūṃ bhyo bhyo  
 Kunmandari  
 Ḍṣuldari



Camundhari  
 Kaṅkadari  
 Kharam yokinī  
 Khāi  
 Samaya amritha argam pratija khāi

These names of goddesses are by and large quite acceptably Indic. The tradition could easily have interpreted their presence in the text in a perfectly standard and clerically acceptable way, as part of Vajrakīlaya's regular retinue since time immemorial, when his maṅḍala was first emanated in Akaniṣṭha. Yet instead, the rNying-ma-pa frequently prefer to explain the presence of these goddesses *historically*, a strategy not easily reconciled with the clerical interpretation of Buddhist scripture.

According to the sādhana and commentarial traditions (the PCN itself gives no indication), these passages derive from a famous event in the history of the Vajrakīlaya tradition and of rNying-ma-pa Buddhism as a whole, namely the conversion by Padmasambhava of troublesome Nepalese goddesses, and his binding of them into service as protective deities within the Vajrakīlaya maṅḍala. The story must be very old, since it is attested in the Dunhuang ms Pelliot Tibétain 44 (Bischoff and Hartman 1971; Stein 1978). It is also very popular, being one of the best known stories about Padmasambhava, and is found in such sources as the famous *Zangs-gling-ma* biography of Padmasambhava, discovered as gter-ma by Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192) (Tsogyal 1993:53).

There are very many variants, but the main core narrative is reasonably consistent: it describes how Padmasambhava's meditation in the Yang-le-shod Asura Cave at Pharping (South of Kathmandu) was interrupted by various spirits including four demonesses (bse-mo, usually understood as seductive female demons). Padmasambhava responded by sending off to Nālandā for the collected volumes of the Vajrakīlaya cycle (here called the Hundred Thousand Sections of the Vidyottama). By means of this he overcame all obstacles, and the obstructing goddesses offered him their lives and were bound into service as servants of the Vajrakīlaya maṅḍala. Hence these goddesses became part of the Vajrakīlaya tradition, and are invoked and

worshipped to this day in Vajrakīlaya ritual.

In many sources the bse-mo goddesses are identified as part of a twelvefold group of Vajrakīlaya protectors tamed by Padmākara in Nepal, namely the four Śvāna sisters, the four bse-mo sisters, and the four Remati sisters. Even lines in the "canonical" Dumbu text of the Kanjur, as edited by the ultra-clerical Sa-skya Paṇḍita, are normally understood to be referring to these twelve (cf DG:138 line 6),<sup>17</sup> who can also sometimes be counted in various ways towards the well-known "Twelve Established Goddesses" (brtan-ma bcu-gnyis). It is not impossible that the PCN takes its name from the twelve goddesses as Phur-pa protectors.

A good place to see their appearance in later ritual is the version found in the famous Sa-skya Phur-chen (SPC). SPC gives a list of bse-mo goddesses connected with this episode as follows:

- [1] Kunlandhara who lives in a lake of melted butter in central Nepal (44r,3 - 44v,2);
- [2] Śulendhara who lives in the "hot valley" in a lake of fat (44v,2 - 45r,1);
- [3] Camundhara who lives in Mang country in a lake of rakta (45r,1 - 45r,6);
- [4] Kaṃkadhara who lives in sNye-nam-brin in a lake of milk (45r,6 - 45v,5).

These are explicitly identified with the following words as the Earth-mistresses (sa-bdag rgyal-mo) who came from Nepal, and were subdued by Padmasambhava at Yang-le-shod:

In the rock-cave of Yang-le-shod

In the presence of the ācārya Padmākara

[You] made your promises and were bound under oath;

[You] promised to [be] the Phur-pa protectresses, four bse

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<sup>17</sup> *bdag nyid chen mo'i dus la bab* = 4 Remati sisters;  
*sa bdag chen mo'i dus la bab* = 4 bse-mo sisters  
*khyi yi gdong can dus la bab* = 4 Śvāna sisters

goddess sisters! (SPC:44,2-3).<sup>18</sup>

The author of SPC further describes them as having "the disagreeable speech of Southern Nepal, unclear and indistinct", and as having "a disagreeable odour". The PCN gives the list as Kumadari or Kunmandari (=SPC Kunlandhara), Śudari or Ḍṣuldari (=SPC Śulendhara), Camundari or Camundhari (=SPC Camundhara) and Kaṅkadari or Kaṅkadari (=SPC Kaṅkadhara).

As in its conversion of Śaivism in India, Buddhism was here using a shamanic stratagem to absorb non-Buddhist traditions. Within the alternative reality of meditation and ritual, Padmasambhava was able to assert Buddhist dominance over non-Buddhist forces and thereafter incorporate once hostile deities into his own sacred maṅḍala. In doing this, he produced new forms of scriptural and religious life that mediated as required between the received tradition from Nālandā and specific local religious categories in Nepal. Conversion of this type was (and still remains) a commonplace of Indian religion in general (Hiltebeitel 1989). It was widely employed in Indian tantric Buddhism, as witnessed by the unceasing process of mystically-inspired bricolage (cf Lévi-Strauss 1976:16ff) evidenced in its scriptures.

But within the context of Tibetan Buddhism, and perhaps of Tantric Buddhism as a whole, the frank acceptance of such stratagems as *historical* events that can nevertheless be incorporated into scripture, brings into sharp focus a key point of disagreement between

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<sup>18</sup> Following the draft translation by Cathy Cantwell. Similar passages identifying the goddesses as those tamed by Padmākara at Yang-le-shod occur in numerous sādhanas. A pattern found in many Mahāyoga sādhanas texts (and not only in Phur-pa texts) is to identify three moments of taming. NP las-byang's "Promise" gtor-ma, or chad-tho/chad-mdo, describes them as: (1) in Akaniṣṭha, at the first proclamation of the Kīlaya cycle; (2) at Yang-le-shod in Nepal, when Padmākara etc. opened the maṅḍala of Vajrakīlaya there; (3) in the three iron fortresses of Mon-kha sna/ne'u-ring in Tibet (modern Bhutan), when Padmākara opened the maṅḍala of Vajrakīlaya with Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal and other Tibetan disciples (NP las-byang:138-141). In a gter-ma Guru-yoga practice also by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che (the *Bla-ma thugs-kyi sgrub*), a similar three moments are counted, except that the last one is identified as the Copper Coloured Mountain here and now, within the practitioner's heart (Cantwell 1989:207).

clerical and shamanic understandings of Tantric scripture. From another point of view, it might also represent a difference between earlier "rawer" and later more polished forms of *kāpālika* Buddhism. Be that as it may, the predominantly shamanic *rNying-ma-pa* tradition sees no problem in admitting a concrete historical event into a scripture purportedly uttered in its entirety by the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra and collated by the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. For the *rNying-ma-pa*, the source of all scripture is in the "Fourth Time" beyond past, present and future; both the text received from Nālandā and the additions made to it by Padmasambhava at Yang-le-shod are equally expressions of the same Samantabhadra speaking from the same timeless reality; both are equally descended to earth through the Three Types of Transmission, namely the Mind Transmission of the Buddhas, the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādhara, and the Heard Transmission of the Yogins. From the Tibetan clerical point of view, this is suspect or even illegitimate. Valid tantras were uttered by the historical Buddha (in transcendent form) at a unique historical moment, and certainly could not be added to once uttered. In their view, any such additions are by definition apocrypha, and the inclusion of the verses alluding to Yang-le-shod in themselves constitute sufficient evidence to firmly identify the PCN as an apocryphon.

### **3.4 Arrow Sorcery and Problematic Mantras: The Evidence From Tibet.**

Remarkably few of the actual materials (in the sense of lexical items or "building blocks") of the PCN are obviously Tibetan in origin, and none of them are incontrovertibly Tibetan (although the redaction of these materials is a separate issue, which I shall discuss below). There is a fleeting mention of the *'go-ba'i lha* in Chapter 9, a category sometimes supposed by Tibetologists to be indigenous to Tibet, but as far as I am aware this supposition is not based on any specific or substantial research, so we cannot be certain that it

indicates non-Indic material.<sup>19</sup> Some more of the most likely Tibetan material comes in the complicated arrow-sorcery ritual described at some length in Chapter 21, which is dedicated to power substances and poisons. Stan Mumford made detailed observations of an ostensibly similar ritual (*mda' rgyab*) performed in contemporary Gyasumdo (Mumford 1989:123-124), and agreed with Tucci's analysis that such arrow-shooting rituals were pre-Buddhist rites incorporated into the Buddhist scheme (Tucci 1966). On the other hand, we have as yet no certain way of knowing whether such arrow rituals might not have also been practised in Indian tantrism, so the attribution of this arrow-shooting sorcery to Tibet must for the time being remain very tentative or provisional at best. If the rite is indigenous, the Buddhist overcoding of it (in this instance at least) is quite complete.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The passage in Chapter 9 of the PCN reads as follows: "It is important to [first] separate out the protective deities within the body (*'go-ba'i lha*) [of the victim]. Then suppress and beset [those evil elements] that are unable to flee. Appropriate their occult force and magical power, and render their limbs incapable of fighting back; strike [them] with the *kīla* of vajra wrath!" *'/go ba'i lha dang dbral ba gces//'bros kyis mi thar gnan gzir bya//mthu dang rdzu 'phrul phrogs pa dang//yan lag 'khu mi nus par bya//rdo rje drag po'i phur pas gdab//*

<sup>20</sup> The Arrow-sorcery rite of the PCN is called "The *Kīla* Projectiles of Powerful Substances", and is described as follows: Within a square enclosure of one cubit, a triangle is constructed with very precise dimensions. It is smeared with the five nectars, and blackened with cemetery charcoal. Precise details of its complex adornment with representations of skulls, vajras, and wheels are given. In particular, an eight-spoked wheel is drawn around the outside. On the appropriate places within this construction, and on the appropriate spokes of this wheel, stand arrows of specified dimensions, fletched with the feathers of specified birds (owl, crow etc), and tipped with heads of specified materials (barberry wood etc.). These represent [the sambhogakāya maṇḍala of Vajrakīlaya, i.e.] the Ten Wrathful Deities (Yamāntaka, Vijaya, etc.). Ten further small *kīlakas* of poisonous and harmful woods are also used to represent [the *nirmāṇakāya* maṇḍala of Vajrakīlaya, i.e.] the "Son" or "Material *Kīlas*". These small *kīlakas* are placed around the periphery at specific points. Then bali offerings are made to the *mātarāḥ* and *ḍākiṇīs* in appropriate skull vessels, with all the appropriate numbers of segments and other marks. A copper *kīla* is used to summon the enemy into a *liṅga*, which is placed within a triangle within a six-sectioned skull. White mustard, black mustard, and other specific powerful magical substances used for destruction are housed in a seven-sectioned skull. Then, with the appropriate visualisation, mantras and liturgies of Vajrakīlaya, one bombards the *liṅga* with the

However, in this same Chapter 21, we find further evidence of possibly Tibetan materials as follows: two of the mantras (for the ma-mo's power-substances) contain apparently non-Indic words with no particular meaning in Tibetan, as well as other clearly meaningful ordinary Tibetan words. For example, one of the mantras goes: *om trig nan/ rorupa tita nan/ trig nan/ rakmo yakmo trig nan/ samaya snying rtsa la bhyol/* (ie samaya "to the heart vein!" bhyo). The other mantra contains syllables such as *thums* and *rbad*.

Such mantras, widely found in rNying-ma-pa tantras and rituals, have long been a target of traditional polemics. For example, Sog-bzlog-pa quotes at length the fourteenth century figure of 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin, who derided and ridiculed several such rNying-ma-pa mantras and mantric syllables, including the *trig* and *rbad* elements found above (Sog-bzlog-pa 1975:302.3; 304.1; 305.4).<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, I am not in a position to analyze this complex traditional debate here, since I have not had time to read the relevant

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power-substances. After signs of summoning have arisen, the power substances, empowered with the mantras, are poured into a magic horn. Then all the goddesses who perform the activities of killing are invoked with a vajra staff, offered balis, and urged to do their task. Then, visualising it to be in a tantric cemetery, one shoots at the liṅga within the skull with arrows shot from a barberry-wood bow, and also bombards it with the power substances. By this method, killing is effected.

<sup>21</sup> The passages are as follows: 302.3 *yang/ khyed kyi thog ma'i mtshan tsam las// skad dod nor bas rang 'tshang bstan// phal cher sngags btu'i skabs na nor// sngags dang sgra bshad phal cher nor// dang por 'bus pas 'bu da ya// bar du dar bas dar ma la// tha mar sangs pas sang gha ya// 'di 'dra'i sgra bshad rgyud du bris// ca cha ja dang zha za 'a// 'di drug rgya gar skad du bsres// gsal byed brtsegs pa re re la// dbyangs yig gnyis gsum bzhi yi brgyan//*; 304.1 *yang/ rbad rbud kham shag ro myags chums// thod phreng stsal dang gro bo lod// e myags a rngubs mug shag dun// bam ril dun thibs trig trig khram// her shog nir shog rgyug breng breng// rnal ma rnal te sod la rngams// badzra zhang zhung ma la sogs// sngags la 'chal gnam brgya stong bsres//*; 305.4 *yang/ om nyid bzhi mu kha le kro ti shwa ri bha ga sam bhar ya// bde klongs 'dus 'dus snying sha yu ti ni hüm dzah dzah/ 'di ltar khyed kyi sngags 'ga' zhig// rgya skad bod skad phyed bsres la// chos skad bon skad 'dres pa'i gzungs// bzhad gad gnas 'gyur shin tu mang//* Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me these references.

Tibetan literature.<sup>22</sup> From the limited point of view of my current understanding, Chapter 21's mantras for the mātṛkā's power-substances could be regarded as the mantras of goddesses "converted" in Tibet and then assimilated to Indic conceptions of goddesses, or else as Tibetan-composed mantras used for Indic goddesses. However, the mantras might also have once been more recognisably Indic mantras, which became so transformed in transmission that their origins had already become irrevocably obscured by the time the rNying-ma-pa tantras were collated. It is interesting that within the rNying-ma-pa dhāmapāla tradition, even unequivocally Indic deities such as Ekajātā can be given mantras with both types of traditionally problematic mantra, ie the meaningless apparently non-Indic syllables, and the ordinary Tibetan language elements. The words "snying-rtsa" found above, for example, are very widely used. It seems possible these could be translations from Sanskrit employed deliberately in the place of transliterations. There is also a famous so-called "Razor-Mantra" performed in most Vajrakīlaya sādhanas after the usual recitations, which, because of its centrality, is quite possibly Indic in origin, and this contains many of the elements from the first mantra above. So the evidence is still not conclusive. On balance, one can do no more than admit to an as yet unquantifiable possibility that this chapter of the text describing the power substances and arrow sorcery might be Tibetan in origin. Until we are certain that such arrow sorcery in general is not Indic, and until we have resolved the complex questions surrounding the unusual rNying-ma-pa mantras, we can come to no firm conclusion.

If we have no absolutely conclusive evidence of indigenous Tibetan materials, we do have evidence (to my mind) somewhat more strongly suggestive of a Tibetan *reformulation* of the Indic materials. This occurs in Chapter 19, the mantroddhāra (sngags btu-ba). Here,

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<sup>22</sup> I did have the opportunity to ask TN how the rNying-ma-pa defended their unusual mantras, but he said he was not aware of the minutiae of the debate, because it was no longer much of an issue in contemporary Tibetan Buddhism. From a very cursory and preliminary investigation reported to me by Dan Martin, it seems such rNying-ma-pa apologists as Sog-bzlog-pa and mKhyen-rab rgya-mtsho are surprisingly weak on the odd-mantra issue; the latter, for example, argues that the word "padma" in the six-syllabled mantra of Avalokiteśvara is a Tibetan word!

following the standard Indic convention, the mantras are reduced to a simple code mainly consisting of the ascription of a fixed number to each series (varga) and letter of the Sanskrit alphabet, although other simple designations are also employed for important tantric syllables. To illustrate, the series ka kha ga gha ña is called "the first", the series ca cha ja jha ña is called "the second", and so on; thus the letter ka is indicated by the statement "the first of the first", while the letter ña is indicated by the statement "the fifth of the second". Likewise, a tantrically significant syllable like *om* is described as "Vairocana". This system works excellently, as intended, to preserve intact the exact spelling and pronunciation of the mantras from the vagaries of scribal transmission over long periods of time.<sup>23</sup>

But when the PCN's mantroddhāra is decoded in full, its mantras resemble often highly corrupted versions of what appears to be a very

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<sup>23</sup> To give an example of the workings of a mantroddhāra, here are two samples from the PCN's Chapter 19, with the decoded letter I have worked out shown after each line in italics:

Firstly comes Vairocana, (*om*)  
 Followed by the third of the sixth (*la*)  
 With the complete ornament of emptiness, (*m*)  
 Followed by the two [syllables] hūṃ and laṃ; (*hūṃ laṃ*)  
 Then follows the last of the seventh, (*s*)  
 Adorned with the first of the fourth; (*ta*)  
 Then the last of the fifth is given, (*m*)  
 Followed by the third of the fifth; (*ba*)  
 After that comes the last of the third, (*ṇ*)  
 Ornamented by the third vowel; (*i*)  
 This mantra is the "Penetration Mantra".  
 (*ie this decodes into the mantra: om laṃ hūṃ laṃ stambaṇi*)

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First comes Vairocana, (*om*)  
 Followed by the first letter which lies at the head of the nine series, (*a*)  
 Followed by the letter coming fourth in the fifth, (*bh*)  
 Ornamented by the eleventh vowel, (*e*)  
 After which comes the second of the seventh, (*ṣa*)  
 And then the first of the sixth. (*ya*)  
 After a pause, this is repeated, (*x2*)  
 And with hūṃ and phaṭ coming at the end, (*hūṃ phaṭ*)  
 This mantra is called "The Calling Down Essence".  
 (*ie this decodes into the mantra: om abheṣaya abheṣaya hūṃ phaṭ*)



early *phonetic* system for rendering Sanskrit, a scenario so characteristic of the Dunhuang mss (Verhagen 1993:336; Mayer & Cantwell 1994). They resemble neither the consistent and correct phonetics one might expect of a direct translation (made in a scholarly context) from Sanskrit in the very early period, nor later systematic Tibetan *transliterations*. Hence they have apparent mispronunciations, inconsistencies and lacunae that sometimes render them virtually unintelligible even to a first-class Sanskritist specialising in Buddhist mantras. Their spellings and pronunciations seem to clearly reveal a hand more Tibetan than Indic. Text-critical analysis reveals that although transmissional error can account for some of this, nevertheless most of the irregular readings seem to result from the initial encodement of Sanskritically incorrect mantras.<sup>24</sup> Nor is this

<sup>24</sup> Here are twenty one typical examples of mantras decoded from the PCN's Chapter 19 (ie the mantroddhāra), presented in italics, with the probable correct Sanskrit juxtaposed: [1] *parabhaddhna*, for: param vidhvamsaya (?); [2] *ciṇḍha ciṇḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: chindha chindha vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [3] *biṇḍha biṇḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: bhinda bhinda vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [4] *ghriṇḥa ghriṇḥa bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: gr̥ṇa gr̥ṇa vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [5] *hahṇa hahṇa bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: hana hana vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [6] *bhamḍha bhamḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: bandha bandha vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [7] *hasayara hrīḍana hūṃ phaṭ*, for: hrāsaya hrāsaya hrīḥ daṇḍa hūṃ phaṭ; [8] *śri krī āṇaya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: śīghram āṇaya hūṃ phaṭ; [9] *hahṇa hahṇa bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: hana hana vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [10] *katakaye bhijaye acindhe aparacetai marasana purmartanya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: kaṭaṅkaṭe jaye vijaye ajite aparājite mārasenapramardiniye [or -pramardani] hūṃ phaṭ; [11] *hūṃ mama paṣakurūmastamphakare idhaṅtai mamakarmaṣrikaṅkare svāhā*, for: hūṃ mama pāpakarmastambhakari idam te mam karma śrikaṅkāli svāhā; or, possibly, following PCN Ch. 13: hūṃ mama vaṣaṃ kuru matijñānaṃ kara idante mama karma śīghraṃ kara svāhā; [12] *oṃ thaṭadanaṅ ghroṭa hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ tathāśanan krodhāya hūṃ phaṭ; [13] *oṃ bajra aghuṣha*, for: oṃ vajrāṅkuśa; [14] *oṃ bajra rba ṇa rba ṇa bhya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajra...bhyo hūṃ phaṭ (the form *rba/rba na* is one of the mysterious rNying-ma-pa mantras unknown to Sanskritists. However, a klog-thabs text by the more recent figure of dNgul-chu dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje (1809-1887), seems to quite consistently transcribe Sanskrit *bha as rba*; hence *rba na rba na* might derive from Sanskrit *bhana bhana*. See dNgul-chu dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje's *sNgags mkho che ba 'ga' zhig klog 'don bya tshul bshad pa legs sbyar smra ba'i nyin byed*, ed. Rabjee 1966, p. 4-5; thanks to Peter Verhagen for this reference). [15] *oṃ bajra kroṭa yagṣa kha kha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajrakrodhayakṣa kha kha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ; [16] *oṃ bajra kroṭaya paca paca bhītvandmaya jhaṭilampodharaṇa ūcsmakrotaya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajrakrodhāya paca paca

mantroddhāra exceptional: as we have seen in the Tibetan text cited above, around six hundred years ago, 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin acidly commented that "in general, the [rNying-ma-pa] mantroddhāra chapters contain errors" (*phal cher sngags btu'i skabs na nor*) (Sog-bzlog-pa 1975:302.3). Clearly, they have been controversial for as long as the mantras themselves. As far as I know, this is in marked contrast to texts of proven Indic origin.<sup>25</sup>

The most likely explanation to my mind is that the mantroddhāra of the PCN was composed in Tibet. It might have used as a basis an earlier (perhaps not very legible?) Tibetan manuscript with the mantras spelled out in a somewhat corrupted version of the possibly more phonetic early renderings of Sanskrit mantras, which seem to have been current before the rationalised transliterational system of later classical Tibetan had become established (Verhagen 1993:337). Traditional sources believe that a revision of the the conventions of translation (*skad-gsar-bcad*) took place in Ral-pa-can's reign (815-838), but it is uncertain that this signalled the beginning of transliteration as opposed to phonetics; even the Dunhuang fragments of the *sGra-byor bam-po gnyis-pa*, one of the crucial *skad-gsar-bcad* documents, has irregular renderings of Sanskrit. The *skad-gsar-bcad* thus seems most probably to refer only to a standardization of Tibetan

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vidhvamsaya (?) jaṭilāmbhodharaṇa ucchuṣmakrodhāya hūṃ phaṭ; [17] jaḥ hūṃ baṃ ho ehi bhagaban bhitaracara yakṣa bajra bhyo bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ, for: jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ ho ehi bhagavan vīra (?) yakṣa vajra bhyo bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ; [18] oṃ pratīca hūṃ, for: oṃ pratīccha hūṃ; [19] oṃ samaya amridha argam pratīca hūṃ svāhā, for: oṃ samaya amṛtārghaṃ pratīccha hūṃ svāhā; [20] oṃ namo bagbagate śvaṣana ṭiṭiṭu taḍaya bajra dhaṅṅoyo maikanikoṇa cala cala mala mala tila tila svāhā, for: oṃ namo bhagavate śaṣṇatikuru (?) tāḍaya vajradaṅḍa mekinake (?) cala cala mala mala tila tila svāhā; [21] oṃ bajra samaka yokinī mṛatiṭi hūṃ hūṃ, for: oṃ vajrasamaya yoginī pratīccha (?) hūṃ hūṃ. Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for his help in working out the possible correct Sanskrit equivalents for these mantras.

<sup>25</sup> The mantroddhāra of the Tibetan translation of the *Hevajra-tantra* (II.ix.14-37) renders completely correct mantras, its only irregularity being the substitution of the letter *b* for *v*, ie in giving *bajra* for *vajra*; but this was a widely recognised concession to pronunciation already permitted in Sanskrit texts. Likewise, Alexis Sanderson informs me that in his experience of Sanskrit mss both Śaiva and Buddhist, the mantroddhāras do not yield incorrect mantras in the same way as the PCN; on the contrary, they resemble more closely the pattern shown by the *Hevajra*.

orthography and translation idiom, and not to a reform or standardization of the transliteration of Sanskrit.<sup>26</sup> It is thus possible that a source text for the mantroddhāra of the PCN might have been written either before or after any such literary reforms.

In either case, in these early phonetic renderings of mantras, Tibetan spelling was evidently used to represent what was heard, not what had been written in Sanskrit. Since different individuals inevitably pronounced, heard, and represented the mantras differently, the results could, if conditions were less than ideal, easily become unsystematic and haphazard, very much like the phonetics used for liturgical purposes in some contemporary Western "dharma centres". However, it is also a possible consideration that major scholarly centres, even in the very earliest period, might well have reproduced mantras in a fashion which, while phonetic, was also comparatively accurate and systematic; those texts that rendered mantras with inconsistent and haphazard phonetics were quite possibly not written down by the most accomplished scribes. Be that as it may, examples of quite haphazard early phonetics still survive, notably among the Dunhuang documents, where the same mantra can be phoneticised in several different ways in the same text, and they seem in their irregularity to resemble the mantras reconstituted from the PCN mantroddhāra quite closely. For example, within the very short space of a single small Dunhuang manuscript on Vajrakīlaya (IOL Mss. Tib J 754, 81-82, see Mayer & Cantwell 1994), the Sanskrit syllable *hūṃ* is variously rendered by hum, by huṃ, or by hung, while *phaṭ* is

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<sup>26</sup> However, Vitali briefly mentions a passage from an edition of the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* published in Lhasa in 1988, which apparently asserts that there was a revision of the rendering of Sanskrit mantras at this time (Vitali 1990:23). Thanks to Peter Verhagen for his help in clarifying these issues for me. I have recently heard via Peter Verhagen that the Ta pho fragments, thought to date from Rin-chen bzang-po's time, have irregular renderings of Sanskrit that might be phonetic, and which do not conform to the later, standardised transliterations. This would seem to confirm Verhagen's original understanding that the skad-gsar-bcad was not concerned with a revision of the rendering of mantras. This discovery also seems to strengthen the evidence for the PCN's mantroddhāra being compiled from an early Tibetan original, although it does not clarify if this was part of a single process of "cultural translation" from a Sanskrit original as suggested by Dan Martin (see below), or done at some other stage.

rendered variously as phad, pat, and phat; this is reminiscent of the mantroddhāra of the PCN, in which the Sanskrit syllables *hana hana* are sometimes rendered as hahṇa hahṇa, and sometimes (correctly) as hana hana; likewise, in the PCN's mantroddhāra the Sanskrit syllables *bandha bandha* are sometimes rendered as bhamḍha bhamḍha, and sometimes correctly as bandha bandha, while *krodhāya* is sometimes rendered as ghroṭa, sometimes as krotaya, and sometimes as kroṭaya; and so on.

Dan Martin has suggested to me that an alternative possibility which must be considered in accounting for the PCN's Chapter 19 is that it and the other irregular rNying-ma-pa mantroddhāras might be direct translations from Sanskrit, made according to the early policy of privileging semantics or target audience needs (don-bsgyur) above lexicality or text autonomy (sgra-bsgyur), a "cultural" rather than literal style of translation. Hence the mantras might also have been deliberately re-encoded following the then current phonetic system. Thus instead of the probable conclusion that a pre-existing Old Tibetan-style transcription of the Sanskrit mantras was at some later point *in Tibet* encoded, one could also hypothesize an alternative possibility: since a hypothetical original Sanskrit chapter 19 would already have had the mantras encoded in a very similar manner, it is therefore also possible that the Tibetan translator[s] set up their "transformation/translation" (*bsgyur*) to accord with their system of phonetic (*not* transliterated) representations of the mantras. Following this line, one could argue that the entire chapter as we have it reflects an all-at-once translation (and not, as previously suggested, a two-stage process), using a philosophy of "cultural" translation different from that adopted in the gsar-ma period.

This is possible, but problematic. Would translators want to rewrite a Sanskrit mantroddhāra into a phonetic rendering for Tibetans, but then do so in an inconsistent fashion with mispronunciations and bizarre spellings? Moreover, the very rationale of the mantroddhāra convention demands an exact fidelity to the source language, not the target language. Even though early translators favoured don-bsgyur

above *sgra-bsgyur*,<sup>27</sup> in this special case of mantric science surely they had to be as lexical as possible: here it is crucial to preserve the gurus' sacred pronunciation, not to indulge the future students' dialect, or stumbling Sanskrit diction. It was precisely to meet such problems that Tibetans developed the genre of *klog-thabs*, or "[mantra] pronunciation manuals" (Verhagen 1993:325). It is also significant that many Tibetan translators were also competent in Indic vernaculars, while native Indian paṇḍits were also active translators in Tibet, and in some instances, the *lingua franca* used by the translational teams might have been Indic vernaculars rather than Tibetan. (Verhagen 1994:47-48). So the idea of an all-at-once translation faces the problem of mispronunciations that look Tibetan, and orthography with grammatical impossibilities, hyper-corrections and inconsistencies unlikely from those capable in Indic languages; to our current limited knowledge, the *anusvāras*, *visargas* and misplaced retroflexions suggest an unsystematic early Tibetan effort at rendering Sanskrit far more than any methodical or deliberate system of phonetics.<sup>28</sup>

But later Tibetan visionaries did not necessarily pronounce or spell Indic languages correctly. Hence it is also possible the *mantroddhāra* was composed on the basis of a later, corrupted Tibetan phonetic transcription, or (perhaps less likely) the utterances of a Tibetan guru, rather than a Sanskrit original. This latter hypothesis will be weakened if we discover indubitably Indic texts that repeat the

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<sup>27</sup> The differences between the early and later translators on the relative merits of *don-bsgyur* and *sgra-bsgyur* should not be exaggerated, or seen as a black-and-white opposition in which the early translators unconditionally favoured *don-bsgyur*, and the later translators unconditionally favoured *sgra-bsgyur*. On the contrary, it was always a matter of finding a balance between the two, cf the remarks on *sgra-* and *don-bsgyur* in the introductory section of the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa*, (ed. Ishikawa 1990:2): *skad rkyang pa bshad mi 'tshal ba sgra bzhin du bsgyur bar rigs pa mams kyang sgra btsan par bgyis te ming du btags/ skad kha cig don bzhin du gdags par rigs pa mams kyang don btsan par bgyis te ming du btags nas/* (cf. Simonsson 1957:245-246). Thanks to Peter Verhagen for sending me these references, and for his advice on these issues.

<sup>28</sup> Of course, as we find out more about early renderings of Sanskrit mantras into Tibetan, the picture might change considerably, and my current hypotheses regarding the *mantroddhāra* might be disproven.

pattern of the PCN, and strengthened if we find other mantroddhāras that are both from the early period and Sanskritically correct.<sup>29</sup> The sheer number and bulk of the NGB's Vajrakīlaya Tantras also argues that at least some of them might have been compiled in Tibet, even if on the basis of Indic raw materials, while others might be more entirely Indic. My current feeling, admittedly on present limited evidence, is that the spellings of the mantras in the mantroddhāra provide strong evidence that it was composed outside India by someone familiar with the Indian Tantric mantroddhāra convention, but applying it to a text of the mantras that no Indian could have written, approved, or, in some cases, even recognized. It seems hardly probable to me that the mantroddhāra text is Indian in origin but rewritten to give the mispronunciations, omissions, corruptions etc. of either a Tibetan living tradition or an ancient system of phonetics.

The hypothetical source manuscript from which the mantroddhāra might have been constructed might have been very old, and thus suffused with the aura of sanctity ascribed to authentic relics of Padmasambhava's time. It might also have been discovered in a statue

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<sup>29</sup> The \*Guhyagarbha text studied by Gyurme Dorje has no mantroddhāra, but it is possible that one of the longer \*Guhyagarbha scriptures does have one. If such a \*Guhyagarbha mantroddhāra does exist, it would be interesting to see if it has "correct" mantras or a "correct" mantroddhāra; I have not had time to check this for myself. If this proves to be the case, it will be interesting, because Alexis Sanderson has discovered evidence from the Sanskrit commentaries of Vilāsavajra and Bhavabaṭṭa that suggest the Indic origins of at least one \*Guhyagarbha text (perhaps originally called *Guhyakośa*) (Sanderson 1995). Despite the claims of our polemicists mGos khug-pa lhas-btsas and 'Bri-gung dpal-dzin that the famous short \*Guhyagarbha scripture was composed (brtsams) by the rNying-ma-pa saint rMa rin-chen-mchog (I am indebted to Dan Martin for this information), most Tibetan sources have for a long time come round to agreeing that the \*Guhyagarbha cycle is in fact Sanskritic, at least in its main representative (short) text, as opposed to the entire voluminous \*Guhyagarbha corpus of the NGB. This clearly underlines how all assertions of the polemicists must be treated with caution and analyzed individually as to their truth content; Tibetologists must take care not to write off the rNying-ma-pa tantras as apocrypha merely on the account of polemic literature. It would be an interesting exercise to study any mantroddhāra sections that can be found among the Five Major Tantras of Mahāyoga (*Buddhasamāyoga*, *Candraguhyatilaka*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Śrī-paramādyā*, *Karmamālā*), some of which are known to be of Indic origins, and compare them with other Mahāyoga scriptures of less certain origin.

or stūpa or elsewhere and thus considered a type of gter-ma. On the other hand, since the transcriptional standardisation characteristic of the gsar-ma-pa texts presumably took effect much later, even the source manuscript could in reality have been relatively late; archaic phonetics can still be found, for example, in the 11th century works of Rong-zom-pa chos-kyi bzang-po.<sup>30</sup>

However, my hunch is that the PCN as a whole, or at least the greater part of it, was produced much earlier, in the "Dark Period" of Tibetan history, following the collapse of the Empire. This period might well prove to have been one of the most fruitful in terms of scriptural production and other religious developments. A useful comparison can be drawn with China some centuries earlier: the Six Dynasties Period (300-589 C.E.) was a time of political disunity and foreign rule in the North, yet perhaps precisely for that reason constituted the formative years of Chinese Buddhism (Zürcher 1989:123). The Six Dynasties Period has also been dubbed China's "gnostic centuries", a period in which a great quantity of highly successful "apocrypha" were produced, many of which continue to provide the mainstay of Far-Eastern Buddhism to this day (Strickmann 1990:76). As Samten Karmay (1988), David Germano (1994), and others have already suggested, the so-called "Dark Period" in Tibet might transpire to have been a highly creative period in which the Bon-po, rNying-ma-pa, rDzogs-chen and gter-ma traditions began to develop out of the legacy left by the early Buddhist missionaries.

I am not yet sure what the earliest references to the PCN are in the literature. Perhaps it might have proven fruitful to search among some of the early gsan-yig and thob-yig (records of received teachings), but I have not had the time or resources to do this. The situation is somewhat complicated by the existence of several other Kīlaya tantras with similar names. For example, in T vol. Ha, and D vol. Za, there are at least three different Phur-pa scriptures that include the words "bcu-gnyis" in their titles. I have not yet been able to read through all these texts to identify if there are any parallel passages with the PCN edited here. To illustrate the possible complications, one can refer to the substantial parallel passages shared between various

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<sup>30</sup> This according to Gyurme Dorje.

\*Guhyagarbha-cycle Tantras in the NGB. However, the placement of the text studied here among the 18 Root Tantras of Mahāyoga would seem to indicate it as the most important *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*. At least two Dunhuang texts mention the existence of Vajrakīlaya tantras, but do not mention a *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* by name. One of the Dunhuang texts has parallels with the PCN edited here (Mayer and Cantwell 1994). Pho-brang zhi-ba'od's bka'-shog of 1094 mentions twenty Vajrakīlaya tantras by name that Zhi-ba 'od believed to be Tibetan compositions, but the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* is not included (Karmay 1980a:15). But the two extant versions of a circular ('byam-yig) by another slightly earlier eleventh century polemicist, Khug-pa lHas-btsas, a contemporary of Rong-zom-pa and Atīśa, do mention a *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* by name, decrying it as a composition of the famous rNying-ma-pa siddha sNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (traditionally dated 832-943), rather than a genuine translation from Sanskrit.<sup>31</sup> 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin (circa 1400) in his circular likewise attributes the composition of a *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* within Tibet to sNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes.<sup>32</sup> Earlier, Chag lo-tṣā-ba, a colleague and contemporary of

<sup>31</sup> Dudjom (1991:708) claims that Rong-zom converted Khug-pa lHas-btsas by defeating him in debate, so much so that Khug-pa lHas-btsas eventually became one of Rong-zom's main disciples.

The two versions of the 'byam-yig are preserved in Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorje 1979:18-25, and in Sog-bzlog-pa 1975:475-485: *de* [i.e. Sangs-rgyas rin-po-che]

*byas pa'i chos sku'i rgyud rdo rje thod/ gsung gi rgyud rta mchog rol pa/ thugs kyi rgyud pundi ri ka yang zer/ [23] ran tra mi rgyud dang/ yon tan rin chen skul ba'i rgyud dang/ 'phrin las kyi rgyud karma khra le dang/ phur pa ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud dang ma mo 'dus pa'i rgyud dang/ bdud rtsi nag po brgyad pa'i rgyud dang/ de nams sgrub lung rgyud lnga zer rol/*

and: *yang snubs sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches kī lā ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud brtsams so// de la brten nas bod nams kyi chos log dri ma can bsam gyis mi khyab pa byas so// de dag thams cad rgya gar ne med cing/ pandi ta mang po la dris pas/ chos nor pa yin gsung/*

Thanks to Dan Martin for so kindly sending me these references.

<sup>32</sup> From his 'byam-yig: *mnga' bdag dpal 'khor btsan gyi dus// snub ban sangs rgyas ye shes byung// kha thun la sogs gshin rje'i gshed// rta mgrin padma dbang chen dang// ma mo srid pa rgyud lung dang// kī lā ya ni bcu gnyis pa// de sogs sgrub lugs rgyud brgyad dang// kha skong gyi ni rgyud drug dang// de bzhin rgyud kyi rgyal po drug// sgrub pa'i man ngag miha' yas byas//* (Sog-bzlog-pa 1975:277). Thanks to Dan



Sa-pan, likewise condemned in his polemical letter (springs-yig) the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* as a composition by figures such as So, Zur, or sNubs, even though he declared other Kīlaya tantras to be genuine.<sup>33</sup>

To return to the mantroddhāra: on analysis, the evidence also seems to suggest that it has been composed and left in its anomalous form as a deliberate choice, not merely out of ignorance. To have created such a mantroddhāra at all presupposes a precise knowledge of the Sanskrit alphabet at the very least, and the PCN's Chapter 19 goes further by demonstrating an application of sandhi and the use of scholarly terms such as *varga*, *nāmakāya*, and *padakāya*. It follows that even if whoever compiled the mantroddhāra in the first instance was unfamiliar with the transliterational systematisation commonly associated with the *gsar-ma-pa* translations, it is virtually impossible that they were not aware of the inconsistencies, omissions, and corruptions of their text. If its compilers were seriously intending to present it as a *pucca* Sanskritic composition, they surely would have been motivated to disguise the controversial evidence.<sup>34</sup>

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Martin for sending me these references.

<sup>33</sup> Perhaps Chag Lo-tsā-ba approved the *Phur-pa* scriptures relied upon by the *Sa-skya-pa*? The passages can be found in Kunsang Tobgyel and Mani Dorje 1979:6-7: *de'i nang nas lha rdo rje gzhon nus gsang sngags ki la ya'i chos brtsams 'dug pa yang dag pa yin/ yang sgrub pa che [sde?] brgyad 'dus pa gsum ni rdo rje 'chang gi phyag na rdo rje la bstan te/ li byi nas brgyud do// gu ru padma'i thugs dam yin te/ bod phyir ston bya bas rgyud nas yod pa ni chos ma nor ba yin no// de rnams dang mi mthun par byas nas bod rgan rnams kyis dpag tu med pa [7] cig brtsam ste / so zur snubs gsum gyi khongs su rgyal po zhugs te/ phyi rol pa'i gzhung lugs dang/ nang pa'i sgrub thabs gong 'og dang/ 'jig rten pa'i dregs byed rnams kyi rgyud bon po'i gzhung lugs rnams bsres nas ming chos dang mthun par btags nas/ ki la ya bcu gnyis bya ba la sogs pa phur rgyud dpag tu med pa brtsams/ de la brten nas dpag tu med pa byung ste/ padma 'byung gnas yang le shod du bsdad pa la rgya gar nas mi bdun gyis thig tshad bskur byung ba de yin zer nas rdzun byas te 'di rnams la yang dag cig kyang med do// Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me these references.*

<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, it is also (more remotely) possible that by the time this mantroddhāra was composed, polemical debate had already established such a monolithic *rNying-ma-pa* response that no concessions to correct Sanskrit were any longer demanded: a special *rNying-ma-pa* sub-genre of mantroddhāra might thus have been created.

Similarly, the various redactors of the PCN over the course of the centuries must have been aware of the implications of the mantroddhāra as evidence of Tibetan origins in the eyes of their critics at least, and could with no great difficulty have excised or completely rewritten it. In fact, the redactor of the sDe-dge NGB has a marginal note to Chapter 19, suggesting such a revision: "Although in the following mantroddhāra, much [further] analysis could still be done, it should be left unchanged" (sngags-btu 'di-la dpyad-bya mang yang sor-bzhag-byas). The sense of the marginal note seems to be that while the editors are aware there is much in the sngags-btu that ought to be scrutinized, they must leave it as it is.<sup>35</sup> The same mantras as those of the mantroddhāra occur in other parts of the text (such as Chapter 13), where they are all reasonably "correct" or "corrected". Yet no editorial action was ever taken to correct Chapter 19, and the text has come down to us with its tell-tale idiosyncrasies intact, undisguised and seemingly unashamed evidence of the partially Tibetan origins of this scripture, whether this be interpreted (perhaps through the rNying-ma-pas' secondary elaborations of belief) as legitimate hyper-translation, or (perhaps through over-zealous clerical spleen), as fraudulent composition.

Again, as with the mysterious rNying-ma-pa mantras, we are confronted with the predominantly shamanic attitudes of the promoters of these texts, and their seemingly deliberate gestures towards what Peter Wilson has termed "reputation" in contrast to "respectability" (Wilson 1973). The opportunity to efface the non-Sanskritic or Tibetan

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<sup>35</sup> The phrase sor-bzhag is discussed in Verhagen 1990:135, and 137 n. 12. The phrase occurs in an early Tibetan grammatical treatise, the *sGra'i rnam-par dbye-ba bstan-pa* (Peking Bstan-'gyur: mdo-'grel, vol. NGO 63v7-64r2). In this instance, where the mantra *om maṇi padme hūṃ* is being discussed, sor-bzhag is used to describe how the word *padma* is the same word in Tibetan as in Sanskrit, and so remains unchanged (sor-bzhag) in translation. Verhagen also cites as follows the relevant entry in dGe-bshes Chos-kyi grags-pa's Tibetan dictionary, *brDa-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba* (n.p., n.d., Chinese translation Peking 1975), p. 744: "*gzhan du ma sgyur bar rang ngo bor gso bar bzhag pa*": "to establish (*bzhag-pa*) (something), preserving (*gso-bar*) the thing itself (*rang*) in identical (form) (*ngo-bor*) without altering (*ma-sgyur-bar*) (it) into another (form) (*gzhan-du*)" (Verhagen 1990:137 n.12). Thanks to Peter Verhagen for informing me of this article.

elements of Chapters 19 and 21 for more clerical respectability obviously concerned the rNying-ma-pa lineage-holders far less than the preservation intact of very old (if irregular) mantras with a reputation for tantric efficacy, a reputation possibly founded on a presumed historical connection with the person of Padmasambhava. Perhaps the phonetic renderings of the mantras were also held to reproduce the precise formulations of Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal herself, or some other holy person, taking dictation directly from the great guru Padmasambhava. Perhaps, indeed, such claims to an origin in sacred antiquity were true!

### 3.5 The PCN as a paradigm case.

Left to their own devices, free from state curbs, Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism have always countenanced or even encouraged ongoing revelation. So my hypothesis is that initially, texts like the PCN never claimed direct translation from Sanskrit. Rather, they were produced anonymously by Tibetan siddhas emulating their Indian role models. Only later, impelled by clerical and political pressures, did they begin to do what all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures had invariably done before them: denying their true shamanic origins, they sought through doxography new clerically acceptable identities. Yet the lack of effective repression in politically decentralised Tibet meant that the clerical project of a normative, global Buddhism remained uncompleted, and hence there could persist a distinctive ambivalence and irony in rNying-ma-pa claims to respectable Sanskritic provenance. Thus, writing as an editor of the NGB, 'Jigs-med gling-pa felt free to explain in his account of the controversial rNying-ma-pa mantras and mantroddhāras, that they had not all come from Sanskrit sources in the first place! Their original languages were often unknown, including Prākritis, Apabhraṃśa, Paiśāca, barbarian and secret symbolic languages. Unrectifiable without knowing these unknowable tongues, they were best left uncorrected.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> From his NGB dkar-chag in: *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med gling-pa*, Sonam. T. Kazi (Gangtok 1972), vol. 3, pp. 428-429. Also in NGB 1973, vol. 34, p.572 (?). Interestingly, this passage uses similar vocabulary (sor-bzhag-pa) to the

Perhaps in the interplay of clerical and shamanic currents in rNying-ma-pa tantrism, we can see in microcosm the history of all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures throughout Buddhist history; for all such scriptures demonstrate a similar pressure that specifically seeks to deny their actual shamanic origins, in favour of a new assumed clerical identity. In this sense, the PCN is a paradigm case of Buddhist scriptural history, not a marginal, exotic irrelevance.

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mchan-note of the PCN's mantroddhāra:

*yi ge pa'i slad skyon dang/ zhu dag mkhan gyis dpyod tshul nor ba dang/ bri nor byung bas shin tu brtag dka' ba mang du mchis pa rnam las po ti gnyis gsum tsam ma gtogs phal cher rang nyid kyi mig lam du dong bas 'byin 'jug gang shes byas/ sngags mams ni sngags btu la sogs pa dang tshad mas 'gal bar shes ba rnam bcos shing/ cis kyang the tshom dang bral bar ma nus pa dag/ bi ga tsi dang/ a wa bhram sha dang/ pra kri ta'i skad dang/ brda skad shin tu gsang ba dang/ kla klo skad la sogs pa yod par shes nas bcos su mi btub pa rnam phyi mo dang mthun pa tsam rgyu mtshan du byas nas sor bzhaq pa nyid nyes dmigs chung ba'i gnas su byas tel. Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me this reference.*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 4.1 The Spirit and the Letter: Two Ways of Interpreting the Indian Heritage

I have discussed above how two competing notions of canonicity existed alongside one another in Tibetan Buddhism. Both alike were defended by their proponents as orthodox, as the most faithful possible representation of the Buddhist traditions of India. One of them demanded a closed canon, restricted to texts of demonstrably Indic origin, which were typically placed in the mouth of the historical Buddha for added authenticity. The other required an open canon, to be constantly added to through the established revelatory processes of the treasure and pure vision systems; in this way, it aimed to keep alive what it saw as the vital creative energy within Buddhism that had given rise to an unending stream of fresh revelation throughout its existence in India.

These two points of view express distinctive currents not only within Tibetan society, but also within Buddhist culture as a whole. Similar conversations about canonicity were in evidence throughout the Buddhist world for much of its history, including in Buddhist India, where the interaction between the demand for fresh revelation on the one hand, and the pressure to ascribe all Dharma to the speech-acts of the historical Buddha on the other hand, provided a constant and historically fundamental tension. Geoffrey Samuel has analyzed the underlying dynamic that forms this tension in Buddhism as the interaction of shamanic and clerical currents. The perception of similar tensions in other religious traditions by a great range of writers both traditional and modern, gives continuing credence to Max Weber's classic reformulation of ancient Old Testament categories into a universal concept of priestly and prophetic religious orientations (see Chapter 1).

Both the shamanic and clerical interpreters of canonicity in Tibetan Buddhism remain to this day (and both with considerable justification) convinced that they have hallowed Buddhist tradition on

their side. Clearly their debate is not one that can ever arrive at a one-sided conclusion on purely doctrinal grounds. As I have shown above, in other Buddhist cultures, such conversations over canonicity only ever came to an end with governmental interventions, never because the debate had been resolved in favour of one side or the other through dialogue. On the contrary, Buddhism itself generates such a conversation from deep within its innermost doctrinal core, almost certainly from the teachings of the historical Buddha himself, and it might well be argued that the continuance of such a conversation is in itself a sign of Buddhist health, not of illness: the tension helps to maintain a dynamic middle way, each side pulling in its own direction against the other.

From the traditional Tibetan clerical point of view, a closed canon was favoured because it avoided the parochialism of the local religious form. The clerical construction of Buddhism was of a grand global tradition, normative and universal, shared with other Buddhist cultures as the common heritage of Buddhist India. In rejecting Tibetan revelations while accepting Indian revelations, authorities such as the Sa-skya Paṇḍita were therefore not merely perversely inverted racists; with their important rôles at the Chinese court, they were well aware that the universal acceptance of Indic materials throughout Asia could never be attained by materials revealed in Tibet. Hence even their own visionary teachings such as the *Zhen-pa-bzhi bral*, received in a vision by Sa-chen kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158) from Mañjuśrī, were never claimed by the Sa-skya-pa as *canonical*: on the contrary, they were seen as part of the specifically Tibetan, Sa-skya-pa heritage, and no attempt was made to incorporate them in the Sanskritic Kanjur as scripture.<sup>1</sup> To be Sanskritic was to be global, to be Tibetan was to

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<sup>1</sup> These famous teachings on mind-training (blo-sbyong) were received by Kun-dga' snying-po in a vision, at the age of twelve. He had been meditating on Mañjuśrī under retreat conditions for six months, following the instructions of his guru Ba-ri lo-tsa-va, when Mañjuśrī appeared before him flanked by two attendant Bodhisattvas, and uttered the following four lines: *tshe 'di la zhen na chos pa min!* 'khor ba la zhen na nges 'byung min! *bdag don la zhen na byang sems min!* 'dzin pa byung na lta ba min!! "If you have attachment to this life, you are not a religious person. If you have attachment to the world of existence, you do not have renunciation. If you have attachment to your own purpose, you do not have the enlightenment thought. If

be local, regardless of any questions of spiritual worth, and to the clerical current with its social and political concerns for the preservation of the *śāsana*, this consideration was paramount. It is not surprising that the initial impetus towards Kanjur formation and canonical closure came at least in part from the wish of 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs to emulate the official Chinese Buddhist system he encountered in the Mongol court. Furthermore, from its own side, the Chinese imperial project was always a universal one, and sought a universal formulation of state religion; hence the Chinese metropolitan centre actively encouraged the clerical current in Tibet with its global and normative construction of Buddhism, exactly paralleling the similar developments within other Buddhist cultures.

But in Tibet, as in Buddhist India, the larger political centres never predominated entirely; and while the imperial project was a universal one, local powers were more concerned to construct their very own local forms of cultural life, to demonstrate their uniqueness and independence. In Tibet, the local forms of the Buddhist religion found plentiful support from the minor kingdoms such as sDe-dge, rGyal-rong, Bhutan, and Sikkim, and in these local environments the shamanic current flourished, producing many fresh revelations of new scriptures.

Which of the two currents is more true to their Indian Buddhist predecessors? I have pointed out above that both currents are equally justified in claiming to be legitimate heirs of the Indian Buddhist heritage. The clerical current preserves exclusively Indian Buddhist texts, even if committing the solecism of attributing them to the historical Buddha (but that was in itself a solecism largely inherited from India). Hence it is true to the letter of Indian Buddhism, and also represents an enduring strand in Buddhism that sought to propagate the teachings of the unique Teacher without adding to them or subtracting from them one jot, a tradition that goes back to the earliest *saṅgha* and its *bhāṅaka* reciters. The shamanic current continues the age-old

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grasping arises, you do not have the view" (H.H. Sakya Trizin and Ngawang Chopel 1982:1). The entire *sūtrayāna* is said to be summed up in these four lines, and they have become extremely popular as a blo-sbyong and lam-rim system among the Sakya-pa traditions in particular.

Indian Buddhist traditions of unending fresh revelation and shamanic bricolage to convert new elements to the Dharma, both processes that typically demand and stimulate high meditational endeavours.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is true to the spirit of Indian Buddhism, and represents another enduring strand in Buddhism, one that believes that whatever is well spoken is the true Dharma, and that it is the natural process of Buddhism to enunciate timeless truths in new ways to meet changing historical conditions. In this way it faithfully continues the process begun sometimes so openly by the earliest Mahāyānists and Vajrayānists (and even tacitly acknowledged by the tradition of the Pāli Abhidhamma, although denied by the Pāli Vinaya and Nikāya traditions).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Of course, that is not to say that meditational endeavours are the necessary or unique source of revelation. For example, the Pāli Abhidhamma is by its own admission a "revealed" scripture (see footnote 3 below), yet it is manifestly a highly scholastic text, and its revelation might in reality owe less to shamanic processes than it claims (presumably the claim to revelation was made in an effort to gain legitimation). Certainly, the Pāli Abhidhamma does not so obviously demonstrate the typical shamanic pattern of bricolage, in which non-Buddhist elements are converted to Buddhism: rather, it is a scholastic codification of elements already found in earlier Buddhist texts. This gives an example of how the clerical current can produce new scripture, although it is interesting that even the clerical current resorts to shamanic explanations of its new scriptural production. Likewise, some important Mahāyāna revealed scriptures, such as the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, display many of the concerns of the scholastic environment (Suzuki 1973:xli), and much of their composition might owe at least as much to sober composition as to visionary inspiration. Geoffrey Samuel's analysis, however, describes the two currents in Buddhism as interactive: from this point of view, the Pāli Abhidhamma and the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* might owe their composition to both scholastic learning and visionary inspiration alike. What I intend to say here is merely that a distinctive pattern can be discerned in Buddhist scriptural history, in which fresh revelation has more often and more typically been linked with the visionary experiences associated with intensive meditation, even if important exceptions can also occur. This basic point, that fresh revelation is typically associated with the ascetic contemplative tradition, has already been made by previous authors such as Weber, Dumont and Samuel from a theoretical perspective, and Gombrich, Williams and Ray from a more textual perspective. (I am indebted to Tilmann Vetter for his comments that helped clarify these issues).

<sup>3</sup> Buddhaghosa elaborates a story in which the Buddha himself composed the seven volumes of the Theravāda Abhidhamma tradition, ascending to the Trayatrimśa heaven



But it is more difficult to hold both positions at the same time: if one adheres strictly to the inherited Sanskritic letter, fresh revelation is precluded; if one holds to the innovatory spirit, Sanskritic purity is precluded. To put this another way, the price of clerical orthodoxy is less scope for change and the danger of ossification, while the price of shamanic orthodoxy is less continuity with the global and normative status uniquely conferred by Sanskritic texts, and the danger of localisation. As in Buddhist India itself, the Tibetan solution to this conundrum was a compromise which avoided eliminating either side of the equation. A global and strictly Sanskritic form of clerical Buddhism was maintained interpenetratively with a local and somewhat Tibetan form of shamanic Buddhism; while the former was highly respectable, an unparalleled storehouse of Sanskritic Buddhist scholasticism, the latter enjoyed a formidable reputation as a creative source of spiritual power and profound mystical truth. In the words of Geoffrey Samuel, Tibet produced a culture of civilised Buddhist shamans.

#### 4.2 Endnote: the question of reflexivity

This work is largely a textual study, comprising a critical edition, stemma, and translation made according to classical philological principles. At present, Buddhist textual scholarship remains a highly conservative discipline, largely untouched by the process of re-evaluation and change currently sweeping the humanities and social sciences. I do not believe this intellectual isolationism is wise. In this endnote I shall argue the case for more reflexive self-awareness within Buddhology as a whole.

Over the last decade, the movements known as postmodernism and deconstructionism have raised important questions of methodology and epistemology across a number of disciplines. Some of their critiques of anthropology have a bearing on Buddhist textual studies

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to preach it for the first time to his mother who was currently resident there (she had died shortly after giving birth), and then transmitting it to Sāriputta at the (mythological) Lake Anavatapta on his way back from heaven. Thus it passed to Ānanda, who recited it at the First Council (Davidson 1990:304).

as well, and need to be addressed. The basic thrusts of postmodernist thinking, derived from its original French formulators, have been a critique of metanarratives, and a questioning of essentialist distinctions of all kinds. In anthropology this is coupled with a rejection of anthropological universals. Postmodern cultural anthropology thus proposes in place of "rational" social analysis such enterprises as the purely literary-aesthetic appreciation of the ethnographic other. In many cases the postmodern critiques extend to a radical debunking of scientific method and of reasoning. Although not originally the case in their early French sources, there is by now firmly linked to most of these proposed epistemological revolutions an ideological stance that attempts to privilege the less dominant voices wherever possible.

Much postmodern anthropological thinking is predicated upon the supposition of a clear cut dichotomy between the ethnographer and the subjects of ethnographic study. This supposed dichotomy underpins the best part of the critique: etic metanarratives and universals are, along with all scientific or rationalist discourse, condemned as arbitrary and oppressive constructions with no greater validity than the native's own emic constructions. This criticism is not as new as it claims: it has antecedents in such venerable theorems as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of the 1920's and 1950's, or the cultural relativism popular in the 1970's. More recently, it also connects with Edward Said's critique of Orientalism, and can issue into nativist thinking that proposes that only the natives can understand and speak for their own culture (Kuper 1994:544ff).

What has this to do with Buddhist textual studies? While not wishing to directly enter into the postmodernist debate, I wish to point out how important the issues it raises are for Buddhology. They are relevant because Buddhology has, ever since its inception in the 19th century, been constantly bedeviled by an internal contradiction between its ostensible strictly scientific-objective modernist credentials, and the actual reality that many of its leading figures have been Western converts to Buddhism. In other words, precisely the dichotomy between the ethnographer and the ethnographic subject that so annoys the postmodernists has for years already been *de facto* eroded in Buddhology. Yet this has not by any means been a happy situation, largely because it has widely been considered highly illicit,

and has therefore been partially covert. The disjunction between theory and practice has over the years had the effect of forcing some Buddhologists into positions of bad faith and prevarication. To retain academic credibility, they have been forced to quite implausibly deny any denominational influences, or even to elaborately conceal for many years the fact that they are Buddhists at all, by no means an unusual position over the last century. Nevertheless their particular denominational affiliation (as well as their need to deny it) has inevitably had an impact on their scholarship, the more so in that they are sometimes highly motivated converts to one or another form of Buddhism, perhaps even with a powerful hidden agenda to promote its interests in some way.

But the Buddhist and closet-Buddhist converts with their unstated and unstatable biases are not the only problem: often enough, the non-Buddhist Buddhologists have themselves had an unstated Christian agenda, or, more significantly, an unreflectively "Orientalist" agenda. Never exposed to the demands for self-awareness routinely made upon anthropologists over recent decades, such scholars have sometimes unwittingly taken an affective attitude towards their work that justifies Said's assaults on "Orientalism". Part of this can be the denial that a practising Buddhist can have much to say in the "objective" arena of academic Buddhology, and the application of an institutional bias against those Buddhologists who openly profess Buddhism. In other cases one finds scholars psychologically conditioned by an apostasy syndrome: perhaps practising Buddhism in their youth, they might turn against it with a degree of emotional intensity in their maturity.

We thus have a complex skein of hidden agendas and disguised motivations. The most numerous and influential category of Buddhist textual scholar by the 1990's is probably the Buddhist convert. They typically embody a multiplicity of different voices, some Western and some Eastern, some Buddhist and some academic: in Mikhail Bakhtin's terms, they are polyphonous, multi-centred or heteroglossic. Yet religiously motivated affiliations and antipathies are seldom discussed in formal arenas, as though they had no bearing on scholarship, and as a result even the most senior scholars routinely embody degrees of institutionalised bad faith in failing to acknowledge a bias that might be clearly manifest in their work and actions. To

return to Bakhtin's terms, the monologic voices of modern rationalism have thus intruded to co-opt the decentered voices of the convert Buddhologists, even if this might not at deeper levels be their true voice at all. In the end we are left with somewhat unauthentic and unconvincing would-be "hegemonic, authoritative utterances situated in a locus of power" that are not at all what they appear to be, and thus doubly need, as Bakhtin proposes, to be "laughed out of existence" in a "Rabelaisian unmasking of pretensions" (Mumford 1989:15). Not only is their surface claim to "scientific" hegemonic authority itself in need of careful epistemological reflection, but the degree of sincerity with which this claim and the sectarian concerns it conceals need to be scrutinised in public. In short, I am arguing for transparency: let us all declare our biases and our passions, and enter into a more honest level of dialogue.

It is this focusing of attention upon epistemology that makes postmodernism important for Buddhology. It gives us an opportunity to put our houses in better order. Saying this does not mean that I accept the postmodernist critique. In my own case, as a Western intellectual follower of *Ris-med* Buddhism for the last twenty years, I cannot accept the postmodernist assault on reason. Influenced by Buddhist philosophy (with all its doctrinal metanarratives!) on the one hand and by a Western training on the other hand, I firmly believe in cause and effect within the empirical world. Nor do I see any problems in identifying anthropological universals, as I have shown above; straddling the intellectual worlds of both Asia and the West to some degree, I cannot accept that insights shared by Weber and Samuel on the one hand and Buddhism on the other hand are mere arbitrary cultural constructs with purely coincidental similarities.

So what postmodernism does offer us is the chance to re-examine our epistemological foundations. Can Buddhology be objective and scientific? Or conversely, can Buddhism only be fully understood by practising Buddhists? Should practising Buddhists be partially excluded from academic Buddhology? How have the sectarian affiliations of specific famous scholars affected their work? How have our own beliefs affected our own work? Is there such a thing as a normative Buddhism? I propose that in asking these and other similar questions that are high on the postmodernist agenda, and debating

them honestly and in public, the intellectual health of Buddhology as a discipline will be considerably improved.

For all the above reasons, I feel it is relevant to point out that the very questions I have asked in this study of the PCN have been influenced by a Ris-med agenda. I embarked on this study because I felt that the centuries old and highly divisive issue of the status of the rNying-ma-pa tantras needed to be resolved in the interests of what little still survives of Tibetan religious culture as a whole. I believed that good evidence and sound reasoning alone could provide a true basis for resolution of the dispute: partisan polemics tend only to invoke an equal and opposite force. If this study has done anything at all to heal the deep and ancient doctrinal divisions within Tibetan Buddhism, then I dedicate whatever merit might have accrued to the peaceful reconciliation of all harmful conflicts everywhere.

## PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATED SUMMARIES

"Translation is just like chewing food that is to be fed to others. If one cannot chew the food oneself, one has to be given food that has been already chewed. Such food however is bound to be poorer in taste and flavour than the original." Attributed to Kumarajiva, translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese, cited by Edward L. Keenan in Guenther & Guenther-Reutter 1978:157.

Within the traditional context, scriptures such as the PCN exist more to be venerated than studied. With the exception of a tiny number of key texts such as the *\*Guhyagarbha-tantra* or the *Kun-byed rgyal-po*, most of the NGB collection is seldom studied at all, and certainly not in the minutely detailed way that the works of the commentarial tradition are. As TN and gSang-sngags Rin-po-che several times told me, most texts from the NGB such as the PCN are extremely little known; TN added that even the scriptural citations from them that pepper the commentarial literature are usually culled from other commentarial works, rather than directly from the actual scriptures that are being quoted.

A consequence of the lack of direct attention received by these texts over so many centuries is their current obscurity. I quickly learned that not even the most learned abbots and vajrācāryas (rdo-rje slob-dpon) of the major rNying-ma-pa monastic centres could understand them completely, even with the best will in the world. TN explained that in a traditional context, texts like the PCN were considered to have passages beyond the reach of ordinary scholars; only fully realised beings such as Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche could understand them, and then only from the extraordinary point of view of their complete realisation of the living dharma within.

And as for Dilgo Khyentse himself, whom I consulted directly, although he was characteristically keen to be as helpful as possible, generously giving me encouragement, the necessary empowerments, and copies of choice commentarial texts from out of his own library,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The *Bum-pa nag-po* from the rNying-ma bKa'-ma, 'Jigs-med gling-pa's GLP, and Kongtrul's DG.

he nevertheless remarked to me with some conviction that he at least believed his own interpretations might not be entirely correct. He remarked that although he himself had had to teach the \**Guhyagarbha-tantra* a number of times, even so he made no claims to understand it completely; on the contrary, he felt sure he could not understand it in full; what hope then for a mere beginner and foreigner attempting a translation of a comparable scripture for a PhD?

I must confess to having been in complete agreement with Khyentse Rinpoche from the outset; the very idea of my producing a "perfect translation" of a text such as the PCN had always appeared preposterous. So, rather than importune Dilgo Khyentse for his inner explanations (a process that would take up hours of his valuable time when so little of that was left to him, he was to die two years later), I instead was more than happy to approach my study of the PCN from a more outer point of view. I looked upon my study as a vehicle to permit the exploration of the issues of authenticity and canonicity surrounding the Vajrakīlaya tradition, along with the NGB collections as a whole. Furthermore, as it appeared to me then (immersed as I was in the life of Khyentse Rinpoche's monastery in Kathmandu), the special quality of the Kīlaya deity, the most popular yi-dam of the rNying-ma-pas, is as a deity of thresholds, one who first opens up the way for others to follow; so what more auspicious basis could there be for an attempt at a pioneering stemma and text-critical study of a text unique to the NGB?

That decision does not mean that I have been unconcerned with textual meanings and accurate translation. On the contrary, I have made every effort to understand the text, consulting with learned authorities as much as I was able, and devoting by far the greater part (about four-fifths) of my total efforts expended on this study to achieving as correct a translation as possible. I initially edited and translated all twenty-four chapters of the text, but this resulted in an excessively long manuscript. To bring it down to a reasonable size for publication here, all of the translation and twenty of the chapters of the edition have had to be discarded, and only the first three and the last chapters of the edition can be presented. There is an additional reason for not including any translation in this published version: a widely accepted ethical standard in Social Anthropology is that one

should not betray the confidence of one's fieldwork informants. I see no reason why this minimum standard should not also be applied in philology. The PCN is a text that still plays an important part in the religious life of contemporary Tibetan Buddhism, and, like other esoteric tantric scriptures of its type, is traditionally governed by a code of secrecy that limits access to it to those with the necessary levels of initiation. From a traditional point of view, this makes it unsuitable for general publication and uncontrolled distribution in an English translation. In addition, Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche specifically asked me not to publish for general consumption or inappropriately distribute the English translation, although he did encourage my study of the PCN for the purposes of my PhD. I accordingly gave Khyentse Rinpoche my word of honour that the translation would not be distributed beyond the traditionally sanctioned recipients, and it shall not be. Hence only English language summaries of its twenty-four chapters are being presented here.

The PCN is usually counted as the representative Kīlaya scripture from the Five Tantras of Sādhana, a section of the Eighteen [Root] Tantras of Mahāyoga. It is by that token also counted as an Explanatory Tantra.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, there are no

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<sup>2</sup> These 18 are the root texts for the entire Mahāyoga corpus. According to dGe-tse Mahāpaṇḍita (the redactor of D) who cited gTer-chen 'Gyur-med rdo-rje as his source, the arrangement of the Eighteen is as follows (Thondup 1989:30-31):

[A] The Tantra Section:

(1) The Root Tantra is the *rGyud gsang-ba snying-po* (\**Guhyagarbha*)

[B] The Explanatory Tantras:

(1) Five Major Tantras:

- (i) Tantra of Body: *Sang-rgyas mnyam-'byor* (*Buddhasamāyoga*)
- (ii) Tantra of Speech: *Zla-gsang thig-le* (*Candraguhyatilaka*)
- (iii) Tantra of Mind: *gSang-ba 'dus-pa* (*Guhyasamāja*)
- (iv) Tantra of Qualities: *dPal-mchog dang-po* (*Śrī-Paramādyā*)
- (v) Tantra of Activities: *Karma ma-le* (*Karmamālā*)

(2) Five Tantras of Sādhana:

- (i) *Heruka rol-ba* (no longer extant)
- (ii) *rTa-mchog rol-ba*
- (iii) *sNying-rje rol-ba*
- (iv) *bDud-rtsi rol-ba*



commentaries of any kind specifically upon the PCN, let alone word-by-word commentaries of the kind available for more widely studied tantras such as *Hevajra*, *Guhyasamāja*, \**Guhyagarbha*, or *Kālacakra*. The lack of a commentary greatly increased the difficulty of translation.

To help me make sense of the text, I resorted to four of the most famous sādhanā cycles, and to one general commentary. The sādhanās were the following:

[1] Those of the Sa-skyā tradition, known as the Sa-lugs phur-pa or the 'Khon-rigs lineage. This is often regarded as the grandest of all Vajrakīlaya cycles, perhaps because it is traditionally believed to be the only oral tradition (as opposed to gter-ma tradition) that has come down in an unbroken line from Padmasambhava. 'Khon klu'i dbang-po, a senior minister to the emperor Khri-srong lde'u-btsan and progenitor of the later Sa-skyā dynasty, is believed to have been a direct disciple of Padmasambhava, and to have been among the first to receive Vajrakīlaya teachings, which he passed on as the family lineage that continues to this day. The oldest examples of this literature to which I have had access were the several texts contained in the *rDo-rje phur-pa'i sgrub-skor* of Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan (1147-1216), now preserved in the *Sa-skyā bka'-'bum*.

[2] Those of the Ratna gling-pa tradition, the *rDo-rje phur-pa yang-gsang bla-med*. These are the gter-ma of Ratna gling-pa rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (1403-1478), the first great compiler and redactor of the NGB. He was also a major gter-ston, whose Phur-pa revelations are often said to be the most highly respected of all the Vajrakīlaya gter-ma cycles.

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(v) *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*

(3) Five Tantras of Activity:

(i) *Glang-chen rab-'bog*

(ii) *Ri-bo brtsegs-pa*

(iii) *Ye-shes rngam-glog*

(iv) *Dam-tshig bkod-pa*

(v) *Ting-'dzin rtse-gcig*

(4) Two Supplementary Tantras

(i) *rNam-srang sgyu-'phrul drva-ba*

(ii) *Thabs-kyi zhags-pa*

[3] The *bCom-ldan-'das rdo-rje phur-pa rgyud-lugs kyi bsnyen-pa'i las-byang bkol-ba'i dum-bu zhes-bya-ba*, by 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1729-1798), another great redactor of the NGB and also a famous gter-ston. This text is seen both as his gter-ma revelation and as his composition, substantially based upon his study of the NGB. Its name translates as "The Tantra-tradition Kīlaya". Among Ris-med circles, this is considered the most prized of all Phur-pa cycles.

[4] The *dPal rDo-rje Phur-bu bDud-'joms gNam-lcags sPu-gri*, an extensive gter-ma Phur-pa cycle of the bDud-'joms gling-pa tradition that is very widely practised and highly respected in the contemporary period, not only among rNying-ma-pas but also among 'Brug-pas and others. It was widely disseminated by the late Dudjom Rinpoche, whose revelation and composition gave it its current formulation.

The general commentary I consulted was the *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu'i 'grel-pa snying-po bsdus-pa dpal chen dgyes-pa'i zhal-lung zhes-bya-ba*, by Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas. This takes the form of a word-by-word commentary on Dumbu, but contains much general material as well. It also draws on the teachings of many previous works, including the *Bum-pa nag-po*. Although Khyentse Rinpoche had also given me a copy of the *Bum-pa nag-po* from out of his own library, he did so with the comment that it was too secret to be used in this study; he also pointed out with some humour that it was so difficult to read that to do so would likely take me ten years at least! In that he was not mistaken; its sheer obscurity made it most difficult to utilize.

If the *Bum-pa nag-po* was the most secret of such texts given me, it was not the only secret one; to varying degrees, all of them are deemed secret by the tradition, and should properly speaking be seen only by persons with the appropriate initiations and permissions. In fact, as I was being handed the volume containing DG from Dilgo Khyentse's personal library, I was carefully informed by the learned monk who handed it to me, that such detailed and explicit commentarial texts are normally considered even more secret than the more general canonical scriptures such as the PCN itself! In order to maintain good faith with my informants, I therefore have no alternative but to restrict access to this aspect of my study as well to

an appropriate readership. At the very least, it too will certainly not be published for general distribution.

In consulting the *sādhanas* and commentaries, it soon became abundantly clear that the PCN does not organise itself according to their basic structures and categories in any straightforward way. On the other hand, it did (perhaps predictably) conform to the standard tantric topics (*rgyud-kyi dngos-po*) much discussed in the mainstream *rNying-ma-pa* exegesis of *Mahāyoga*.<sup>3</sup> But famous specifically *Kīlaya* hermeneutical systems such as *The Four Phur-bus*, around which so much *Phur-pa* teaching is organised on the ground, are not obviously apparent in the PCN, even if their general themes can all be found there in some form or another.<sup>4</sup> Nor are the complex and variant but nevertheless basically constant stages of the various *Vajrakīlaya*

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<sup>3</sup> These are counted in different ways by different sources.

The famous *sPar-khab* commentary on the *\*Guhyagarbha*, attributed to the Indian sage *Līlavajra*, counts seven such topics: [1] *maṇḍala*; [2] *sādhana*; [3] empowerment; [4] *samaya*; [5] enlightened activities; [6] view; [7] conduct.

The 11th century figure of *Rong-zom Paṇḍita* counts nine: [1] to [5] above, plus [6] mantra; [7] *mudrā*; [8] *samādhi*; [9] offerings.

Some more modern figures like *Mi-pham* (1846-1912) and *rDo-grub 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i nyi-ma* (1865-1926) count ten or eleven: [1] view of *tathatā*; [2] conduct; [3] *maṇḍala*; [4] empowerments; [5] *samaya*; [6] enlightened activities; [7] actualisation of wishes; [8] *samādhi*; [9] offerings; and [10] mantras with [11] *mudrās* (*Germano 1994:206*).

Clearly, the chapters of the PCN do conform to this general pattern of expected materials within a *Mahāyoga* scripture. In the present study, however, I am attempting to focus on the features unique to the *Vajrakīlaya* cycle in particular, rather than upon these rather more easily accessible features of *Mahāyoga* in general.

<sup>4</sup> However, the *Four Phur-bus* might occur within other *NGB* texts. *NP* summarises them as follows, citing as its source a tantra called the *Phur-bu ngan-sngags gtsug-lag*:

Four different types of person are perfected by meditating on the *Four Kīlas*.  
[1] The *rig-pa ye-shes phur-bu*, or wisdom-awareness *kīla*, strikes into the vast openness of the *Dharmadhātu*.

[2] The *thugs-rje sprul-pa'i phur-bu*, or compassionate emanation *kīla*, strikes all sentient beings.

[3] The *gsang-ba byang-sems phur-bu*, or secret *bodhicitta kīla*, strikes into the vast openness of the consort's 'sky'.

[4] The *mtshan-ma rdzas-kyi phur-bu*, or material *kīla*, strikes at hostile forces and obstacles (*NP bsnyen-yig:74*).

sādhanas evidenced in the PCN in the same way; although some of the same rites are dealt with, not all of them are, and they are certainly not presented in the same systematic sequential fashion.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the sādhanas and Kongtrul's and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's commentaries alike have been of relatively limited use in establishing the translation of the PCN; but on the other hand, much has been gained in terms of understanding the structures of the literature as a whole by making the comparison.

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<sup>5</sup> For example, NP las-byang has the following structure (which is fairly typical, many Vajrakīlaya sādhanas have more or less comparable ritual structures and categories). There are three main stages with eleven sections each: [1] The Preparations [2] The Main Practice [3] The Following Activities. Many of the eleven sections further subdivide, sometimes many times over, but for reasons of brevity I shall omit all the subdivisions.

[1] The Preparations has eleven sections: 1.1. going for refuge; 1.2. generating bodhicitta; 1.3. amassing the accumulations; 1.4. expelling the obstacles; 1.5. making the boundaries; 1.6. confessing one's faults; 1.7. symbolically opening the door; 1.8. making the symbolic prostrations; 1.9. upholding the commitment; 1.10. the descent of blessings; 1.11. consecrations of the offerings.

[2] The Main Practice has eleven sections: 2.1. meditation on the samaya maṇḍala; 2.2. consecration and empowerment; 2.3. inviting the jñāna maṇḍala; 2.4. requesting (them) to be seated; 2.5. prostrations; 2.6. offerings; 2.7. praises; 2.8. supplications; 2.9. confession of faults; 2.10. mantra recitation; 2.11. the post-meditation yoga.

[3] The Following Activities have eleven sections: 3.1. the gaṇacakra offering; 3.2. enjoining; 3.3. sending forth the promise (gtor-ma); 3.4. the weapon ritual; 3.5. the Twelve Ancient Established Protectresses (gtor-ma); 3.6. performing the horse dance; 3.7. the thanksgiving offering; 3.8. requesting patience; 3.9. the dissolution of the maṇḍala; 3.10. making aspirations; 3.11. recitation of wishes for auspiciousness.

## SUMMARIES OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

### The Title

In Sanskrit: *Kīlayadvādaśatantramahāyānasūtra*

In Tibetan: *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*

T2; D176r

In English: The Mahāyāna Sūtra called the Twelve Kīlaya<sup>1</sup> Tantra.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name clearly refers to the central deity of the cycle, the heruka Vajrakīlaya. A great deal of uncertainty over this name has arisen with the advent of Western scholarly involvement. Although the Tibetan tradition has, from the earliest Dunhuang documents until modern times, consistently understood the deity's correct Sanskrit name to be Vajrakīlaya, modern authors have (in perhaps classic Saidian "Orientalist" fashion) generally deemed this to be a mistake; they have argued that the Tibetans, in trying to reconstruct the Sanskrit name from the introductory homages, erroneously gave the dative form "Vajrakīlāya" in place of a "correct" nominative, Vajrakīla.

I have never found this argument absolutely convincing, for two reasons. Firstly, in the great majority of instances, the Tibetans render the name as Vajrakīlaya, not as the dative form, Vajrakīlāya (I confirmed the latter point by sampling over two hundred instances of the name as it occurred in a wide range of different texts, and found that less than 15% of them rendered the name in the dative form). Secondly, even such a figure as the Sakya Paṇḍita, who was an excellent Sanskritist directly trained by famous Indian paṇḍits, and a scholar one of whose primary concerns was to root out all Tibetan-originated distortions of the Indic heritage, as far as we can see consistently rendered the name as Vajrakīlaya. Likewise, in all my readings of early Sa-skyā texts from the Sa-skyā bka'-'bum, I have always encountered the form Vajrakīlaya, never Vajrakīla. Of course, it is true that we only preserve these works of Sa-paṇ and Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan in xylographs or mss. produced many centuries after their time, so more modern ideas of the orthography might have intervened. Nevertheless, I suspect that had Sa-paṇ really preferred the reading Vajrakīla, at least some small trace of this would have survived into later times, yet as far as I can see at this moment, no such trace whatsoever can be found; all I have seen of the Sa-skyā-pa tradition so far universally suggests the usage Vajrakīlaya, just like their rNying-ma-pa counterparts.

Regrettably, however, as so often happens in such cases, Tibetan scholars have now begun to uncritically defer to their culturally more dominant Western counterparts, and, in English-language publications at least, have begun (it seems, for the first time) to call the deity by the "corrected" name of Vajrakīla. Yet it is possible, on the other hand, that the name Vajrakīlaya as favoured by the Tibetans could in fact have been the form that was actually used in the original Indic sources, and that there is no need to hypothesize a correct form "Vajrakīla". "Vajrakīlaya" could have come from the

## Chapter One, "The *nidāna* [introductory scene]".

*gleng.gzhi'i.le'u.ste.dang.po'o//*

T2-T36; D176r-D188v

This prose chapter establishes the introductory scene through the medium of the Five Perfections [of time, place, teacher, retinue and teachings]. The Lord, the Master of Supreme Secrets, is described

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second person singular active, causative imperative, of the verb *Kīl*. Indigenous grammar (Pāṇini Dhātupāṭha I.557) gives to *Kīl* the meaning of *bandha*, i.e. "to bind", while Monier-Williams (285) gives the meanings "to bind, fasten, stake, pin". Hence the form *kīlaya* could mean "you cause to bind/transfix!", or "bind/transfix!". This, taken from mantras urging "bind/transfix", or "may you cause to bind/transfix", might have come to be treated as a noun; and the noun might then have become deified; hence *Kīlaya* might have started out as a deified imperative, in some ways comparable to the famous example of the deified vocative in the name Hevajra, and a not unheard of phenomenon in Sanskrit tantric literature. This suggestion is supported by Alexis Sanderson, a specialist in Sanskrit tantric manuscripts whom I consulted on this problem.

1            2            3

Sg: *kīlayāni* *kīlaya* *kīlayatu*

Du: *kīlayāva* *kīlayatam* *kīlayatām*

Pl: *kīlayāma* *kīlayata* *kīlayantu* (See Coulson 1976:290)

Interestingly, Kongtrul also broadly agrees with this in his analysis of the name. He writes: *kī la ya'i sgra ni 'debs par byed pa ste* "The utterance *kīlaya* [means] 'to cause to strike', [or 'he causes to strike', or even 'he strikes']" (DG:65). Hence there is an agreement with Kongtrul in the causative nature of the word, even if Kongtrul does not imply an imperative. Because of this, and because the form *Vajrakīlaya* is indeed a possibly correct Indic form, as well as the weight of age-old Tibetan tradition, I have elected to retain the "uncorrected" name *Vajrakīlaya* throughout, at least until more reliable evidence is forthcoming that we ought indeed to correct the name to "*Vajrakīla*" or some other form. (Thanks to Peter Verhagen and Alexis Sanderson for their advice on this issue).

<sup>2</sup> The title of the text would seem to refer to a twelve-fold or twelve-sectioned structure; according to gSang-sngags Rin-po-che, it is so named after the twelve major central deities of the maṇḍala. TN pointed out that the famous *Kīlaya* protective deities (*phur srung*) can also be counted as twelve in number, and this might account for the title. It is also possible that the name alludes to a previous version of the text that actually had twelve chapters. Volume Ha of T contains two texts with 12 chapters each, called *Phur pa bcu gnyis 'byung ba'i rgyud chung du bstan pa* (Kaneko no. 351) and *rDo rje phur pa bcu gnyis rgyud* (Kaneko no. 352). The same titles, also with 12 chapters each, are listed in the dkar-chag of D, under vol. Za.

dwelling in his immeasurable palace. The interlocutor Vajradharma is introduced, and the manifestation of the beautiful peaceful maṇḍala unfolds. As the deities appear one after another from their mantric seed-syllables, spontaneous teachings on the absolute nature are expressed. The process of emanation in each case is as follows [according to the interpretation of TN]: (1) Light rays are emanated by all the Buddhas; (2) these light rays strike the mantra syllable, which then itself begins to emanate and reabsorb light rays; (3) then the Master of Supreme Secrets re-emanates the same light rays; (4) these penetrate the syllable, which then utters a verse. The deities that make up the opening maṇḍala are as follows: Ākāśagarbha, Akṣobhya, Ālokā, Amitābha [=Dharmasattva], Amoghasiddhi, Avalokiteśvara, Buddhalocanā, Dhūpā, Four consorts of male gatekeepers, Four male gatekeepers, Gandhā, Gītā, Kṣitigarbha, Lāsyā, Maitreya, Mālā, Māmakī, Mañjuśrikumāra, Nṛtyā, Padmāntakṛt, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Prajñāntakṛt, Puṣpā, Ratnasambhava or Ratnasambhava-sattva, Samantabhadra, Samantabhadrī, Samayatārā, [Sarva]-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, Six Sages, Śūnyatā, Vairocana or Vairocanasattva, Vajradharma, Vajradhṛk, Vajrapāṇi, Vighnāntakṛt, Yāmāntakṛt.

### Chapter Two, "On the true reality of the bodhicitta".

*byang chub sems kyi nges pa de kho na nyid kyi le'u ste gnyis pa'o//*  
T36-T41; D188v-D190v

In this verse chapter, the interlocutor Vajradharma requests teachings on the nature of the bodhicitta. Such teachings are given in verse by the Master of Supreme Secrets, and by the Five Buddhas.

### Chapter Three, "The stages of the various maṇḍalas".

*so so'i dkyil 'khor gyi rim pa bshad pa'i le'u ste gsum pa'o//*  
T41-T64; D190v-D199r

This chapter is in verse. Vajradharma requests teachings on the maṇḍalas of the Five Families (Vajra, Cakra, Ratna, Padma and Karma). The Lord of Secrets replies at length. He describes such topics as the qualities of yogins suitable for each of the five maṇḍalas, the qualities of students suitable for each of the five maṇḍalas, the types of sites suitable for practising each of the five maṇḍalas, the construction of material representations of the maṇḍalas and

descriptions of the deities within them, the furnishings and ornaments they require, the offering of balis, initiatory processes and samaya obligations, suitable initiatory offerings (*dakṣiṇā*), the stages of initiation, the dream omens, the fruits of initiation, and instructions on mantra recitation.

**Chapter Four**, "On the maṇḍalas of samādhi".

*ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor gyi le'u ste bzhi pa'o//*  
T65-T69; D199r-D201r

This verse chapter begins by describing the writing out of the volume [of the text], and the making of material representational images. It then describes visualised images, explaining their superiority to material ones. It also mentions such topics as places for practice and amṛta offerings to the deities.

**Chapter Five**, "Enlarging in full upon the mudrās".

*phyag rgya nam par spro ba'i le'u ste lnga pa'o//*  
T69-T74; D201r-D203r

A verse chapter, which gives detailed descriptions of the hand-gestures of the Five Buddhas and their consorts, together with their mantras. The mudrās and mantras for self-consecration are also given.

**Chapter Six**, "The emanations of [Buddha] Body, Speech and Mind".

*sku gsung thugs kyi sprul ba'i le'u ste drug pa'o//*  
T74-T82; D203r-D206r

In this verse chapter, the Lord gives a wonderful demonstration of the inconceivable manifold different forms in which he emanates to tame beings throughout the six realms of the saṃsāra. Vajradharma gives praise, exclaiming that in his activity to benefit beings, there is nothing the Lord is forbidden to do: he can even commit apparently terrible sins, and behave in a totally impure fashion, if these are in fact his methods of benefitting beings. Some such apparently antinomian acts are described, at which point the bodhisattvas in the retinue faint in shock. The Lord revives them, however, and gives secret teachings on the inner yogas.



**Chapter Seven, "How the arrogant [gods] were tamed".**

*gdug pa can btul ba'i le'u ste bdun pa'oll*

T82-T92; D206r-210v

This prose chapter comprises a lengthy description of the taming of Maheśvara/Rudra and his entourage, the charter-myth of Buddhist kāpālikāism, which also gives the context for the first appearance of the wrathful Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala. The narrative begins with the Buddhas noticing that the Śaiva deities were causing terrible harm to the world by their savage attacks against the Buddhist religion. The Buddhas also perceived that the Śaiva deities could never be influenced by peaceful means; hence Vajrakīlaya manifested a special wrathful form with one thousand heads, a thousand arms, and ten billion feet, dwelling in a cemetery palace. From this form in turn was emanated the six-armed, four-legged, three-headed form of Vajrakumāra, the "Excellent Son", embracing Ekajaṭā. Vajrakumāra trampled the arrogant gods underfoot. He was then invested by Vajrakīlaya with the emblems of the Śaiva gods, such as the khaṭvāṅga. Then the forms of the Kīlas of the Five Families were emanated, Buddhakīla etc., with their upper bodies similar to Vajrakumāra, and their lower bodies shaped like triangular kīlas. Next, Vighnarāja (Gaṇeśa) with all his retinue was summoned; to the accompaniment of some "vajra verses", the vighnas are killed, and their remainders burned and eaten. Then the interlocutor, now transformed into Karmaheruka, asks how the yogins of future ages should emulate this great deed? Vajrakīlaya replies with some of the root verses of the Vajrakīlaya tradition, verses that are found in Dumbu and repeated in virtually every Vajrakīlaya gter-ma, sādhana, commentary, etc. Then the Ten Wrathful Deities (daśakrodha) and consorts and their zoomorphic attendants are emanated. Next, the Śaiva deities are squeezed to a pulp, upon which Uchchuśmakrodha is emanated. The latter consumes the mess, and the Śaiva pantheon are revived once more, taking the service-names of Grub-pa Laṅka, promising to protect future yogins. Thus they become the seats of the Buddhist deities. Next, Vajrakīlaya has sexual intercourse with all the consorts of the Śaiva deities, and from this union, the series of goddesses Gaurī etc., Siṅhamā etc., and Aṅkuśa etc., are born. After being used in this way, the Śaiva female deities themselves are bound

under oath as servants, and consigned to the outside of the maṇḍala (as the Twenty-eight Īsvarīs). With this, the emanation of the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala of deities is complete.

**Chapter Eight**, "On the lay-out of the wrathful maṇḍalas".

*drag po'i dkyil 'khor nam par bkod pa'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o//*  
T92-T103; D210v-D214v.

This is a verse chapter. Karmaheruka asks the Lord to teach on the places suitable for practising the wrathful rites described in the previous chapter, and on the details of the maṇḍalas of [Buddha] Body, Speech and Mind. The Lord replies at length: he describes the different sites suitable for each of the various aspects of such practices, how to take over such sites and make relationships with the local spirits, how to set up one's altar and representational maṇḍala, how to visualise the deities within it, how to lay out and employ the various power-substances, and how to perform sādhana and give praises etc. After these explanations, Karmaheruka once again requests further teachings, this time on empowerment and blessing. The Lord explains how to invoke the empowerment and blessings of the non-dual goddesses and the various wrathful deities, how to accomplish their sādhana, and how to perform various related elements of tantric ritual, as well as assorted magical acts.

**Chapter Nine**, "On the Supreme Son Kīlaya".

*sras mchog phur pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o//*  
T92-T105; D214v-D215v.

This verse chapter opens with Karmaheruka asking about the Supreme Son maṇḍala, and the slaying ritual. The Lord describes two methods of drawing the maṇḍala of the twenty-one Supreme Son deities. He then describes the slaying rites associated with the Supreme Son maṇḍalas, including descriptions of homa rites, the making of effigies, and methods of invoking the special female deities (especially the *phur srung*) who effect the activity. The separation of the protective '*go ba'i lha* from the victim is also described.

**Chapter Ten, "The teaching on kīla materials".**

*phur pa'i rgyu bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o//*  
T105-T108; D215v-D216v.

In this verse chapter, Karmaheruka requests teachings on how material kīlas should be made, and what qualities they should have. The Lord gives descriptions of the correct forms of the kīla, what materials they can be made from, and what dimensions are permissible. These can vary according to different occasions and purposes, and the instructions are quite detailed. Nevertheless, Karmaheruka is reminded that such material supports as a kīla are only of provisional use in yoga: basing oneself in realisation is more profound.

**Chapter Eleven, "On consecrating the Supreme Son Kīlaya".**

*sras mchog phur pa byin gyis brlab pa'i le'u ste bcu gcig pa'o//*  
T108-T113; D216v-D218v.

In this verse chapter, Karmaheruka asks how the material kīla is to be consecrated. The Lord explains the visualisations, mantras and mudrās with which this is achieved.<sup>3</sup> Censing and the application of power substances are also described, along with the appropriate verses for recitation. The chapter ends with a description of the profound view of the absolute nature to be held while doing such rites.

**Chapter Twelve, "Teaching on the focus of [the rites of] liberation".**

*bsgral ba'i dmigs bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu gnyis pa'o//*  
T113-T118; D218v-D220v.

This verse chapter opens with Karmaheruka asking the Lord Vajrakīlaya at whom one should direct the rites of liberation in the present age, given that these were directed at the "Proud Gods" [of the Śaiva pantheon] in the bygone age, [as described in Chapter Seven]. Vajrakīlaya replies with a list of types of fallen beings in the present epoch who nowadays constitute "the real Rudra"; it is these beings who require liberation through the *abhicāra* rites today, and in thus

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<sup>3</sup> This section shares substantial parallel materials with a Dunhuang fragment on Vajrakīlaya; see Mayer & Cantwell 1994. I was able to emend corrupted mantras in this section of the PCN on the basis of the Dunhuang text.

liberating them, one remains blameless. Particular mention is made of seven types of perverted tantric practitioners, who have fallen from grace by one or another of the seven different ways of falling.

**Chapter Thirteen**, "On mantras".

*sngags kyi le'u ste bcu gsum pa'o//*

T118-T126; D220v-D223v.

This chapter is partly in verse. It lists all the Vajrakīlaya mantras together with their names, and also has some special invocatory verses addressed to the goddesses who effect wrathful activity on behalf of the yogin. It ends with some general admonitions to tantric yogins.

**Chapter Fourteen**, "On the mudrās".

*phyag rgya'i le'u ste bcu bzhi pa'o//*

T126-T132; D223v-D226r.

In this verse chapter, the gestures for the various wrathful deities of the maṇḍala are given. These are followed by descriptions of the various methods of brandishing or "rolling" the material kīla, and a number of special gestures specific to particular wrathful rites.

**Chapter Fifteen**, "On the Colours of the Deities, and their Hand-emblems".

*sku mdog dang phyag mtshan bstan pa'i le'u ste bco lnga pa'o//*

T132-136, D226r-227v.

This is a verse chapter. First, the appearances of the Ten Wrathful Deities (daśakrodha) is described, with a brief mention of their consorts and attendants as well. Then the four gate-keeping goddesses are described. Finally, a number of special maṇḍalas of the *phur srung* (rDo-rje phur-pa protective deities) are described.

**Chapter Sixteen**, "On the complete purities".

*rnam par dag pa'i le'u ste bcu drug pa'o//*

T136-T140; D227v-D229r.

In this verse chapter, Karmaheruka asks the Lord the meaning of his appearances as the manifold divine forms [such as those just described]; what do these signify from the perspective of complete purity? The Lord Vajrakīlaya replies with a long list that correlates

each one of the phenomena of the yogin's ordinary world, to one of the deities of his maṇḍala. This is how such ordinary phenomena appear from the perspective of the complete purity of the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala.

**Chapter Seventeen**, "On the skilful means to concentrate the mind [citta]".

*sems bsdus bzhag pa'i thabs kyi le'u ste bcu bdun pa'o//*  
T140-T146; D229r-D231v.

This is a verse chapter. Karmaheruka questions the Lord Vajrakīlaya on the skilful methods with which genuinely intelligent yogins can bring their minds/ [bodhi]citta into a state of concentration. The Lord first replies by describing briefly the celestial palace as normally visualised in regular sādhana practice. Next, he describes in more inner yogic terms the celestial palace of one's own body, with its cakras and subtle veins etc. Various completion stage yogas are described, including sexual methods using a consort.

**Chapter Eighteen**, "On the method of traversing the path".

*lam la bgrod tshul gyi le'u ste bco brgyad pa'o//*  
T146-T151; D229r-D233r.

In this verse chapter, Karmaheruka asks about the results of the practices described in the previous chapter, as well as about the view and conduct that should accompany them. The Lord Vajrakīlaya describes the progressive results of the yogas by correlating them to the paths (*marga*) and levels (*bhūmi*) as described in conventional Mahāyāna textbooks. The attainment of the levels of the various Buddhas is described, along with special advice on yogic practice at different stages of progress along the paths. Instructions on how to die, leaving no residue of the skandhas, is also given.

**Chapter Nineteen**, "The mantra pick-up [*mantroddhāra*]".

*sngags btu ba'i le'u ste bcu dgu pa'o//*  
T151-T170; D233r-D240v.

This is a verse chapter. In reply to Karmaheruka's questioning, a very brief account of how mantras come into being is given initially. This explanation is based on the *varga* of the Sanskrit alphabet,

describing "adornment" of the vowels and consonants in the Abhidharma technical terminology of *nāmakāya* and *padakāya*. This is followed by a *māntroddhāra* of considerable length. The names of the mantras are given in each case.

**Chapter Twenty**, "On the classifications of the stages of samādhi".

*ting nge 'dzin rim par phye ba'i le'u ste nyi shu pa'o//*

T170-T176; D240v-D243r.

In this verse chapter, the Lord Vajrakīlaya explains to Karmaheruka that without accomplishment in particular samādhis, ritual activities cannot be accomplished. Thus various visualisations are described for use with the different maṇḍalas, including those of the Supreme Son, the consort Dīptacakra, and so on. Very special verses of "Vajra Syllables" for recitation are given [which are parallel to a number of key passages in Dumbu]. They are addressed mainly to the special Vajrakīlaya wrathful female deities and to the Supreme Sons, for application within different aspects of the wrathful rites.

**Chapter Twenty-one**, "On the powerful substances".

*thun gyi le'u ste nyi shu rtsa gcig pa'o//*

T176-T182; D243r-D245v.

This chapter is in verse. Karmaheruka remarks that the teachings on liberating the enemies of dharma with the kīla have already been given, but how can one effect liberation using poisons? Complex instructions on a variety of wrathful rites using power-substances are described.

**Chapter Twenty-two**, "On the Four Enlightened Activities".

*'phrin las bzhi'i le'u ste nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa'o//*

T182-T190; D245v-248v.

In verse. Karmaheruka asks the Lord Vajrakīlaya how to perform the Four Enlightened Activities at the conclusion of one's ritual practices. In reply, detailed explanations of the *homa* rites for the four activities are given. Then come instructions on making protective amulets, to be worn by persons or attached to buildings.

**Chapter Twenty-three**, "On the divisions of the classes of samaya".  
*dam tshig gi rim par phye ba'i le'u ste nyi shu rtsa gsum pa'o//*  
 T190-T193; D248v-D249v.

In verse. Karmaheruka asks about the samayas that need to be protected. The Lord Vajrakīlaya first explains that the distillation of all samayas is simply to remain unmoving within the unutterable non-discursive essence. Then the more usual conceptual teachings on the samayas of Vajrakīlaya are explained at length, along with a method to repair them.

**Chapter Twenty-four** (title unclear), ?"The complete entrustment of the sūtra of the twelve kīlaya tantra, said to be a tantra fully explanatory of the meaning"; or (following Gyurme Dorje's suggestion:) ?"The complete entrustment of that which is called the tantra which is the complete explanation of the concise meanings of the twelve-fold kīlaya tantra".

*kī la ya'i rgyud bcu gnyis kyī mdo don rnam par bshad pa'i rgyud ces  
 bya ba yongs su gtad pa'i le'u ste nyi shu rtsa bzhi pa'o//*  
 T193-T199; D250r-251v.

In this final chapter, which seems to pertain to rDzogs-chen, the absences (med-pa) are taught. After a teaching on the ultimate nature, all the categories of visualisation and ritual taught in the previous twenty-three chapters are drawn up in a list and their reality negated (from the absolute point of view) one after another. Finally, Vajrakīlaya gives injunctions on the preservation of the text he has just taught, after which he enters into the silence of the non-dual state.

## PREFACE TO THE EDITION

Over the last few decades, a new sub-discipline popularly dubbed "Kanjur Studies" has firmly established itself at an international level, rapidly becoming one of the more dynamic and vigorous areas within Buddhist Studies and Tibetology. As its name suggests, the focus of "Kanjur Studies" is upon the systematic bibliography and textual criticism of the various editions of the Tibetan Kanjur. On the one hand, this development represents a natural precipitation of the accumulated work of many decades; on the other hand, it also owes much to the pioneering work of a single individual catalyst, Helmut Eimer of the University of Bonn in Germany.<sup>1</sup> An important foundation of contemporary "Kanjur Studies" has been the proposition successfully promoted by Eimer, that individual Tibetan canonical texts, and perhaps eventually (after the texts have been dealt with individually) the corpora into which they are collected, could profitably be subjected to rigorous textual criticism, in particular by classical genealogical or stemmatic techniques. This latter is a possibility for textual criticism not always thought to be shared by the Buddhist canonical literature in other Asian languages, for example the texts of the Pāli Canon of the Theravāda tradition, and hence such a proposition in relation to Tibetan Buddhist scriptures was perhaps contrary to expectation in some circles. As one might expect, the value of such stemmatic textual criticism of Tibetan canonical texts is therefore still viewed with varying degrees of reluctance or scepticism by a significant minority of scholars, just as the value of the stemmatic technique for Western literary classics is itself by no means universally accepted.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it was substantially through the impressive

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<sup>1</sup> Helmut Eimer not only reviewed and brought together all the previous studies of the various Kanjur editions, but also considerably advanced them. In particular, his critical edition of the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, based on 11 editions of the Kanjur (see especially Eimer 1983b), can be seen as a turning point, which introduced an unprecedented degree of sophistication and rigour to the textual criticism of Kanjur texts.

<sup>2</sup> For a presentation of the value of the stemmatic editing of Kanjur texts, see Harrison 1992a. For a contrasting advocacy of the diplomatic edition for Kanjur



results of his experiments with classical stemmatic text-critical principles that Helmut Eimer awakened a general scholarly demand for a similar degree of philological rigour to be shown in the treatment of the texts of the Tibetan Buddhist Kanjur, as had already long been customary in any serious treatment of Western classics. In this way, Helmut Eimer in effect directed the entire study of Tibetan Buddhist scripture towards a new and much sounder philological footing. After Eimer came several other text-critical scholars, all of whom have made an individual contribution to Kanjur Studies. In particular, mention must be made of Paul Harrison, whose life-work on the Lokakṣema corpus is already having a significant impact upon our understanding

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Studies, and a critique of the genealogical approach, see Schoening 1995. I discuss my own more complex position with regard to these problems in the chapter below, "Editorial Policy". In the context of textual criticism as a whole, the genealogical or stemmatic technique favoured by most Kanjur scholars has been well established as the standard method for Classicists (but not Medievalists) since the time of Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). It is typically called into question for a number of reasons: (i) different and conflicting explanations can be deduced to explain the same data; (ii) a great deal of "subjective" editorial judgement is inevitably required; (iii) a significant proportion of decisions tend to be marginal and uncertain, (iv) yet if only a few of them are reversed, the entire stemma might be radically altered; (v) moreover, stemmatic analysis can be seen as based on a circular logic (Thorpe 1972:116,120). In 1913, Joseph Bédier made a further criticism, that an implausibly high proportion of stemmata seem to resolve into a pattern in which the entire tradition descends from two copies made from the archetype. He rejected stemmatic analysis as fallacious wishful thinking, and developed (more or less in the spirit of a *pis aller*) the "Best Text" method, which became standard within his field of medieval French manuscripts. In this system, a "best text" is selected on the criteria of coherence of sense, regularity of spelling, and grammar. Bédier's system should not be confused with the varied and highly resourceful methods now increasingly used by other Medievalists, for example by George Kane and E.T. Donaldson in their landmark edition of the *Piers Plowman* "B" Version. As Harunaga Isaacson has demonstrated (1995), editors of Indic mss. are well advised to pay attention to the recent work in this field. A further type of textual criticism is the statistical method, which attempts to eradicate where possible the "subjective" or qualitative elements of editorial judgement employed in other techniques. This system became established in the 1920's, with Greg and Quentin. It involves a quantitative statistical analysis of variant readings, using such tools as probability calculus (Thorpe 1972:114ff).

of the early Mahāyāna, as well as upon Kanjur Studies.<sup>3</sup>

However, with all this two things are occasionally forgotten. Firstly, stemmatic analysis is not the only kind of textual criticism (see note 2 above). Secondly and above all, the Kanjur (and its companion collection, the Tenjur), are not the only Tibetan canonical corpora. As well as these most famous "orthodox" collections, we also have within Buddhism the extremely important if slightly less well-known NGB. There are also other smaller rNying-ma-pa collections such as the Vai-ro rgyud-'bum or the rNying-ma'i rgyud bcu-bdun, or the more recent bKa'-ma collections. In addition to these various Buddhist collections, of course, there are also the non-Buddhist canons of the Tibetan Bon-po religion. It seems quite likely that the application of rigorous textual criticism to the study of these further canonical collections will prove just as fruitful as in the case of the Kanjur. It is therefore not very satisfactory to consider that so many years after the establishment of Kanjur studies, so very little serious textual criticism of any of the texts of any of the other Tibetan canonical corpora has yet been attempted. It was mainly with this consideration in mind, to extend to the study of the NGB some of the range of benefits already enjoyed by the study of the Kanjur, that I undertook the task of producing a pioneering text-critical study of a text unique to the NGB.<sup>4</sup> However,

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<sup>3</sup> Paul Harrison has focused on the study of the Mahāyāna scriptures translated by Lokakṣema into Chinese in the 2nd century CE. These constitute the earliest datable grouping of extant Mahāyāna scriptures. To clarify his work on the Chinese versions of these scriptures, Harrison has made detailed studies of their Tibetan translations. This enterprise has so far resulted in three full-length books based on Tibetan sources (Harrison 1978b, Harrison 1990, Harrison 1992b), as well as several shorter articles.

<sup>4</sup> From the point of view of rNying-ma-pa studies, it is to be hoped that in due course the other rNying-ma-pa corpora will also be subjected to a similar study. They are, of course, closely interconnected with the NGB collections. Regrettably, I am at this moment in no position to consider them. Nor am I in a position to consider the Bon-po canonical texts, whose widely reported (if as yet little analyzed) intertextuality with the contents of the rNying-ma-pa canons means that they might prove of great importance to NGB studies, and vice versa. At this preliminary stage of research, it seems that ideally, the various corpora should to some extent be considered together. Fortunately, this ideal is now beginning to look increasingly attainable. Per Kvaerne has recently begun a major bibliographical project, based in Oslo, to descriptively catalogue the Bon-po canonical literature, and as his project bears fruit, these Bon-po

there is also another less clearly defined objective. I have a hunch that rNying-ma-pa literary culture, with its institutional decentralisation and its emphasis on the continuous revelation of new tantric scriptures by tantric adepts within an esoteric environment, has something in common with important aspects of the now largely extinct textual cultures of Indic tantrism.<sup>5</sup> It could be that were we to understand the mechanics of the comparatively more accessible rNying-ma-pa literary culture a little better, this might afford us some useful clues or insights into the Indic tantric traditions of the past. It already appears that in their Pure Vision (*dag snang*) and Treasure (*gter ma*) systems of scriptural revelation, the rNying-ma-pa have preserved for us living versions of two important ancient Buddhist revelatory systems long since extinct elsewhere; might something like this be the case in other areas of their literary culture too?

Obviously, this work is only a very small beginning; there remains a considerable task ahead of us before the textual criticism of the NGB's scriptures can be described as properly established, let alone completed. Nor am I the ideal person to initiate this field of studies: it is most important to make it clear from the outset that I am not a specialist or professional textual critic, nor have I had the benefit of any formal training in editorial technique or textual criticism. Rather than constituting my main area of research (which is more concerned with broader rNying-ma-pa issues and Buddhist ideas in general), textual criticism and the editing of texts has been a comparatively minor interest of mine, an art to which I have devoted

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texts should become much more accessible for study than ever before. There is also an NGB research program directed by David Germano at the University of Virginia, which aims to coordinate NGB research by the various scholars around the world. David Germano's project also includes an NGB cataloguing project, which at the time of writing is nearing completion, as well as a projected database and electronic journal devoted specifically to NGB studies.

<sup>5</sup> However, from our point of view at least, it also has the advantageous difference that it has often preserved quite detailed historical records (as yet mainly unread) documenting its external historical contours. We can know with a high degree of precision the exact circumstances of the publication of a great many items within rNying-ma-pa literature, including some editions of the NGB (even if we cannot discover the origins of most of the NGB's component parts).

only the smaller proportion of my time and energy. Nevertheless, I have learned through direct experience that the need for such a development is very great. When I first set out to achieve my main academic objective, the translation of the PCN into English, I had only two corrupt and incoherent editions available to me (T and W). I soon discovered that not even the most learned Tibetan traditional specialists in this field could make head or tail of their worst cruces, nor could they divine the contents of their frequent lacunae. Later, when I procured better editions (D, and to a lesser extent M), I saw how even these could differ in substantive ways, i.e. in meaning as well as in details of orthography etc. Textual criticism thus presented itself as an unavoidable and indispensable preliminary to adequate translation. As far as I am presently aware, D and M are the only two coherent editions of the PCN to have survived the Chinese destruction. I do not know how the other NGB scriptures have fared, but their situation is possibly not much better. It seems to me that the present epoch constitutes an important juncture in the NGB's history at which to begin editing its texts in a systematic fashion. Thus I have felt it worthwhile to offer this work-in-progress to the scholarly community despite all its inadequacies, as a stimulus and provocation to further research. If in doing so I am predominantly inspired by a wish to give service to one of the world's great collections of Buddhist literature, I also find myself encouraged by the example of the spirit of generous co-operation and forgiving cordiality already so well established from its inception within the close-knit community of Kanjur studies. Yet if this work hopes to emulate some of the spirit of Kanjur studies, it must be made absolutely clear that it cannot and does not aspire to emulate its professionalism. In contrast to the publications of such remarkable scholars as Helmut Eimer, Paul Harrison, Jonathan Silk and Jeffrey Schoening, this "*rags rim*" (rough, sketchy) work is intended as a rough and ready stimulus to research, and not as a polished demonstration of text-critical virtuosity or an impressive monument to scholarship.

The choice of the PCN as my text for this pioneering study has been fortuitously appropriate. My best option was to edit a text that on the one hand was clearly representative and important for the rNying-ma-pa tradition as a whole, but which on the other hand existed solely

or primarily as an NGB text, without too many witnesses outside that collection, or in other collections such as the Kanjur. In that way, there might be a better possibility of setting out on the path towards getting a view of the relationships between the different NGB editions and thus help ease the path for future philological studies of NGB texts, without too many extraneous complications at such an early juncture. This second requirement ruled out the famous Indic scriptures that are important to the gSar-ma-pa and rNying-ma-pa alike, such as the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, or the *Buddhasamāyoga*, texts which are contained in both the Kanjur and the NGB.<sup>6</sup> It also ruled out such famous rNying-ma-pa scriptures as the central text of the \**Guhyagarbha* cycle, the *dPal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid rnam par nges pa'i rgyud chen po*, which exists in several independent editions as well as in the Kanjur. The PCN, however, did not gain entry into the Kanjur collections, with the single known exception of the highly unusual hybrid rNying-ma/gSar-ma Tawang Kanjurs, which quite untypically include sixty rNying-ma-pa tantras among their general Tantra sections (Jampa Samten 1994:396ff). Nor have any independent editions of the PCN been reported; as far as we know, it exists nowhere outside the NGB. On the other hand, as we have seen above,<sup>7</sup> the PCN's doxographical classification indicates it to be a representative text of importance to the rNying-ma-pa tradition as a whole. Thus the PCN seems to have been an eminently suitable choice for my attempt at textual criticism.

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<sup>6</sup> It would be useful if future studies of shared texts such as these do not concentrate exclusively upon the Kanjur editions and ignore the available NGB editions, as has usually been the case so far.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter Two, footnote 1.

## EDITORIAL POLICY

"The image [of the stemma] is taken from genealogy: the witnesses are related to the original somewhat as the descendants of a man are related to their ancestor. One might perhaps illustrate the transmission of errors along the same lines by treating all females as sources of error."

Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford, 1958, p.20

"Here is the essence of the Great Perfection Tantra,  
The innermost heart of Padmākara's Teachings,  
The life-force of the Dākiñīs".

'Jigs-med gling-pa, redactor of the NGB and revealer of Tantric scriptures, translated in Chogyam Trungpa, *Mudrā*, Berkeley, 1972, p.21

In general, the purpose of textual criticism is to arrive at a text as close as possible to the original: it is predicated upon the understanding that a single autograph, archetype or original existed, the recovery of which is of paramount significance. Such an original is typically recovered by a systematic analysis of transmissional errors, and the subsequent elimination of all of these, along with any expansions and addenda that might have intruded into the text over time (Maas 1958). While this can or might in many cases be a valid procedure for Western classics and Buddhist texts alike (for example, philosophical treatises by known authors), it is somewhat less applicable to many other types of Buddhist texts, notably the sūtras and tantras of Mahāyāna Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> Here, in a process by now

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<sup>1</sup> Yet even in the case of Buddhist treatises by named authors, the situation is not necessarily simple. Authorial attributions are frequently disputed, and pseudepigrapha abound. Nor do we always know the circumstances of composition: was a text written or oral, was it an autograph text or written down by disciples, contemporaneously or later? Moreover, the writings of seminal figures such as Nāgārjuna have for approaching two millennia enjoyed a status tantamount to canonicity, with all the attendant hermeneutic pressures this implies. It is not self-evident that autograph texts by such "canonical" authors can be recovered with any more ease than the anonymous scriptural texts.

reasonably well documented, the very notion of an original is eroded; rather, a fluid body of text can initially be freely adjusted, over a period of years or centuries, to suit changing circumstances; stock passages can be combined and recombined from a variety of sources in kaleidoscopic permutations that destroy the very boundedness of text which such analysis traditionally presupposes. Thus Mahāyāna Buddhist classics such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (Conze 1975:xi), the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Lamotte 1976:xxv) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Williams 1989:142) are believed to have evolved slowly over long periods through complex processes. In the case of such famous Vajrayāna scriptures as those of the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle, the situation seems to be, if anything, considerably more kaleidoscopic and fluid, with sometimes large blocks of text moving virtually unchanged between Śaiva and Buddhist scriptures, let alone between one Buddhist scripture and another (Sanderson 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995). Rather than presenting historical authorship by nameable, dateable authors, such Buddhist scriptures typically claim an origin beyond history, in mythic time, from divine sources, while their point of entry into human history is frequently made obscure by design. In these cases, to restrict editorial objectives to the recovery of an original would be of limited value. Rather, one must primarily aim at capturing a set of pictures of the text as it existed at specific historical junctures: the original matrix at which the evolutionary process began, significant moments of development, and the final codifications after which, typically, the process of textual evolution completes itself, and bounded texts with a stable composition finally emerge.

After such bounded texts became codified, typically in association with the complex clerical processes of doxographical cataloguing and canonical closure, Buddhist scriptures could remain remarkably stable even from a comparatively early period in Mahāyāna history. For example, as Paul Harrison has shown, the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* did not differ very substantially in various Chinese and Tibetan translations separated by over six centuries, ranging from the first Chinese translation made as early as the second century CE, to the Tibetan translation of the eighth century (Harrison 1992b:xv). Above all, once a version of a text became

codified in the Chinese Canon or the Tibetan Kanjur, it was unlikely ever again to evolve significantly within that tradition. It is this degree of canonical stability (which need not be a canonical uniformity, and which might sometimes only be achieved comparatively late in a text's history), which renders a great many Buddhist scriptures (to varying extents and within varying limitations) amenable to at least some degree of textual criticism intended to recover a specific early version. Yet we cannot let these superficially convenient considerations blind us to the awkward fact that the very earliest origins of Indic Buddhist scriptures seem often to have been quite complex, located in an as yet obscure and seemingly varied matrix of oral and written sources, possibly far removed from the single autograph copy originally envisaged by the methods of textual criticism. In particular, we cannot ignore the fact that many scriptures as we now have them seem to have developed through a lengthy process of evolution and accretion, and that many Indic scriptures (before the Gupta period at least) seem to have circulated for some time in several different versions in the various South Asian regional dialects, which only gradually underwent processes of Sanskritisation and consolidation (Takasaki 1987:22). These are not merely the *a priori* assumptions of literary historians imposed upon the textual critic: following von Hinüber (1980), Jonathan Silk writes that it is text-critical analysis itself which demonstrates that many Buddhist scriptures, even in their "original" Indic versions, cannot have ever had a single original archetype at all. The forms of their variant readings, once subjected to text-critical analysis, rule out the very possibility of the existence of a single original text to be reconstituted, the minimum requirement as envisaged by the methods of classical text-criticism (Silk 1994:8-10).

Recent research shows how this typically Buddhist scriptural indeterminacy carries over into the Tibetan translations of the Kanjur: in editing the various Tibetan translations of the *Heart Sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*) made after the eighth century CE, Silk identifies two quite separate recensions, which he tentatively believes to be derived from differing Indic versions (Silk 1994:13,31ff). Likewise Jeffrey Schoening's massive study of the *Śālistamba-sūtra* leads him to the conclusion that the ancient Tibetan textual tradition was an open one, with no single source or unitary translation from



which all the currently available texts descend (Schoening 1995:126-7). Earlier than Schoening and Silk's studies, Paul Harrison was the first to conclusively identify two distinct recensions of a Kanjur text, in the Tibetan translations of the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, one of which he tentatively identified as the standard version of the text as revised in the Great Revision (*skad gсар bcas*), and the other which he tentatively believed to reflect a conflation of the former text with another Tibetan translation partially based on a differing Sanskrit original (Harrison 1992b:xix-xx, xxxvii-xlvi). As Harrison concluded at the time, "If these suppositions are correct, the Tibetan canonical tradition is implicitly open, non-unitary and prone to contamination from the very outset" (Harrison 1992b:xlvi). It is precisely because of such openness at the very core of the Indic and Tibetan Buddhist textual traditions alike, that the tendency within contemporary Indo-Tibetan philological studies is for the focus of analysis to expand beyond the narrow recovery of a single original text, towards encompassing a much broader description of entire "text traditions" unfolding through history (Silk 1994:10). As Paul Harrison puts it in relation to Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, "this century has seen the demise of the notion of "the text", so that we are now accustomed to working with a textual "tradition", something far more fluid and ill-defined" (Harrison 1992b:xlvi). Similar developments are now taking effect within Tibetan studies.

### Indeterminacy in critically editing Kanjur scriptures

The indeterminacy surrounding the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhist scriptural traditions identified by scholars such as von Hinüber, Harrison, Silk and Schoening thus poses some problems for the would-be textual critic, and it seems that in the current study of Buddhist scripture, we are still at a comparatively early and almost experimental phase, in which we have to be very tentative and self-conscious of our methodology, explaining our steps point by point as we proceed. Hence in the studies of texts from the Tibetan Kanjur, a great deal of uncertainty and friendly debate characterises the present situation, as reflected in the writings of Eimer, Harrison, Silk and Schoening et. al. As I understand it (see the following note), the

scholar who achieved the initial breakthrough found success by applying stemmatic technique focused, very pragmatically, on a single specific Tibetan translation as the *origo* (Eimer). Since then, some others have abandoned all attempts at establishing a critical edition, and have instead opted for diplomatic editions accompanied by separate stemmatic analyses of the relationships between the various witnesses (Schoening). Yet others have proceeded to create critical editions and stemmas according to classical stemmatic analysis, but intended primarily or as much to establish valuable hyparchetypes, to distinguish separate recensions, and to identify the relationships between the existing editions, as to establish any unique archetype (Harrison and Silk). As Jonathan Silk explains, such a systematic study of the requisite Kanjur editions "will produce a reliable picture of, if not 'the Tibetan translation', rather, 'the Tibetan translation traditions'" (Silk 1994:16). In addition, Harrison and Silk have to varying degrees adopted the policy more commonly associated with the diplomatic edition, of the highly exhaustive reporting of different readings in the apparatus, rather than merely the major variants, as is more traditionally the practice with stemmatic editions.

My own belief is that there is probably no one correct way to edit all Tibetan canonical texts. On the contrary, a number of different styles might all prove useful on different occasions. In particular, following Isaacson (1995), I believe it might be valuable if we move towards augmenting the classical stemmatic analysis that has so far dominated Kanjur studies by experimenting more with the various techniques pioneered by the Medievalists, and with the statistical methods as well (unfortunately, I have yet to master these further techniques!). For the time being, however, it also seems more pragmatic from a broader point of view if NGB studies initially becomes established within the same general parameters as Kanjur studies; hence, while recognising that all three approaches to Kanjur studies outlined above have produced extremely important contributions, it is a version of the third pattern (of Harrison and Silk) which I am advocating at this early juncture of NGB research.<sup>2</sup> In

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<sup>2</sup> I regret that my poor command of German means that I have been unable to do full justice to Eimer's widely acclaimed work.

particular, I feel this is a sensibly flexible and moderate approach for NGB studies. By the highly exhaustive reporting of differences, one can attempt to maintain the integrity of each of the few remaining NGB editions as far as possible, allowing the reader full access to them as they are, without unnecessarily obscuring or concealing any surviving sections of the tradition in the name of one's own editorial judgements.<sup>3</sup> The creation of stemmas will hopefully bring the relationships of the various editions into clear focus; and the use of stemmatic editorial techniques, hopefully eventually augmented by other methods, should also enable the establishment of hyparchetypes, and perhaps sometimes even archetypes, that were the ancestors of existing witnesses and which might have been historically significant in their own right. Thus using a similar philosophy in the context of Kanjur Studies, Harrison has successfully established a reliable and

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<sup>3</sup> This statement needs some qualification and justification. The extent to which the reporting of differences can or should be exhaustive depends on a number of factors. For example, Silk's study of the very short *Heart Sūtra* allowed him much more potential leeway for a complex apparatus than Harrison's study of a much longer text (Harrison 1992b); likewise, Harrison's objectives did not require the detailed collation of purely descriptive witnesses, which would only serve to fatigue the reader. At this early stage, with only five NGB editions available, I have reported all their readings in full, even the single readings of the least valuable witnesses, something no longer necessarily advisable in contemporary Kanjur studies, which has by now achieved such an advanced level of development, and which has many more available editions to deal with. However, as more NGB editions come to light, it is highly likely that some of the apparent single readings in my preliminary collation of the PCN will eventually turn out to be shared readings, so it seems worthwhile to report them.

There is, of course, the important and quite basic axiom of stemmatic textual criticism: "A witness is worthless (worthless, that is, *qua* witness) when it depends exclusively on a surviving exemplar or on an exemplar that can be reconstructed without its help" (Maas 1958:2). However, it seems at first glance that Maas' implicit qualification ("*qua* witness") certainly applies in NGB studies, where a witness might be worthless *qua* witness, yet still offer very valuable testimony for researchers pursuing other purposes. In other words, we must consider the possibility that witnesses of no worth to NGB textual criticism may be of great worth to rNyung-ma-pa literary criticism; hence it might be of service to one's readership to report as many readings as possible in published editions. But I certainly do envisage that if many more NGB editions become available, *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* might well become a pragmatic option, at least for longer texts, to avoid a massive overburdening of the apparatus.

clear edition of the text of Recension A of the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* (giving Recension B etc. in the footnotes), while Silk has similarly been able to establish both recensions (A and B) of the much shorter *Heart Sūtra*. At the same time, these two critical editions of Kanjur texts are realistically modest in scope and suitably provisional in nature; they are intended only to open up access for the first time to limited areas of the tradition, not to establish a single original archetype which might well be unattainable. Nevertheless, there is the added convenience to the general Buddhological reader that such an approach produces a conveniently edited text which is sound and reliable (even if not giving an archetype) and which matches any translation that might be offered, something which is not the case with diplomatic editions.

### Indeterminacy and uncertainty in critically editing NGB scriptures

But is it possible to follow the lead of Harrison and Silk's stemmatic studies of Kanjur texts in this way with an NGB text such as the PCN? I believe not yet, although I remain hopeful this might become possible in the future, as more NGB editions become available and more studies of the NGB traditions are made. One problem is that for the moment, we have only five NGB editions in all to work with (although we know of the existence of a similar number of possibly valuable NGB collections in the Himalayan regions that have not yet been made available). There is, of course, the practical argument that to open up the field for the first time, there is little alternative to simply taking the plunge, and accepting whatever data is available more or less at face value; yet even from that purely pragmatic point of view, a basic obstacle to making a primarily stemmatic critical edition of the PCN is that as yet our narrow sample of texts affords insufficient data to confidently reconstruct either an archetype (if such exists for the PCN) or even any putative hyparchetypes. This makes any attempt at a stemmatic critical edition somewhat premature. The situation is as follows: Firstly, the reconstruction of an archetype is rendered difficult by the apparently bifid nature of the tradition, i.e. the current availability of witnesses to what appear to be only two

branches of the tradition. To make matters worse, while often yielding equally plausible readings in the light of my current superficial knowledge, nevertheless these two branches disagree on numerous occasions. The apparent existence of only these two contending branches (if such they be) in this particular instance therefore allows little basis to choose between their variant readings through the methods of stemmatic analysis, without an unacceptably high degree of reliance upon sheer conjecture, beyond the norm in such occasions. The discovery of a third independent branch will be desirable before one can more reliably make such choices by stemmatic analysis and the recovery of an archetype becomes more conceivable (Maas 1958:6). If for the time being the archetype thus remains resistant to stemmatic analysis, can one at least apply it to the reconstruction of one or both of the two putative hyparchetypes, possible fountainheads of what appear to my current limited knowledge to be the two branches of the tradition? Again, the outlook seems to be unpromising. Reconstruction of one of them is impeded because it is represented by only a single (and possibly contaminated) witness, the sDe-dge xylograph (D). Reconstruction of the other looked more hopeful at first sight, because it was possibly represented by four witnesses, T,W,K,M. Unfortunately, however, two factors have also rendered the reconstruction of this an unwise project at this early juncture. Firstly, the mTshams-brag ms (M) shares many readings with D against T,W,K and, as Helmut Eimer has pointed out, the possibility of its having received some readings from D or one of its predecessors is too great to ignore.<sup>4</sup> Without the availability of M as a reliable witness free of contamination, the reconstruction of the hyparchetype in question by classical stemmatic analysis would be impossible. Without relying on M, the best one could attempt through such

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<sup>4</sup> I had originally thought that since M shared only mainly correct readings with D against T,W,K's transmissional errors, while M shared few or none of D's unique recensional variants, it seemed unlikely that M was dangerously contaminated by D or any texts of its tradition. I myself have not yet been able to find clear evidence for such contamination. However, Eimer's warning on this point was explicit, firmly worded and unambiguous, even though he did not cite specific examples himself. At this early stage, I find it prudent to defer to Eimer's unparalleled experience and expertise. Personal communication (page 4), Helmut Eimer, October 5, 1995.

stemmatic analysis would be the reconstruction of the common ancestor of T,W,K; yet this would itself be a text corrupt to the point of incoherence, and its establishment would seem to constitute a secondary goal in present circumstances (providing an accessible and comprehensible text of the PCN has been a more immediate goal). The second factor militating against any attempt to reconstruct the putative hyparchetype believed to be the ancestor of T,W,K,M is that several additional versions of the PCN, including some very old ones (those from the rTa-dbang collections), are known to exist in locations of reasonably close geographical proximity to the home of M in Bhutan, and these might well shed important new light on the tradition of M or T,W,K,M. In addition, a further witness closely related to K has become available to me in recent weeks, although too late to include in the present study. Since these various versions are all expected to become available for collation within the next few years, it seems premature to attempt a stemmatic reconstruction of the hyparchetype represented by T,W,K,M without employing them.

Given the difficulty of establishing any worthwhile text through the methods of stemmatic analysis and my current lack of expertise in other methods of textual criticism, I have opted for the provisional and interim strategy of making a diplomatic edition instead; a full critical edition will, hopefully, be attempted later. But before I discuss my editorial policies followed in the diplomatic edition, I must turn to a discussion of some of the particular external, historical factors pertaining to NGB scriptures.

### External considerations

Although external and internal levels of analysis should be treated separately, textual criticism and editorial technique cannot and should not be applied in a vacuum with no reference at all to external data (Thorpe 1972:179-183). In particular, when a little-known Asian scriptural tradition is being subjected to textual criticism for the first time, an understanding of the presuppositions, methods and conditions of that tradition can have an important bearing on its text-critical study, because if certain basic conditions do not apply to that tradition, certain established types of editorial technique can be rendered

impracticable. This is *a fortiori* the case with the NGB traditions, where it is crucial to avoid the pitfall of assuming this corpus to resemble the Kanjur in all important respects. On the contrary, as we have seen above, the notional basis of the NGB tradition differs from that of the Kanjur in key respects, and we must ask some very fundamental questions about the rather unique rNying-ma-pa literary culture before we can proceed with the internal analysis of its texts at all. Unfortunately, however, as one enters into the as yet utterly uncharted waters of NGB studies, all conceivable obstacles to successful textual criticism seem to proliferate and become magnified. The more one ponders the difficulties, the more the whole enterprise seems to become enshrouded in an ever-deepening mist of uncertainty. This is largely because even the most basic facts about the circumstances surrounding the origins and early transmission of the NGB collections seem to be so very little decided upon or understood even by the traditional Tibetan sources, let alone by modern academic scholarship. The contrast with our knowledge of the Kanjur (itself not very great!) is stark and unfavourable. While we can safely assume, for example, that most of the Kanjur comprises scriptures translated from Indic languages into Tibetan, with more limited input from other sources such as Chinese, we know next to nothing at all with any degree of certainty about the origins of the NGB texts individually, which currently seem to comprise a much more heterogeneous collection than the Kanjur. Sadly, with the NGB, we seem to have very little data to try to remedy this situation with. There are, for example, no relevant early catalogues, equivalent to the *lDan/lHan kar ma*. On the contrary, while so many Kanjur texts were translated in the glare and fanfare of royal patronage in the eighth century, and then subjected to a public state-sponsored Great Revision (*skad gsar bcad*), the NGB scriptures are often said to be translations made at the same time as the first Kanjur sūtra translations, but in secret, perhaps even surreptitiously in defiance of the official prohibition of the translation of such tantric materials. If the first drafts of such NGB translations are thus necessarily shrouded in obscurity, we have even less idea how the Great Revision might have impinged upon their early transmissional histories.

Moreover, unlike the Kanjur texts, so many of which belong to

a global pan-Asian Buddhist literary heritage of predominantly Indic origin, only the tiniest handful of NGB texts have Sanskrit or Chinese equivalents against which to measure and compare them. While we can be certain that these few NGB texts were certainly translated from Indic languages (texts such as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, the *Guhyasamāja*, and the *Candraguhyatilaka*),<sup>5</sup> as we have seen, many others were clearly not translated from Indic originals at all. They might be anonymous texts that first appeared in Tibet in mysterious circumstances (such as the all-important Seventeen Tantras), or gter-ma revealed by named Tibetan gter-stons at named places within Tibet, or texts claiming to be translations from obscure tongues such as Bru-sha; and so on. Until the bibliographic analysis of the various NGB editions is much more advanced, we are not even in a position to know the full variety of such different types of texts that we might encounter within the NGB.

There are still more problems: while colophons are a valuable and often reliable source of information for the Kanjur scholar, this is not so easily the case with the NGB. Since the NGB scriptures have been the subject of an intense polemical debate for nearly a millennium, a debate often formulated in terms of whether or not the NGB texts were "canonical" translations from Sanskrit or "apocrypha" composed in Tibet, the statements contained in the translator's colophons attached to the NGB texts have in themselves constituted an important focus for centuries of bitter polemic. While perhaps half the NGB scriptures carry no colophons at all (a significantly higher proportion than is the case with the Kanjur), those colophons that do

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<sup>5</sup> The dkar-chag to D lists the translators of the *Zla gsang thig le*, ie the *Candraguhyatilaka*, as Padmasambhava and dPal brtsegs, compared to Rin-chen bzang-po who is named in the sTog Palace Kanjur edition. Likewise D's dkar-chag lists the translators of the *gSang ba 'dus pa*, ie the *Guhyasamāja*, as Vimalamitra and sKa ba dPal brtsegs, compared with the sTog palace Kanjur which give Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzang-po. D's dkar-chag lists no names at all as the translators of the '*Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa*, ie the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, while the sTog Palace Kanjur names the translator as Blo-gros brtan pa. I have not had time to check the corresponding entries in the other NGB and Kanjur catalogues and colophons. It is crucial that we begin to make systematic studies of the relationships between the NGB and Kanjur versions of such Vajrayāna classics as these.



exist must therefore be considered with caution: the heat and duration of the debate on the origins of these texts can only have served to obscure the issues involved, putting great pressures on the NGB's guardians and editors to create fictive colophons for some of their scriptures, to pass them off as "canonical" translations from Indic languages while they might in fact have been compiled in Tibet.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> As I have already mentioned in the introductory chapters above (3.1), in this context, it is important to remember that nearly all Buddhist scriptures have begun their existence as "apocrypha", and only later become established as "canonical". Without doubt, the great majority of the famous Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna classics enshrined within the Tibetan and Chinese canons discreetly conceal such a movement in their backgrounds. The tensions surrounding the NGB in Tibet should thus be seen as part of a global Buddhist phenomenon, a fundamental structuring tension pervading the entire Buddhist religion, in which the ongoing scriptural revelations of Buddhist visionaries over the ages struggle to achieve canonical status in the face of a critical ambivalence from significant elements within the existing clerical establishments. In particular, the invention of fictive ancestries for new Buddhist scriptures has always been a feature of this ongoing tension within Buddhism, and has persisted for millennia within most Buddhist cultures as the most favoured *upāya* (skilful means) for such circumstances. The value of adopting this particular form of *upāya* is presumably seen to be that it allows those with insufficient faith in the all-pervading and immanent nature of the Buddha or his Dharma to gain faith in their more recent revelations, by recoding these as the ancient utterances of the historical Buddha (who is in essence seen as identical to the immanent Buddha who utters the recently revealed scriptures, but whose historicity makes him a more readily credible source of scripture). This definition of utterance by the historical Buddha complies to the lowest common denominator of Buddhist criteria for canonicity, in which all Buddhists, even those of minimum spiritual development, can have faith. In this way, Pāli scriptures (notably their Abhidhamma), the Mahāyāna sūtras and tantras, the numerous highly successful indigenous sūtras enshrined within the Chinese canon, have all gained their legitimacy through the invention of manifestly fictive doxographical identities that construe them to be the speech acts of the historical Buddha, or (at the very least) translations from Indic languages. It is possible or even likely that the rNying-ma-pa conformed to this age-old Buddhist tradition, and created fictive Indic ancestries (often recorded in translators' colophons) for at least some of their NGB scriptures. The dkar-chag of the sDe-dge NGB attributes to the figures of Guru Rinpoche, Vimalamitra and Śrī Siṃha involvement in the translation of a very great number of tantras, somewhat over one hundred at a cursory glance; while there may well be truth in a number of such colophons, one might also reasonably surmise that a further proportion represent essentially fictional claims, adopted as *upāya*. As I have already mentioned above, the fact that the rNying-ma-pa never felt constrained to construct fictive ancestries for *all*

Above all, if the formative processes of the NGB texts are obscure, the circumstances of their later transmission might prove equally problematic, although we cannot be sure of this as yet. While the editorial policy of Kanjur editors seems to have been relatively straightforward, we cannot yet claim to understand anything at all about the editorial policy of the NGB's major redactors, although the necessary information might prove reasonably easy to find, within the available *rtogs brjod* (*avadāna*, here implying biographical narrative or autobiographical) works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa and the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the Kanjur, its editors seem to have envisaged themselves as guardians of the Tibetan translations of inalienable and inviolable sacred discourses, uttered by the Lord Buddha in the distant past, that might at the most require updating into contemporary orthography and language, along with the eradication of scribal or translational error. But in the case of the NGB, the situation might have been quite different (we do not yet know). Here, the most famous known editors were often themselves great gter-stons, such as Ratna gling-pa, gTer-chen 'gyur-med rdo-rje, and 'Jigs-med gling-pa. These persons have been the sources of some of the most revered sacred scriptures of the entire rNying-ma-pa tradition (and *de facto* of Tibetan Buddhism as a whole), since the major gter-ma cycles normally contain important fresh scriptural texts, along with the better-known sādhana texts, sacred substances and so on. The question is, did such gter-ston redactors of the NGB take a different view of their editorial role, compared to their more clerical counterparts who were

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of their Tibetan-originated NGB scriptures is perhaps a reflection of the generally limited extent of political centralisation in Tibet: none of the rNying-ma-pas' clerical critics (even when in government) ever achieved sufficient political hegemony to effectively repress the rNying-ma-pa culture of ongoing revelation, although they were able to force them into defensive and apologetic positions on many occasions.

<sup>7</sup> These two *rtogs-brjod* works are now widely available, appended as volumes 34-36 of T. They are also extant in other less widely available editions, for example in volume A of D. The first part of dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita's work was used as the basis for Dudjom 1991. In volume A of D, it bears the title: *rGyud sde rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa lha'i rnga bo che lta bu'i gdam dang bcas glegs bam gyi phreng ba bcu phrag gnyis la drug gis lhag pa nyid legs pa*. According to Gyurme Dorje, the short form of its title is: *rGyud 'bum dkar chag lha'i rnga bo che lta bu* (Dudjom 1991:41).

the redactors of the Kanjur? Did these self-conscious sources of sacred scripture limit themselves to the comparatively prosaic task of standardising orthography and language, or did they envisage a more visionary, radical style of editorship, perhaps including the insertion of addenda or the transformation of some passages in the light of their own spiritual insights? From the point of view of textual criticism, this is an extremely important question; without answering it, we cannot safely proceed with standard editorial technique.

Nor are we as yet making very much progress in sorting out such problems; unlike Kanjur studies, which has had a background of almost a century and has by now expanded into a flourishing academic sub-discipline, systematic NGB studies of any kind have been extremely few indeed. The very reason I have attempted the present work is to try to address this situation: I have hoped that a text-based study at this juncture will stimulate further research and perhaps throw up some useful discoveries. Yet without having any clear map of what I might discover, or even of what I should be looking out for, I have had to set out on a textual voyage of discovery with no reference points at all. The outcome is that although I have inevitably uncovered something, it might be some time before we know quite what it is that I have uncovered. Given the extremely uncertain nature of this preliminary effort, I have thought it prudent to devote a few words to outlining some of the possible contingencies with which one might have to contend in attempting to edit and study any single text from the NGB. Given the more heterogeneous nature of the NGB collections, several of these contingencies are unique to NGB studies, and will not apply to the comparatively more straightforward field of Kanjur studies. Note that the first five contingencies apply particularly to stemmatic analysis, while the next three are general, and the sixth and seventh overlap to a degree.

### Eight Possible Contingencies in editing NGB texts

#### Contingency 1: A text might be a translation from Sanskrit (etc), descended through a closed textual tradition

Some NGB texts might be descended from a single Tibetan translation, the only one ever made from a single Sanskrit original (or

an original in some other language). If other Sanskrit (etc.) versions ever existed, they must not have become conflated with this unitary Tibetan translation tradition at any later date. In other words, such NGB texts, if they exist, will be descended from a closed tradition, the type that is best suited to classic stemmatic analysis. One might then treat the single Tibetan translation of the single Sanskrit (etc.) original as one's archetype or origo; the retrieval of this text (contamination permitting!) would constitute a major achievement, giving us a valuable window on the Indic tantrism of that epoch. Given the highly esoteric tantric nature of the NGB materials, and the conditions of strict secrecy governing their early transmission even before they entered Tibet, it is not improbable that some of them were originally extant in Tibet in only a single Sanskrit (etc.) version, which subsequently underwent only a single process of translation into Tibetan. However, retrieval of this unique Tibetan translation could also be affected by the considerations detailed in Contingency 8 below: did any of the NGB's gter-ston redactors over the course of ten centuries, substantially alter the text on visionary grounds? Unfortunately, it is uncertain which, if any, NGB texts conform to this pattern of a closed recension based on a single Sanskrit translation. It is by no means impossible that there might be some, but at this stage I am not aware of any way of identifying which they might be other than the slow process of painstaking philological analysis, text by text. In the case of the PCN, we can be reasonably certain that it does not represent such a closed recension based on a single Sanskrit translation. As I have demonstrated above, the PCN as we have it shows evidence suggesting that it achieved its final evolution in Tibet, perhaps accruing some addenda over time, and was not in its entirety a translation from Sanskrit at all.

**Contingency 2: a text might be a translation from Sanskrit (etc), descended through an open textual tradition**

In such cases, we would be dealing with situations broadly similar to those described by Harrison, Schoening and Silk in their studies of the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, the *Śālistamba-sūtra*, and the *Heart Sūtra*. There are several different possible scenarios here. Perhaps more than one Indic version of a text might

have come to Tibet, generating different Tibetan translations. These might have become conflated into a single tradition at an early stage, or, alternatively, they might have been transmitted separately, but with the strong possibility of contamination between the separate recensions from time to time. Alternatively, a single Indic version might have been translated and re-translated into Tibetan at different times within the early period, again generating differing versions of the text that might have become incorporated into the extant NGB tradition via a complex transmission. As I have already pointed out above, these contingencies are unlikely to apply in the case of the PCN, which appears to be a text that achieved its final development in Tibet rather than India.

**Contingency 3: a text might have achieved its final evolution within Tibet, descended through a closed textual tradition**

According to the gsar-ma-pa polemicists, by far the greater part of the NGB comprises texts written or compiled in Tibet, rather than texts translated from Sanskrit. It was on these grounds that the vast majority of NGB texts were refused entry into the various Kanjur editions. The rNying-ma-pa themselves partially dispute these criticisms. It will take many years of study before the true situation is understood. Nevertheless, it seems probable that a great number of NGB texts achieved their final completion within Tibet, even though some of such texts might subsequently have acquired the protection of fictive Indic ancestries through the attachment of false colophons, in other words, they might not admit to being originated in Tibet. Be that as it may, it is possible that a proportion of such Tibetan-originated texts might be descended through a conveniently closed textual tradition: some of them might have been composed, compiled, redacted or revealed in Tibet reaching their final form at a single historical moment, subsequently remaining unaffected by any further evolutions. For example, such texts might have become codified within the early or proto-NGB collections (such as that held at Zur 'ug-pa lung), which might have helped preserve them from any further modification. Although anonymous and obscure in origins, they might (for stemmatic purposes) be equivalent to an autograph original. In

principle we might expect to find a number of NGB texts of this type,<sup>8</sup> but in practice it is hard to estimate how many there are, or even if there are any at all. At first glance, the PCN cannot strictly speaking be designated a text of this type, since its variant readings indicate two clearly different recensions, one witnessed by D and one witnessed by T,W,K,M. However, the question is not simple, because with the NGB traditions, the whole question of what we mean by open and closed recensions may be much more complex than in the case of the Kanjur; the PCN might have achieved its final evolution in Tibet and then descended through a single closed recension for many centuries, before diverging into separate recensions at any stage up to the late 18th century (see Contingency 8 below).

#### **Contingency 4: A text might have achieved its final evolutions in Tibet, descending through an open textual tradition**

Some of the NGB texts that reached their final evolutions in Tibet might have diverged into more than one version at an early stage within their formative period. For example, a proportion of Tibetan-originated scriptures might be expected to have evolved in stages over time, just as many among their Indic and Chinese counterparts did, often through a process of building on inherited bodies of core text with new addenda or adaptations. Thus core passages of text and their addenda and adaptations, whether Indic or Tibetan, might have come to exist in different permutations. These might have circulated separately, giving rise to an open tradition. The situation might thus be similar to that of Sanskrit texts in India in their formative stages. A consideration specific to NGB texts composed in Tibet is the

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<sup>8</sup> To speculate wildly on this topic: perhaps the Seventeen Tantras, with their immense prestige, were preserved intact in this way. To speculate even more wildly, perhaps some of the more straightforward texts fell below the threshold of necessary complexity to invite significant adaptations (e.g. the ten very similar short tantras for each of the Daśakrodha deities in gTing-skyes byang vol. 28, p.445 ff; the sDe-dge NGB dkar-chag lists in vol. ZHA, i.e. within the *phrin las phur pa'i skor*, ten texts that look similar, under the heading *yan lag gi rgyud bcu*). Likewise, some texts might have been sufficiently Sanskritic from the outset to evade any subsequent pressures towards Sanskritisation, and others might have been preserved sufficiently free of scribal corruption to avoid invoking editorial intervention through sheer incoherence.

possibility that some of them might have been subjected to processes of Sanskritisation or Sanskritising hyper-correction, to protect them from the criticisms of hostile polemicists (a process once again perhaps vaguely reminiscent of the Sanskritisation of scriptures from the Indic vernaculars, although there are also important differences). However, we cannot be at all sure how far the rNying-ma-pa countenanced such a Sanskritisation of their indigenous scriptures: as we have seen above, there is powerful evidence to suggest that in important instances they deliberately resisted such a process, even if on other occasions they adopted it. To the extent that they happened, such processes of Sanskritisation (if sufficiently radical) might present special pitfalls to the textual critic, over and above the possible creation of open textual traditions. In all these various ways, then, we are faced with scenarios in which differing versions of the same texts might have circulated separately from a very early period. From one point of view, it would appear that the PCN does fall into this category of a text compiled in Tibet and transmitted through an open tradition, since D has clear recensional differences to T,W,K,M. On the other hand, as discussed below (Contingency 8), I am not yet sure if these differences reflect an open tradition as the term is understood in Kanjur studies, or if they simply represent radical editorial processes imposed at a possibly much later date, in other words, the creation of the new recension late in the PCN's textual history, rather than at its beginning.

### **Contingency 5: Is there contamination between the NGB editions?**

Contamination renders stemmatic analysis extremely difficult or impossible (Maas 1958:7-8; West 1973:36). We know that Tibetans sometimes consulted more than one edition of the Kanjur when making new editions: the sDe-dge Kanjur's contamination through its drawing on both the Li-thang and lHo-rdzong Kanjurs is a frequently cited example of this. We should therefore be prepared for the possibility of similar contamination among the NGB editions, and evidence for this is beginning to emerge. Franz-Karl Ehrhard, for example, believes he has identified the three ma-dpe consulted by gTer-bdag gling-pa in making his edition of the NGB, as cited in gTer-bdag gling-pa's biography (see below). As well as such editorial

conflation, correctional conflation is also likely to have occurred. However, contamination is difficult to identify on text-critical evidence alone, especially if insufficient copies from the contaminated area of the tradition (ideally at least three) are available for study (West 1973:12ff; 34ff). Given the narrow total sample of NGB editions available to me at the time of writing (only five), in the case of the PCN, I have decided to put the difficult if urgent problem of establishing contamination aside at this stage. Rather, I have for the time being followed a purely pragmatic policy: while proceeding to construct a stemma *as though* there were no contamination affecting my analysis, I have nevertheless been clearly mindful of the *possibility* of contamination at every stage, repeatedly uttering explicit warnings to the reader as I proceed. A more perfect and accurate stemmatic study that deals more adequately with the issue of contamination will have to await the availability of more NGB editions and further research, a prospect hopefully not too far in the future. At the same time, in the face of the possible contamination of two key witnesses (M and D), I have taken the precaution of postponing the creation of a stemmatic critical edition, and, given my inexperience in other types of editorial technique, have provisionally made a diplomatic edition instead.

#### **Contingency 6: Some NGB scriptures might be textually dependent on gsar-ma-pa, gter-ma or commentarial literature**

In the traditional scheme of things the NGB scriptures are usually conceived to be both logically and chronologically prior to many of the other bodies of rNying-ma-pa tantric literature (although, of course, they are *not* seen as logically prior to the gter-ma revelations, even if chronologically prior to them). The major part of the NGB scriptures are held to represent the "Distant Lineage of Transmitted Precepts" (*ring brgyud bka' ma*), passed on from ancient times from master to disciple in India and eventually translated into Tibetan between the eighth and eleventh centuries. In contrast, the gter-ma in particular are described as the "Close Lineage of Treasures" (*nye brgyud gter ma*), the continuous revelation of fresh scriptures which began some centuries later in Tibet, to address the changing historical conditions there (the history of these notions of *ring brgyud*



and *nye brgyud* in the context of the rNying-ma-pa tradition is as yet little known, and would make an interesting study). However, this way of conceptualising the tradition might not stand up to text-critical analysis. Rather, it is quite possible that some NGB scriptures, including some of those designated as *ring brgyud bka' ma*, will themselves transpire to be chronologically later than and textually dependent upon various texts designated as *nye brgyud*, or upon *gsar-ma-pa* or commentarial works. There are no chronological reasons why this might not have happened. As far as we know, the earliest proto-NGB editions did not become established until the 11th century, the same period when the formalised *gter-ma* tradition began to emerge and the *gsar-ma-pa* tantras were translated, while comprehensive developments were added to the NGB collections after that time, in particular with the contributions of Ratna gling-pa in the 15th century. This gives ample historical scope for comparatively late additions to the collection that might be dependent on the *gter-ma* or *gsar-ma-pa* literature.

As already mentioned above, it is also important to remember that the NGB and *gter-ma* categories are not at all mutually exclusive: on the contrary, there is considerable overlap. Some NGB texts frankly identify themselves as the revelations of named Tibetan *gter-ston* discovered at named places in Tibet. Similarly, the Seventeen [Root] Tantras of the Man-ngag sde branch of rDzogs-chen, among the most prestigious texts within the entire NGB collection and all traditionally designated as translations from Sanskrit, were only discovered in the temple of Myang at the end of the 11th century by lDang-ma lHun-rygal and lCe-btsun seng-ge dbang-phyug (Karmay 1988:210). Even if much traditional rNying-ma-pa scholarship might hold that the Seventeen Tantras, for example, were early translations from ancient Sanskrit originals merely retrieved by their discoverers, modern textual critics can no more take this for granted than did the *gSar-ma-pa* polemicists, who from the start accused the discoverers of writing the scriptures themselves. Several modern scholars are now suggesting that some rDzogs-chen doctrines might have arisen as calques upon the *gsar-ma-pa* Kālacakra tradition. We must therefore be on the look-out for textual predecessors of such discovered NGB texts, and remember that such textual predecessors might possibly appear outside the range

of the strictly-speaking rNying-ma-pa "canonical" texts such as those of the NGB, within the gter-ma, gsar-ma-pa, commentarial and other literatures.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the PCN, I have not been able to ascertain if it draws on any such materials.

### Contingency 7: Shared passages of text

Even though the overall situation is as yet so little researched, there is already definite evidence of parallel passages shared between different NGB scriptures, and with other rNying-ma-pa tantric literatures as well. As is also the case with some of their Indic literary prototypes, certain key textual passages seem to have been freely incorporated, sometimes little modified, from one rNying-ma-pa tantric text to another. Such parallel passages can present difficulties to the textual scholar, but also valuable opportunities. The finest examples to date of the text-critical analysis of such parallel passages within tantric literature are the Sanskritist Alexis Sanderson's studies of the movement of significant portions of text between the Śaiva and Buddhist tantric canons mentioned above. Clearly, the focus on such parallel passages has yielded crucial historical results for our understanding of tantrism in India. My initial feeling is that rNying-ma-pa literary culture is equally likely to benefit from a careful

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<sup>9</sup> With regard to commentarial literature, as José Cabezón has pointed out, a feature of Tibetan scholasticism (and of scholasticism in general) is that the body of texts that function *de facto* as scripture extends well beyond those texts that are strictly speaking designated canonical. He writes: "I hesitate to identify scripture here with canon because the textual sources of the scholastics is often much broader than their formal canons. It is not unusual, for example, for certain scholastic texts themselves to gain greater prestige and authority than any canonical work." (Cabezón 1994:23). rNying-ma-pa literary culture likewise accords a very high status indeed to important commentarial works. From their point of view, these consist (broadly speaking) of the deliberate compositions of named authors, while canonical works consist of the spontaneous revelations of enlightened minds. However, it might be that the rNying-ma-pa bring these two categories more closely together than do the more clerical strands in Tibetan Buddhism: the rNying-ma-pa category of *dgongs gter*, for example, can often imply statements of a canonical nature, yet uttered in a more or less commentarial context such as a public discourse. Be that as it may, we need not be surprised if we were to discover a number of ideas first evidenced in famous commentarial works, later manifesting in revealed scriptures.

consideration of the transmission of key blocks of text from one locus to another. In the case of the PCN, I have identified within its Chapters Seven and Twenty variant forms of almost the entire text of the Kanjur's Dumbu,<sup>10</sup> but these stanzas appear in a great many other Vajrakīlaya texts besides (I briefly consider a single verse from out of this material in my discussion of textual variants below). I have also been able to emend one of the PCN's mantras (corrupt in all extant editions) by referring to a Dunhuang ms. on Vajrakīlaya (Mayer & Cantwell 1994). It seems likely that comparable parallel passages will be found, for example, within the many \*Guhyagarbha scriptures of the NGB, and within other tantric cycles as well. In the case of the NGB, we must in particular be on the lookout for textual passages shared between (1) Bon-po and NGB materials (2) NGB and gSar-ma-pa texts (3) between different NGB texts (4) between NGB texts and other rNying-ma-pa materials such as gter-ma texts (5) between NGB texts and Dunhuang texts (6) possibly, between NGB texts and Far-eastern Tantric texts (7) possibly, between NGB texts and Śaiva texts.

### **Contingency 8: did the NGB editors envisage their task in broader terms than the Kanjur editors?**

This is a crucial question upon which so much hangs, but of which we have little understanding as yet. Perhaps answers will be found in the *rtogs brjod* works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa and the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita (see footnote 7 above). There seem to be two interrelated aspects to this question. On one hand, we need to know with greater precision to what extent rNying-ma-pa doctrine accords sufficient religious authority to the major gter-ston figures to allow them to emend existing sacred scriptures, over and above their normal role of revealing new ones. Certainly within the gter-ma culture, fresh presentations of previous revelations is an integral part of the overall conceptual system, and is both permitted and widely practised. Many gter-ma texts are conceptualised as having evolved through the combined revelations of more than one gter-ston, sometimes separated

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<sup>10</sup> *rDo-rje Phur-pa rTsa-ba'i dum-bu* or *Vajrakīlaya-mūlatantra-khaṇḍa*.

by long periods of time.<sup>11</sup> However, we do not know if or how this

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<sup>11</sup> There are several aspects to this process. *Rediscovered treasures*, or *yang gter*, are a widespread category comprising treasures discovered by one gter-ston, which are then reconcealed to be rediscovered at a later date by a subsequent gter-ston. For example, Dri-med kun-dga', born in Gra-phyi in South Tibet in 1347, revealed many gter-ma sādhanas on Avalokiteśvara and Guru Rinpoche, as well as rDzogs-chen teachings; but most of them disappeared, and were rediscovered five centuries later by mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820-1892) (Thondup 1986:237). Similarly, mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po also rediscovered treasures first uncovered by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (1340-1396, some of whose treasure scriptures are contained in the sDe-dge NGB vol.Pha). *Yang gter* can imply notions of reincarnation: the great 19th century gter-ston mChogyur gling-pa was believed to be the reincarnation of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, and he re-revealed teachings first discovered by himself in that life, notably the *Gur drag hūm dmar snying thig* (Tobgyal 1988:34).

Another method of transmission for the rNying-ma-pa is *rjes dran*, or recollection. This has none of the complex concealment and discovery processes characteristic of gter-ma, but comprises simply the remembrance of teachings received in a past life. Thus Orgyen Tobgyal writes:

"Chokgyur Lingpa was previously Nub Kolungpa Yonten Gyatso, a disciple of Nubchen Sangye Yeshe [traditionally, 832-943]. Remembering this, Chokling transcribed the testament of oral instruction called Lung Dorje Kopa, given at the passing away of Nubchen Sangye Yeshe, his root teacher. He also wrote down the Garbu Nubkyi Khapho, the method of chanting the Rulu Rulu mantra as well as of performing the dances of the Nubchen tradition. The yogic exercises of Lama Gongdu, he remembered from his incarnation as Sangye Lingpa" (Tobgyal 1988:34-35).

As well as these collaborations spanning vast stretches of time, joint scriptural revelation can also be contemporaneous. Orgyen Tobgyal narrates the following event from his biography of his illustrious ancestor mChog-gling:

"Chokgyur Lingpa showed Jamyang Khyentse the yellow parchment scroll of Thukdrup Barchey Kunsel, Sheldam Nyingjang, and his other terma teachings. Concerning these, Khyentse said, "I too have a terma teaching called Thukdrup Deshek Dupa with the same meaning as yours; even the words are identical. We should therefore make it into one. Mine is a gongter and yours is a sa-ter, which is more auspicious". Thus was Jamyang Khyentse's ter combined with Chokling's, and Thukdrup Barchey Kunsel was a ter common to them both" (Tobgyal 1988:10).

Treasure discoverers can also help each other out with the difficult task of producing gter-ma: as Tulku Thondup explains,

"If the Tertön cannot decode a symbolic script, another [gter-ston] who has the Mind-mandate Transmission of the same teachings from Guru Padmasambhava may decode it for him" (Thondup 1986:86).

outlook affected the redaction of the NGB. *Prima facie* it might well concern the NGB tradition very profoundly, given that rNying-ma-pa doctrine defines NGB and gter-ma scriptures alike as descended to earth through exactly the same three types of transmission: the Mind Transmission of the Buddhas (*rgyal ba'i dgongs brgyud*), the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādhara (*rig 'dzin brda'i brgyud*), and the Heard Transmission of the Yogins (*rnal 'byor snyan brgyud*).<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, there is also a good possibility that in the absence of the scholarly support offered by a substantial monastic base of the type enjoyed by the early translations of non-esoteric *sūtrayāna* materials or by the later Kanjur-centred gSar-ma-pa schools, many

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Sometimes, a gter-ston will incorporate, combine and summarise previous gter-ma; for example, the recent *bDud 'joms bla sgrub* claims to be the condensed essence of several previous revelations (Cantwell 1989:161-2). At other times, a gter-ston might re-edit and re-publish a specific single older gter-ma: some of the *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* materials most widely used in modern times, for example, have been re-ordered by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul in the nineteenth century, who also seems to have made some of his own additions (such as ancillary fire-offerings) to the materials revealed by the original discoverer of that cycle, 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656). Thanks to Peter Roberts for this information.

<sup>12</sup> Although the gter-ma can be counted as having additional transmissions as well. Exactly as is the case in the *gter ma* tradition, as far as I am aware there is nothing from a strictly doctrinal point of view to prevent an NGB scripture from being "completed" or "further revealed" by a suitably realised *vidyādhara* acting as redactor (for example, 'Jigs-med gling-pa or Ratna gling-pa), even though convention and respect for tradition might preclude this. But if the redactor was an incarnation of the ancient Indian *vidyādhara* who first revealed any given NGB scripture in India or Uḍḍiyāṇa, there is no reason why he might not "remember" the text more accurately than the version passed down through scribal transmission in Tibet, with its inevitable corruptions. From a traditional perspective, especially if the redactor had received the mind-mandate (*gtad rgya*) for the scripture in a past life, he would very likely be able to recall it with perfect-accuracy. Likewise, the ḍākiṇīs and ḍākas might "lend" the redactor one of their own pristine copies of a tantric scripture, immaculately preserved from all textual error in their paradise, to help the human redactor in his difficult struggle with a scribally corrupted text; and even if they had misplaced their heavenly copies, they might recall the text with their perfect powers of memory, and thus transmit it to the redactor once more. These methods certainly seem to be the way some gter-ma revelations are understood (Thondup 1986:141).

NGB texts might have become so incomprehensibly corrupt that redactors unavoidably found themselves under strong pressures to emend them quite substantially. There are reasonable grounds to surmise that the NGB tradition received less scholarly support than other Tibetan corpora, and not only within their obscure earliest period but also in their later period. While there were many hundreds of large wealthy monasteries of the gSar-ma-pa traditions all committed to carefully preserving at least one copy of the Kanjur in their libraries, the smaller decentralised and often non-monastic rNying-ma-pa centres appear to have been less well endowed with the economic and scholarly resources to maintain equivalent NGB collections.<sup>13</sup> Not only that, but given the rather abstracted or symbolic function of the NGB in rNying-ma-pa spiritual life, they might have been under little real compulsion to textually uphold the NGB at all. In this respect, the NGB corpus might have been disadvantaged in comparison to the gter-ma cycles, because its maintenance and practice was never the specific responsibility and *raison d'être* of any single one of the many rNying-ma-pa incarnation or family lineages. To illustrate, while there is little doubt whose primary duty and responsibility it is to maintain, say, the Byang-gter scriptures and other texts discovered by Rig-'dzin rgod-ldem-can (1337-1408) (in this case these duties have devolved onto the lamas of the rDo-rje Brag tradition), responsibility for the upkeep of the NGB is much more diffused, something incumbent on no one in particular *ex officio*, but only taken up voluntarily from time to time by interested parties with the necessary status or inspiration (the Zur family lineage might perhaps have been an exception to this for a period). For a number of reasons, then, it seems the NGB scriptures might have been particularly prone to neglect and corruption. Having comparatively little direct application to regular ritual practice, their immaculate upkeep was perhaps not always an immediate priority within most rNying-ma-pa centres (of course this also applies to the

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<sup>13</sup> Of course, many non-rNying-ma-pa monasteries (such as those of the various bKa'-brgyud-pa schools) usually practised rNying-ma-pa rites and doctrines alongside their own, and some of these monasteries might have made some contribution to the upkeep of the NGB. However, the Kanjur is likely to have been their primary canonical focus.

Kanjur tradition to some degree, but there were not so many large rNying-ma-pa foundations to subsidise and undertake the NGB's maintenance). It therefore seems reasonable to surmise that NGB editors who were themselves authoritative sources of scripture might have felt justified in making quite radical emendations to such ancient scriptures, where they had become incomprehensible through corruption; we need to do more research, to see if this was indeed what happened.

In the case of the PCN, we have clear recensional differences between D and T,W,K,M. Some of these constitute substantive differences between the two recensions that affect the meaning of the text, although they nevertheless seem to represent efforts to restore, correct and reformulate the text rather than efforts to creatively rewrite it into a completely new and different text. There are also many occasions of recensional differences that, as far as I can see, neither differentiate the meaning, nor improve on orthography and grammar. Are these differences based either in part or in whole on the emendations of one or more of the major NGB redactors such as Ratna gling-pa or 'Jigs-med gling-pa, both figures renowned for their major contributions to the Phur-pa tradition and eminently capable of making the most sophisticated and subtle emendations to a text like the PCN? Or do the two apparent recensions derive from two independent fountainheads from the very earliest transmission of the text? I am not sure as yet, and I feel it is too early to attempt to come to a conclusion. Since the sources for external evidence have only been partly studied so far, we know only that major gter-ston figures such as 'Jigs-med gling-pa are said to have been closely involved in the production of the tradition of D; but we do not yet know the manner of their involvement. Nor is the internal evidence decisive as yet: at this stage, we can say only that D has unmistakable recensional differences against T,W,K,M, not at what stage all of these differences emerged. Although a certain proportion of them are obviously little more than "modernisations" into the norms of late 18th century Tibetan, a considerable number of them go much further than that, but we cannot be sure who authored them or when.

### Editorial policy and the open and closed models of Buddhist canonical literature

If, after further research, we do discover that for various reasons at least some NGB redactors understood it as part of their remit to make radical changes to the texts on more than merely grammatical and orthographical grounds, the processes of textual criticism will become greatly complicated (but perhaps in some respects also extremely interesting and rewarding). In particular, as already mentioned above, the understanding of what we mean by an open recension and how we deal with it might have to be adapted for NGB studies: does radical editorial intervention very late in a text's history create what we can call an open recension? Or should the term "open recension" only apply to texts that had different versions at an early period? Furthermore, we must be aware that if there are insufficient suitable witnesses to help us, it might prove difficult to discern whether one is dealing with an open tradition based on two or more unrelated ancient copies each serving as a fountainhead, or the results of recent interventions. To make matters worse, if radical editorial emendation occurred in a period when copies of any specific text were few and corrupt (say, in the 18th century, in the aftermath of the Dzūngar attacks on rNying-ma-pa centres), it might have irrevocably coloured the entire tradition, or significant parts of it (cf. Classical texts in the Medieval period, West 1973:19).

Although I currently think otherwise, it nevertheless remains a possibility that in the light of such considerations, critical editions of NGB texts aimed at the reconstruction of original versions will eventually prove highly problematic, and, following the example of Jeffrey Schoening's study of the Kanjur's *Śālistamba-sūtra*, the diplomatic edition will become seen as the soundest method of dealing with NGB texts. In fact, even though he himself has not made this suggestion, it seems to me that some aspects of Schoening's advocacy of the diplomatic edition has a somewhat stronger case with the NGB than the Kanjur. This is largely because some of Schoening's etic editorial rationale coincides very closely to the emic criteria of the NGB tradition, while it differs significantly from the emic criteria of the Kanjur tradition. It is worth looking at these aspects of



Schoening's arguments more closely, since they serve to illustrate differences between editing NGB and Kanjur texts.

In editing Kanjur texts, Schoening sees the diplomatic edition as superior to the critical edition for two sets of reasons, some negative and some positive (Schoening 1995:179-184). On the negative side, he disputes the possibility of making adequate critical editions as follows: (i) a reconstructed critical edition represents no text that ever existed historically; (ii) a critical edition depends partly on the editor's conjecture; (iii) the Kanjur tradition is contaminated; (iv) the Kanjur tradition is open; (v) we have only two witnesses to the Tshal-pa tradition, so we cannot reconstruct that hyparchetype; (vi) we are unsure of the relation between the extant texts from the Them-spangma tradition, in effect giving us only two usable witnesses there, so we cannot recreate that hyparchetype either.

Although much of Schoening's anxiety about critical editions of Kanjur texts seems very pertinent, it might also be considered extremely purist: pragmatically speaking, most of the difficulties he identifies seem to have been successfully negotiated in the critical editions of Eimer, Harrison and Silk. One might also argue that a degree of conjecture is legitimate, and Schoening's approach is more "scientific" than is really necessary, while his critique is also mainly focused on the stemmatic method alone. On the other hand, such caution as Schoening advises might in due course prove somewhat better founded with respect to the NGB tradition than the Kanjur, with all the NGB's various transmissional complexities, but we simply do not know this as yet; at the moment I remain quite hopeful that we will eventually be able to produce sound critical editions of at least some NGB texts as well. Rather than his critique of the critical edition, it is Schoening's positive reasons for advocating the diplomatic edition that are of greater interest to this study. He writes as follows (the italics are mine):

A reorientation of the textual critic's concern is being advocated here. Instead of working to establish an "original text", the textual critic studies the relationships between the witnesses of a text. *After all, within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, each of these witnesses is a sacred piece of writing, a physical*

*representation of the Word of Lord Buddha. As such, none is more sacred than another and, more importantly for the textual critic, each has its own unique place in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Thus, each witness is important as a historical document that was produced by particular people at a particular time and place, and which played its own role in history.*

The construction of a stemma, however, tends to undermine an appreciation of this religious and historical importance. H. Don Cameron in "The Upside-down Cladogram: Problems in Manuscript Affiliation" points out that the stemma that textual critics construct, with a single text at the top of the diagram, is an upside down cladogram, the diagram zoologists construct to show the numerous real animals that have a common source. For the textual critic the original, single text is of paramount importance and so it is placed at the top of the stemma; for the zoologist the various real animals are the important points and are displayed at the top of the cladogram. In each case the goal of the investigation is uppermost. But *for the Tibetologist interested in the history of Tibet's scriptural tradition, language, and editing techniques, each of the witnesses of a text is important and none is truly uppermost. I advocate expanding the goal of the textual critic from the obtainment of "the original text" through the creation of a stemma in which worthless witnesses are eliminated to the obtainment of a better understanding of each of the endpoints and nodes on the stemma. For the study of Tibetan texts, that would mean studying the Derge Kanjur texts, known conflations, just as closely as those in the London Manuscript Kanjur or the manuscripts from Dunhuang. In this way the Tibetan language, editing techniques, and religious tradition would all be enriched by textcritical studies (Schoening 1995:183-184).*

These proposals from Jeffrey Schoening raise a fundamental question about our policy in editing Tibetan scriptures. More importantly (although Schoening himself has not elaborated on this point), his proposals can also usefully serve to bring into focus a fact so far unacknowledged among Tibetological textual critics, that

traditional Buddhist notions of canonicity, of what a canon actually is, have always been plural, and never monolithic. More specifically, there are the two quite different and contrasting understandings of the nature of canonicity which I have described above, and which have been a feature of Buddhism almost from its inception, in nearly all cultural regions to which it has spread. These two contrasting traditional understandings of canonicity have a profound impact on the scope and possibilities for textual criticism, and above all cannot be ignored in any text-critical approach to the NGB. They imply quite different understandings of Dharma, of what it is that is contained in the sacred texts, and, by implication, quite different notions of how the sacred texts are transmitted. These are, of course, the complex notions of closed canonicity and open canonicity I have dealt with above at length. The importance of this traditional dichotomy for Tibet is that while the Kanjur tradition is predominantly understood by its adherents as a closed canon, the rNying-ma-pa tradition is firmly oriented towards an open canon. In a nutshell, this implies that while the Kanjur tradition understands its scriptures as inviolable, bounded sacred texts uttered at a single historical moment as the speech acts of the Buddha and transmitted since then through a long line of human gurus and monks, the rNying-ma-pa conceptualise scriptures as the ongoing self-revelation of the immanent enlightenment principle, constantly revealing itself anew through the medium of spiritual beings in ever fresh and playful displays, specifically intended to delight and amuse as it enlightens. What does this mean for the textual critic? Quite simply, that while the fundamental presuppositions of the Kanjur tradition almost entirely coincide with the Western literary presuppositions that inform classical textual criticism in its search for an original text, this is only partially true of the rNying-ma-pa corpora. On the contrary, the presuppositions of the rNying-ma-pa scriptural traditions are in important instances at variance with such presuppositions of classical textual criticism. This is why I feel Schoening's rationale for the diplomatic edition is better applied to the NGB than to the Kanjur: despite Schoening's objections, it seems to me that the Kanjur tradition in pre-modern Tibet *did* envisage a single (or a very few) uniquely valuable, original texts, exactly as do the Kanjur's contemporary text-critical students such as Eimer, Harrison

and Silk. Thus the predispositions and underlying presuppositions of the Kanjur tradition have rendered it eminently suitable to the classical forms of textual criticism. For the rNying-ma-pa, on the other hand, their traditional view more closely pertains to the distributive model of canonicity implied by Schoening, and their basic presuppositions of what a canon is in many respects defy the foundational premises of classical text-criticism.<sup>14</sup> The conclusion I would draw from this is that more or less conventional critical editions of Kanjur texts are a self-evidently viable project: conceptually speaking, they loosely conform to the aspirations of the tradition itself. It is only with the NGB tradition that we have to seriously call into question the entire orientation of textual criticism.

### How do we edit the scriptures of an open canonical tradition?

An open canonical tradition like that of the rNying-ma-pa poses interesting problems to classical text-critical scholarship, relying as it does upon a basic methodology of analyzing textual errors and variants. In particular, the notion and treatment of "error" as something to be eliminated becomes more complex: here, textual variants, whether redactional or transmissional,<sup>15</sup> often become the basis of important exegesis and the source of revered, legitimate tradition, while even the naturally occurring vagaries of textual transmission can be seized upon with a positive and playful delight by commentators and visionaries, and permuted yet further, seemingly as one of the few

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<sup>14</sup> This usage of the term "distributive" is my own, adapted from Anthropologists such as T. Schwartz, cf. Keesing 1981:71: "... a 'distributive model of culture'... takes as fundamental the distribution of partial versions of a cultural tradition among members of a society...[it] must take into account both diversity and commonality... 'A Culture' is seen as a pool of knowledge to which individuals contribute in different ways and degrees".

<sup>15</sup> I am here (and subsequently) following the usage of Harrison 1992b:xxv. He defines recensional errors as those which reveal extensive editorial changes to the text, or the adoption of a different text altogether, while transmissional errors are defined as those which result from scribal lapses or casual attempts to improve or modernize the text (which, although usually deliberate, are generally rather trivial in scope).

occasions in which traditional authors can express originality. The PCN offers a good illustration of this process, in quoting its particular version of the following most famous and ubiquitous of all verses of Vajrakīlaya literature:

*rdo rje khros pas zhe sdang gcod/  
mtshon chen sngon po 'bar ba yis/  
nam mkha'i dkyil nas thigs par shar/  
srog gi go ru shar ba dang/  
snying gi go ru bsgom par bya*<sup>16</sup>

Other texts from the NGB agree with this reading, for example the *Phur pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*.<sup>17</sup> Yet in the parallel passage in the Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's revision of the *rTsa ba'i dum bu* (henceforth Dumbu, the only Phur-pa scripture admitted into the Kanjur), the fourth line gives the homophonic reading of *srog gi sgo*, rather than *srog gi go*,<sup>18</sup> in apparent agreement with the texts passed down from Sa-paṇ's ancestor Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.<sup>19</sup> Both readings, *sgo* and *go*, have by now produced a vast and varied exegetical literature of great importance, neither of which can be

<sup>16</sup> Chapter 7 (T:89; W:40v; K:178v; M:880; D:209r).

<sup>17</sup> Ch 20, p.356 line 6; and Ch. 23, p.373, line 2 (T, vol. 28, Sa).

<sup>18</sup> This is based on my examination of four editions of this text: the one preserved in the sGrub-thabs kun-btus, vol. Pa, p. 127; the Peking Kanjur vol. 78, no. 3; the Karma-pa reprint of the sDe-dge Kanjur, rgyud-'bum Ca-pa, pp.86-90; and the one used as a basis for his word-by-word commentary by Kong-sprul (DG p.18-25).

<sup>19</sup> See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's *rDo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa*, Sa-skyia bka'-'bum, vol 4, p.182, line 3. According to the introductory notes to SD, the Sa-skyia-pa tradition claims ultimate descent from the *rTsa ba rdo rje khros pa'i rgyud*, considering Dumbu to be an excerpt from that text. It is on the basis of Dumbu that Padmasambhava composed a text called the *rDo rje lam rim*, in accordance with which Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan then composed the various sādhana outlines and explanations now collected in the Sa-skyia bka'-'bum. The long, medium and short sādhanas of the 'Khon-lugs Phur-pa were composed by Dam-pa bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, [15th throneholder of Sa-skyia (1312-1375)], on the basis of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's works (SD p.141, lines 2-5). Clearly, a study of the *rTsa ba rdo rje khros pa'i rgyud*, supposedly the foundation of the entire Sa-skyia phur-pa tradition, is highly desirable, and I hope to be able to make this my next project. A text of very similar name is found in the sDe-dge NGB, vol. Wa.

considered "wrong". This verse is frequently used in *sādhana*s to introduce either the first or all three of the *trisamādhi* (or *ting nge 'dzin gsum*) at the beginning of the generation stage meditation; evidence shows that both variants are freely used for this purpose. For example, in one of his Phur-pa commentaries (but not necessarily in others), 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul follows the Kanjur text with "*srog gi sgo*", understanding it as "the door of life"<sup>20</sup>. This understanding of "*srog gi sgo*" is in agreement with the Sa-skyapa Kun-dga' blo-gros, author of NT; the latter, however, differs from important rNying-ma-pa traditions such as NP, which use further root-verses for the second and third of the *trisamādhi* (NP las-byang:90-91), because NT takes the single verse to encompass all three of the *trisamādhi* rather than just the first one (the *samādhi* of *tathatā*).<sup>21</sup> But Kong-sprul's teacher mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (in at least one gter-ma) prefers *srog gi go*, meaning in this case "the site of life of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa",<sup>22</sup> yet nowadays at least, this is sometimes re-interpreted as "armour of life", where "armour" indicates vast compassion (here taking *go* as an abbreviation of *go cha*).<sup>23</sup> 'Jigs-med gling-pa, however, in his most

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<sup>20</sup> DG 85ff has several pages of very detailed analysis of these few words. He comments that it is the syllable *hūṃ* that is the "door of life", since it arises as the "door" of the unconstructed elements and Mt Meru, the divine palace, and the throne; in other words, it is through a single *hūṃ* that the whole complex visualisation is generated.

<sup>21</sup> This according to the oral instructions of His Holiness Sakya Trizin on NT, p.166. Other less abbreviated Sa-skyapa texts also use this reading with *sgo* for all three of the *trisamādhi*: see in particular the full-length SPC 13r, 4-5, and the intermediate SD, pp. 146-147 (but see my discussion of scribal error in footnote 27 below).

<sup>22</sup> mKhyen-brtse dbang-po's *gNad thig phur pa* has the line: '*khor 'das srog gi go ru bsgom*: "meditate on it as the heart [lit: site or place of life] of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa". Thanks to Larry Mermelstein for this reference.

<sup>23</sup> This is found in the development stage of mKhyen-brtse dbang-po's *gNad thig phur pa* as re-interpreted by the late Trungpa Rinpoche. It is interesting that Trungpa Rinpoche's reading of "*go*" as indicating "*go cha*" is apparently not disputed by other lamas of the Ris-med traditions, even if they themselves more usually adhere to mKhyen-brtse dbang-po's original reading. I myself raised this point in conversation with the present Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche, who is the current holder of his

famous phur-pa text, while sharing mKhyen-brtse's reading "go", can be interpreted as taking *srog gi go* as simply the "place" or "site of life", (understood as a point within the heart cakra in completion-stage yoga, *srog rtsol*), making no mention of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.<sup>24</sup> The bDud-joms tradition exuberantly expands the lines by two syllables each in its gter-ma cycle while retaining the reading "go"<sup>25</sup> (thus saving the metre), while Ratna gling-pa, another great gter-ston and redactor of the NGB, uses the shorter, more standard verse, with *go*, to introduce the samādhi of tathatā in his gter-ma.<sup>26</sup> Innumerable further permutations abound throughout the Vajrakīlaya corpus, because these famous lines are probably the most widely quoted of all Vajrakīlaya verses in both the gter-ma and the commentarial writings. It is clear that no amount of textual criticism can ever erase either of the two main variant traditions or their multifarious interpretations and permutations as "wrong" (even if it might be able to achieve the fascinating and worthwhile goal of showing which reading was the earliest), and I am unaware of any dispute within the tradition over this issue; on the contrary, all readings are equally valued.<sup>27</sup>

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predecessor's lineage. He did not concur with my suggestion that Trungpa Rinpoche's reading was mistaken; on the contrary, in appropriate contexts, he himself appears to have taught the *gNad thig phur pa* in this new variant form devised by Trungpa! It is quite possible Trungpa Rinpoche's reading of "go cha" itself has a background in the tradition, although I have not yet encountered this reading elsewhere. Larry Mermelstein has suggested it would make a connection with Trungpa Rinpoche's own gter-ma.

<sup>24</sup> GLP:304, line 3: *srog gi go ru shar ba dang/ /snying gi go ru bsgom par bya/*  
The understanding of *srog rtsol* is according to TN's oral explanation of the verses.

<sup>25</sup> NP las-byang, p.90: *rdo rje khros pas zhe sdang ma lus gcod/*, etc.

<sup>26</sup> RP las-byang:17, line 2.

<sup>27</sup> Of course, this does not mean that they are freely interchangeable: each tradition is fairly consistent in its usage. Hence when a certain Sa-skyapa text uses the reading *go*, this can be analyzed as a scribal error in the light of commentarial explanations. For an example of what looks like such an error, see the *trisamādhi* section of SD (sGrub-thabs kun-btus vol. Pa, p.147), where "go" is used rather than *sgo*, against the grain of its own commentarial front-matter (p. 132ff) which comments on the reading "sgo", not *go* (P.133 line 2). Nevertheless, I cannot as yet be absolutely certain that this

In such a context, the purpose of the Buddhist textual scholar therefore must surely be to illustrate such variant traditions, not eliminate, correct or "rationalise" them. In such a literary tradition, variation (usually "error" in classical theory) is reminiscent of 'Jig-med gling-pa's "life-force of the *dākiṇīs*", providing the creative matrix from which fresh textual exegesis can proceed; here, variation is clearly not merely the mark of an affinal or maternal poor-relation in an agnatic textual descent system, a "female" line of "error" unable to carry forward the good name of the tradition. For the NGB, then, some of Jeffrey Schoening's editorial rationale seems to be justifiable. The rNying-ma-pa outlook is radically distributive: rather than a single monolithic version of any passage of scripture, an almost infinite variety of interpretations is allowed. Nevertheless, as I shall argue below, the diplomatic edition can meet only a part of our needs in editing NGB texts: we need to employ the methods of the critical edition as well. But before I argue this point, let me discuss one further advantage for NGB studies of the exhaustive reporting of differences, as advocated so eloquently by Schoening.

One important instance where a distributive evaluation of the variant readings might prove rewarding is in an investigation of the relationship of the NGB texts to the gter-ma scriptures. As far as we can see with our present limited knowledge, the NGB scriptures (notionally at least) seem to bear some specific relationship to the gter-ma literature as an indirect correlate and yardstick. It seems to be at least to some extent by their consistency with the materials of the NGB, that the validity of gter-ma can be assessed, and the gter-ma texts typically quote copiously from the NGB scriptures (and perhaps

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is not a deliberate variant; but note that Cyrus Stearns' (unpublished) translation of SD reads "door of life", i.e. that Stearns also unequivocally takes the correct reading as *sgo*, not *go*. Similar instances occur in other traditions: the scribes who produced the edition of NP available to me, on one occasion wrote "*sgo*" (NP *bsnyen-yig*:90, line 4), but on another occasion wrote "*go*" (NP *las-byang*:90, line 5). Since the reading with "*sgo*" is within a direct commentary upon the reading with "*go*", one of them must clearly be mistaken. My hunch is that "*go*" was intended, given the considerable intertextuality of NP with RP, which more consistently uses *go* - at least in the editions available to me! Such complex interpenetration of scribal error and genuine variant makes this genre of scripture particularly hazardous to edit.



vice versa) as well as from other gter-ma; I am not sure to what extent they quote from other secondary or commentarial literature. Given the extremely high degree of intertextuality of these two bodies of literature, an interesting gateway to the understanding of the rNying-ma-pa literature as a whole system is opened by the comparison of different gter-ma texts with different recensions of the NGB. For example, one may ask, do the gter-mas of Padma gling-pa bear a closer relationship to the rNying-ma-pa tantras found in the geographically and historically proximate rTa-dbang Kanjurs, or those contained in the mTshams-brag NGB, than to those of the more distant sDe-dge xylographs? Is the converse true of the gter-ma of mKhyen-brtse dbang-po, who lived near sDe-dge, and produced his gter-ma shortly after the sDe-dge NGB was first made? Can consistent patterns of any sort be established by this kind of analysis, or not? The same sorts of questions can be asked of commentarial and other NGB-derivative literatures which are not gter-ma.

Does all this mean the diplomatic edition is more applicable to the NGB than the critical edition? I do not think so, for the following reason. It would be manifestly false to interpret the discussion of variation given above to mean that the rNying-ma-pa traditions have no concept of textual error at all, or that any reading whatsoever can be deemed correct if interpreted with sufficient exegetical ingenuity. On the contrary, the various rNying-ma-pa editions, like all editions of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scripture, abound with readings that are considered incoherent or erroneous by all traditions of exegesis, as well as with many others that are genuinely variant readings, in that they can count as valid for some traditions while being errors for others (some examples are given in footnote 27). It follows that an important task of the editor of NGB texts must be to correct such errors, to restore the intentions of the redactor, author or revealer in question, and this is not a result that can be reasonably expected from a diplomatic edition.

There might be differences in how this task is approached in Kanjur and NGB studies, however; for while the Kanjur editor deals with a tradition which is in principle static, the NGB editor might possibly have to contend with a living, moving tradition that never ceases evolving. Perhaps the contrast in editorial objective can be

summarised as follows. In his pioneering study of a Kanjur text, as I understand it, Helmut Eimer attempted to eliminate all accumulations of scribal error and reconstruct a single original archetype; later, Harrison and Silk likewise sought to eliminate all errors, but in this case to establish one or both of the two original hyparchetypes of their texts. NGB editors, by contrast, might find themselves facing a somewhat more complex task. They might be compelled not only to reconstruct early archetypes or hyparchetypes as do the Kanjur editors: they might also have to reconstruct an unknown number of additional and possibly much later re-recensions as well, thus tracking an evolutionary process continuing into early modern times or later. In all cases, however, with the Kanjur and the NGB texts alike, I believe the creation of a critical edition is required. This is because each one of the Tibetan translators, authors, redactors and re-redactors of all of these texts, whether from the Kanjur or the NGB traditions, whether ancient or modern, each held a very precise idea, a very clear intention, of what they were trying to transmit, of what was correct and what was erroneous in the texts they produced. Not even the scriptural openness of the rNying-ma-pa was ever a scriptural anarchy. Thus for the NGB and for the Kanjur texts alike, I believe the techniques of the critical edition should be applied where possible or where desired to remove error and reconstruct a pristine version of each one of the original texts as envisaged by the various translators, authors, redactors, and re-redactors, however many there might have been, and however recent they might have been. Thus while the diplomatic edition offers valuable data, the critical edition also remains of greatest importance.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Advocates of the "nativist" position (which claims that only indigenous followers of a tradition can interpret it), and followers of Edward Said's critique of "Orientalism", might object that modern Western critical editions do violence to traditional Buddhist literature. I disagree entirely. When traditional Tibetan scholars are confronted with corrupt texts, they invariably seek clarification in consulting other editions, should these be available. An awareness and understanding of the processes of scribal error has from the outset been a deep-seated part of the Buddhist tradition, in its concern to preserve and propagate its scriptures. Text-critical processes of eliminating error can thus be seen as an extension of a principle already envisaged by the Buddhist tradition, and in particular can be seen as a modern enactment of the

There are also other reasons to advocate the critical edition as an approach to NGB texts. Although rNying-ma-pa doctrine seems to imply we must in principle be prepared to face ongoing textual evolution to some degree within the NGB, this might de facto turn out to have been quite limited in extent. As discussed above, it is also possible that many NGB texts might be descended from single, original archetypes or a small number of hyparchetypes without undergoing further evolutions (we simply do not know as yet), and the

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traditional injunction given at the end of most sūtras and tantras, to preserve, copy, propagate and disseminate the teachings of that scripture for posterity. Thus we read in the final lines of the PCN: "...having given praise, [Karmaheruka] spoke the following words, as follows: Since it is equivalent to the great direct path/ Of the great Lords mighty in yoga,/ The sugatas of the past,/ The present and the future,/ And since the appearance of this sūtra is excellent,/ May I cause it to appear as the/ Great banner of victory which does not decline./ May I cause it to appear/ In these dharma words of supreme [buddha] speech;/ [And] may I cause it to endure,/ Just as the Lord, the master of secrets would himself./ Those holy persons/ Who explain and teach the truths of this,/ Should cause it to endure, to benefit others./ As though it were the king of wish-fulfilling gems,/ May I cause this sūtra to endure./ May I not allow any harm to come to it from/ Hostile enemies and so forth./ May I spread this teaching of the buddhas/ [To] the sentient beings dwelling in the three realms./ May I not allow it to become impeded/ By [followers of] other traditions and so forth./ Thus he prayed." If the immediate goals of text-critical studies per se fall broadly within traditional parameters, the same cannot be said of the historical analyses often so closely associated with them. Hence modern textual approaches to Tibetan scriptures in the broader sense *do* constitute something both powerful and entirely new to the tradition, and no modern textual scholar can deny the impact that their work might eventually have on the Tibetan world-view. Just as modern textual scholarship began to have a profound impact on Christianity in the 19th century, we can expect some repercussions for Tibetan Buddhism in the 21st; we have already seen in the 20th century the exposure through modern textual scholarship of a great many scriptures from the Chinese canon as indigenous compositions, rather than the translations from Sanskrit they were previously believed to be. As I have already pointed out above, it therefore remains to be seen what kind of impact modern textual scholarship will eventually have on the Tibetan lineages, and how they will respond to it; this is, after all, a sensitive issue for any religion. With the NGB, it is probably only when historical claims directly crucial to rNying-ma-pa identity are either challenged or reinforced, that the tradition will show any great interest in the proceedings of Western academies, but some such challenges might be expected, just as they are with the gSar-ma-pa tradition, where traditional historical claims about the origins of texts (like the Kālacakra Tantra, or the Cakrasaṃvara tantras) come up against a quite different modern analysis.

retrieval of these, perhaps while not invalidating later variant versions, would be a project of great interest to modern scholarship and the Tibetan tradition alike. Texts such as the main \**Guhyagarbha-tantra*, for example, or the *mDo dgongs 'dus*, might through their great prestige and massive commentarial traditions have proven quite resistant to innovation. The recovery of important hyparchetypes or even archetypes of such texts is surely valuable.

There are yet more reasons why a distributive model of scriptural culture can only be part of the picture for NGB studies: it seems to me (perhaps in disagreement with Schoening) that not every edition of every NGB text should without qualification be awarded equal significance. This sentiment might seem at first sight to contradict a basic feature of Tibetan canonical literature: in a study of any Tibetan canonical collection such as the NGB or the Kanjur, there are no *absolute* criteria by which one can deny any edition at all the status of an independent tradition. Thus any edition of the NGB, however corrupt, obscure or derivative, might, within the confines of a given locale, become the textual correlate for locally produced exegesis, commentary and even gter-ma; why should such a system of scriptures not therefore stand as a valid textual tradition in its own right? In fact, in the case of the NGB, there are no grounds other than pragmatic ones for denying the status of a full tradition to any particular edition of the NGB, but these pragmatic grounds are to my mind quite reasonable ones: if a given edition is lucid and has influenced the wider world of Tibetan Buddhism, it must (other factors being equal), receive more weight than an edition which is incoherent and has only influenced a tiny locale; hence its reconstruction through a critical edition might constitute a worthwhile goal, both to modern scholarship and to the Buddhist tradition alike. Conversely, of course, this does not imply that some less favoured traditions should be totally ignored, as some less insightful interpretations of classical textual criticism might have had it. On the contrary, at this stage it seems important that such local tradition must also be preserved, for those specialist scholars with a particular interest in that part of the tradition.

Thus it seems to me that the policy adopted by Harrison and Silk, of combining critical editions with suitably exhaustive reporting of textual differences, nicely balances the contrasting editorial

objectives discussed above. I hope that NGB studies can get underway by following such a model in due course. In short, it seems likely that the wide variety of editorial problems and requirements presented by texts of the highly complex NGB literature can only be adequately met by combining the objectives and methods conventionally associated with both the critical edition and the diplomatic edition (ie the establishment of a text, and the exhaustive reporting of differences); either one of these on their own is likely to prove inadequate to get to grips with such a heterogeneous and variable collection. In each separate case, the editor will have to decide, whether to attempt a critical edition (and what kind of critical edition), a diplomatic edition, or a combination of useful elements from both.

### The diplomatic edition of the PCN based on the sDe-dge xylograph recension, and my own conjectural corrections to it

If no attempt has been made at a critical edition of the PCN here, that is for technical rather than philosophical reasons. As I have pointed out above, we have as yet insufficient data to produce a worthwhile critical edition according to the genealogical method, nor have I yet mastered the other methods of critical editing, and so that project will have to be postponed until a later date.<sup>29</sup> In the interim, I have provisionally produced a diplomatic edition. My policy in producing the diplomatic edition requires some explanation. In general, a diplomatic edition will tend to take as its base text the earliest available witness, which is transcribed in full, and the readings of all the other editions are reported in the footnotes. In this case, I did not choose the oldest extant edition, M: instead, I chose the second oldest edition, D. There are a number of reasons for this choice. Firstly, M is only a few decades older than D, an insignificant period in the long history of the PCN. Secondly, traditional sources seem to claim that D is a close descendant of the very early NGB ms. collections made

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<sup>29</sup> In my PhD thesis, I needed to achieve a reasonable text for the purposes of translation. Thus I produced what might very loosely be called a "best text" type of critical edition, based on D. I present it here in the apparatus rather than as the main body of text, as discussed below:

by Ratna gling-pa; although we cannot assess these claims as yet, they might have some validity. I am aware of no comparable claims for M (although it might indeed transpire to be based on very old exemplars). Thirdly, D is more coherent than M, and since only a tiny handful of NGB texts have ever been edited or translated to date, the presentation of a comprehensible edition was an important consideration over and above any text-critical criteria. Thus I have taken D as my base or copy text, rather than the slightly older M. I have, however, conveniently preserved all single readings of M in the footnotes. By contrast, to avoid overburdening the apparatus, the single readings of T,W,K are all removed to endnotes at the end of each chapter.<sup>30</sup>

One disadvantage of a diplomatic edition is that no sound and reliable text is established for the reader, and the text provided is not the same as the text translated. Although I have not presented any of my English translation here, and although D is generally the most coherent text of the five available, I should point out that in making my translation I nevertheless felt compelled to take editorial decisions against D on numerous occasions, where D's meanings seemed inconsistent, incoherent, or incorrect. In addition, there were instances where D made minor errors of orthography, punctuation and grammar. It might be of interest to some readers if I were to identify these passages very clearly and make them readily accessible. Hence in this diplomatic edition, occasions where I find readings from the other editions preferable to D's, or where my translation otherwise disagreed with the text of D, or where I believe D should be emended in a minor fashion, are marked in the text by an asterisk, with my preferred option given in boldface in the immediately following footnote. In doing this, I have sought to interpret and fulfil the intentions of the redactors of D, and this can (to a limited extent) be considered an exercise in producing a new critical edition of D according to some sort of highly provisional "best text method" based entirely on my own conjecture, even if it is provided in the footnotes rather than in the main body of the text.

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<sup>30</sup> As I have already pointed out above, it is important to retain these. As more editions come to light, it might transpire that many of them are not single readings after all, but shared readings.

## THE EDITIONS OF THE NGB

The history of the different NGB editions remains relatively unknown to modern scholarship, and little specialised research into the subject has so far been published. In the description of the editions of the NGB that follows, I have limited myself to the preliminary but essential task of collecting and collating the various disparate bits of data on the subject that already exist, rather than attempting any fresh historical research of my own. It should be noted that the various sources on the history of the NGB that have so far been read can sometimes be contradictory, and as yet, no very clear picture has emerged. In particular, as Dan Martin has suggested, it would seem that until the 18th century rtogs-brjod (narrative or autobiographical) works of 'Jigs-med gling-pa and the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita have been analyzed in great detail, in which they discuss the NGB and their work on it, it will remain premature to speak with any degree of confidence on even the most well-known NGB editions.<sup>1</sup>

The most comprehensive surveys of this tangled skein of a subject attempted so far, seem to have been made by Dan Martin (albeit preserved only in the form of highly provisional unpublished notes), and by Franz-Karl Ehrhard of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), in an as yet unpublished paper.<sup>2</sup> Jampa Samten (1994) has also published a useful but very succinct resumé of the main points of the history of the NGB. Martin and Ehrhard have shared some of their unpublished findings with me, the main points of which, with a few of my own observations, are as follows (I will present Jampa Samten's findings below):

[1] The oldest collection of rNying-ma-pa tantras was that held in Zur 'ug-pa lung (or 'ug-bya lung), possibly made by a certain Kun-spangs grags-rgyal, perhaps some time between the 11th and the 13th

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<sup>1</sup> See footnote 7 to the preceding chapter, *Editorial Policy*.

<sup>2</sup> Dan Martin's notes are very strong on the early history, while Franz-Karl Ehrhard's paper (Ehrhard n.d.) is particularly strong on the period from the 17th century onwards. Martin's notes are untitled.

centuries.<sup>3</sup> This was described by 'Jigs-med gling-pa as "rags-rim" (rough, sketchy); perhaps the implication is that it was not very comprehensive. Zur 'ug-pa/bya lung had been founded by Zur-po-che (984-1045?), making it, along with Kaḥ-thog, one of the very earliest rNying-ma-pa monastic settlements.<sup>4</sup>

[2] The next collection was made perhaps between 1205-1235, organised by 'Gro-mgon nam-mkha' dpal (1170-1226), the son of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma'i 'od-zer (1136-1204), as part of the funerary observances (dge-ba) following the death of his father. The story of the assembling of this collection is described at length in the biography of Nam-mkha' dpal, which was composed by three of his own disciples, and which is still extant in an edition of the bDe-shegs 'dus-pa (the gter-ma cycle discovered by Nyang-ral which is to this day incorporated into various NGB redactions, such as sDe-dge, vols Pha, Ba) (Nyang-ral 1977, vol 1:55-59). This collection was claimed to be the biggest in the world at the time. It had 30 volumes, and contained 335 works,<sup>5</sup> collected from all over Southern Tibet, but these included both Old and New tantras. The various scribes apparently had problems with this mixing of Old with New: as the biography relates, "some scribed the New Tantras and left the Old be; some inscribed the Old Tantras, and left the New be". However, a later rNying-ma-pa history says this memorial edition filled not 30 but

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<sup>3</sup> However, Ehrhard is uncertain about the personage of Kun-spangs grags-rgyal, very tentatively placing him not in this early period at all, but instead much later, in the 13th to 14th century, ie after the NGB editions associated with Nyang-ral, rather than before them. A problematic feature of the historical materials surrounding the NGB is that similar scenarios and personages can be attributed to widely different situations and times, by different sources.

<sup>4</sup> The story of the Zur family seems to contradict the view that the rNying-ma-pa had no monastic tradition until, say, after the 17th century. This might have a direct bearing on the history of the NGB, since monasteries have often been thought of as important factors in the compilation and preservation of canonical collections.

<sup>5</sup> According to Dan Martin, the English-language preface to the mTshams-brag NGB gives the number 375, but the biography of Nam-mkha'-dpal unmistakably gives the number 335.



82 po-ti volumes, and was written in gold.

[3] In the early 14th century, a collection of the rNying-ma-pa tantras was made by Zur bZang-po dpal,<sup>6</sup> an illustrious scion of the Zur clan, apparently building on the earlier 'Ug-pa/bya lung collection described by 'Jigs-med gling-pa as "rags-rim". Zur bZang-po dpal also engaged in printing enterprises in China: he is said to have prepared woodblocks for twenty-eight texts in all, including the \**Guhyagarbha-tantra*, at the court of Buyantu, the Yüan emperor of China who reigned from 1311 to 1320. Zur bZang-po dpal was closely associated with the imperial court, and had established a college of tantric studies there; it seems it was the financial support of the Emperor that enabled him to sponsor the work of developing the collection of rNying-ma-pa tantras already held at his family's home base of 'Ug-pa/bya lung in gTsang. At that period, the Zurs were very closely allied with the Sa-skyas; as Dudjom Rinpoche writes, "they enjoyed a most profound intimacy, for, at heart, their philosophies were identical" (Dudjom 1991:669-670). It is interesting that although Zur bZang-po dpal had xylographs carved for various rNying-ma-pa works, he did not, apparently, achieve this for his proto-NGB per se. Perhaps he might have achieved this too, had he not died prematurely. Perhaps it was Zur's version of the NGB that Klong-chen-pa studied as a young man.<sup>7</sup>

[4] Around 1462, Ratna gling-pa (1403-1478) and his son Tshe-dbang grags-pa are said to have rearranged the 'Ug-pa/bya lung collection,

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<sup>6</sup> Neither Dan Martin nor Jampa Samten make mention of this figure, although both are most likely fully aware of him and the stories surrounding him, since he plays a prominent role in Dudjom 1991:669ff. I am not sure why they do not mention him.

<sup>7</sup> The claim that Zur bzang-po dpal (a close associate of the Sa-skyas) prepared xylographs at the court of Buyantu, is in theory quite credible. Leonard van der Kuijp's accounts of what might possibly be the very earliest known preparations of Tibetan xylographs in China, show that these were editions of Sa-skyas Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, the preparation of which seems to have begun within the same Yüan imperial circles in China a few years earlier, under the sponsorship of Qubilai's senior wife towards the close of the 13th century. The preparation of further Tibetan xylographs continued, apparently persisting through and beyond Buyantu's reign (van der Kuijp 1993).

producing the so-called lHun-grub pho-brang NGB at their family home in lHo-kha. This rearrangement is seen by later scholars as a crucial development, probably a perception which developed because it became the textual version (dpe) which was used as the basis for transmitting the āgama (lung). It is said to have consisted of forty or forty-two small volumes (pod-chung), and that thirteen complete sets of it were copied.

[5] There is also a reference by Gu-ru bkra-shis to a further special edition of 82 volumes which Tshe-dbang grags-pa made in memory of his father after his death, which is said to have been based on a very old edition in 82 "Golden Volumes" from Kaḥ-thog.<sup>8</sup> In the rtogs-brjod works appended to T (vol.36, p.430), the account of Gu-ru bkra-shis is possibly reaffirmed with the mention that in Khams there had once been a complete NGB made of gold, which no longer existed.<sup>9</sup>

[6] The earliest Bhutanese ms. is tentatively suggested by Dan Martin to date from 1510. Lupon Pemala, in his introduction to M, similarly indicates that the earliest manuscript versions of the NGB in Bhutan might well date from the 16th century, when the NGB transmission was bestowed upon Ngang-rgyud rgyal-po and others, by the Shar Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1466-1540), at O-rgyan-rtse-mo, sPa-gro sTag-tshang, which was at the time a Kaḥ-thog-pa foundation. However, Ehrhard's sources seem to suggest that Shar Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan gave the transmission *twice*, ie once at O-rgyan-rtse-mo, and once at sPa-gro sTag-tshang, these two being separate places. According to Ehrhard, Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan himself is said to have received this NGB transmission in thirty-five volumes from a certain dMus-ston chen-po Kun-bzang dpal, in gTsang (Ehrhard n.d.:2). The oldest extant Bhutanese ms. is currently thought to be the 18th century mTshams-brag in 46 volumes

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<sup>8</sup> Gu-ru bkra-shis, vol.2, p.713, line 5. For an introduction to the historical works of Gu-ru bkra-shis, see Martin 1991b.

<sup>9</sup> Dan Martin mentions that immediately after this statement in T vol.36. p.430, there follows a ten page discussion of the various versions of the NGB. Clearly, this material needs to be thoroughly analyzed; unfortunately, I have not yet had time.

(our M, see below).

[7] The 17th century was an important period in the history of the NGB. Gu-ru bkra-shis talks of a 46-volume NGB made "in Dzungar times", of which three copies were made, one to be sent to Khams, and one for Kong-po.<sup>10</sup> But the dates given in Dudjom 1991 (worked out by Dorje and Kapstein) seem to give a slightly different version: this source apparently places this event (as I understand it) before Dzungar times, at least before the Dzungar attack on the rNying-ma-pa, by attributing it to Gong-ra lo-chen gZhan-phan rdo-rje with the dates 1594-1654.<sup>11</sup> Nor does Dudjom specify a 46-volume NGB in this context. Jampa Samten's version of events, with differing dates, is that "Gong-ra lo-chen gZhan-phan rdo-rje (1654-1714) with great effort collected the *rNying rgyud* and had three copies of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* written out, of which two copies were sent to Khams and Kong-po to serve as the basis for the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* collections there". Jampa Samten's dates for Gong-ra lo-chen are closer to the Dzungar period, and agree with those given by Khetsun Sangpo's Biographical Dictionary (vol. 4, 359), which are usually considered very accurate, so on that basis one might surmise his dates may be strong contenders to those of Dorje and Kapstein in Dudjom 1991.<sup>12</sup>

Ehrhard has valuable additional information for this 17th century period. He mentions the figure of gSung-sprul tshul-khrims rdo-rje (1598-1669), also known as the third Pad-gling, Kun-mkhyen tshul-khrims, one of the speech incarnations of Padma gling-pa (1450-1521); it was from this gSung-sprul that "different lines of transmission emanated which reached both the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and Rig-'dzin gter-bdag gling-pa (1646-1717)" (Ehrhard n.d:2). According to Lupon Pemala's introduction, our edition M is also thought to be of this general tradition.

Ehrhard adds the following important data: the gSung-sprul tshul-

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<sup>10</sup> Gu-ru bkra-shis vol.3, p.437, line 3.

<sup>11</sup> Dudjom 1991:723.

<sup>12</sup> Thanks to Dan Martin for working out these correspondences.

khirms rdo-rje lived at lHo-brag lha-lung, on the borders of Bhutan and Southern Tibet; his study of the NGB was carried out at the family seat of Ratna gling-pa (presumably lHo-kha); and on three occasions, he visited the castle of the rulers of gTsang at bSam-grub rtse; it was during his second stay there that he prepared a complete new set of the NGB (Ehrhard n.d.:2).

Ehrhard proceeds to describe important figures in the NGB lineage issuing from the gSung-sprul tshul-khirms rdo-rje. The first of these is the above mentioned Lo-chen gzhan-phan rdo-rje, according to Ehrhard a direct student of the gSung-sprul, and whom Ehrhard dates to 1594-1654, in agreement (as we have seen) with Dorje and Kapstein, and in disagreement with Khetsun Sangpo and Jampa Samten. While Khetsun Sangpo and Jampa Samten's dates would mean that gZhan-phan rdo-rje was a boy of fifteen when his teacher died, the dates favoured by Dorje, Kapstein and Ehrhard would mean that the student was four years older than the teacher, and died fourteen years before him. At any rate, all seem to agree that gZhan-phan rdo-rje came from Gong-ra in gTsang-rong. According to Ehrhard's sources on this topic, he is said to have produced three sets of the NGB: one remained in Gong-ra, the second was sent to Khams, and the third went to Kong-po, as an offering to the famous author rTse-le rgod-tshang-pa sna-tshogs rang-grol (born 1608).<sup>13</sup>

Ehrhard also mentions a second direct student of gSung-sprul tshul-khirms rdo-rje: sMan-lung-pa blo-mchog rdo-rje (1607-1671). According to Ehrhard's sources, it was sMan-lung-pa who gave the complete NGB transmission to the Fifth Dalai Lama. After the death of Lo-chen gzhan-phan rdo-rje, the Great Fifth appointed sMan-lung-pa to take charge of his teacher's monastic establishment at Gong-ra. In addition, the Great Fifth himself commissioned an edition of the NGB in 44 volumes, which was preserved in the Potala in Lhasa.

Finally, Ehrhard mentions the famous figure of Rig-'dzin gter-bdag gling-pa of sMin-grol gling (1646-1714), as another holder of gSung-sprul tshul-khirms rdo-rje's NGB transmission. According to Ehrhard's sources, gTer-bdag gling-pa produced an important edition

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<sup>13</sup> Several of rTse-le sna-tshogs rang-grol's works have been translated into English, by Erik Schmidt (Erik Pema Kunsang).

of the NGB in 23 large volumes in 1686 (Jampa Samten gives the date 1685), which can be considered a kind of *editio princeps* and became a source of the much admired sDe-dge xylograph and manuscript editions. As Dan Martin points out, dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita clearly states in his rtogs-brjod (T, 1971, vol.34, p.570) that the 23 large volumes of the NGB from sMin-gling were used as the basis for his redaction of the sDe-dge xylographs; in the following pages (p.570 ff), he also explains his method of editing. Ehrhard believes he can identify the exemplars for gTer-bdag gling-pa's edition: in the biography of gTer-bdag gling-pa, it states that the various ma-dpe came from 'Ug-pa/bya lung, rKong-po Thang-'brog, and gTsang-rong; Ehrhard identifies these as the ancient "rgyud-'bum rags-rim" mentioned by 'Jigs-med gling-pa and discussed above, and two of the three more modern sets made by Lo-chen gzhan-phan rdo-rje.

[8] Gu-ru bkra-shis indicates that "the sMin-gling edition" had already spread in manuscript form into Khams, even before the sDe-dge printed edition was made.<sup>14</sup>

[9] Among the most famous of all NGB editions is the sDe-dge xylographic edition. I discuss this and related topics, such as the Padma-'od gling edition of 1772 made by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, in my description of D given below.

[10] There is also a report that the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita made yet a further NGB in 26 volumes in the 1790's, after the sDe-dge blockprints were carved.

[11] Ehrhard mentions that in response to the persecutions faced by the rNying-ma-pa at the hands of the Dzungars (who were engaged in a power struggle with the Qing), copies of the NGB began to appear in the safe havens offered by the various sbas-yul (hidden lands) of the Southern borders. One such copy was produced by an incarnation of

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<sup>14</sup> Gu-ru bkra-shis, vol. 4, p.201. TN also spoke of a 25-volume sMin-gling NGB that was brought to Kaḥ-thog before 'Jigs-med gling-pa's time. Personal communication, 22 April, 1994.

the gSung-sprul tshul-khrims rdo-rje, called Ngag-dbang kun-bzang rdo-rje (1680-1723), who came from lHo-brag lha-lung, and who frequented such sbas-yul as mKhan-pa lung in Northern Bhutan (Ehrhard n.d.:3). Ehrhard's sources indicate that he made an NGB in 46 volumes while staying there; this is interesting, because Lopon Pemala points out in his introduction to M that several extant Bhutanese NGB editions, including M, have 46 volumes. Another sbas-yul NGB from Dzungar-times is the 42 volume edition made in Sikkim by lHa-btsun sprul-sku 'jigs-med dpa'-bo (born 1682). This edition had its first recitation at the monastery of Padma yang-rtse in 1715 (Ehrhard n.d.:3).

More local traditions appeared further West, in Mang-yul gung-thang. Ehrhard has identified in particular a tradition from Mang-yul skyid-grong, and has assembled a considerable amount of data on it. The story begins at the time of Mi-dbang pho-lha-ba bsod-nams stobs-rgyas (1689-1747), the high-minded gTsang aristocrat who rose to political leadership in Tibet in the wake of the catastrophic Dzungar-Manchu power struggles, and who successfully negotiated the survival of the rNying-ma-pa monasteries at a time when the Manchu emperor had called for their complete destruction (Dhondup 1984:74). One of Mi-dbang pho-lha-ba's administrative responsibilities was to arrange the material necessities for the printing of the famous sNar-thang Kanjur, a task under the scholarly supervision of one Rig-'dzin rgya-mtsho, himself a disciple of gTer-bdag gling-pa. While engaged in helping organise the sNar-thang Kanjur project, Pho-lha-ba was approached by Rig-'dzin rgya-mtsho and requested to invite to mNga'-ris stod, from lHo-brag lha-lung, a lama called Ngag-dbang lhun-grub grags-pa. Pho-lha-ba agreed, and thus at the old residence of Bo-dong phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1376-1451, prolific author associated with the Jo-nang-pa school) at dPal-mo chos-ldings, Ngag-dbang lhun-grub gave the transmissions of the NGB to nine persons. Two of the nine proceeded to produce manuscript versions of the NGB: one of these was given to the newly repaired Byang-gter monastery of rDo-rje brag, and the other was kept at the A-ya'i lha-khang in Grva-yul, north-east of sKyid-grong (Ehrhard n.d.:5). This latter served as the ma-dpe for three further manuscript editions: two were kept in the local temples of La-'debs and Glang-phrang within the sbas-yul area of gNam-sgo

zla-gam, and the third was housed at the monastery of dPal-mo chos-lding to the north, near the lake dPal-mo dpal-thang (Ehrhard n.d.:5; I am not clear if this is the same place as Bo-dong-pa's ancient seat, mentioned above). Ehrhard also reports that in 1742 in the sKyid-grong region, Pho-lha-ba's sister, rJe-btsun-ma Padma Chos-'dzoms, sponsored a further reading of the NGB. This transmission was given by one of the nine persons who had received it at dPal-mo chos-lding, while one of the recipients was the well-known Byang-gter author, 'Phrin-las bdud-'joms (1726-1789), later to be so active in the Tibetan-Nepalese border areas (Ehrhard n.d.:5). After his death in 1789, two of 'Phrin-las bdud-'joms' disciples, the brothers 'Phrin-las dbang-phyug (1772-1812) and Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1775-1837), produced a further edition of the NGB, in fulfillment of their master's last will. Ehrhard reports this was a block-print in 25 volumes, based on the manuscript copy kept at A-ya'i lha-khang. It was printed in the years 1789-1791, during the Gorkha incursions into Tibet, and was stored at 'Phrin-las bdud-'jom's village temple in Helambu. These two brothers played an active role in revitalising Buddhism in the sKyid-grong area after the Gorkha-Tibetan wars, and in 1813 Chos-kyi dbang-phyug set about producing yet another NGB manuscript: borrowing the volumes from the village temple in Glang-phrang, within one year a complete copy had been written out, and sent to Brag-dkar rta-so. Ehrhard reports this copy is still extant, "in the safe hands of sLob-dpon 'Gyur-med" (Ehrhard n.d.:5). A student of Chos-kyi dbang-phyug from gZhung in Rong-shar also made a copy of the NGB, and this one is probably extant as the manuscript discovered in the National Archives in Kathmandu, ie our K (Ehrhard n.d.:5).

Finally, Jampa Samten has very usefully summed up in a few words a brief resumé of the history of the NGB, which neatly brings out its salient features. He writes as follows:

gTer-ston Ratna gling-pa (1403-1478) compiled the most comprehensive edition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* at Lhun-grub pho-brang. Following that, Gong-ra lo-chen gZhan-phan rdo-rje (1654-1714) with great effort collected the *rNying rgyud* and had three copies of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* written out,

of which two copies were sent to Khams and Kong-po to serve as the basis for the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* collections there. The sMin-gling edition of 1685, written out by the gTer-bdag gling-pa 'Gyur-med rdo-rje (1646-1714), the Padma 'od-gling edition of 1772 written out by the Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1729-1798), and the xylographic edition of sDe-dge commissioned by the sGa-rje Tshe-dbang lha-mo, the queen of sDe-dge, in 1794-1798 are the most authentic and standardised editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (Jampa Samten 1994:397).

It is interesting that Samten gives slightly later dates for the completion of sDe-dge than some other sources; and that he gives substantially different dates for Gong-ra Lo-chen, and marginally different dates for 'Jigs-med gling-pa, than those calculated by Dorje and Kapstein in their translation of Dudjom, as used also by Ehrhard. He also gives the sMin-gling NGB a slightly different date to Ehrhard, by one year.

Undoubtedly, the picture we gain from external sources is still somewhat confused, although this might lie less in the sources themselves, than in our reading and collating of them. However, as Dan Martin points out, the existence of so very many different manuscript editions might mean that the full story will never be entirely resolved. Hopefully, the bringing into play of the internal data yielded from text-critical analysis, and the stemmatisation of selected texts, will help resolve some of the confusion still surrounding the external sources.

### Versions Used

At the time of writing, only five versions of the PCN are available to me, one from each of the five currently accessible editions of the NGB.<sup>15</sup> All of these have been collated in the production of

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<sup>15</sup> Jampa Samten seems to have found two further versions of the PCN, one in each of the two recently discovered Tawang Kanjurs, which are closely connected to the figure of Padma gling-pa. However, despite much effort on his part, he has been unable to make them available to me in time for this study. The Tawang Kanjurs are



this diplomatic edition. No independent versions of the PCN have been found.

[1] D from the sDe-dge xylographic edition of the NGB: vol. Pa, 176r-251v.

The sDe-dge NGB contains 446 texts<sup>16</sup>, in 26 volumes. Two copies of it exist in Europe. The one I used was purchased by Gyurme Dorje in sDe-dge itself in 1989 (now forming part of his private library); while another was presented to Guiseppe Tucci by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in July 1949 in Lhasa,<sup>17</sup> now preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Fund in IsMEO Library in Rome. Both these copies are printed in red ink on traditional paper.<sup>18</sup> David Germano, of the

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remarkable in that they contain 60 rNying-rgyud titles integrated into their main (gsar-ma) tantra sections, and do not segregate the rNying-ma-pa tantras into a separate rNying-rgyud section as other Kanjurs do. However, the Tawang texts have a slightly different title to the one dealt with here, namely the *Phur pa bcu gnyis 'byung ba'i rgyud chen po* (see Samten 1994:400). I am extremely grateful to Jampa Samten for going to such great trouble to send me preliminary negatives of the first few folios of each text, and on the basis of these, they do indeed seem to be identical with the text edited here. However, until the microfilm of the full text becomes available, we must retain some small residual reservation as to their identity: the Tawang titles suggests possible affiliations to texts with similar titles found in T vol. Ha, and D vol. Za, just as much as to the PCN dealt with here. There are at least three different NGB Phur-pa scriptures in T and D that include the words "bcu-gnyis" in their titles, and great care must be taken to avoid confusing them for one another, especially as I have not yet been able to read through all these texts to identify parallel passages with the PCN edited here. To illustrate the possible confusion, one can refer to the substantial parallel passages shared between the several \*Guhyagarbha Tantras of the NGB. But overall, it is highly likely that the texts Samten has discovered are in fact the same as the one edited here.

<sup>16</sup> Data from the Yeshe De project.

<sup>17</sup> For an interesting account of this event, see Tucci 1988:149.

<sup>18</sup> Thanks to Gyurme Dorje for lending me his copy, which I used in preparing this edition, and also to Prof. Luciano Petech and Dr. Giacomella Orofino, for sending me xerox specimens of the Tucci text, which enabled me to identify it as identical to Gyurme Dorje's.

University of Virginia, has another copy of this edition, also recently purchased in Tibet. In 1977, three volumes of a series intended to reproduce the sDe-dge NGB were published by Pe-nor Rin-po-che in Bylakuppe, India. No further volumes were ever completed.<sup>19</sup>

In Gyurme Dorje's copy, the folios are about twenty-five inches long, and four-and-a-half inches broad. In the folios I consulted, the margins are generous: the left and right margins are usually between two and three inches wide, while the top and bottom margins are generally between a half an inch and one inch. There are seven lines (*yig phreng*) to each page. Page numbers are given together with the volume letter (*Pa*) at the left margins recto; these alternate with the words *rnying rgyud* on the verso sides at the same place.

The carving of the wood-blocks of the sDe-dge NGB is said to have been supervised in person by the famous dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita from Kaḥ-thog, 'Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub, some time in the eighteenth century (unfortunately, his exact dates are unknown). The carving was made possible by the patronage of the queen of sDe-dge, Tshe-dbang lha-mo. It is widely believed that Tshe-dbang mchog-grub, a younger contemporary of 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1730-1798), based his redaction upon the 25 manuscript volumes of rNying-ma-pa tantras that 'Jigs-med gling-pa himself had commissioned in 1772 while at sMin-grol-gling Monastery (often called the Padma 'od-gling edition), and that these 25 volumes had for their part been carefully revised by 'Jigs-med gling-pa in person on the basis of the texts bequeathed by Ratna gling-pa.<sup>20</sup> In addition, in preparing his history and index,

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<sup>19</sup> The three volumes are available in microform from the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions (IASWR), Carmel, New York.

<sup>20</sup> As explained by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, in the Introduction to the reprint of the gTing-skyes dgon-pa byang NGB, p.5ff. Dilgo Khyentse places a particularly strong emphasis on the contribution of 'Jigs-med gling-pa and his chos-bdag rDo-grub chen to the sDe-dge redaction. He writes as follows:

"The great tertön Ratna Lingpa was the first great redactor of the Nyingma Gyudbum. On the basis of the Ratna Lingpa collection, Jigme Lingpa prepared a careful new redaction that was later carved onto wood-blocks under the patronage of the Queen of Derge, Gaje Sa Tsewang Lhamo, renowned as a rebirth of Lhacham Ngangtsul Sangmo, a wife of King Trisong Detsen, at the command of Do Drubchen. The index for the Derge xylographic edition was prepared by Kathok Getse Pandita Gyurme

Tshe-dbang mchog-grub also drew upon 'Jigs-med gling-pa's important history and analysis of the NGB.<sup>21</sup> In their turn, 'Jigs-med gling-pa and Tshe-dbang mchog-grub alike were able to benefit from the works of the great gTer-chen 'Gyur-med rdo-rje of sMin-grol-gling (1646-1714), who himself had also made an important manuscript copy (the sMin-gling edition of 1685), as well as important studies of aspects of the NGB,<sup>22</sup> and, together with his brother Lo-chen Dharma-śrī, was considered an important preserver of the *āgama* or lung for the entire collection. 'Gyur-med rdo-rje and his brother in turn are often seen as the custodians of the manuscript collections and the recensional work already begun by Ratna gling-pa (1403-1478), on the basis of the 'Ug-pa/bya lung collection and the transmissions of Mes-sgom bsam-gtan of gTsang.<sup>23</sup> Hence D has a pre-eminent status and stands apart from the other versions of the NGB in several ways: not only has its thorough redaction rendered its readings to be widely perceived as more consistent, more coherent and more grammatical than the other NGB editions, but it is also widely perceived as the final culmination of the long process of collection and redaction through which the NGB has taken its shape over the centuries. In short, D, the first complete printing of the full collection, has come to be seen by many as the final and most authoritative version of the NGB, carefully redacted and refined by a long series of several of the most important masters in the history of the rNying-ma-pa tradition.

[2] **K** from the manuscript NGB held in the National Archives, Kathmandu: vol. Ma, 37r-129v.

This manuscript NGB is said to have 545 remaining texts,

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Tsewang Chodrup."

<sup>21</sup> *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha grur khyab pa'i rgyan* (preserved in his gSung-'bum glegs-bam dgu).

<sup>22</sup> Tulku Thondup 1989:30.

<sup>23</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche 1991:794-5.

including 36 unique texts not found in other NGB collections.<sup>24</sup> According to Franz-Karl Ehrhard, it should comprise 37 volumes, but some of these are missing; hence it has 32 surviving volumes. In its last two volumes, it contains many rDzogs-chen tantras not found in Kaneko's catalogue of the gTing-skyes dgon-pa byang ms, but, interestingly, around 30 of these do occur in the Vai-ro rgyud-'bum. Ehrhard describes some recent damage from worms, but thankfully the entire ms. is safely on microfilm.<sup>25</sup>

Since I have only had access to a microfilm, I cannot comment on the size of the ms. volumes. In the folios I consulted, the handwriting is artistic and elegant, despite considerable corruption and orthographical anarchy. The many corrections and crossings out etc. perhaps indicate excessive haste on the part of the scribe (or his sponsors!). There are six lines (*yig phreng*) to each page. Page numbers are on the left margin recto along with the volume letter (*Ma*) and the single word *rgyud*. The equivalent margins verso are blank.

Ehrhard writes: "the only hint about the origin of this collection was a seal on some of the volumes which made clear that they once had belonged to the private library of one of the Rana chiefs ruling at the beginning of this century". However, oral information suggests the books might have originated in Helambu; and, as described above, Ehrhard has other evidence to suggest that this manuscript is the one made by a student of Chos-kyi dbang-phyug from gZhung in Rong-sar (Ehrhard n.d:5).

In 1992, Ehrhard visited the library of Slob-dpon 'gyur-med on an NGMPP expedition to Samagaon, or Ros. A University of California expedition had already visited this library in 1973, and Michael Aris had written in its report that it now guarded many books from the library of Brag-dkar rta-so northwest of sKyid-grong (and mentioned above), which had been saved from the Chinese and removed over the border. Among them was a complete NGB in 37 volumes, complete with two dkar-chag written by Brag-dkar rta-so

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<sup>24</sup> Data from the Yeshe De Project.

<sup>25</sup> Thanks to Franz-Karl Ehrhard, who procured for me from the Nepalese National Archives an excellently clear microfilm of K.

sprul-sku chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1775-1837), ie the younger of the two brother disciples of 'Phrin-las bdud-'joms described above.<sup>26</sup> Clearly, then, this has every chance of being the second NGB that Chos-kyi dbang-phyug made, as described above, based on the Glang-phrang manuscript. On inspection, Ehrhard found that this valuable NGB in Slob-dpon 'gyur-med's keeping was of identical tradition to the ms. in the Royal Library, ie our K.

[3] M from the 1981 reproduction of the mTshams-brag manuscript preserved in the National Library, Thimpu: vol. Dza, 393r-507r (pp.785-1013).

This photo-offset reproduction was prepared in Delhi under the auspices of the National Library of Bhutan, together with a short but learned introduction by Lopon Pemala. The mTshams-brag Manuscript is said to have 904 texts<sup>27</sup> in 46 volumes, and was calligraphed between circa 1728 and 1748<sup>28</sup> at mTshams-brag Monastery in Bhutan from a Punakha original, at the order of mTshams-brag sprul-sku Ngag-dbang-'brug-pa (1682-1748).

Having access only to a microfilm of the reproduction, I cannot comment on the dimensions of the original ms. volumes. In the folios I consulted, there are seven lines (*yig phreng*) to each page. The left hand margins have the page numbers in Tibetan writing along with the volume letter (*Dza*) on the recto sides, with nothing at the equivalent place on the verso sides, while Western page numbers (eg.785,786) are superimposed at the right hand margins of recto and verso sides alike. The handwriting is reasonable but not excellent. There are occasionally large spaces left between the *yig rkang* on a line, not only at the end

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<sup>26</sup> The titles of these dkar-chag are: [1] *sNga 'gyur gsang chen rnying ma rgyud 'bum gyi glegs bam yongs rdzogs gzheng tshul dkar chag tu bkod pa rdzogs ldan snang ba gsar pa'i dga' ston*, 14 folios. [2] *rNying ma rgyud 'bum gyi glegs bam nang gi chos tshan bzhugs byang dkar chag dpe rdzi bsam 'phel nor bu'i 'phreng ba*, 26 folios.

<sup>27</sup> Data from the Yeshe De Project.

<sup>28</sup> Lopon Pemala has erroneously written 17th century instead of 18th century.

of sentences and chapters where one might expect them, but also elsewhere; I am not sure what these imply.

Similar collections in 46 volumes exist at other sites in Bhutan (sGang-steng dgon-pa and Shar-phyogs sbra-me'i rtse), and we know from Bhutanese literature (Lopon Pemala mentions the gsang-yig of Pan-chen bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal), that this Bhutanese tradition considered the NGB complete in 46 volumes; hence we can see that Bhutan has here preserved a distinct tradition of NGB transmission, its additional length accounted for by the inclusion of a great many additional gter-ma tantras that the other collections do not include. A possible relative of this tradition is mentioned in the rNying-ma history by Guru bkra-shis: he speaks of a 46 volume NGB made "in Dzungar times", three copies of which were made, one being sent to Khams and one to Kong-po.<sup>29</sup> Lopon Pemala believes the earliest manuscript versions of the NGB in Bhutan date from the 16th century, when the NGB transmission was bestowed upon Ngang-rgyud rgyal-po and others, by the Shar Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1466-1540, at O-rgyan-rtse-mo, sPa-gro sTag-tshang (this was at the time a Kaḥ-thog-pa foundation). Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan himself is said to have received the NGB transmission from a certain dMus-ston chen-po Kun-bzang dpal, in gTsang (Ehrhard n.d.:2). According to Lopon Pemala's introduction to M, another important NGB transmission for the Bhutanese was the one bestowed by Ratna gling-pa in person in 1476, two years before his death, upon rGyal-dbang chos-rje kun-dga' dpal-'byor. Lopon Pemala also mentions that a further transmission is believed to have come through Padma gling-pa (1450-1521). He reports that the tradition in 46 volumes represented by the mTshams-brag Manuscript is thought to derive from

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<sup>29</sup> Guru bkra-shis, vol.3, p.437.3; thanks to Dan Martin for this information, personal communication April 4th, 1994. Yet this interesting story-line seems to have several versions, all a little different. Dudjom Rinpoche (1991:723) describes an NGB assembled by Gong-ra lo-chen gZhan-phan rdo-rje (1594-1654), three copies of which were made, and sent to Khams and Kong-po. Jampa Samten has yet another variant: giving Gong-ra the alternative dates of 1654-1714, he states that Gong-ra with great effort collected the rNying rgyud, and had three copies of the NGB written out, sending two copies to Khams and Kong-po, which became the basis of the NGB traditions there (see Jampa Samten 1994:397).

a 17th century transmission through the third Pad-gling, Kun-mkhyen tshul-khrims (1598-1669),<sup>30</sup> or through one of the Thugs-sras (the incarnation lineages of Padma gling-pa's sons and grandsons, one of whom, bsTan-'dzin legs-pa'i don-grub, 1645-1726, of sGang-steng monastery, was the teacher of the Ngag-dbang 'brug-pa who commissioned the mTshams-brag manuscript). It is not yet clear to me whether this recension carries any intellectual influences from 'Gyur-med rdo-rje of sMin-sgrol-gling.

[4] T from the 1973 Thimpu reprint of the gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang monastery manuscript: vol. Dza, 1r-100r (pp.1-199).

This important re-edition of the NGB commissioned by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche starting in 1973, is said to have 420 texts<sup>31</sup> in 36 volumes. The original is often said to be very old, but I am not clear on what basis this claim is made. It comes from gTing-skyes, the part of Tibet just north of the Bhutanese border, and some research connects it with the lineage of Yol-mo-ba sPrul-sku bsTan-'dzin nor-bu (1598-1644).<sup>32</sup> However, it is not yet clear to us what the age of text is; perhaps Dan Martin's educated guess of around 1830 for its production is the most reasonable so far.

Having access only to a photocopy of the reprint, I cannot comment on the dimensions of the original ms. volumes. The folios I consulted have seven lines (*yig phreng*) on each side. The handwriting is adequate but not brilliant. Page numbers in Tibetan, the volume letter (*Dza*), and the word *mahā*, are at the left margin of each folio, recto; the words *rnying ma rgyud 'bum* are at the equivalent position, verso. Western pagination (1,2,3) has been superimposed at the top left margin on both sides of the folios. Presumably because the PCN is the first text in vol. Dza (19), it has four woodblock miniatures on its first

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<sup>30</sup> Thanks to Michael Aris for Pad-gling gsum-pa's dates.

<sup>31</sup> Data from the Yeshe De Project.

<sup>32</sup> This is according to the present researches of Franz-Karl Ehrhard; he has made a more detailed study of the transmission of this tradition, which I hope to be able to draw upon in due course.

two pages; these depict figures of gurus, and bear the captions: (a) *so ston chen po ye shes dbang phyug rgyal*; (b) *mdo lung gsal byed ba pra dha ra'i zhabs*; (c) *dpal chen dngon byon bde gshegs zur po che*; (d) *gsang sngags 'byung gnas zur chung she rab 'dud*.

According to Dan Martin, gTing-skyes dgon-byang Monastery was founded by Padma chos-'phel, alias Bya-btang mkhas-grub lha-rje or Tshe-ring don-'grub (1773-1836), a follower of the Byang-gter tradition, whose reincarnation line includes the Yol-mo-bas of Nepal. According to a work from this tradition produced in Sikkim in 1965, Padma chos-'phel "erected" an edition of the NGB to furnish his new monastery, and it is this edition which Dan Martin believes was the basis of our reprint T.<sup>33</sup> No doubt, the true picture will soon emerge as more research is done. A detailed analysis of the Khyentse reprinted edition has been published in Japan.<sup>34</sup>

[5] W from the Waddell Manuscript, India Office Library, London; vol. Dza, 1r-91r.

This beautiful manuscript was brought back to the U.K. by L. Austine Waddell, who procured it during the Younghusband Expedition's stay in Lhasa in 1905. It has 392 texts<sup>35</sup> in its surviving 29 volumes; originally there were 33 volumes. Volume 1 is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the rest are in London, except for

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<sup>33</sup> The work is the *Mtshungs med dpal mgon bla ma dam pa gting skye dgon byang mchog sprul 'khrungs rabs bcu'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa*, by Mtha'-grol rdo-rje, published by Kunzang Tobgyel and Mani Dorje, Thimphu 1979. The story of Padma chos-'phel is found on pages 34-51, and his "erecting" an NGB is mentioned on pages 49-50. The two-volume collected writings of Padma chos-'phel have been reprinted twice, in 1974 and in 1979; perhaps something of the history of the gTing-skyes NGB can be learned from these sources, or from the accounts of his successors at gTing-skyes contained in the work mentioned above. I am grateful for this data on T to Dan Martin, personal communications, April 27, 1994, and June 3, 1994.

<sup>34</sup> Kaneko, 1982.

<sup>35</sup> Data from the Yeshe De Project.



volumes 3, 9, 15 and 31, which are missing.<sup>36</sup>

Since I have had access only to a microfilm, I cannot comment on the dimensions of the original ms. volumes, but according to hearsay, they are quite large, probably in excess of twenty-four inches by five inches. As in the case of T, the PCN once more comes at the beginning of Vol.Dza. Hence its first two folios are very exquisitely produced: they have what appears to be three (fol.1 verso) and four (fol.2 recto) lines of very large, beautiful golden writing on a dark blue background (but my microfilm is in monochrome, so the colour is not certain). They also have three miniatures of the highest quality on folio 1 verso, obviously in colour. These are not at all well reproduced in my microfilm. The central one shows Guru Rinpoche with two consorts, and the ones to the left and right show unidentifiable guru figures. The one to the right has a caption, quite illegible in my microfilm, but I am unable even to discern if the miniature to the left has any caption or not. Subsequent folios have gradually increasing numbers of lines (*yig phreng*): folio two verso and three recto have four lines, three verso up to five verso have five lines, folio six recto has six lines, and from folio six verso onwards, there are seven lines. Page numbers in Tibetan, the volume letter (*Dza*), and the word *rgyud*, are at each left margin recto. After the fine opening folios, the handwriting becomes less perfect, but still good.

Its affiliations remain unclear. According to Gyurme Dorje, who has inspected the manuscript more closely than I, its opening volumes also have splendid miniatures (many again in colour) including depictions of 'Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub; as Dorje very reasonably points out, this would suggest a connection with the sDe-dge tradition and a date somewhere in the 19th century (GTC:31). However, text-critically speaking, as far as the PCN goes, it is very closely in agreement with the gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang monastery manuscript, and quite different to sDe-dge. On the other hand, Dr Dorje seems to suggest that in the case of the \**Guhyagarbha-tantra* or *rGyud gsang ba snying po*, almost exactly the reverse is true: he states, albeit somewhat ambiguously, that here the Waddell Manuscript "pertains to" sDe-dge, not gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang (and he quite

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<sup>36</sup> Thanks to Michael Kowalewski for this data.

explicitly specifies the sDe-dge NGB here, not the sDe-dge Kanjur, which also has a version of the *rGyud gsang ba snying po*; GTC:31). However, although Dorje's edition of the *rGyud gsang ba snying po* was never intended to be stemmatic, and his collation was not absolutely exhaustive (his primary concern was to present the tradition as interpreted by Klong-chen-pa), nevertheless, according to my reading of his apparatus, there does seem to be distinctive evidence of patterns of shared errors between W and T, not unlike the case of the PCN. Hence I retain some qualms (text-critically speaking at least) about his apparent suggestion that in the case of the *rGyud gsang ba snying po*, W is closer to the sDe-dge NGB than to T.<sup>37</sup> Dorje is, however, more probably on safer ground in his belief that the organisation of the Waddell NGB as a whole is not identical to that of gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang, a view apparently shared by Michael Kowalewski, the only other person to have had access to the manuscript as a whole. It could be that we have here a votive edition that drew partly on sDe-dge and partly on more westerly editions; or, possibly, we have a witness to an important tradition of the NGB as yet unknown. Until the India Office Library is in a position to allow more ready access to these materials, we will not be able to resolve these questions with certitude. At this stage of research, the situation is not yet clear, but we are possibly reminded of the sNar-thang Kanjur, which sometimes follows the Tshal-pa Kanjur traditions, and sometimes those Kanjur traditions derived from the Them-spangs-ma manuscript, conflating the editions at the level of whole texts, rather than individual readings.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> In his edition, Dorje did not collate the sDe-dge NGB edition: he only used the sDe-dge Kanjur edition. Hence the problem cannot be conclusively resolved simply by studying his edition.

<sup>38</sup> Harrison 1992b:xix.

## A PROVISIONAL STEMMMA OF THE PHUR-PA BCU-GNYIS<sup>1</sup>

External evidence, then, tells us a little about these editions of the NGB. We know with reasonable certainty that M dates from the early 18th century, D from the late 18th century, and W from the 19th century. We know with less certainty that K dates from the 18th or 19th centuries, while the date of T remains, to myself at least, unknown from the external evidence: all that can be said is that it is probably later than the early 17th century. We also know with reasonable certainty that M was copied in Bhutan, D was carved in sDe-dge but copies of it existed in Lhasa as well, W was purchased in Lhasa, T was preserved in gTing-skyes (the part of Tibet immediately north of Bhutan), and K represents a tradition from sKyid-grong (the part of Tibet immediately north of Kathmandu). We also know that D is believed to be the result of a major recensional reworking of the entire set of very old NGB manuscripts bequeathed by Ratna Gling-pa, at the hands of two very illustrious authorities, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa and Tshe-dbang mChog-grub. What can the internal evidence tell us about the relationships of these texts?

Let us take the last point first: does D show evidence of a major recensional reworking that makes it stand apart from the other editions? In the case of the PCN, the answer is an unequivocal affirmative; in numerous instances D shows evidence of a highly competent and confident editorship that renders it more lucid and coherent than the other traditions, and makes it stand apart from them. Let us look at some clear examples of recensional differences between D and T,W,K,M:

- Ch.1: D's version of the Sanskrit title differs from T,W,K,M's (T2, M786, D176r)  
 Ch.1: D's version of the Tibetan title differs from T,W,K,M's (T2, M786, D176r)  
 Ch.1: D gives the mantras of the Six Sages in a different

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<sup>1</sup> My deepest gratitude goes to Paul Harrison, who with great skill and precision first explained to me the basics of stemmatic analysis in several sessions in February 1994.

- order to T,W,K,M (T36, M821, D188v)
- Ch.2: D reads rtogs tshad 'di gsungs so/, for T,W,K,M's byang chub sems dpa' la gsol pa/ (T39, M824, D189v)
- Ch.2: D includes three lines required in the context, which are not found in T,W,K,M (although this might equally well represent a corruption of T,W,K,M) (T39, M825, D189v)
- Ch.2: D reads tshad, for T,W,K,M's tshan nyid (in this context, D's tshad cannot be an abbreviation) (T39, M825, D189r)
- Ch.3: D reads pu sti, for T,W,K,M's rin sgrom(s) (T54, M841, D195r)
- Ch.3: D correctly reads me dpung nang na, while T,W,K,M inappropriately read padma'i gdan la (T55, M842, D195v)
- Ch.3: D reads /rdo rje thogs nas chos 'chang rmi/, for T,W,M's /rdo rje lag tu bcangs pa rmi/ (K omits) (T60, M848, D197v)
- Ch.7: D includes four lines of verse describing Ratnakīlaya, required by the context, which are omitted in T,W,K,M (although this might equally well represent corruptions of T,W,K,M) (T87, M878, D208v)
- Ch.13: D reads de yi sa bon, for T,W,K,M's rkyen gyi(s) sngags (T118, M884, D220v)
- Ch.13: D reads pas 'bras bu, for T,W,K,M's pa'i dgos pa (T125, M922, D223v)
- Ch.22: D reads /'dod chags las kyis 'chel ba rnams/, for T,W,K,M's /rnal 'byor dam pas bdag gnas la/ (T186, M997, D247r)
- Ch.23: D has a single line: /rdo rje'i tshig gi lu gu rgyud/, for T,W,K,M's two lines: /rdo rje dam tshig srog(s) rgyud 'di/ /rnal 'byor rnams kyi(s) bka' thub yin/ (T,W,K,M might be more correct here) (T190, M1002, D248v)
- Ch.23: D reads /de bzhin mdzēs pa dbul bar bya/, for T,W,K,M's /de yi phyi bzhin 'brang bar bya/

(T191, M1003, D249r)

- Ch.24: D gives the closing sentence of the text a quite different word-order to that of T,W,K,M (T199, M1013, D251v)

There are some instances where tacit or even overt acknowledgement of editorial activity have become carved into the wood-blocks of D:

- Ch.3: D introduces an apparent marginal gloss of two lines into the text (T58, M845, D196v)
- Ch.8: D reads /de bzhin brgya dang brgyad du bstan/ for T,W,K,M's /de bzhin brgyad dang brgyad du bstan/, but D marks the line with a cross and has a marginal note preserved in the block: /brgyad dang brgyad kyang 'dug/: evidence of editorial scrutiny. (T95, M887, D211v)
- Ch.19: D carries the following marginal note preserved in the woodblock: sngags btu 'di la dpyad bya mang yang sor bzhag byas ("Although in the following mantroddhāra, much [further] analysis could still be done, it should be left unchanged"). (T152, M955, D233v)

Words and mantras in Sanskrit provide more clear evidence of an editorial input to D. Throughout the text, while the Sanskrit mantras and words of T,W,K,M largely agree, D's readings frequently differ, and are often more regularised, ie they conform more closely to what Tibetans of the 18th century considered to be correct Sanskrit. As in the older Kanjur editions,<sup>2</sup> T,W,K,M do not so often mark the long Sanskrit vowels, which are more frequently marked in D. Here are some examples:

- Ch.1: T,W,K,M read swa rad na dhrig, D reads swā ratna dhṛk (T18, M802, D181r)

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Paul Harrison for this information (personal communication, 18/2/1994).

- Ch.1: T,W,K,M read oṃ a ro lig, D reads oṃ ā ro lik (T20, M804, D182v)
- Ch.1: T,W,K,M read muṃ da(dha) du shwa ri, D reads muṃ dhā twī shwa ri (T23, M807, D183v)
- Ch.1: T,W,K,M read de shwa or te shwa, D reads dwe ṣa (T24, M808, D184r)
- Ch.5: T,W,K read a mri ta bha ba hri/, M reads a mṛ ta bha hri/, D reads a mi tā bha hrīḥ/ (T71, M860, D201v)
- Ch.5: T,W,K,M read /oṃ ta re tud ta re swā hā/, D reads /oṃ tā re tuttā re swā hā/ (T72, M862, D202v)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read shudznyā tā, D reads shūnya tā (T119, M914, D220v)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read swa ba bhā(wā), D reads swa bhā wa (T119, M914, D220v)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read adma ko or atma ko, D reads ā tma ko (T119, M914, D220v)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M have eight inverted seed-syllables \*he; D does not invert them, and has nine. (T119, M914, D221r)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read ni laṃ daṇḍa, D reads nī la daṇḍa (T119, M915, D221r)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read ha ya gri ba, D reads ha ya grī wa (T119, M915, D221r)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read lā se ke, D reads lā sya ki (T120, M916, D221r)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read sta na pa ti or stam pa ti, D reads sma sha na pa ti (T120, M916, D221r)
- Ch.13: T,W,K,M read para bid tana tshin dha tshin dha, D reads pa ra bi dhānsa tstshinda tstshinda (T122, M918, D222r)

There are also a number of instances where D appears to rearrange the syllabic order found in T,W,K,M, while either leaving all the actual syllables intact, or else changing them but little. Some of these go beyond the usual three syllables or so of typical "spoonerisms", involving up to seven syllables. Although it is quite

possible that some of these rearrangements of syllabic order issue from scribal error, perhaps a slightly more probable cause is editorial intervention of a somewhat lower order than those indicated in the examples above. Here are some examples:

- Ch.3: T,W,K,M read /dad ldan rkyen thub brtson(btson) ldan pa/, while D reads /dad ldan brtson 'grus rkyen thub dpa'/ (T44, M830, D191v)
- Ch.3: T,W,K,M read /rnal 'byor blo ldan de bsgoms(bsgom) na/, while D reads /blo ldan rnal 'byor des bsgoms na/ (T45, M832, D192r)
- Ch.3: T,W,K,M read dngul dang shel, while D reads shel dang dngul (T56, M844, D196r)
- Ch.3: T,W,K,M read /sa dang rdo dang shing dag las(la)/, while D reads /sa dang shing dang rdo dag dang/ (T61, M849, D198r)
- Ch.3: T,W,K,M read bdag po'am rgyal por, while D reads rgyal po'am bdag por (T63, M851, D198v)
- Ch.4: T,W,K,M read /rma bya shang shang sha dang ni/, while D reads /rma bya'i sha dang shang shang sha/ (T68, M856, D200v)
- Ch.5: T,W,K,M read /las gang byed pa'i dus su gtad/, while D reads /las byed pa yi ngang du gtad/ (T71, M860, D202r)
- Ch.5: T,W,K,M read phyag rgya dus su, while D reads dus su phyag rgya (T72, M861, D202r)
- Ch.6: T,W,K,M read /thig le de yi mnyam nyid dbyings/ while D reads /thig le'i de nyid mnyam pa'i dbyings/ (T80, M871, D205v)
- Ch.7: T,W,K,M read /dbu la khrag 'thung lngas brgyan, while D reads /khrag 'thung lngas dbu la brgyan (T85, M876, D207v)
- Ch.8: T,W,K,M read yun sring(bsring) na ni gdon lto med/, while D reads yun ring bsring na gdon to med/ (T94, M886, D211r)
- Ch.15: T,W,K,M read /g-yas sngo g-yon smug dbus ljang nag/, while D reads /dbus ljang g-yas sngo g-yon

smug nag/ (T133, M931, D226v)

As well as different readings that are or might be recensional in origin, D also has a very large number indeed of different readings to T,W,K,M that in each case look equally likely to be transmissional or recensional, it is very difficult to ascertain which. Helmut Eimer has suggested that many of them might simply represent a policy of wholesale standardisation into the Tibetan of the 18th century (personal communication, 5.10.1995). There are so many of these different readings that D is clearly set apart from the other editions by them. Let us look at some examples taken from a very typical passage of text, comprising about one side of one folio in Chapter 12 (T113-T114, M908-M909, D218v-D219r):

T,W,K,M read: la, D: du  
 T,W,K,M read: sgröl, D: bsgral  
 T,W,K,M read: gtso, D: don  
 T,W,K,M read: med/, D: min/  
 T,W,K,M read: par gyur pa, D: pa bya ba  
 T,W,K,M read: pa, D: dang  
 T,W,K,M read: bya'o/, D: bya ste/  
 T,W,K,M read: las, D: la  
 T,W,K,M read: dmigs, D: zhing  
 T,W,K,M read: slu, D: bslu  
 T,W,K read: bcwo, M reads: bca', D: dpya  
 T,W,K,M read: sgrogs, D: bsgrag  
 T kun tshang, W,K kun 'tshang, M kun mtshang, D:  
 sku 'tshang  
 T,W,K,M read: na bran dang, D: zlar sbran na  
 T,W,K,M read: ka, D: ga  
 T,W,K,M read: khrid/, D: 'khrid/  
 T,W,K,M read: bar, D: sar  
 T,W,K,M read: pa'i dam pa, D: pa chen po  
 T,W,M brtsams/, K btsam/, D: brtsam/  
 T,W,K,M read: 'byin/, D: 'dzin/  
 T sta na, W,K stag na, M stan gan, D: tan gan  
 T,W,M rlang, K blang, D: brlang



T,W,M khar, K dgar, D: gar

T,W,K,M read: yod/, D: spyad/

T,W,K, dgos/, M 'gos/, D: gos/

T,W cig pas/, K,M gcig pas/, D: gcig par/

T,W,K,M read: ba, D: ba'i

T,W,K,M read: dang/, D: nas/

T,W,K,M read: mkhan po yongs, D: 'khon por yod

To sum up, it seems that there is very clear evidence of a major editorial revision of the text, which, as far as we know at present, manifests solely in the sDe-dge woodblocks; while in addition, there are many differences found in D that can best be attributed to transmissional vagaries. In the light of currently available data, D therefore represents either a possibly contaminated single text witness based on currently unidentified exemplars, or perhaps even a unique branch of the tradition.

We can see that T,W,K,M represent a natural grouping distinct from D; the next question is to see what other sub-groupings occur within the T,W,K,M branch of the tradition. In this respect, the most immediately obvious feature is that on the basis of their many shared errors (*errores conjunctivi*), T,W,K look as though they form a natural grouping distinct from M,D (things might look different, of course, if M turns out to be contaminated with some readings from D or D's predecessors, but we cannot know this as yet, and will provisionally assume no such contamination). In other words, although T,W,K share a very large number of both errors and other types of variant readings with M against D, they also share a large number of errors amongst themselves that are not found in either M or D. Here are some examples:

- Ch.1: T,W,K omit through *saut du même au même* nine syllables found in M,D: thugs rjes kun la 'dzin/ /ma bsgribs gsal ba'i (T7, M789, D177r)
- Ch.1: T,W,K omit M,D's bskul bar mkhyen nas/ (T7,M790, D177v)
- Ch.1: T,W,K omit through *saut du même au même* two

sentences of prose found in M,D: /yang (M omits yang) de'i tshe rin chen (M:po che) 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i thugs kyi mtshan mar (M:ma) rin po che 'bar ba (M omits 'bar ba) thur (M:zur) brgyad pa zhis (M:cig) tu gyur to/ /de nas yang gsang ba mchog gi bdag po des/ rin po che rab tu 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs so/ (T18, M801, D181r)

- Ch.2: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /da lta'i rgyal bas mi gsung la/ (T37, M822, D189r)
- Ch.2: T,W,K read nyon mongs/ for M,D's nyon cig/ (T38, M824, D189v)
- Ch.3: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /pad ma'i dkyil 'khor las kyi dkyil/ (T42, M827, D190v)
- Ch.3: T,W,K read rnam for M,D's bsnam/ (T50, M836, D193v)
- Ch.3: T,W,K lose two syllables of metre in giving /rgod ma las mo ming/, for M,D's /rgod ma la sogs mo yi ming/ (T59, M847, D197r)
- Ch.4: T,W,K read sems can for M,D's yongs su (T65, M853, D199v)
- Ch.6: T,W,K read /shākya mthun par chos kyang ston/, for M,D's /shākya thub par mthun byas ston/ (T76, M866, D204r)
- Ch.6: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /la lar mngal gnas bde bar ston/ (T77, M867, D204r)
- Ch.6: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /rin chen rigs su nges par skye/ (T79, M869, D205r)
- Ch.7: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te/ (T82, M872, D206r)
- Ch.7: T,W,K omit through *saut du même au même* eight syllables found in M,D: bar dam bcas so/ /de'i tshe phyogs skyong (T91, M882, D209v)
- Ch.8: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /byams pa'i 'od zer glog bzhin 'khyug/ (T100, M892, D213r)
- Ch.8: T,W,K omit a line found in M,D: /bdag nyid las byung lha mo yis/ (T101, M893, D213v)

- Ch.8: T,W,K, through *saut du même au même*, unmetrically lengthen one line and omit the next (T101, M894, D213v)
- Ch.15: T,W,K omit (probably through *saut du même au même*) seven lines of verse found in M,D (T134, M933, D227r)
- Ch.21: T,W,K omit (it would seem through *saut du même au même*) eight lines of verse found in M,D (T179, M989, D244v)
- Ch.22: T,W,K omit six lines of verse found in M,D (T182, M993, D245v)

Given that T,W,K share most of M's errors and other types of variant readings against D, and add many more shared errors unique to themselves, this raises the possibility that T,W,K might be direct descendants of M. However (unless D has been contaminated with some readings from the line of T,W,K, something we cannot as yet be sure of either way!), this cannot be the case, since there are also a smaller but significant number of instances when T,W,K agree in correct readings with D against errors found only in M. Since these unique readings (*lectiones singulares*) of M are not shared by T,W,K, this indicates that M cannot be the direct ancestor of T,W,K. Here are some examples:

- Ch.1: M omits the phrase zer lta bur (bu'i), found in T,W,K,D (T7, M790, D177r)
- Ch.1: M reads mkha' gsal bar, for T,W,K,D's mkhar (T11, M794, D178v)
- Ch.1: M omits T,W,K,D's brjod pa 'di (T12, M795, D179r)
- Ch.1: M reads par rang gi, for T,W,K,D's pa rā ga'i (T20, M804, D182r)
- Ch.1: M reads rdzogs pa las, for T,W,K,D's yongs su rdzogs pa (T22, M805, D183r)
- Ch.1: M reads mi dag pa, for T,W,K,D's mi dge ba (T31, M816, D186v)
- Ch.1: M reads dges for T,W,D's la dgyes (K has 'gyes) (T33, M818, D187v)

- Ch.2: M omits T,W,D's *brgya*(K:*rgya*)(T37,M822,D188v)
- Ch.2: M reads /*ma bcos pa yi de kho nyid*/, for T,W,K,D's /*ma bcos pa de (yi) kho na nyid*/ (T37, M822,D189r)
- Ch.4: M omits an entire line included in T,W,K,D (T67, M855, D200r)
- Ch.5: M loses three syllables of one line and four syllables of the next line, which are found in T,W,K,D, through *saut du même au même* (T73, M862, D202v)
- Ch.6: M reads *pa yi*/, for T,W,K,D's *mdzad pa'i*/ (T75, M865, D203v)
- Ch.7: M omits T,W,K,D's *khro* (T85, M876, D207v)
- Ch.9: M omits T,W,K,D's line, /*gsod pa las kyi dkyil 'khor gang*/ (T103, M896, D214v)
- Ch.11: M has two lines lengthened in error (T111, M905, D217v)
- Ch.16: M omits through *saut du même au même* four lines of verse found in T,W,K,D (T136, M935, D227v)
- Ch.16: M omits a redundant and unmetrical syllable carried by T,W,K,D (T139, M939, D228v)
- Ch.17: M reads *rnam rtog mkhyen* for T,W,K,D's *rnam rtog med* (T145, M947, D231r)
- Ch.24: M reads *dga' ba'i* for T,W,K,D's *dag pa'i* (T198, M1011, D251v)

So far, we appear to have evidence (barring contamination) that while T,W,K,M are all descended from the same branch of the tradition in contrast to D, T,W,K must represent a further sub-branch because they share a host of indicative errors not carried by M; yet this sub-branch cannot be descended from M, since it does not carry a number of indicative single readings (such as omissions) found in M. Hence the evidence points to a hyparchetype from which both M and a common ancestor of T,W,K are descended.

It remains to analyze the relationships between T,W and K. While I can discern no meaningful pattern of errors shared between T,K and W,K, T,W do appear to show a pattern of shared errors. In addition, it is immediately obvious that K is a jungle of scribal errors of every kind, quite unique to itself; in fact, K is so uniformly corrupt

that it becomes quite difficult to make text critical judgements on the basis of it. K also differs from T,W, and from all of the other witnesses, in never using a second shad at the end of a sentence or tshig-rkang, although in other respects its punctuation does not diverge very much from T,W.<sup>3</sup> But the general picture here is not entirely straightforward: while K clearly does carry all of the major indicative errors of T,W, it does not always carry their less significant errors, while it adds a much greater number of its own errors of every kind. Overall, the evidence therefore seems to allow for one of three possibilities: either T and W are the ancestors of K, or T,W and K are all descended from the same exemplar, or T and W share a common ancestor which itself shares a common ancestor with K.

The first possibility is ruled out (along with the possibility of T or W being descended from one another) because both T and W carry at least a few unique indicative omissions from which the others in the group do not suffer. An example of each:

- Ch.1:           W omits the line, /gsal zhing dri ma (med) rnam dag pa/, but T,K,M,D include it (T15, M798, D180v)
- Ch.13:         T omits the line, /gsod pa'i sngags su bstan pa ni/, but W,K,M,D include it (T120, M916, D221v)

Deciding between the second and third possibilities is more difficult. The situation is complicated by the existence of only a limited weight of error shared by T,W but not by K. Although these shared errors do, on balance, look indicative when taken as a whole, generally none of them taken individually is incontrovertibly indicative; in other words, there are no major shared omissions or suchlike strong evidence shared by T,W and not by K. Hence in general, the occurrence of these shared errors in T and W and their absence in K could just possibly be attributed to chance readings of K, ie to some of K's vast number of misrepresentations of the tradition of T,W accidentally or by casual conjecture falling back in line with M or D. On close inspection, even where some of these shared errors

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<sup>3</sup> K's omission of the second shad is not marked in the apparatus, to avoid a massive overburdening.

of T,W might at first glance appear to clearly present us with firm grounds upon which to make a judgement, on a closer contextual examination such evidence usually seems to be slightly inconclusive. Let us marshal much of the strongest evidence of this kind, and see how no single instance is ever quite incontrovertibly conclusive in itself:

- Ch.1: T,W read *btsun mo stod pa bcas pa* for M,D's *btsun mo stong pa dang bcas pa*, while K reads *btsun mo stong dang bcas pa*. A possible analysis is that since T,W's *stod* looks very like *stong* (which obviously makes more sense in this context anyway), K might have simply taken T,W's *stod pa* as *stong pa*, and conjecturally (or out of habit) changed the less natural reading *pa bcas pa*, to the more natural *dang bcas pa*. Hence K's reading would owe nothing to M or D. (T5, M787-788, D176v)
- Ch.1: T,W read *dpag tu med*, for K,M,D's *dpag tu med pa*; yet the scribe of K inserts numerous spurious or extra particles such as *pa* or *'di* throughout the text, most of which appear to be single readings (*lectiones singulares*) unique to K. K's agreement with M,D here might well be a coincidence; one should not build a stemmatic theory from this. (T19, M803, D182r)
- Ch.1: T,W *ba'i las*, K *ba'i sa las*, M *ba la*, D *ba'i sa la*. If at first glance K here seems to be closer to D, on closer inspection an equally likely explanation is that the scribe of K has attempted to render the manifestly incoherent reading of T,W comprehensible by making the obvious move of inserting the syllable *sa*. (T22, M806, D183r)
- Ch.1: T,W omit *su* from K,M,D's *phyogs su*; yet K quite possibly made this emendation as a more or less automatic reflex, given the context. (T23, M806, D183r)
- Ch.1: T,W omit the necessary syllable *'di*, found in K,M,D, from

a frequently repeated stock phrase that requires it; again, K might very easily have added this in a virtually unthinking reflex. (T23, M807, D183v)

- Ch.1: T,W omit the syllable yang, found in K,M,D, from a very frequently repeated stock phrase in which it normally occurs; K might easily have added this without owing anything to M or D. (T29, M813, D185v)
- Ch.1: T,W omit the syllable yang, found in K,M,D, from the same very frequently repeated stock phrase as in the example above; again, K might easily have added this without owing anything to M or D. (T33, M817, D187r)
- Ch.1: T,W read kun bzang dang, K reads kun tu bzang po, M,D read kun tu bzang po dang/. Given the laxness of its scribe, K's reading might almost as easily be a corruption of T,W's as of M,D's. The evidence is not conclusive. (T34, M819, D187v)
- Ch.3: T,W give rdo rje sprul pa, for K,M's rdo rje spun la. Given the context, however, it is obvious even to a little-educated scribe that rdo rje spun la is intended, and that T,W's strange reading is an error. Hence K could agree here with M on the basis of a quite casual conjecture. (T43, M829, D191r)
- Ch.3: T,W read myur gyur, for K,M,D's myur 'grub; yet T,W's reading is clearly incoherent and an identifiable error (an assimilative slip of the pen), while K,M,D's reading is obvious and could be conjectured by the scribe. (T47, M834, D193r)
- Ch.3: T,W read rnal 'dul te/, K reads rnal 'dug te/, M,D read rnal 'dug ste/. Yet T,W's 'dul is incoherent, and to correct it to 'dug is an obvious move, easily conjecturable. (T48, M834, D193r)

- Ch.4: T,W read sna tshas, M snag tshas, while K,D (correctly) read snag tsha; yet since the meaning "ink" is unmistakably demanded here by the context, and the instrumental particle is just as clearly precluded, K could extremely easily have conjectured its correct reading on the basis of the incoherent reading of T,W without owing anything to the tradition of D. (T65, M853, D199r)
- Ch.7: T,W,M read log gi, for K,D's log pa'i; yet K changes readings such as gi to readings such as pa'i so often throughout the text that the agreement here with D might well be coincidental; this can certainly not be taken as conclusive evidence of K owing the reading to the tradition of D. (T82, M871, D206r)
- Ch.7: T,W read 'thor 'thor, M reads 'thor/, K,D read 'thor; this apparent agreement between K and D might just as possibly result from a simple haplography, ie from K omitting one syllable of T,W's reading, rather than from K owing anything to the tradition of M or D. (T85, M876, D207r)
- Ch.8: T,W read thal nu, K,M,D read thar nu; once again, K's agreement with M,D might easily be caused by a fortuitous misreading or casual correction of the tradition of T,W (the reading thar nu is clear by context, and thal can look like thar). (T102, M896, D214v)
- Ch.10: T,W read bsnyen po, K,M read gnyen po, D (correctly) gnyen pos. But T,W's reading is incoherent, and K,M,D's reading not hard to infer; this is not certain evidence of K owing the reading to an affiliation with M or D.(T108, M902, D216v)
- Ch.16: T,W read byang chub 'jam dpal gzhon nu ni/, while K,M,D read byang chub sems dpa' 'jam dpal ni/. Yet this is still not clear evidence of K being influenced by the traditions



of M or D, since each alternate tshig-rkang for many lines above starts with the phrase byang chub sems dpa', and T,W's omission of sems dpa' is obviously anomalous, hence requiring the extended name gzhon nu to repair the metre. K might well have simply decided not to follow the rendering of T and W in its obvious eccentricity here. (T137, M937, D228r)

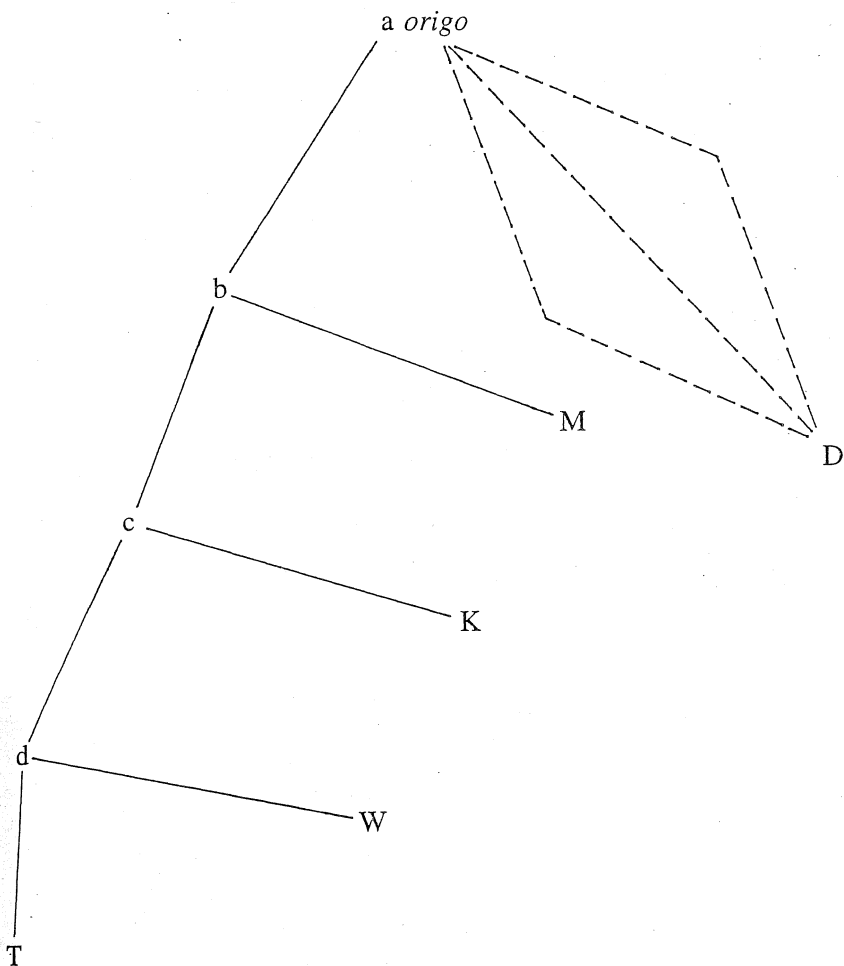
- Ch.18: T,W read lam 'phro, K,M,D read las 'phro; yet T,W are incoherent here, and the reading las 'phro very obvious by context. K might easily have emended lam to las. (T151, M954, D233r)
- Ch.19: T,W read cha'i ba'i, while K,M read 'chi ba'i; yet W shows clear evidence of having been altered to cha'i ba'i from an original reading of 'chi ba'i (it has a lacuna for one letter before cha, with ' subscripted beneath cha, in small writing, positioned by dots). It would be natural for any scribe to want to emend the obscure reading 'cha'i ba'i to the highly obvious (but still incorrect!) 'chi ba'i in this context. It is not quite clear what happened in this interesting instance, but we cannot use this as certain proof that K owes its reading to M. (T156, M959, D235r)
- Ch.19: T reads da lta nyid/, W,M read da lta gnyis/, for K,D's correct da ha gnyis/; yet in this context, when the stock mantras of the Wrathful Deities are mentioned in sequence (hana hana, daha daha, paca paca, etc.), K's correct conjecture is not very remarkable, and need not owe anything to D. (T162, M967, D237v)
- Ch.22: T,W read bkra shis tshang ldan yum mchog gzung/, for K,M,D's bkra shis mtshan ldan yum mchog gzung/; yet to agree with M and D, K had only to make a very simple emendation from T,W's baffling reading to an extremely obvious one. (T183, M993, D245v)

The above examples furnish much of the strongest available evidence to suggest that T,W's shared errors are indicative. If we are to take them as such, they would suggest that K is not descended from the same exemplar as T,W, but is instead descended from a prior hyparchetype, which is the source of a common exemplar of T,W. If K were a text with only few errors overall, this evidence would be quite conclusive. But in the context of K's massive total number of errors, the evidence is not quite strong enough to prove this case with absolute certitude. There still remains a rather slight possibility that we might have a situation in which K does in fact descend from a common exemplar with T,W, but in which a number of coincidental or casual conjectural agreements between K and M or D have occurred that do not necessarily amount to a pattern. Rather, these agreements might be isolated and coincidental: given the huge number of errors in K, the probability is that a number of such coincidental agreements must be expected to occur. Nevertheless, on balance, in this case the combined weight and frequency of T,W's shared errors against K,M,D is probably great enough that we should at least provisionally accept them as indicative, even if there is no individual case (such as a major omission) which is overwhelmingly convincing on its own. It seems unlikely that a poor manuscript like K would emend a text which the copyists of T and W were happy to accept. Hence independent descent is a more likely solution, and K should be provisionally considered as descended from a hyparchetype which was also the ancestor of a common exemplar of T and W, rather than as descended from the same exemplar as T and W. This is the position we shall hold until further evidence comes to light.<sup>4</sup>

All in all (barring contamination), the evidence seems to support a relationship between the texts as demonstrated in the following stemma codicum, in which the editions are represented by their sigla in capital letters, and putative exemplars or hyparchetypes by lower case letters.

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<sup>4</sup> Thanks to Paul Harrison for helping me to this conclusion (personal communication, February 18th, 1994).



Of course, unknown intermediate copies could have occurred at any point on the stemma, and these cannot be indicated. Origo (a) represents the final codification of the Phur-pa bcu-gnyis in its present form, an event which was probably complete by the time of Ratna gling-pa, and possibly much earlier.

The status of D remains problematic, and this uncertainty is

reflected in the *stemma codicum*. According to current rNying-ma-pa tradition, it was prepared by the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita from Kaḥ-thog, 'Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub, on the basis of the revised manuscript version of the NGB prepared by 'Jigs-med gling-pa. If correct, this would most likely give at least two straightforward copying operations and either one or two editorial processes, between the text used by 'Jigs-med gling-pa as his exemplar (perhaps, if traditional accounts can be relied upon, the texts bequeathed by Ratna gling-pa), and the sDe-dge xylograph as we have it today. The copying operations would be those carried out by 'Jigs-med gling-pa's disciples at sMin-grol-gling, to make a copy of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's new manuscript to take to Khams (assuming, that is, they did not take the original, which is also possible); and then a further copying operation, as a manuscript text was transposed to wood-blocks in sDe-dge. The editorial operations would be the one carried out by 'Jigs-med gling-pa at sMin-grol-gling, and possibly another one carried out by the dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita from Kaḥ-thog. Unfortunately, however, it is not yet entirely clear what 'Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub's editorial contribution amounted to; although he does state his editorial principles in his dkar-chag, this is a difficult matter to go into. Tibetan notions of editorship include both organisational and literary activities, and we know, from their respective dkar-chag, that 'Jigs-med gling-pa and Tshe-dbang mchog-grub proposed different arrangements of the texts within the NGB. But it remains unclear to what degree 'Gyur-med tshe-dbang mchog-grub actually corrected and rewrote the literary contents of the NGB in the way that 'Jigs-med gling-pa is said to have done. To complicate matters further, there is also good reason to believe that Tshe-dbang mchog-grub's home monastery of Kaḥ-thog (very near sDe-dge) also preserved at least one comparatively old copy of the NGB; for example, as we have seen above, the earliest manuscript versions of the NGB in Bhutan date from the 16th century, when the NGB transmission was bestowed by the Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan at O-rgyan-rtse-mo, sPa-gro sTag-tshang, which was at the time a Kaḥ-thog-pa foundation. Could some material from some such Kaḥ-thog-pa NGB tradition have found its way into the sDe-dge NGB? Could other NGB traditions, either those already known to us or those as yet unknown to us, also have been employed

to produce the sDe-dge xylographs? If the sDe-dge NGB was produced by more or less the same institution that produced the conflated sDe-dge Kanjur of 1733,<sup>5</sup> might we not expect this to be the case?

According to tradition in the form of Dil-mgo mKhyen-brtse Rin-po-che's Introduction to the reprint of the gTing-skyes dgon-pa byang NGB, no such contamination is mentioned: the sDe-dge NGB is simply the revised NGB of 'Jigs-med gling-pa committed to woodblocks through the agency of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's Khams-pa chos-bdag, rDo-grub chen, sponsored by rDo-grub's consort, the queen of sDe-dge, albeit rearranged and with a new index prepared by Tshed-bang mchog-grub. In the light of our stemma, this is certainly by no means an altogether impossible scenario, but neither can internal text-critical evidence confirm it at present.<sup>6</sup> What we can rule out, however, is any hypothesis to the effect that D was prepared exclusively on the basis of a revision of one of our other extant texts which are or are claimed to be very old, ie M and T, for both of these contain quite long omissions unique to themselves which no editor of D could have reconstructed without recourse to another exemplar.<sup>7</sup>

In conclusion, a strong caveat must be uttered: the present study appears to be the first attempt ever made either to create a stemma for a text unique to the NGB, and as such must be considered highly provisional. It is also not known how many more editions of the NGB will eventually become available, and such new data could cast an entirely new light on the picture. Nor has the possibility of the recension being open been eliminated, in which case all the conclusions presented here will be compromised; and although no direct evidence for contamination has been identified as yet, it would be foolish to rule out the possibility at such an early stage of research.

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<sup>5</sup> See Harrison 1994:295.

<sup>6</sup> It should also be noted that Khyentse Rinpoche's traditional version as presented here is probably a deliberately simplified version of a very much more complex history of the NGB, considered excessively complicated for a preface.

<sup>7</sup> Thanks to Paul Harrison for his suggestions on how to deal with this section concerning D (personal communication, February 18th, 1994).

For example, the considerations that M might have received some readings from predecessors of D, or the nature of the contamination of D, must be resolved before the above stemma can be considered proven. Furthermore, it must be reiterated that although this stemma might turn out to be indicative for the NGB as a whole, it is in general methodologically quite unsound to extrapolate conclusions about entire corpora from the study of single samples: as Helmut Eimer has so clearly pointed out, we must proceed text by text. Nevertheless, the different transmissional groupings of one NGB text have probably been established with some partial degree of accuracy by this study, which is perhaps as much as one can hope for at such an early stage of research.

## CONVENTIONS USED IN THE EDITION

[1] The basic transcription system I have used is self-evident and needs no explanation: the transcriptions of standard text and my renderings of the many scribal contractions are both obvious enough to anyone familiar with Tibetan block-prints and manuscripts.

[2] The apparatus utilises the syllabic nature of Tibetan **pronunciation**. The syllable[s] in a footnote or an endnote represent an exactly equal number of syllables in the text, ie. those immediately preceding the note letter or number. For example, any three syllables in a footnote, eg. "<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M a.b.c", represent T,W,K,M's reading of the equivalent three syllables in the text, eg. "x.y.z.<sup>a</sup>". In the case of scribal abbreviations, "(1) K: thamd;" gives K's reading for "thams.cad.<sup>1</sup>" in the text. Whenever numbers of syllables are asymmetrical, this is clearly specified: "<sup>b</sup> T,W,K a.b.c for l.m.n.o.p.q.r", would mean that T,W,K read a.b.c, where M,D read l.m.n.o.p.q.r. Diphthongs, such as those with the genitive particle, can count as either one or two syllables, depending on context.

[3] My handling of punctuation requires explanation. Firstly, I have included the *tsheg*, indicating it with a full-stop; and secondly, I have split up the double *shad*, to make the second *shad* append itself to the initial syllable of the following *yig rkang*. With both these styles, I follow the Tibetan texts far more slavishly than is usually the case in transliterated text. This of course presents few problems other than stylistic ones in the case of the *tsheg*. However, it rather unusually privileges style above concept in the case of the second *shad*; in other words, I follow the well-nigh universal stylistic device of the Tibetan scribes themselves in attaching the second *shad* to the beginning of the following *yig rkang*, in defiance of the conceptual grammatical understanding of it as belonging at the end of the preceding *yig rkang*. Both of these unusual features in my transcription have been done with word-processing technology in mind: they will make it possible to more easily convert this edition into Tibetan fonts that native Tibetan speakers can read with little difficulty. I feel this is an important consideration because very few Tibetan scholars can read

the numerous Western transcriptions of their texts except with extreme difficulty, be they into the popular Wylie system, or any other. So admittedly the inclusion of the *tsheg* in transcription by indicating it with a full-stop is less elegant than the more popular method of leaving a space, but this is done in a good cause, and hopefully it is at least partly offset by following the rather more elegant scribal etiquette of attaching the second *shad* to the following *yig rkang*.

[4] The footnotes marked by superscripted letters (eg. <sup>a</sup>) are used to report two different items:

- (i) the shared variant readings of the other editions against D
- (ii) the single readings of the important witness M

[5] The endnotes marked by superscripted numbers (eg. <sup>1</sup>) are used to report the single readings of T,W,K; these are found at the end of each chapter.

[6] As mentioned above, I have used asterisks immediately preceding some footnote letters within the main text (eg. <sup>\*b</sup>) to indicate occasions where I have found readings among the other editions which I consider preferable to those of D, or where I have suggested my own emendations not found in any of the other editions. The text within these footnotes is printed in **bold**.

[7] Finally, I should point out that in collating these texts, I have very deliberately erred on the side of what some readers might consider excessive detail: items not usually collated, such as punctuation, scribal contractions or corrections, the size of lacunae, and a description of ink-blots, have all been included. I considered this might be worthwhile given the exploratory nature of this edition; besides, it is the method normally used in a diplomatic transcription. No doubt subsequent studies can dispense with many of the details I have included here, but in this pioneering study, I felt an unusual degree of rigour might prove profitable.

[8] The *rin chen spungs shad* is used by some of the editions and reported in the apparatus. In all cases, they are the "simple" type of *rin*



*chen spungs shad* comprising one, two or three dots above a curly line which can curl either to the left or right, ie resembling either the roman letter c or a comma. The more complex or formal type of *rin chen spungs shad*, comprising a straight vertical line surmounted by three neat dots, is not indicated unless otherwise stated.

GCIG

D176r T2 W1v

//rgya.gar.skad.du/

kī.la.ya.dwā.da.sha.tantra.ma.hā.yā.na.sū.tra/<sup>a</sup>

K137v M786

bod.skad.du/

phur.ba.bcu.gnyis.kyi.rgyud.ces.byā.ba.theḡ.pa.chen.po'i.mdo/<sup>\*b</sup><sup>c</sup>bam.po.thog.ma.<sup>d</sup>zug.<sup>l</sup>pa/

dpal.bde.ba.chen.po.la.phyag.'tshal.lo/

W2r

/<sup>e</sup>di.skad.bdag.gis.<sup>2</sup>thos.pa.<sup>f</sup>dus.gcig.na/bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.gsum.gyi.<sup>3</sup>bdag.po/<sup>g</sup>spros.pa.med.pa'i.byang.chub.kyi.sems.rdo.rje/<sup>h</sup>phyogs.<sup>4</sup>bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>5</sup>de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thams.cad.<sup>6</sup>kyi.sku.rnam.par.dag.pa'i.bdag.nyid/<sup>i</sup>gnyis.su.<sup>7</sup>med.pa.las.<sup>8</sup>byung.ba'i.padma.chen.po/<sup>j</sup>


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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K kī.lā.ya.dwā.di.sha.du.ye.tantra.ma.hā.(W,K:mahā)ya.na/; M kī.la.ya.dwada.sha.du.ye.tantra.mahā.ya.na/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K **phur.pa**.bcu.gnyis.kyi.rgyud.ces.byā.ba'i.mdo/; M **phur.pa**.kī.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.rgyud.ces.byā.ba'i.mdo/ **More usually, phur.pa is seen as the correct form.**

<sup>c</sup> W,M insert /

<sup>d</sup> M mar

<sup>e</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

spros.pa.dang.bral.ba'i.gsung.rdo.rje.lta.bu.la.mnga'.brnyes.pa/<sup>a</sup>  
 /<sup>b</sup>yd.bzhin.gyi.<sup>c</sup>nor.bu.rin.po.che/<sup>d</sup>  
 thams.cad.<sup>9</sup>'byung.ba'i.<sup>e</sup>rgyal.pos\*<sup>f</sup>  
<sup>g</sup>thams.cad.<sup>10</sup>la.rgyas.par.mdzad.pa/<sup>h</sup>  
 phrin.<sup>i</sup>las.thams.cad.<sup>11</sup>longs.\*<sup>j</sup>su.rdzogs.pa'i.mnga'.bdag.gi.  
 rgyal.po/<sup>12</sup>  
<sup>k</sup>dam.tshig.thams.cad.<sup>13</sup>nye.bar.son.pa'i.bdag.po<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>gsang.ba.gnyis.su.med.pa'i.sngags.la.mnga'.brnyes.<sup>14</sup>pa/  
 gsang.ba.bzhi'i.ngo.bo.nyid.du.gyur.<sup>15</sup>pa'i.rgyal.po/  
<sup>n</sup>nyon.mongs.pa.rnams.rab.tu.'joms.shing.<sup>16</sup>rnam.par.dag.\*<sup>o</sup>  
 pa'i.bdag.nyid/  
 sku.gsung.thugs.yon.tan.'phrin.<sup>17</sup>las.lngas.kun.tu.'dul.ba'i.sgo.  
 yangs.<sup>18</sup>par.mdzad.pa/<sup>p</sup>

T3

W2v

<sup>a</sup> T bsnyes.pa/; K bsnyes.pas/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> W omits gyi; K gyis

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert gnas.kyi

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K po/ since the text indicates a simple list of epithets, T,W,K seem more correct here.

<sup>g</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> W,M 'phrin

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M yongs

<sup>k</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>m</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>n</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M insert par.mdzad

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K omit pa

<sup>19</sup>dus.gsum.gyi. <sup>20</sup>chos.thams.cad. <sup>21</sup>ma.lus.mi<sup>22</sup>.lus.lus.<sup>a</sup>pa.med.  
pa'i.mnga'.bdag/<sup>b</sup>

W3r

/<sup>23</sup>rol.pa'i.mdzad.spyod.rdzu.'phrul.rnam.pa.sna.tshogs.par.sprul.

nas.sems.can.gyi. <sup>24</sup>don.mdzad.pa.la.mnga'.brnyes.<sup>c</sup>pa.ni/

T4

'og.min.gyi. <sup>25</sup>gnas.gnyis.su.med.pa. <sup>26</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi. <sup>27</sup>

M787

dkiyl.'khor.chen.po.<sup>d</sup>gsang.ba'i.gnas/<sup>e</sup>

btsun.<sup>28</sup>mo'i.bha.ga/<sup>f</sup>

/<sup>g</sup>pho.brang.lhun.gyis.grub.pa.<sup>h</sup>thams.cad. <sup>29</sup>kyis.\*<sup>i</sup>

longs.spyod.kyis.brgyan. <sup>30</sup>pa/

dur. <sup>31</sup>khrod.kyi.gzhal.yas.khang/<sup>j</sup>

ye.nas.rnam.par.dag.pa'i.padma.kha.dog.sna.tshogs<sup>32</sup>.pa.dang/

K138r

dbyibs.sna.tshogs.pas.brgyan.pa/

<sup>33</sup>yon.tan.dpag.cing.gzhal.ba.las.'das.pa'i.gzhal.yas.khang.<sup>k</sup>

rin.po.che'i.rgyan.rnam.pa.<sup>l</sup>sna.tshogs.pas. <sup>34</sup>phyi.dang.<sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup>nang.

med.pa.phyogs.bcu.ru.'khrigs.shing.rnam.par.bklubs.<sup>m</sup>pa/

W3v

<sup>37</sup>thog.ma.dang. <sup>38</sup>tha. <sup>39</sup>ma.med.par. <sup>40</sup>rang.'byung.<sup>n</sup>ba.na/

D176v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit lus

<sup>b</sup> T,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,K bsnyes

<sup>d</sup> T,W insert //; K inserts /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T inserts //, W,K /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M kyi

<sup>j</sup> M omits /

<sup>k</sup> T inserts //; K inserts /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M omit rnam.pa

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M klubs

<sup>n</sup> M byung

<sup>41</sup>mal.'byor.gyi.<sup>42</sup>dbang.phyug.rgyal.ba.rigs.lnga'i.sangs.rgyas.<sup>43</sup>  
 kyis.\*<sup>a</sup>nam.kha'i.<sup>b</sup>mtha'.klas.pa/<sup>c</sup>  
 rgyal.ba.sangs.rgyas.<sup>44</sup>kyi.btsun.mo.dam.pa.la.sogs.te.  
 mal.'byor.ma.chen.mo.dang.<sup>d</sup>nal.'byor.chen.po.gnyis.su.med.pa.  
 las.sprul.pa'i.<sup>e</sup>sems.dpa'i.tshogs.btsun.mo'i.\*<sup>f</sup>sems.ma.dang.bcas.  
 pa.dang/  
 gzhan.yang.sprul.pa.dang<sup>45</sup>sprul.pa.las.gyur.<sup>46</sup>pa'i.sras.kyi.tshogs.  
 brjod.<sup>47</sup>du.med.pa'i.yang.brjod.du.med.pa/<sup>g</sup>  
 zhing.gi.rdul.<sup>48</sup>snyed.dang.\*<sup>h</sup>thabs.cig.<sup>i</sup>tu.bsnyel.ba.<sup>j</sup>mi.mnga'.bar.  
 bzhugs.pa.ni/<sup>k</sup>  
 tshul.rnam.pa.bzhis.<sup>49</sup>kun.la.khyab.par.bzhugs.so/  
 /rol.pa.byang.chub.kyi.<sup>50</sup>sems.kyis.<sup>51</sup>kyang.til.gyi.gang.bu.bzhin.<sup>52\*</sup><sup>l</sup>  
 kun.la.khyab.<sup>53</sup>par.bzhugs.so/<sup>54</sup>  
 /mam.pa'i.khyad.par.gyis.bzhugs.so/<sup>55</sup>  
 /'khor.gyi.<sup>m</sup>dkyil.'khor.de.nyid.kyi.<sup>56</sup>nang.nas.kyang/<sup>n</sup>

T5

W4r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M kyi

<sup>b</sup> T,K namkha'i

<sup>c</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>d</sup> T inserts / /; W,K,M /

<sup>e</sup> T,K,M pa; W pa/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M mo

<sup>g</sup> T,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K gcig

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K bsnyem, M bsnyems.pa, for bsnyel.ba

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M insert du

<sup>m</sup> T,W gyis

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K omit /

mal.'byor.gyi.<sup>57</sup>dbang.phyug.chen.po/<sup>a</sup>  
 rdo.rje.chos.dang/<sup>b</sup>  
 btsun.mo.stong.pa.dang.<sup>c</sup>bcas.pa.gnyis.su.med.pa'i.tshul.du.\*<sup>d</sup>  
 nmam.par.dag.pa'i.rang.bzhin.<sup>e</sup>gyis/<sup>f</sup>  
 bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.<sup>g</sup>spyan.snga.na.\*<sup>h</sup>rab.tu.mdzes.ba'i.\*<sup>i</sup>tshul.  
 bzung.nas/<sup>j</sup>  
 bka'.nod.cing.spobs.<sup>58</sup>pa.can.du.bzhugs.so/<sup>59</sup>  
 /de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>60</sup>bdag.po.des<sup>61</sup>/<sup>k</sup>  
 phyi.dang.nang.dang.\*<sup>l</sup>snang.ba.thams.cad.<sup>62</sup>la.<sup>63</sup>ma.bcos.pa'i.  
 spyan.gyis.<sup>m</sup>so.so'i.bye.brag.gi.dbang.<sup>64</sup>du.gzigs.so/  
 /de.bzhin.du.byang.chub.sems.dpa'i.<sup>65</sup>\*<sup>n</sup>khyad.par.du.yang.  
 gzigs.so/  
 /de.bzhin.du.phyogs.bcu'i.rgyal.ba.sangs.rgyas.<sup>66</sup>grangs.med.  
 cing.bgrang.ba.<sup>67</sup>las.'das.pa'i.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>68</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>69</sup>la.  
 yang.gzigs.so/

M788

T6

K138v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit chen.po/

<sup>b</sup> T,K,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W stod.pa, K stong.dang, for stong.pa.dang

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit du

<sup>e</sup> M inserts can

<sup>f</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K kyis

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M sngar for D's snga.na

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M du

<sup>m</sup> T,W gyi

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M insert sa'i

/spyan.rnam.par.dag.pa'i.rdzu.'phrul.gyis/<sup>a</sup>

kun.la.khyab.cing.so.so'i.bye.brag.tu.gzigs.so/

/rnam.par.gzigs.so/

/rnam.par.gzigs.nas/<sup>b</sup>

chos.thams.cad.<sup>70</sup>ma.bcos.pa'i.<sup>c</sup>de.bzhin.<sup>d</sup>nyid.la.<sup>e</sup>mnal.<sup>f</sup>te/

sgra.\*<sup>g</sup>bsam.las.'das.pa/<sup>h</sup>

gang.gi.<sup>71</sup>ngo.bor.yang.<sup>i72</sup>grub.pa.ma.yin.cing/<sup>j</sup>

bcos.pa.<sup>k</sup>ma.yin.pa'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.bzhugs.<sup>l</sup>so/

/de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.myang.nagan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>73</sup>

bcos.ma.\*<sup>m</sup>yin.par.gyur.ba.<sup>n</sup>ni/<sup>o</sup>

D177r

des.\*<sup>p</sup>nam.kha'i.<sup>74</sup>mtshan.nyid.kyis.<sup>q</sup>kyang.dpag.tu.rung.ba.ma.

yin.pa'o/<sup>75</sup>

/de.nas.yum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>76</sup>spyan.gyis.kyang.bcom.ltan.'das.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K kyang, M nas.kyang, .for nas/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>d</sup> T,W bzhi

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K las

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M rnal

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M smra

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K kyang

<sup>j</sup> T,W pa'; K,M pa

<sup>k</sup> M ma

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M zhugs

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M insert ma

<sup>n</sup> K,M pa

<sup>o</sup> T,K,M omit /

<sup>p</sup> T,K,M dpe, probably for dper.na

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K omit kyis

gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.dgongs.<sup>78</sup>pa.bcos.ma.ma.yin.pa.la.  
mnal.<sup>a</sup>bzhin.du.sems.can.<sup>79</sup>gyi.<sup>80</sup>don.du.glu.'dis.<sup>81</sup>bskul.to/<sup>b</sup>  
/e.ma.ho<sup>c</sup>/<sup>d</sup>

M789

/<sup>e</sup>ma.bcos.spros.med.rnam.dag.klong.yangs.nas/  
/khyab.pa'i.snying.rje.'byung.bar.<sup>f</sup>mi.dmigs.<sup>g</sup>kyang/  
/<sup>82</sup>sngon.gyi.<sup>83</sup>smon.lam.rjes.su.<sup>84</sup>dgongs.mdzad.nas/<sup>\*h</sup>  
/khyab.pa'i.snying.rje.chen.po.nam.mkhar.<sup>j</sup>ston/  
/zhes.bskul.bas/<sup>k</sup>

W5r

gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des.<sup>85</sup>bskul.bar.mkhyen.nas/<sup>l</sup>  
bcos.ma.ma.yin.pa'i.ngang.las.g-yos.<sup>m</sup>te/  
<sup>86</sup>'khor.ba.dang.<sup>87</sup>mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>88</sup>la.<sup>n</sup>  
snying.rje.chen.pos.<sup>o</sup>kun.la.khyab.pa'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
snyoms<sup>89</sup>.par.zhugs.<sup>p</sup>so/  
/de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M rnal

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>c</sup> M e.ma'o

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>g</sup> T,W dmig

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M na/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M che.ba'i

<sup>j</sup> W,K namkhar

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> M bzhengs

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit la

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K po

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K bzhugs



nam.mkha'i.<sup>a</sup>ngo.bo.tsam.du.gnas.par.gyur.to/<sup>91</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.yum.gos.dkar.mos.ma.<sup>b</sup>g-yos.pa'i.ngang.las.

T7

glu.'dis.<sup>c</sup>bskul.to/<sup>d</sup>

/e.ma.ho<sup>e</sup>/<sup>f</sup>

/<sup>92</sup>kun.la.khyab.pa'i.snying.rje.chen.po.'di/\*<sup>g9394</sup>

/ma.ltar.byams.shing.thugs.rjes.kun.la.'dzin/<sup>h</sup>

K139r

/ma.bsgribs.gsal.ba'i.thugs.rje'i.<sup>i</sup>dbyings.nyid.las/<sup>j</sup>

/bde.mchog.long.spyod.bdag.la.bstan.du.gsol/

/ho.zhes.rnam.par.bskul.to/<sup>k</sup>

/de.nas.bcom.ltan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.pos.bskul.<sup>l</sup>

bar.mkhyen.nas/<sup>m</sup>

W5v

nam.mkha'.<sup>n</sup>brjod.med.kyi.ngang.las.rig.pa.<sup>o</sup>brjod.pa'i.<sup>95</sup>cho.

'phrul.snying.rje'<sup>p</sup>i<sup>p</sup>.dbang.gis.rnam.par.phyung.ste/<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit ma

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K 'di

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>e</sup> M e.ma'o-

<sup>f</sup> T,M omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M 'dis/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K thugs.rje(K:rje'i).dbyings.nyid.las/, omitting the next line (*saut du même au même*, cf. thugs.rje)

<sup>i</sup> M rje

<sup>j</sup> M nas/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>l</sup> T,W skul

<sup>m</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K reg.pa; M reg.pa'i

<sup>p</sup> T,W rjes; K rje

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K te; M ste

rnam.par.gsal.bar.mdzad.pa'i.gzi.brjid.ni<sup>a</sup>.<sup>96</sup>nam.mkha'i.<sup>b</sup>  
 dbyings.rum.nas.<sup>97</sup>nyi.ma.'bum.dus.cig.<sup>98</sup>tu.<sup>c</sup>shar.ba'i.'od.  
 zer.lta.bur.\*<sup>d</sup>rdo.rje'i.\*<sup>e</sup>sku.mngon.du.phyung.<sup>99</sup>ngo/  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>f</sup>yum.mā.ma.kīs.<sup>g</sup>sku.mngon.du.gsal.ba'i.  
 ngang.las.<sup>h</sup>glu.'dis.bskul.to/\*<sup>i</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho/<sup>j</sup>  
 /<sup>k</sup>rig.pa'i.sku.mchog.rnam.par.gsal.ba.ni/  
 /yongs.su.<sup>100</sup>gsal.zhing.dri.ma.rnams.<sup>l</sup>dang.bral/  
 /thugs.rje.chen.pos.sems.can.<sup>101</sup>don.mdzad.pa/  
 /sprul.pa'i.sku.mchog.bdag.la.bstan.du.gsol/  
 /ho.<sup>m</sup>zhes.rnam.par.bskul.to/<sup>n</sup>  
 /de.nas.bcom.ltan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des.<sup>o</sup>bskul.  
 bar.mkhyen.nas<sup>p/q</sup>

M790

D177v

<sup>a</sup> M inserts /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K bu'i; M omits zer.lta.bu'i/bur; T,W,K seem better

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M rdo.rje

<sup>f</sup> M yab

<sup>g</sup> T,W ma.ma.kis; K ma.mā.kis; M mā.ma.kis

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ba.la for ba'i.ngang.las

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>j</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>k</sup> M omits /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K rnam

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K hūṃ

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M pos for po.des

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K omit bskul.bar.mkhyen.nas/

<sup>q</sup> M omits /

longs.spyod.rdzogs.pa'i.sku.las.rnam.par.sprul.te.<sup>a</sup>

sku.cha.gnyis.su.<sup>b</sup>rnam.par.gsal.bar.gyur.to/<sup>102</sup>

/de.nas.\*<sup>c</sup>yum.dam.tshig.sgrol.mas.longs.spyod.rdzogs.pa'i.

sku.cha.gnyis.su.<sup>103</sup>snang.ba'i.ngang.las.<sup>d</sup>glu.'di.blangs.so/\*<sup>c</sup>

/e.ma.ho/<sup>f</sup>

/#longs.spyod.rdzogs.pa'i.sku.mchog.gsal.ba.las/

/kun.la.khyab.pa'i.cho.'phrul.sna.tshogs.pa/

/ma.bsgribs.<sup>h</sup>snyoms.pa'i.thugs.rjes.<sup>i</sup>khyab.mdzad.cing/

/rol.<sup>104</sup>pa'i.sku.mchog.bdag.la.bstan.du.gsol/

/ho/<sup>j</sup>zhes.rnam.par.bskul.to/<sup>k</sup>

/de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.pos.\*<sup>l</sup>bskul.

bar.mkhyen.nas/

<sup>105</sup>sku.cha.gnis.su.\*<sup>m</sup>bzhugs.pa.de'i.ngang.las.khams.gsum.gyi.<sup>n</sup>

sems.can.<sup>106</sup>la.thugs.rje'i.<sup>107</sup>dbang.gis.rnam.par.sprul.<sup>o</sup>pa.\*<sup>p</sup>

W6r

T8

K139v

<sup>a</sup> W,M insert /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit su

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M de.la, K la, for las

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M 'dis.bskul.lo/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> M omits /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K sgribs

<sup>i</sup> T,W rje; K rje'i

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K pos.des, M po.des; M seems preferable

<sup>m</sup> T,K gnyisu, W,M gnyis.su

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M 'phrul

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K par; M bar

mdzad.do/

/de.nas.yang.<sup>a</sup>yum.kun.tu.bzang.mos.<sup>108</sup>mdzes.pa'i.mdangs.<sup>109</sup>  
phyung.ste/<sup>b</sup>

mdzes.pa'i.smin.ma.bsgyur.nas/<sup>\*c</sup>

<sup>110</sup>spyan.mdzes.pas.blta.te/<sup>d</sup>

<sup>111</sup>rmad.du.byung.<sup>112</sup>ba'i.mchod.pas.mchod.cing/<sup>e</sup>

glu.<sup>f</sup>dang.<sup>g</sup>gar.gyi.<sup>113</sup>bye.brag.dang.<sup>114</sup>\*<sup>h</sup>nam.par.mdzes.<sup>115</sup>shing/<sup>i</sup>  
dgyes.pa.<sup>j</sup>bskyed.pa'i.glu.<sup>116</sup>dis.bskul.to/<sup>k</sup>

/e.ma.ho/<sup>l</sup>yongs.su.<sup>117</sup>rdzogs.pa'i.sku.mchog.ma.bsgribs.<sup>m</sup>gsal/

/thams.cad.<sup>118</sup>kun.la.snyoms.pa'i.thugs.<sup>119</sup>rjes.<sup>n</sup>dzin/

/ma.bsgribs.<sup>o</sup>longs.spyod.rdzogs.pa'i.sku.gnyis.gsal/<sup>120</sup>

/sprul.pa'i.rol.pa.bdag.la.bstan.du.gsol/

/ho/<sup>p</sup>zhes.nam.par.bskul.bas/

<sup>121</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>122</sup>bdag.pos.bskul.bar.mkhyen.nas/

M791

W6v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit yang

<sup>b</sup> T,M,K omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M te/

<sup>d</sup> M omits /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W klu

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit dang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M gis

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>j</sup> T dge.ba; W,K dges.pa

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M omit //

<sup>m</sup> T,K sgribs; W sgrib

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M rje

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K sgribs

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

rol.pa'i.sku.zhal.gsum.par.snang.zhing/<sup>a</sup>  
 /<sup>b</sup>ye.shes.kyi.rdo.rje.rtse.dgu.pa.can.lta.bu.dus.gsum.<sup>123</sup>gyi.  
 sangs.rgyas.yab.yum.<sup>124</sup>sras.dang.bcas.par.gzigs.par.gyur.to/<sup>125</sup>  
 /de.nas.\*<sup>c</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des<sup>126/d</sup>  
 'khor.<sup>e</sup>yongs.su.<sup>127</sup>bsdu.ba.rnam.par.dag.<sup>f</sup>pa'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>128</sup>so/<sup>129</sup>  
 /de.nas.chos.nyid.kyi.<sup>130</sup>gsung.dri.ma.med.pa'i.sgra.hūṃ.hūṃ.  
 hūṃ.zhes.brjod.pas/  
 'khor.gyi.<sup>131</sup>dgyil.\*<sup>g</sup>'khor.de.dag.thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>nyid.<sup>132</sup>kyi.<sup>133</sup>sku.  
 la.bsdu.bar.mdzad.do/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>134</sup>bdag.po.de.\*<sup>i</sup>rnam.pa.sna.  
 tshogs.kyi.gsang.ba.gsum.<sup>135</sup>gyi.\*<sup>j</sup>glu.dang/<sup>k</sup>  
 mgo'i.gar.dang/<sup>l</sup>  
 lag.pa'i.gar.dang/<sup>m</sup>  
 sked.<sup>n</sup>pa'i.gar.dang/

D178r

T9

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>b</sup> T,W,M omit /<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>e</sup> T,W,K 'khor.ba for 'khor<sup>f</sup> M lacuna for about five letters<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M dkyil<sup>h</sup> T,K thamd<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M des<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M gyis<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit glu.dang/<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit /<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M skyed

brdeg.pa.dang/<sup>a</sup>

yongs.su.<sup>b</sup>bstim.\*<sup>c</sup>pa.dang/

nam.par.sbyor.ba.dang/<sup>d</sup>

rab.tu.<sup>136</sup>khyud.<sup>137</sup>pa.dang/

nam.par.brtse.ba.\*<sup>e</sup>dang/<sup>f</sup>

rol.pa'i.rtsed.pos.yum.rnams.\*<sup>g</sup>la.smin.ma.mdzes.par.

bteg.ste/<sup>h</sup>

K140r M792

zhal.shin.tu.'dzum.bag.dang.bcas.shing<sup>138</sup>/<sup>i</sup>

spyam.'phra.<sup>139</sup>bar.bsnyen.te/<sup>j</sup>k

zur.gyis.gzigs.te/<sup>l</sup>

yang.chags.pa.chen.po'i.ting.'dzin.<sup>m</sup>la.snyoms.par.zhugs.te<sup>140</sup>/<sup>n</sup>

cang.mi.gsung.bar.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.\*<sup>o</sup>kun.tu.bzang.mos.<sup>141</sup>zhal.'dzum.bag.dang.bcas.

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>b</sup> W,K yongsu

<sup>c</sup> All editions give bstim, yet the future tense seems improbable here and bstims seems preferable.

<sup>d</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M rtsed.pa

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M mos.yab.yum.rnams, K mo'i.yab.yum, probably for mos.yum.rnams

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,K bsnyed.de/ W bsnyad.de/

<sup>k</sup> M omits /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M ting.nge.'dzin for ting.'dzin

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M insert yum

shing/<sup>a</sup>

mig.zim.<sup>142</sup>bag.gis.\*<sup>b</sup>zur.mig.gis.bltas.te/

<sup>143</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.la.chags.pa'i.glu.'dis.bskul.to/<sup>c</sup>

/e.ma.ho/<sup>d</sup>

/<sup>e</sup>yang.dag.rmad.byung.bde.ba'i.sku.mchog.las/

/kun.la.khyab.pa'i.thugs.rjes.<sup>f</sup>gar.mdzad.cing/

/bdag.gi.<sup>g</sup>gsang.ba'i.\*<sup>h</sup>yum.gyi.<sup>144</sup>bha.ga.ru/

/dri.med.bsil.<sup>i</sup>ba'i.bdud.rtsi'<sup>j</sup>i.char.chen.phob/<sup>k</sup>

/ho/<sup>145</sup>zhes.rnam.par.<sup>m</sup>bskul.lo/

/de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>146</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>n</sup>

bskul.bar.mkhyen.nas/

gsang.ba'i.<sup>o</sup>rol.pa'i.ting.nge.'<sup>147</sup>las.glu.'dis.bskul.to/<sup>\*p</sup>

/e.ma.ho/<sup>q</sup>

W7r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M dbang.gi in place of D's gis

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W rje; K rje'i

<sup>g</sup> T,W gis

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>i</sup> T sil; K gsil

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M rtsi

<sup>k</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit rnam.par

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>a</sup>ma.bcos.<sup>148</sup>bde.ba.chen.po'i.dbyings.nyid.ni/  
 /kun.'byung.rgyan.<sup>149</sup>gyis.mdzes.pa'i.padma.<sup>b</sup>ru/  
 /bde.ba.thugs.kyi.rdo.rje.byang.chub.sems/  
 /mu.tig.dkar.po'i.char.phab.\*<sup>c</sup>rgyun.mi.'chad/<sup>d</sup>  
 /<sup>e</sup>ho.<sup>f</sup>zhes.ched.du.glengs.so/<sup>150</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.yum.gyis.<sup>g</sup>thabs.mchog.yab.kyi.<sup>151</sup>byang.chub.  
 kyi.sems.\*<sup>h</sup>rnam.par.bskul.ba'i.glu.'di.blangs.so/<sup>i</sup> T10  
 /a.ho/  
 /<sup>j</sup>gsang.ba.byang.chub.sems.ni.dri.ma.med/  
 /dus.gsum.rgyal.ba.rnams.kyi.de.kho.na/  
 /ma.bsgribs.<sup>k</sup>gsal.zhing.yang.dag.'od.zer.'phro/ M793  
 /sangs.rgyas.sems.can.<sup>152</sup>kun.gyi.rgyu.chen.po/<sup>153</sup>  
 /<sup>l</sup>ho.<sup>m154</sup>zhes.rnam.par.bskul.to/<sup>n</sup>  
 /de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>155</sup>  
 byang.chub.kyi.<sup>156</sup>sems.'ba'.zhig.tu.gnas.par.gyur.to/ D178v

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M bha.ga

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M 'bab

<sup>d</sup> T,K chad/

<sup>e</sup> T,K omit // or /

<sup>f</sup> T,M insert // , K inserts /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K gyi

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M insert la

<sup>i</sup> T,K blangso/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit // or /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K sgribs

<sup>l</sup> T,M omit //

<sup>m</sup> T,M insert //

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bskul.lo/



/de.nas.yang.\*<sup>a</sup>yum.gyi.byang.chub.kyi.<sup>157</sup>sems.la.bskul.ba'i.  
 glu.'di.blangs.so/  
 /a.ho/  
 /<sup>b</sup>ma.chags.padma.dbang.gi.<sup>158</sup>byang.chub.sems/  
 /skyon.gyis.ma.gos.gdod.<sup>c</sup>nas.rnam.par.dag/  
 /dus.gsum.rgyal.ba.rnams.kyi.dgyes.pa'i.<sup>d</sup>yum/  
 /bde.chen.rang.byung.<sup>e</sup>'od.kyis.chags.par.bya/  
 /ho.zhes.rnam.<sup>159</sup>par.bskul.lo/  
 /de.nas.yang.de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang<sup>160</sup>.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.  
 chos.thams.cad.<sup>161</sup>gnyis.su.med.pa'i.ngang.las.ma.g-yos.te.  
 chags.pa'i.rang.bzhin.<sup>162</sup>du.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba'i.bdag.pos.\*<sup>f</sup>gnyis.su.med.pa'i.ting.nge.  
 'dzin.<sup>163</sup>la.snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>g</sup>nas/  
 yang.gsang.ba'i.sngags.tshig.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>h</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.chen.yongs.rdzogs.pa'i/<sup>i</sup>  
 /thig.le.byang.chub.sems.spros.pas/  
 /dus.gsum.bde.gshegs.thugs.dam.bskul/  
 /<sup>g</sup>gro.drug.lus.ngag.yid.gsum.sbyangs/  
 /slar.'dus.ma.bcos.dbyings.su.thim/

K140v

W7v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M insert yab.kyis, K yab.kyi; T,W,M seem better

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit // or /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M ye

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M kun.gyi(K:gyis).dges.pa'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W 'byung

<sup>f</sup> T,K gsang.ba.mchog.gis.bdag.pos, W,M gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.pos, in place of D's gsang.ba'i.bdag.pos (W,M seem correct)

<sup>g</sup> W zhus; K bzhus

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K gsungso/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K pa/

/ma.bcos.spros.med.byang.chub.sems.su.<sup>a</sup>gsal/

/spros.med.sems.kyi.'od.zer.gyis/

/byang.chub.sems.rdzogs.kun.la.khyab/

/<sup>164</sup>ces.gsung.s.o/<sup>165</sup>

<sup>b</sup>de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>166</sup>

ma.bcos.pa'i.don.gyi.<sup>167</sup>ngo.bo.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/<sup>c</sup>

rgyan.<sup>d</sup>bkod.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.

zhugs.te/

btsun.mo.kun.tu.bzang.mo'i.mkhar.<sup>e</sup>brtag.<sup>f</sup>pa'i.phyir/<sup>g</sup>

nyid.kyi.<sup>168</sup>sku.dang.<sup>h</sup>gsung.dang.<sup>i</sup>thugs.<sup>j</sup>gsang.ba.las/

sngags.<sup>k</sup>di.phyung.ngo/

/e/<sup>l</sup>

de.nas.yang.<sup>m</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>169</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>n</sup>

mam.par.bskyed.<sup>o</sup>pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.

T11

M794

<sup>a</sup> T,K semsu

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>c</sup> M omits /

<sup>d</sup> W rgyun; K brgyan

<sup>e</sup> M mkha'.gsal.bar, for mkhar

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K rtag

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> M inserts /

<sup>i</sup> M inserts /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K insert rtags.pa'i.phyir; M ditto, but brtag for rtags

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M gsang.ba'i.sngags for gsang.ba.las/ sngags

<sup>l</sup> T,W omit /; M has rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit yang

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>o</sup> T,M bskyod; K skyod

K141r

zhugs.te/<sup>a</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/yam/<sup>b</sup>de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>170</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>c</sup>mam.par.'joms.<sup>d</sup>pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>e</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/ram/<sup>f</sup>de.nas.yang.<sup>g</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>171</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>h</sup>yongs.su.<sup>172</sup>sdud.<sup>173</sup>pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>i</sup>

D179r

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/kham/<sup>j</sup>de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>174</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>k</sup>yongs.su.<sup>175</sup>degs.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>l</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /; K omits /<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>d</sup> T,W,M 'jom<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>f</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /; K omits /<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit yang; T has lacuna, possibly for yang<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M te, omitting /<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M te, omitting /

/sum/<sup>a</sup>de.nas.\*<sup>b</sup>bcom.lдан.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>176</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>c</sup>gsang.ba.gsum.las.byung.ba'i.sngags.de.<sup>177</sup>rnams.'don.pa'i.tshe/<sup>d</sup>'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad.<sup>178</sup>yongs.su.<sup>179</sup>gsal.zhing.rnam.par.dag.pa'i.rang.bzhin.can.<sup>180</sup>du.gyur.<sup>181</sup>to//de.nas.yang.\*<sup>e</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>182</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>f</sup>'byung.ba.yongs.su.<sup>183</sup>smin.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>g</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/bhrūm/<sup>h</sup><sup>i</sup>de.'bton.ma.thag.tu.snang.ba.thams.cad.<sup>184</sup>yongs.su.dag.par.gyur.to/ /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>185</sup>bdag.pos.<sup>186</sup>ched.du.brjod.pa'i.\*<sup>k</sup>'di.brjod.do//e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>187</sup>kyi/<sup>m</sup>

/gnyis.med.gsang.ba.gsum.las.byung/

/rdo.rje.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.gnas/

W8r

T12

M795

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang<sup>c</sup> T,M omit /<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M bcom.lдан.'das in place of D's yang<sup>f</sup> M omits /<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>h</sup> T,W,K brum/<sup>i</sup> W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M insert nas<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M pa<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit brjod.pa.'di<sup>m</sup> T,W,K insert an extra line /gnyis.med.gsang.ba.thams.cad.kyi(K:thamp.kyis)/ (dittography, assimilating elements of the lines above and below)

/'khor.lo'i.rgyan.<sup>a</sup>dang.rdo.rje'i.rgyan/<sup>188</sup>.  
 /nyi.zla.'od.'phro.padmas.<sup>189</sup>mdzes/  
 /'dod.pa'i.yon.tan.lnga.yis.'khrigs/  
 /rin.chen.rgyan.dang.rol.mo'i<sup>190</sup>.sgra/  
 /bla.re.rgyal.mtshan.'phan.gdugs.<sup>191</sup>mdzes/<sup>b</sup>  
 /'od.'phro.'bar.bas.<sup>c</sup>phyogs.bcur.'khrigs/  
 /gru.bzhi.sgo.khyud.bzhi.dang.ldan/  
 /mdzes.pa'i.bar.khyams.<sup>d</sup>gnyis.dang.bcas/  
 /'khor.lo.twa.ra.ṅa.yis.<sup>e</sup>brgyan/<sup>192</sup>  
 /bde.gshegs.rgyal.ba.sras.bcas.gnas/<sup>f</sup>  
 /zhes.\*<sup>g</sup>gsungs.so/<sup>193</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>h</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>194</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 yongs.su.<sup>195</sup>gnas.pa.zhes.byab.a'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.te/<sup>i</sup>  
 ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.<sup>j</sup>brjod.do/  
 /nga.ni.bcom.ldan.rang.byung.<sup>k</sup>ste/<sup>196</sup>  
 /kham.s.gsum.kun.gyi.<sup>197</sup>gnyen.gcig.pu/<sup>\*l</sup>

K141v

<sup>a</sup> T,K lo.rgyan; W lo.rgyan

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K 'khyams

<sup>e</sup> T,K ta.ra.na.yi; W ta.ra.ni.ya. Since D and M agree, I have not emended their reading to the expected to.ra.ṅa.

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M dang.bcas/

<sup>g</sup> T,W ces; shes seems correct

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit yang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M nas, omitting /

<sup>j</sup> M omits brjod.pa.'di

<sup>k</sup> T,W 'byung

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M po/

/yongs.su.rdzogs.pa'i.ting.'dzin.can/

/thabs.dang.shes.rab.gnyis.med.bzhugs/

T13

/tiṣṭha.\*<sup>a</sup>badzra.a/<sup>b</sup>

zhes.brjod.de/<sup>c</sup>

pho.brang.chen.po'i.dbus.su.bzhugs.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.<sup>d</sup>byang.chub.kyi.<sup>198</sup>sems.spros.pa.med.cing.

gnyis.su.med.pa'i.bdag.nyid.can.des/<sup>e</sup>

D179v M796

chos.thams.cad.<sup>199</sup>rnam.par.rol.pa'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.

W8v

par.zhugs.<sup>200</sup>te/<sup>f</sup>

/<sup>g</sup>thabs.dang.shes.rab.gnyis.su.med.pa'i.byang.chub.\*<sup>h</sup>sems.las.

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>201</sup>

/thā/<sup>202i</sup>

de.phyung.'ma.thag.tu.<sup>k</sup>phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>203</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>204</sup>

rnams.kyi.\*<sup>l</sup>gsung.rnam.par.dag.pa.<sup>m</sup>zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.spros.te/<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M tiṣṭha

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit yang

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K de, omitting /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M insert kyi

<sup>i</sup> W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K byung

<sup>k</sup> M omits tu

<sup>l</sup> While T,W,K,M,D all read kyi, kysis might well have been intended here, as in all of the parallel passages below.

<sup>m</sup> T,K pa'i

<sup>n</sup> T,W spro.d.de/; K 'phros.te/

<sup>205</sup>de'i.tshe.<sup>206</sup>gsang.ba'i.sngags.kyis.\*<sup>a</sup>yi.ge.'phro.'du'i.rang.  
 bzhin.<sup>207</sup>du.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>b</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>208</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 gsung.rnam.par.dag.cing.dri.ma.med.pa'i.rang.bzhin.gyi.<sup>c</sup>'od.zer.  
 spros.shing.bstim.<sup>d</sup>pa.de'i.<sup>209</sup>\*<sup>e</sup>sngags.kyi.yi.ge.<sup>210</sup>las/  
 gsung.ma.bcos.pa'i.sgra.skad.'di.skad.\*<sup>f</sup>ces.bsgrags.so/<sup>211</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>212</sup>kyi/<sup>g</sup>  
 /<sup>h</sup>spros.med.gsung.gi.<sup>i</sup>rnam.par.dag/  
 /bsdus.pa'i.'od.zer.de.nyid.<sup>213</sup>ni/  
 /zhe.sdang.rigs.kyi.sangs.rgyas.<sup>214</sup>yin/  
 /'od.phung.\*<sup>j</sup>byang.chub.sems.su.gnas/  
 /gdod.nas.dag.pa.gsung.gi.<sup>215</sup>mchog/  
 /ma.bcos.zhe.sdang.sangs.rgyas.<sup>216</sup>rnam/  
 /rang.sngags.yi.ger.gnas.pa'o/  
 /zhes.<sup>k</sup>bsgrags.pa'o/<sup>217</sup>  
<sup>l</sup>de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des<sup>m</sup>/

K142r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M kyī

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M omit yang

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M bstim; K stim

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert tshe

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit 'di.skad

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M de/

<sup>h</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M gis

<sup>j</sup> M dpung

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K ces

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit des

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

rdo.rje.rnam.par.'phro.ba'i.\*<sup>a</sup>ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
zhugs.<sup>218</sup>so/<sup>219</sup>

yang.de'i.tshe.thugs.rnam.par.mi.rtog.<sup>b</sup>pa'i.mtshan.ma.ye.shes.kyi.

rdo.rje.rtse.lnga.pa.zhig.\*<sup>c</sup>tu.gsal.bar.gyur.to/

T14

/da.\*<sup>d</sup>nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>220</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>e</sup>

rdo.rje.rnam.par.<sup>f</sup>'phro.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>221</sup>so/

M797

/yang.de'i.tshe.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>222</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>223</sup>rnams.

kyis.mi.shigs.<sup>g</sup>pa'i.'od.zer.rab.tu.gtibs.<sup>224</sup>pas.<sup>225</sup>de'i.rdo.rje.

las.mi.shigs.<sup>226</sup>pa'i.rang.sgra.'di.skad.ces.grags.so/<sup>h</sup>

/e.ma.ho.ma.bcos.thams.cad.<sup>227</sup>thugs/

W9r

/ye.nas.spros.bral.ngo.bo.nyid/

/bye.brag.ye.shes.lnga.ru.snang/

/thams.cad.<sup>228</sup>kun.gyi.gnas.chen.po/

/ma.lus.rdzogs.pa'i.thugs.nyid.mchog/<sup>i</sup>

/dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>229</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>j</sup>thugs/

/spros.med.rdo.rjer.<sup>k</sup>gnas.pas.na/<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M 'phro.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i for D's 'phro.ba'i; I prefer T,W,K,M's reading

<sup>b</sup> T,W rtogs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M gcig

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit rnam.par

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K shig

<sup>h</sup> K sgrags.so/; M grag.go/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M mchog.nyid/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>k</sup> M rje

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M pa.ni/



/rdo.rje'i.<sup>230</sup>thugs.ni.brtan.pa'o/

/zhes.grags.so/<sup>a</sup>

D180r

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/

rkyen.yongs.su.<sup>231</sup>gsal.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.<sup>232</sup> snyoms.

par.zhugs.<sup>233</sup>so/

/yang.de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.

cad.<sup>234</sup>sgyu.ma.lta.bur.gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/<sup>b</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.<sup>c</sup>badzra.dhrk.<sup>d</sup>ces.brjod.pa.\*<sup>e</sup>de'i.tshe/<sup>f</sup>

mi.bskyod.<sup>g</sup>pa'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.yongs.su.<sup>235</sup>

rdzogs.par.'thon.\*<sup>h</sup>te/<sup>i</sup>

K142v, K143rv<sup>j</sup>

gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po'i.zhal.du.<sup>k</sup>bltas.<sup>l</sup>te/<sup>m</sup>

'di.skad.ces.gsol.to/

/e.ma.ho.nga.ni.rang.byung.<sup>236</sup>ste/

/gsang.ba'i.<sup>n</sup>sngags.kyi.ngo.bo.nyid/

<sup>a</sup> W gsungs.so/; K bsgragso/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> W,K,M sngags/, T sngags.so/ /, for sngags.

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K, dhrig; M dhrig/ /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K pas, M pas/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K skyod

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M pa.mthon, K pa.'thon; a better reading might be par.thon

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> K's folio numbering seems to have initially jumped from folio 142 to 144 by accident; this was remedied by appending the missing folio number, 143, to folio 142.

<sup>k</sup> W,K tu

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K ltas

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K omit ba'i; M ba

/bde.chen.thugs.las.byung.ba.yin/

/rab.tu.spros.med.snying.po.nyid/

/ma.bcos.sku.nyid.yongs.su.<sup>237</sup>rdzogs/

/gsal.la.ma.bsgribs.<sup>a</sup>dri.ma.med/

/gnyen.po.cis.kyang.mi.shigs<sup>238</sup>.pas/<sup>b</sup>

/mi.bskeyod.<sup>239</sup>phyag.rgyar.<sup>c</sup>bstan.pa.yin/

/<sup>240</sup>zhes.glengs.te.<sup>d</sup>a.zhes.<sup>e</sup>brjod.de.<sup>f</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.<sup>241</sup>

gnas.su.bzhugs.nas/\*<sup>g</sup>

<sup>h</sup>de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>242</sup>bdag.po.des.thams.cad.<sup>243</sup>

'byung.ba'i.rgyan.gyi.'khor.lo.<sup>i</sup>zhes.byaba'i.ting.nge.

'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>j</sup>

ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungso/

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>244</sup>

/chos.kyi.gsung.mchog.rnam.dag.pa/

/sgra.dang.bcas.pa'i.don.mchog.ni/

/gnyis.med.byang.chub.sems.la.shar/

/zhes.gsungso.te/<sup>k</sup>

/gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

T15

M798

W9v

<sup>a</sup> T,W sgribs; K sgrib

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M pa/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M rgya

<sup>d</sup> M gleng.ste

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit zhes

<sup>f</sup> T,M,K insert /; W inserts //

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M so/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M 'khor.lo.rgyan(K:brgyan), for rgyan.gyi.'khor.lo

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M gsungso.so/; K gsungso/

/dha/<sup>a</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.sangs.rgyas.<sup>245</sup>

mams.kyis.<sup>b</sup>gsung.rab.tu.bsgrags.<sup>c</sup>pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.

spros.pas/<sup>d</sup>

de'i.tshe.gsang.\*<sup>e</sup>sngags.kyi.yi.ge.'phro.'du.bar.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/

gsung.yongs.su.bsgrags.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.spros.shing/\*<sup>f</sup>

bstims.<sup>g</sup>pa.de'i.tshe.gsang.<sup>h</sup>sngags.kyi.yi.ge.las.gsung.rab.tu.

'phro.ba'i.rang.sgra.'di.skad.\*<sup>i</sup>bsgrags.so/<sup>j</sup>

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>246</sup>kyis/<sup>k</sup>

/yongs.su.bsgrags.pa'i.gsung.mchog.yin/

/ma.bcos.dbyings.las.<sup>l</sup>yongs.su.gsal/

/nam.pa'i.<sup>247</sup>mchog.ltan.gsung.mchog.nyid/

/gti.mug.chen.po.\*<sup>m</sup>sgra.chen.'byung/

/mchog.tu.gsal.<sup>n</sup>la.dri.ma.med/

D180v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M have rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>b</sup> W inserts / /, K inserts /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K sgrags

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K pa, omitting /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert ba'i

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K stim; M bstim

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit gsang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert ces

<sup>j</sup> T gragso/; W,M grags.so/; K bsgragso/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M kyi/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M po'i

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K grags

/gsal.zhing.dri.ma.<sup>a</sup>rnam.dag.pa/<sup>248</sup>

/gti.mug.rgyal.ba'i.gsung.mchog.nyid/\*<sup>b</sup>

K144r

/ces.\*<sup>c</sup>bsgrags.so/<sup>d</sup>

/de.nas.yang.bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>249</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>e</sup>

T16

rab.tu.<sup>f</sup>mchod.pa.zhes.byaba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.

zhugs.so/<sup>g</sup>

M799

/yang.de'i.tshe.yongs.su.gsal.ba.zhes.byaba'i.thugs.kyi.

mtshan.ma.'khor.lo.rtsibs.brgyad.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.<sup>250</sup>gi.<sup>251</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>h</sup>

'khor.lo.rab.tu.spro.ba.<sup>252</sup>zhes.byaba'i.ting.nge.<sup>253</sup>'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>254</sup>so/<sup>255</sup>

/yang.de'i.tshe.phyogs.bcu.dus.bzhi'i.<sup>256</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>257</sup>rnams.

kyis.rnam.par.gsal.ba.zhes.byaba'i.'od.zer.bstims.<sup>i</sup>pa.

de'i.tshe/<sup>k</sup>

'khor.lo.rtsibs.brgyad.pa.las.rab.tu.'joms.pa'i.rang.sgra.

'di.skad.ces.grags.<sup>258</sup>so/<sup>l</sup>

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>259</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,K,M med

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M yin/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M zhes

<sup>d</sup> T,K,M grags.so/ W gragso/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M give the equally plausible rang.bzhin.du(K:tu), for rab.tu

<sup>g</sup> T,K zhugso/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit rnams.kyis

<sup>j</sup> K,M bstim

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,W gragso/

/thugs.ni.rab.tu.gsal.'bar.ba/<sup>a</sup>  
 /mtha'.yas.kun.tu.rab.tu.'phro/  
 /gsal.zhing.'phro.bas.<sup>260</sup>nyon.mongs.bsreg/\*<sup>b</sup> **W10r(gong)**  
 /rab.tu.chos.kyi.'khor.los.sgyur/\*<sup>c</sup>  
 /gti.mug.dra.ba.gcod.par.byed/  
 /gti.mug.sangs.rgyas.kun.gyi.<sup>261</sup>thugs/  
<sup>d</sup>sku.yi.thugs.ni.brtan.'pa'o/  
 /zhes.grags.so/<sup>262</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 yongs.su.snang.ba'i.rkyen.\*<sup>f</sup>zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.myang.nas.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.  
 cad.yongs.su.<sup>263</sup>gsal.zhing.dri.ma.med.pa.'ba'.zhig.tu.  
 gyur.<sup>264</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>265</sup>bdag.po.des.rig.pa'i.sngags/  
 om.dzi.na.dzik.\*<sup>h</sup>ces.brjod.pa.de'i.tshe/  
 mam.par.snang.mdzad.kyi.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.thams.  
 cad.<sup>266</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>267</sup>te/  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>268</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.nga.ni.rang.byung.ste/ **K144v**

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M ba'o/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M sreg/; K bsregs/ T,W,M seem preferable.

<sup>c</sup> M lo.sgyur/, T,W,K lo.bsgyur/; M seems preferable.

<sup>d</sup> W,K,M insert /

<sup>e</sup> M brten

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M rgyan; K brgyan; T,W,M seem better

<sup>g</sup> T zhugso/; K bzhugso/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M om.dzi.na.dzig; T,W,M insert //, K inserts /

/<sup>a</sup>gdod.nas.dag.pa.sku.yi<sup>b</sup> <sup>269</sup>mchog/

M800 T17

/rab.tu.'phro.ba'i.'od.zer.can/

/sangs.rgyas.<sup>270</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>271</sup>sku.yi.<sup>272</sup>mchog/

/'bar.ba'i.'od.zer.bltar.mi.bzad/<sup>c</sup>

/khams.gsum.kun.gyi.<sup>273</sup>gnyen.gcig.po/

D181r

/dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>274</sup>

/sku.yi.phyag.rgya.rdzogs.pa.yin/

/zhes.glengs.te/<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>a.zhes.brjod.cing.<sup>f</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.<sup>g</sup>spyan.sngar.bzhugs.so/<sup>275</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>276</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>h</sup>

rin.po.che.<sup>277</sup>\*<sup>i</sup>'byung.ba.zhes.byab.a'ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.

par.zhugs.te.<sup>j</sup>ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>278</sup>

/e.ma.ho.\*<sup>k</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>279</sup>

/yon.tan.gsung.ni.bla.na.med/<sup>l</sup>

/thams.cad.<sup>280</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>281</sup>'byung.gnas.gtso/

/dri.med.byang.chub.sems.la.shar/<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W sku'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M lta.mi.mdzad/; K blta.mi.mdzad/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M glengs.so/; K glengso/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> M inserts /

<sup>g</sup> T,W kyis

<sup>h</sup> T,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert thams.cad

<sup>j</sup> M inserts /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K e.ma, M e.ma'o, in place of D's e.ma.ho; T,W,K preserve the metre

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M dri.ma.med/

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K bshad/

/zhes.gsungs.te.<sup>a</sup>gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/dha/<sup>b</sup>

'di.phyung.<sup>c</sup>ma.thag.tu.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>282</sup>sangs.rgyas.

thams.cad.kyi.\*<sup>d</sup>gsung.yon.tan.'byung.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.

spros.pa.<sup>283</sup>de'i.tshe/<sup>e</sup>

W10v(gong)

gsang.ba'i.<sup>f</sup>sngags.kyi.yi.ge.'phro.'dus.\*<sup>g</sup>bar.gyur.<sup>284</sup>to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>285</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>h</sup>

gsung.<sup>286</sup>yongs.su.<sup>287</sup>'byung.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>288</sup>pa.de'i.tshe/<sup>i</sup>

sngags.kyi.yi.ge.las.<sup>j</sup>gsung.<sup>289</sup>rab.tu.'byung.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.

rang.sgra.'di.skad.\*<sup>k</sup>bsgrags.so/

/e.ma.ho.\*<sup>l</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>290</sup>

/nga.rgyal.gsung.ni.rnam.par.dag/

/nga.rgyal.chen.po'i.don.las.<sup>291</sup>phyung/\*<sup>m</sup>

/thams.cad.<sup>292</sup>gsung.\*<sup>n</sup>ba'i.gsung.mchog.nyid/

M801

<sup>a</sup> T inserts //; W,K,M insert /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>c</sup> T,W byung

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M rnam.s.kyis, K rnam.s.kyi, for D's thams.cad.kyi; T,W,M seem preferable

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M 'du

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M insert ces

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M e.ma, for D's e.ma.ho, metrically preferable

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M byung, K 'byung; T,W,M seem better

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M 'byung

/yid.bzhin.nor.bu.rin.chen.nyid/\*<sup>a</sup>  
 /thams.cad.<sup>b</sup>ma.lus.'byung.gnas.<sup>293</sup>gtso/  
 /dri.med.gsung.mchog.bla.na.med/  
 /yon.tan.gsung.ni.dag.pa'o/  
 /<sup>c</sup>zhes.bsgrags.so/<sup>d</sup>  
 /de.nas.\*<sup>e</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
<sup>294</sup>yongs.su.spyod.pa.<sup>f</sup>zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.so/<sup>295</sup>  
<sup>g</sup>/yang.<sup>h</sup>de'i.tshe.rin.chen.<sup>i</sup>'byung.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.thugs.kyi.  
 mtshan.mar.\*<sup>j</sup>rin.po.che.'bar.ba.<sup>k</sup>thur.\*<sup>l</sup>brgyad.pa.  
 zhig.\*<sup>m</sup>tu.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 rin.po.che.rab.tu.'byung.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.so/  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.<sup>n</sup>gyi.<sup>296</sup>rgyal.ba.rnams.kyis.<sup>o</sup>

T18

K145r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M Itar/

<sup>b</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit // or /

<sup>d</sup> T,K gragso/; W,M grags.so/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M skyong.ba; K skyongs.ba

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K omit this sentence (starting here with yang) and the following one, ie up to snyoms.par zhugs.so/ (*saut du même au même*).

<sup>h</sup> M omits yang

<sup>i</sup> M po.che for chen

<sup>j</sup> M ma

<sup>k</sup> M omits 'bar.ba

<sup>l</sup> M zur

<sup>m</sup> M cig

<sup>n</sup> M sum



yon.tan.bkod.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.'od.zer.bstims.pas.\*<sup>a</sup>

de'i.tshe.<sup>b</sup>rin.po.che.zur.brgyad.pa.las.yon.tan.

**D181v**

'byung.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.rang.sgra.'di.skad.ces.grags.so/

/e.ma.ho.yon.tan.kun.<sup>c</sup>gyi.<sup>297</sup>thugs/

/mam.dag.thugs.ni.dri.ma.med/

/rin.chen.rgyal.po.yon.tan.gtso/

/sems.can.<sup>298</sup>kun.gyi.re.skong.ba/<sup>d</sup>

/yid.bzhin.nor.bu.rin.po.che/

/mi.'gyur.kha.dog.sngo.sangs.<sup>e</sup>'od/

/rin.chen.'bar.ba.gnyis.med.thugs/

/rin.chen.thugs.ni.rab.'bar.brtan/\*<sup>f</sup>

/zhes.bsgrags.so/<sup>g</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>299</sup>bdag.po.des/

<sup>300</sup>rab.tu.<sup>301</sup>rin.chen.bkod.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.so/<sup>h</sup>

**W10r('og)**

/yang.de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.

thams.cad<sup>302</sup>/<sup>i</sup>

**M802**

yon.tan.gyi.<sup>303</sup>rgyan.bkod.pa.zhes.bya.ba.la.<sup>304</sup>gnas.par.gyur.to/

<sup>o</sup> T,K kyi/; W kyi/ /; M kyis/ /

<sup>a</sup> T,M bstim.pa, W,K bstims.pa; W,K seem correct

<sup>b</sup> M inserts /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit kun

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K re.ba.bskong/; M re.ba.skong/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K sang

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M bstan/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M grags.so/; K gragso/

<sup>h</sup> T zhugso/; K bzhugso/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>305</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>a</sup>  
 rig.pa'i.sngags/  
 swā.ratna.dhr̥k.<sup>b</sup>ces.brjod.pa.de'i.tshe/<sup>306</sup>  
<sup>307</sup>rin.chen.'byung.ldan.zhes.byā.ba'i.phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.<sup>c</sup>  
 thams.cad.<sup>308</sup>yongs.su.rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>d</sup>te/  
 /<sup>e</sup>'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>f</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.nga.<sup>309</sup>ni.rang.byung.ste/  
 /<sup>g</sup>yon.tan.'byung.ba'i.mtshan.ma.yin/  
 /sems.can.<sup>310</sup>re.'dod.yid.bzhin.skong/<sup>h</sup>  
 /yongs.kyi.<sup>311</sup>gter.'gyur.\*<sup>i</sup>dam.pa'i.gtso/  
 /dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>312</sup>re.gnas.<sup>313</sup>yin/  
 /thams.cad.<sup>314</sup>ma.lus.yon.tan.gtso/  
 /yid.bzhin.sku.mchog.<sup>j</sup>dri.ma.med/  
 /yon.tan.phyag.rgya.yongs.su.rdzogs.pa'o/\*<sup>k</sup>  
 /zhes.gsungs.te/<sup>315</sup>  
 a.zhes.brjod.cing/<sup>l</sup>  
 bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.<sup>316</sup>g-yas.phyogs.su.bzhugs.so/<sup>m</sup>

T19

K145v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K swa.rad.na.dhrig; M swa.rad.na.dhrig/

<sup>c</sup> K brgyan; T rgyan in tiny subscripted letters, situated by a dotted line

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M ston

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,K glengso/

<sup>g</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W sbyin.skongs/; K bzhin.bskong/

<sup>i</sup> T,W gyur

<sup>j</sup> Unmetrically, T,K sku.sbyin.mchog, W sku.sbyin.mchog.tu, for sku.mchog

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M yongs.rdzogs.pa/, in place of D's yongs.su.rdzogs.pa'o/

<sup>l</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>m</sup> W,K bzhugso/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/<sup>a</sup>

'od.rab.tu.gsal.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
zhugs.<sup>317</sup>te/<sup>b</sup>

/ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.brjod.do/

/e.ma.ho.\*<sup>d</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>318</sup>kyis/<sup>c</sup>

W10v('og)

/ye.nas.dag.pa'i.gsung.'od.bzhin/\*<sup>f</sup>

/od.dang.bcas.pas.<sup>g</sup>sems.can.<sup>319</sup>don/

/skyon.bral.byang.chub.sems.la.shar/

/zhes.gsung.te/<sup>h</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/dha/<sup>i</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>320</sup>rgyal.ba.

mams.kyis/<sup>j</sup>

D182r

'od.rab.tu.'phro.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.'od.zer.rab.tu.<sup>k</sup>spros.pa.

de'i.tshe/<sup>l</sup>

gsang.ba'i.sngags.<sup>321</sup>'phro.'du.bar.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>322</sup>bdag.po.des/

M803

<sup>a</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M e.ma, in place of D's e.ma.ho

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M kyis/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M yin/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M kyi (omitting /); K omits /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit rab.tu

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /

'od.dpag.tu.med.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.'od.zer.spros.shing.<sup>323</sup>bstims.<sup>a</sup>pa.  
de'i.tshe/

sngags.kyi.yi.ge.las.gsung.<sup>324</sup>dpag.tu.med.pa.<sup>b</sup>zhes.bya.ba'i.

rang.skad.'di.skad.ces.bsgrags.<sup>c</sup>so/<sup>325</sup>

/e.ma.ho.\*<sup>d</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>326</sup>kyis/\*<sup>e</sup>

/rab.tu.spros.med.rnam.dag.gsung/

/ma.bcos.yi.ger.rab.tu.gnas/

/grags.\*<sup>f</sup>med.gsung.ni.kun.tu.grags/

/rnam.dag.gsung.ni.skyon.dang.bral/

/bde.chen.rgyal.ba.rnams.kyi.gsung/

/yongs.la.bstan.pa'i.gsung.mchog.'dis/\*<sup>g</sup>

/'dod.chags.gsung.ni.rnam.par.dag/

/ces.bsgrags.<sup>h</sup>so/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.<sup>i</sup>ba.mchog.gi.<sup>327</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>j</sup>

'dod.chags.rnam.<sup>k</sup>par.dag.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>328</sup>so/

<sup>329</sup>/de'i.<sup>330</sup>tshe.padma.'od.ces.bya.ba'i.thugs.kyi.mtshan.ma.

T20

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M bstan

<sup>b</sup> T,W omit pa

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M grags

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M e.ma, for D's e.ma.ho

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M kyi/

<sup>f</sup> K,M grangs

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ni/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M gsungs

<sup>i</sup> M gsang in tiny letters, subscripted, positioned by dotted line

<sup>j</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> D lacuna for one letter

padma.'dab.ma.brgyad.pa.zhig.\*<sup>a</sup>tu.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des.<sup>b</sup>padma.'byung.ba.  
 zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.so/<sup>331</sup> **W11r**  
<sup>332</sup>yang.de'i.tshe.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.sangs.rgyas.<sup>333</sup>rnams.  
 kyis.<sup>334</sup>de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.\*<sup>d</sup>gdung.\*<sup>e</sup>gi.'od.zer.zhi.zhing.  
 'khyil.ba.<sup>f</sup>zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.bstims.<sup>g</sup>pa.de'i.tshe/  
 pad.ma.'phro.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.rang.sgra.'di.skad.ces.bsgrags.so/<sup>h</sup> **K146r**  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>335</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>336</sup>gsung/<sup>i</sup>  
 /ma.chags.padma.skyon.bral.zhing/  
 /gdod.nas.dag.pa.pad.ma'i.gdugs/\*<sup>j</sup>  
 /'dod.chags.gsung.ni.dri.ma.med/  
 /dri.ma.med.pa.rā.ga'i.<sup>k</sup>mdog/  
 /sems.can.<sup>337</sup>don.la.rab.tu.chags/  
 /ma.chags.pa.yi.'thugs.mchog.'di/  
 /chos.kyi.thugs.ni.brtan.\*<sup>m</sup>pa'o/  
 /zhes.bsgrags.so/<sup>n</sup>

**M804**<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M gcig<sup>b</sup> M inserts /<sup>c</sup> M inserts /<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i<sup>e</sup> T,W,K insert gsung<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit ba<sup>g</sup> T,W,M bstim; K stim<sup>h</sup> T,K gragso/; W,M grags.so/<sup>i</sup> T,W,K gsungs/<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M gdung/<sup>k</sup> M par.rang.gi<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M padma'i<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M bstan<sup>n</sup> T gragso/; W,K,M grags.so/

<sup>338</sup>/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 padma.bskyod.\*<sup>a</sup>pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.so/<sup>b</sup>  
 /\*<sup>c</sup>de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.my.a.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad<sup>339</sup>/<sup>d</sup>  
 chags.pa.<sup>340</sup>dang.bral.ba.zhes.by.a.ba.la.<sup>341</sup>gnas.par.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>e</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>f</sup>  
 rig.pa'i.sngags.<sup>g</sup>om.ā.ro.lik.<sup>h</sup>ces.brjod.pa.\*<sup>i</sup>de'i.tshe/<sup>j</sup>  
 chos.kyi.sems.dpa'i.<sup>342</sup>sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po'i.<sup>k</sup>rgyan.<sup>343</sup>  
 thams.cad.<sup>l</sup>dang.ltan.par.<sup>m</sup>'thon.te/<sup>n</sup>  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>344</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.nga.ni.rang.byung.ste/  
 /chos.sku.dag.pa.padma'i.<sup>o</sup>gdung/  
 /shes.rab.chags.med.<sup>p</sup>skyon.dang.bral/

D182<sub>v</sub>

T21

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M bkod

<sup>b</sup> T,W zhugso/; K bzhugso/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> W,K gis

<sup>f</sup> M omits /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K om.a.ro.lig; M om.a.ro.lig/ /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M pas/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K por

<sup>l</sup> T,K thapd

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>o</sup> M padmo'i

<sup>p</sup> T,W,M insert padma'i; K inserts padma

/padma.ma.chags.<sup>a</sup>mtshan.ma.yin/  
 /gdod.<sup>345</sup>nas.dag.cing.dri.ma.med/  
 /bde.bar.gshegs.pa.kun.gyi.<sup>346</sup>gsung/<sup>b</sup>  
 /thams.cad.<sup>347</sup>ma.chags.gsung.mchog.sku/  
 /dpag.med.phyag.rgyar.bstan.pa.yin/  
 /zhes.gsung.te/  
 /<sup>a</sup>.zhes.brjod.cing.rgyab.phyogs.su.bzhugs.so/<sup>d</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 shes.rab.rab.tu.<sup>e</sup>phro.ba.zhes.byab.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>f</sup>  
 ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsung.so/<sup>348</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>349</sup>  
 /phrin.<sup>g</sup>las.yongs.su.<sup>350</sup>rdzogs.pa'i.gsung/  
 /'khor.ba.rtsad.gcod.yi.ge'i.<sup>h</sup>mchog/  
 /las.grub.byang.chub.sems.la.shar/  
 /zhes.gsung.te/<sup>i</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.<sup>j</sup>sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /nā/<sup>k</sup>

W11v

M805

K146v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M chags.med

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K gsung/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,K phyogsu.bzhugso/

<sup>e</sup> T,M shes.rab.tu.rab.tu for shes.rab.rab.tu

<sup>f</sup> T zhugso/ /; W zhugs.so/ /; K bzhugs.so/

<sup>g</sup> M 'phrin

<sup>h</sup> W,M ge

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M omit ba'i; K gi

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

'di.phyung.<sup>a</sup>ma.thag.tu.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.rgyal.ba.  
 rnams.kyi/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 ye.shes.'phro.ba.zhes.byab.a'ba'i.'od.zer.spros.pa.de'i.tshe/<sup>c</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.sngags.'phro.zhing.'du.bar.gyur.<sup>351</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>352</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>d</sup>  
 don.rab.tu.'grub.\*<sup>e</sup>pa.zhes.byab.a'ba'i.'od.zer.rab.tu.spros.shing.  
 bstims.<sup>f</sup>pa.de'i.tshe/  
 sngags.kyi.yi.ge.las.phrin.<sup>g</sup>las.dpag.tu.med.pa'i.rang.sgra.  
 'di.skad.ces.grags.so/<sup>h</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho<sup>353</sup>.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>354</sup>  
 /<sup>355</sup>las.mthar.phyin.pa'i.ngo.bo.nyid/  
 /yongs.su.<sup>356</sup>rdzogs.pa'i.dam.tshig.mchog/  
 /'da'.dka'.i'snying.po.\*<sup>j</sup>don.yod.grub/  
 /rdzogs.pa'i.sangs.rgyas.rnams.kyis.gsung/<sup>k</sup>  
 /gsung.mchog.rnam.dag.dri.ma.med/  
 /phrag.dog.rnam.dag.gsung.mchog.nyid/<sup>l</sup>

T22

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M byung

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K kyi, M kiyis, in place of D's kyi; M seems better

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M grub

<sup>f</sup> T,W 'phro.stims, K 'phro.stim, M 'phro.bstim, for spros.shing.bstims

<sup>g</sup> K,M 'phrin

<sup>h</sup> T,K gragso/

<sup>i</sup> M ka'i

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M rdo.rje

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M kyi.gsung/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M phrag.dog.rnam.rtog.dri.ma.med/; K (unmetrically) phrag.dog.rnam.dag.rtog.dri.ma.med/



/da'.dka'i.<sup>a</sup>gsung.ni.rnam.par.dag/

/ces.grags.so/<sup>b</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>357</sup>bdag.po.des/

D183r

phrag.dog.rnam.par.dag.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.so/<sup>c</sup>

/yang.de'i.tshe.yongs.su.rdzogs.pa.<sup>d</sup>zhes.by.a.ba'i.\*<sup>e</sup>mtshan.ma.

ral.grir.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>358</sup>bdag.po.des<sup>359</sup>/<sup>f</sup>

las.grub.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.so/<sup>g</sup>

yang.de'i.tshe.phyogs.bcu.dus.gsum.gyi.<sup>360</sup>rgyal.ba.rnams.kyis/<sup>h</sup>

<sup>361</sup>don.yod.<sup>362</sup>pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.'od.zer.bstims.'pa.de'i.tshe/<sup>i</sup>

ral.gri.las.don.thams.cad.<sup>363</sup>yongs.su.<sup>k</sup>grub.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.

rang.sgra.'di.skad.\*<sup>l</sup>grags.par.gyur.to/<sup>m</sup>

/e.ma.ho.don.grub.kun.gyi.thugs/

M806

/dngos.po.cir.yang.grub.pa.med/

/rang.byung.thugs.ni.spros.las.<sup>n</sup>das/

<sup>a</sup> W,M ka'i

<sup>b</sup> T,K gragso/

<sup>c</sup> T zhugso/; K bzhugso/

<sup>d</sup> M rdzogs.pa.las, for yongs.su.rdzogs.pa

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert thugs.kyi

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,K zhugso/

<sup>h</sup> M omits /

<sup>i</sup> T,W stims; K stim; M bstim

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M omit yongs.su

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M insert ces

<sup>m</sup> T,K gragso/, W,M grags.so/, for grags.par.gyur.to/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M pas

/ma.bcos.thugs.ni.ye.sangs.rgyas/  
 /dam.tshig.'da'.dka'i.<sup>a</sup>snying.po.can/  
 /nyon.mongs.ma.rig.dra.ba.rnams/  
 /nyon.mongs.ma.gos.gcod.byed.pa/  
 /las.kyi.<sup>364</sup>thugs.ni.ral.grir.grags/  
 /shes.<sup>b</sup>grags.so/<sup>365</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 ral.gri.rnam.par.bkod.pa.zhes.by.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>366</sup>so/<sup>367</sup>  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad<sup>c/d</sup>  
 nyon.mongs.pa.med.cing.rnam.par.dag.pa.zhes.by.ba'i.sa.  
 la.<sup>e</sup>gnas.par.gyur.<sup>368</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>369</sup>bdag.pos/\*<sup>f</sup>  
 rig.pa'i.sngags.hā.pradznyā.dhr̥k.<sup>g</sup>ces.brjod.pa.de'i.tshe/<sup>h</sup>  
 las.kyi.sems.pa'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.\*<sup>i</sup>rgyan.<sup>370</sup>rnam.pa.  
 sna.tshogs.pa.dang.ltan.pa.<sup>j</sup>'thon.<sup>371</sup>te/  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>k</sup>

K147r

W12r

T23

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M ka'i

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K ces

<sup>c</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W ba'i.las, K ba'i.sa.las, M ba.la, for ba'i.sa.la

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K po.des/, M po.des, in place of D's pos/

<sup>g</sup> T,W ha.pra.dznyā.dhrig; M /ha.pradznyā.dhrig/ /; K as M, but omitting any /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M po'i

<sup>j</sup> M par

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M gleng.ngo/

/e.ma.ho.nga.ni.rang.byung.ste/  
 /yongs.su.<sup>372</sup>rdzogs.pa'i.<sup>a</sup>dam.tshig.sku/  
 /thams.cad.<sup>373</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>b</sup>las.mdzad.grub/  
 /ma.lus.spros.med.dag.pa'i.sku/  
 /sems.can.<sup>374</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>375</sup>don.grub.yin/  
 /brtan.cing.\*<sup>c</sup>mi.g-yo'i.\*<sup>d</sup>las.mdzad.pa/  
 /phyag.rgya.gsal.ba'i.bdag.nyid.can/  
 /las.kyi.phyag.rgyar.\*<sup>e</sup>yongs.rdzogs.yin/  
 /zhes.gsungs.te/<sup>f</sup> a/<sup>g</sup>  
 zhes.brjod.cing.g-yon.phyogs.su.<sup>h</sup>bzhugs.so/<sup>376</sup>  
 /ma.skyes.mtshon.cha.rdo.rje.<sup>377</sup>dang/  
 /chos.kyi.<sup>378</sup>mtshon.cha.'khor.lo.ste/<sup>i</sup>  
 /yon.tan.mtshon.cha.rin.chen.yin/  
 /ma.chags.mtshon.cha.padma.ste/<sup>j</sup>  
 /las.kyi.<sup>379</sup>mtshon.cha.ral.gri.<sup>380</sup>lngas/  
 /las.gang.bsgrub.pa.grub.par.byed/  
 /ces.gsungs.so/<sup>381</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>382</sup>bdag.po.des/

D183v

M807

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M zhing

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M g-yo

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M rgya

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W omit su; K phyogsu

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M yin/

nam.mkha'i.<sup>a</sup>mtshan.nyid.ces.<sup>383</sup>bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.  
 par.zhugs.te/<sup>b</sup>  
 °ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>384</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>385</sup>  
 /nam.mkha'i.<sup>d</sup>mtshan.nyid.rab.'byor.pa/\*<sup>e</sup>  
 /kun.'byung.nam.mkha'i.<sup>f</sup>gsung.mchog.ni/  
 /brjod.med.<sup>g</sup>yig.ger.<sup>h</sup>rab.tu.grags/  
 /zhes.\*<sup>i</sup>gsungs.te/<sup>j</sup>

K147v

nam.mkha'.<sup>k</sup>rol.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.<sup>l</sup>ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.nas/<sup>m</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.<sup>n</sup>phyung.ngo/  
 /tha<sup>386</sup>/<sup>o</sup>  
 'di.phyung.<sup>387</sup>ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.  
 chos.thams.cad<sup>388</sup>/<sup>p</sup>nam.mkha'i.<sup>q</sup>ngang.tshul.can.zhes.by.a.bar.

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>b</sup> T zhugso/; W,K zhugs.so/

<sup>c</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M ba/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>g</sup> M med.med for med

<sup>h</sup> T ral.gri; W,K,M ral.grir

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K ces; M shes; M seems better

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M rol.pa'i for rol.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W omit 'di

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>p</sup> T,K,M omit /

gnas.par.gyur.to/

W12v

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>389</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>a</sup>

sku.dang.gsung.dang.thugs.<sup>b</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.snying.po.'di.  
phyung.ngo/

/muṃ.dhā.twī.shwa.ri<sup>c</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.nam.mkha'i.<sup>d</sup>ngang.tshul.can/<sup>e</sup>

T24

yum.kun.tu.bzang.mo'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.mo.\*<sup>f</sup>

rgyan.<sup>390</sup>dang.cha.lugs.thams.cad.<sup>g</sup>yongs.su.

rdzogs.par.'thon.te.<sup>h</sup>di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>i</sup>

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>391</sup>thams.cad.<sup>j</sup>kyi/<sup>392</sup>

/chos.dbyings.dag.pa'i.ngo.bo.nyid/

/ma.bcos.spros.med.snying.po'i.<sup>393</sup>sku/

/chos.sku.bde.chen.kun.la.khyab/<sup>394</sup>

/bdag.med.nam.mkha'i.<sup>k</sup>ngang.tshul.can/

/nam.mkha'i.<sup>l</sup>mtshan.nyid.rab.sbyor.bas/

/bskyod.<sup>395</sup>med.rang.bzhin.'od.gsal.ba/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>a</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M sku.gsung.thugs for sku.dang.gsung.dang.thugs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M muṃ.da.du.shwa.ri; K muṃ.dha.du.shwa.ri

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M can.du. for can/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit thams.cad

<sup>h</sup> M inserts /

<sup>i</sup> T,K glengso/

<sup>j</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>k</sup> W,K namkha'i

<sup>l</sup> W,K namkha'i

/nam.mkha'i.<sup>a</sup>gzugs.brnyan.bstan.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsungs.te/  
<sup>396</sup>yum.kun.tu.bzang.mo'i.gnas.su<sup>b</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.rdo.rje.<sup>c</sup>  
 'dzin.pa'i.sku.la.'khril.ba'i.tshul.du.bzhugs.par.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>397</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 mi.g-yo.ba'i.rdo.rje.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.<sup>398</sup>'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>d</sup>  
 che.du.<sup>399</sup>brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>e</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>400</sup>thams.cad.<sup>f</sup>kyi/<sup>401</sup>  
 /chos.sku.spros.med.rab.tu.bstan/\*<sup>g</sup>  
 /sangs.rgyas.<sup>402</sup>yum.gyur.<sup>403</sup>dam.pa'i.gtso/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>h</sup>yi.ge'i.<sup>404</sup>mtshan.ma.'sngang/<sup>405</sup>  
 /zhes.gsungs.so/<sup>j</sup>  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.gnyis.su.med.par.\*<sup>k</sup>rab.tu.brta.n.pa.zhes.  
 bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>l</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>406</sup>  
 /ta/<sup>407m</sup>

M808

D184r

<sup>a</sup> W,K namkha'i

<sup>b</sup> T gnasu/; W,K gnas.su/

<sup>c</sup> T,W rje'i

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,K gsungso/

<sup>f</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>g</sup> T brten/, W,K brtan/, M brgyan/; W,K seem better

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K dag

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M mar

<sup>j</sup> T,K gsungso/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.  
chos.thams.cad<sup>a/b</sup>.

K148r

chos.nyid.rab.tu.brtaṅ.<sup>408</sup>pa.zhes.bya.ba.la.<sup>c</sup>gnas.par.gyur.to/  
de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/<sup>d</sup>

sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>409</sup>gsang.ba.las.<sup>e</sup>rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.  
phyung.ngo/<sup>410</sup>

lam.dwe.sa.ra.ti/<sup>f</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.brtaṅ.pa'i.<sup>g</sup>mtshan.nyid.can.gyi/<sup>411h</sup>

yum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>412</sup>spyan.gyi.<sup>i</sup>sku.phyag.rgya.chen.mo'i.\*<sup>j</sup>

rgyan.<sup>413</sup>thams.cad.<sup>k</sup>yongs.su.<sup>414</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>415</sup>te/<sup>l</sup>

'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>416</sup>

W13r

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>417</sup>thams.cad.<sup>m</sup>kyi/<sup>418</sup>

/<sup>419</sup>chos.sku.mi.'gyur.rang.bzhin.pas/<sup>m</sup>

T25

/ye.nas.rnam.dag.yongs.su.<sup>420</sup>bstan/\*<sup>o</sup>

/mkha'.ltar.dag.cing.dri.ma.med/

<sup>a</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K las

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>f</sup> T lam.de.shwa.ra.ti; W lam.te.shwa.ra.te; K lam.te.shwa.ra.ti; M lam.te.shwa.ra.ti

<sup>g</sup> T,W bstan.ba'i; K,M bstan.pa'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M omit gyi; K nas for gyi, superscripted in tiny letters

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M po'i

<sup>k</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>l</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K bas/

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M brtaṅ/

/ma.bcos.spros.med.snying.po'i.sku/  
 /skye.med.rang.byung.ye.nas.gnas/  
 /sra.zhing.brta.pa'i.rang.bzhin.las/  
 /sra.brta.mtshan.nyid.sku.rdzogs.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsungs.<sup>421</sup>te.<sup>a</sup>snang.mdzad.\*<sup>b</sup>sems.dpa'i.sku.dang.gnyis.su.<sup>c</sup>  
 med.pa'i.ngang.tshul.can.<sup>d</sup>du.bzhugs.so/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>422</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>e</sup>  
 chos.thams.cad.<sup>423</sup>rab.tu.sdud.<sup>f</sup>pa.zhes.byab.ba'i.ting.nge.  
 'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.te/<sup>g</sup>  
 ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>424</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>425</sup>kyi/<sup>426</sup>  
 /chos.kun.gnyis.med.dbyings.su.<sup>h</sup>sdud/<sup>427</sup>  
 /spros.bral.ngang.du.rab.sbyor.bas/<sup>i</sup>  
 /sdud.byed.yi.ger.<sup>428</sup>mam.par.<sup>429</sup>grags/<sup>j</sup>  
 /zhes.\*<sup>k</sup>gsungs.so/<sup>430</sup>  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.chos.thams.cad.<sup>l</sup>mi.dmigs.pa'i.'od.<sup>431</sup>sdud.pa.

M809

<sup>a</sup> M inserts /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M rnam.snang, in place of D's snang.mdzad; rnam.snang.mdzad is probably intended.

<sup>c</sup> T,W omit su; K gnyisu

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit can

<sup>e</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>f</sup> K bsdud; M 'dus

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K nas; M nas/

<sup>h</sup> T,K dbyingsu

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M bar/

<sup>j</sup> T gragso/, K grags.so/, for grags/ (W lacuna for one letter between grag and s/)

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K ces; shes seems correct

<sup>l</sup> T,K thamd



zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>a</sup>

gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/

/da/<sup>b</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.

chos.thams.cad.dbyings.su.<sup>432</sup>sdud.pa'i.ngang.nyid.ces.bya.

ba.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>433</sup>bdag.po.des/

K148v

sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>434</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.<sup>435</sup>pa'i.sngags.'di.

phyung.ngo/

/mām.\*<sup>c</sup>mo.ha.ra.ti/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.sdud.pa'i.mtshan.nyid.can.gyi.<sup>d</sup>sku.

phyag.rgya.chen.mo.\*<sup>e</sup>rgyan.<sup>436</sup>thams.cad.<sup>f</sup>yongs.su.<sup>437</sup>

D184v

rdzogs.par.<sup>g</sup>thon.<sup>438</sup>te.'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>439</sup>

/e.ma.ho.<sup>440</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>441</sup>thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>kyi/<sup>442</sup>

/chos.kyi.<sup>443</sup>mtshan.nyid.rab.sdud.<sup>i</sup>pa/

/kun.sdud.<sup>j</sup>gsang.<sup>k</sup>ba'i.mtshan.nyid.can/

/ma.g-yos.dbyings.las.\*<sup>l</sup>thams.cad.<sup>m</sup>sdud/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M mām

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M mtshan.nyid.kyi for mtshan.nyid.can.gyi

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M po'i; K po; T,W,M seem better

<sup>f</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>h</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K bsdud

<sup>j</sup> T,W bsdud

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M gsal

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>m</sup> T,K thamd

/skyon.<sup>a</sup>med.dri.bral.gdod.<sup>b</sup>nas.dag/  
 /sdud.cing.gsang.\*<sup>c</sup>ba'i.mtshan.nyid.yin/  
 /'khril.ba'i.<sup>444</sup>mchod.chen.<sup>d</sup>mnyam.sbyor.bas/  
 /sdud.pa'i.<sup>445</sup>mtshan.nyid.skur.bstan.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsung.te.<sup>e</sup>rin.chen.'byung.ba'i.sems.dpa'.<sup>446 f</sup>  
 dang.gnyis.su.<sup>447</sup>med.par.bzhugs.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>448</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 chos.thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>rab.tu.'joms.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.te.<sup>i</sup>che.du.<sup>449</sup>brjod.pa.'di.gsung.so/  
 /e.ma.ho.<sup>450</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>j</sup>kyi/<sup>451</sup>  
 /don.dam.snying.po.ngo.bo.yis/<sup>k</sup>  
 /dngos.po.ma.lus.'joms.pa'o/  
 /gsang.ba'i.ngo.bor.<sup>l</sup>bar.ba.ni/<sup>m</sup>  
 /brjod.med.dag.pa'i.yi.ge.<sup>n</sup>gsal/  
 /zhes.gsung.so/<sup>o</sup>

T26  
M810

W13v

<sup>a</sup> T,K,M rkyen; W skye

<sup>b</sup> K 'dod; M sdod

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M gsal

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K rten

<sup>e</sup> M inserts /

<sup>f</sup> M lacuna for three letters

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M gyur.to/

<sup>h</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K nyid; M yin/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M bo

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M ba'o/ for ba.ni/

<sup>n</sup> M ge

<sup>o</sup> T,K gsungso/

/yang.de'i.tshe.rab.tu.'bar.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.

la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas.<sup>a</sup>gsang.ba.'joms.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.

snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/

/dha/<sup>b</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.

chos.thams.cad<sup>c</sup>/<sup>d</sup>

chos.kyi.<sup>452</sup>don.smin.pa.zhes.bya.ba'i.ngang.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.<sup>453</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>454</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>e</sup>

sku.dang.<sup>f</sup>gsung.dang.<sup>g</sup>thugs.kyi.gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.

'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>455</sup>

/pyām.rā.ga.ra.ti/<sup>h</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.chos.thams.cad.<sup>i</sup>'joms.pa'i.mtshan.nyid.

can.gyi.<sup>j</sup>sku.phyag.rgya.chen.mo.\*<sup>k</sup>rgyan.thams.cad.<sup>456</sup>yongs.su.<sup>457</sup>

rdzogs.par.<sup>l</sup>'thon.<sup>458</sup>te/<sup>m</sup>

**K149r**

'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>459</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>c</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> M omits /

<sup>f</sup> M inserts /

<sup>g</sup> M inserts /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M pyām.ra.ga.ra.ti/ Note how all editions retain the forms pyam or pyām.  
[= paṃ.rā.ga.ra.ti, cf. standard Mahāyoga texts such as the *Guhyasamāja* or the  
\**Guhyagarbha*].

<sup>i</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M kyi/ /, K kyis/, for can.gyi

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>460</sup>thams.cad.<sup>a</sup>kyis/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 /ma.lus.yongs.su.<sup>461</sup>rdzogs.pa.yis/\*<sup>c</sup>  
 /mkha'.mnyam.<sup>462</sup>rdul.bral.ngo.bo.nyid/  
 /bde.ba.chen.po'i.<sup>d</sup>gsang.ba'i.gnas/  
 /gsal.la.dro.ba'i.ngang.nyid.yin/<sup>e</sup>  
 /thams.cad.<sup>463</sup>smin.pa'i.rang.bzhin.can/<sup>f</sup>  
 /sbros.\*<sup>g</sup>bral.ngo.bo.nyid.gnas.pa/<sup>h</sup>  
 /smin.pa'i.mtshan.nyid.skur.bstan.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsungs.te/<sup>i</sup>  
 chos.kyi.<sup>464</sup>sems.dpa'i.<sup>465</sup>thugs.ma.g-yos.pa.dang.gnyis.su.  
 med.par.<sup>j</sup>bzhugs.so/<sup>k</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>466</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>l</sup>  
 rab.tu.bskyod.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.te.ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>m</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>467</sup>kyi/<sup>468</sup>  
<sup>n</sup>chos.sku'i.<sup>469</sup>dbyings.nas.<sup>o</sup>thams.cad.<sup>470</sup>'byung/

M811

T27

D185r

<sup>a</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M kyil

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M yi/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M can/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M te/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M spros

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i/

<sup>i</sup> T gsungso/ /; K gsungso/; W gsungs.so/ /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K insert bzhugs.par

<sup>k</sup> T,K bzhugso/

<sup>l</sup> T,W omit /; K writes / through the following r

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M shorten ched.du.brjod.pa'i.'di.gsungs.so/, to ched(K:mched).du.brjod.do/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

/ma.bcos.dbyings.las.ma.g-yos.<sup>471</sup>pa/  
 /dri.med.gsang.<sup>a</sup>ba'i.yi.ge.shar/  
 /zhes.gsungs.so/<sup>472</sup>  
 /yang.de'i.tshe.rab.tu.g-yo.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>b</sup>  
 bskyod.<sup>473</sup>pa.gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/  
<sup>474</sup>ṅā\*<sup>c</sup>/<sup>d</sup>  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.  
 pa'i.chos.thams.cad/<sup>e</sup>  
 dbyings.mam.par.dag.pa'i.ngang.du.g-yo.ba.zhes.by.a.ba.la.  
 gnas.par.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>475</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>476</sup>  
 sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>477</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.  
 phyung.ngo/  
 /tam.badzra.ra.ti/<sup>f</sup>  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.bskyod.<sup>478</sup>pa'i.mtshan.nyid.can.gyi.<sup>479</sup>sku.  
 phyag.rgya.chen.mo.\*<sup>g</sup>rgyan.<sup>480</sup>thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>yongs.su.rdzogs.par.<sup>i</sup>  
 'thon.<sup>481</sup>te/<sup>j</sup>

W14r

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<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M las

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M gsal

<sup>b</sup> T,K,W omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M ṅa

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>e</sup> T,K thamd; T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M tam.badzra.ra.ti

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>h</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M omit /

'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>482</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>483</sup>thams.cad.<sup>a</sup>kyi/  
 /chos.sku.bde.chen.gsang.ba.las/  
 /gsang.ba'i.sgra.skad.sna.tshogs.g-yo/  
 /g-yos.pa'i.ngang.tshul.de.nyid.las/<sup>484</sup>  
 /ma.bcos.dbyings.su.<sup>485</sup>rab.gsal.ston/  
 /gdod.nas.dag.pa'i.ngang.tshul.<sup>b</sup>can/  
 /ma.bcos.rnam.dag.dbyings.su.sdud/<sup>486</sup>  
 /gsang.ba'i.mtshan.nyid.skur.bstan.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsung.te/  
 don.thams.cad.<sup>c</sup>yongs.su.<sup>487</sup>nges.par.grub.pa'i.sku.la.  
 'khril.ba.zhes.by.a.ba'i.ngang.tshul.can.du.bzhugs.so/<sup>488</sup>  
 /thams.cad.dbyings.su.<sup>489</sup>gsal.byed.dang/  
 /ji.ltar.mtshan.nyid.'od.gsal.ba'i/  
 /kham.s.gsum.sems.can.<sup>490</sup>sdud.<sup>491</sup>byed.pa/  
 /rang.bzhin.gnas.su.smin.byed.'gyur/  
 /mtshan.nyid.g-yo.ba'i.ngang.tshul.las/<sup>492</sup>  
 /bsgrubs.<sup>d</sup>na.phrin.<sup>e</sup>las.thams.cad.<sup>493</sup>dag/<sup>f</sup>  
 /'grub.<sup>g</sup>gyur.'di.la.the.tshom.med/  
 /ces.<sup>h</sup>gsung.so/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>494</sup>bdag.po.des/

K149v M812

T28

D185v

<sup>a</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K rang.bzhin

<sup>c</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>d</sup> T,W sgrubs; K sgrub

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M 'phrin

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>g</sup> T,K grub

<sup>h</sup> T,W zhes

<sup>495</sup>snying.po.yongs.su.bkod.pa.zhes.byā.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.

snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/

gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/

/kā\*<sup>a</sup>/<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup>di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.

chos.thams.cad.<sup>d</sup>snying.po.ma.bcos.pa.zhes.byā.ba'i.ngang.la.<sup>e</sup>

gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>496</sup>bdag.po.des/

W14v

sku.gsang.ba.<sup>f</sup>gsung.gsang.ba.<sup>g</sup>thugs.gsang.ba.las.<sup>497</sup>rig.

pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>498</sup>

/kṣiṃ.hi.rā.dza.ya<sup>h</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.sa'i.snying.po'i.sku.phyag.rgya.

thams.cad.<sup>499</sup>yongs.su.'rdzogs.par.thon.te/<sup>i</sup>

bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.zhal.la.bltas.nas.\*<sup>k</sup>di.skad.ces.brjod.do/

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>l</sup>kyi/<sup>500</sup>

/dngos.med.dag.pa'i.byang.chub.sems/

/snying.po.nyid.la.rang.bzhin.gsal/

M813

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M ka

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>c</sup> M inserts /

<sup>d</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>e</sup> T,K las

<sup>f</sup> M inserts /

<sup>g</sup> M inserts /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M kṣi.hi.rā.dza.ya; K kṣi.ha.rā.dza.ya [= kṣiṃ.hi.rā.dzā.ya]

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit yongs.su

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K te/; M te; M seems better.

<sup>l</sup> T,K sangyas.thaṃd

/dri.med.rnam.dag.kun.la.<sup>a</sup>shar/

/de.rtags.<sup>b</sup>snying.po.sku.ru.shar/

/zhes.glengs.<sup>501</sup>te.<sup>c</sup>bcom.lidan.'das.kyi.zhal.la.phyogs.te.<sup>d</sup>

gnas.so/<sup>502</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>503</sup>bdag.po.des/

nam.mkha'.<sup>e</sup>rol.ba.\*<sup>f</sup>zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.

par.zhugs.nas/<sup>g</sup>

gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>504</sup>

/khā\*<sup>h</sup>/<sup>i</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.

thams.cad<sup>505</sup>/<sup>j</sup>

nam.mkha'.<sup>k</sup>snying.por.\*<sup>l</sup>rdzogs.pa.zhes.bya.ba.la.gnas.par.

gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.<sup>m</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>506</sup>bdag.po.des/

sku.gsang.ba.<sup>n</sup>gsung.gsang.ba.<sup>o</sup>thugs.gsang.ba.las.<sup>507</sup>rig.pa'i.

K150r

T29

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M par.dag.la

<sup>b</sup> W,M rtogs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M nas

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M kha

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>k</sup> W,K namkha'i

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>m</sup> T,W omit yang

<sup>n</sup> M inserts /

<sup>o</sup> M inserts /



sngags. 'di.phyung.ngo/

/trām.ā.garbhā.ya<sup>a</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.<sup>508</sup>nam.mkha'i.<sup>b</sup>snying.po.yongs.su.<sup>509</sup>gsal.

ba.zhes.byā.ba'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po/<sup>c</sup>

rgyan.thams.cad.<sup>d</sup>yongs.su.<sup>510</sup>rdzogs.par.<sup>e</sup>thon.<sup>511</sup>te.'di.skad.

ces.<sup>f</sup>glengs.so/<sup>512</sup>

/e.ma.ho.<sup>g</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>513</sup>thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>kyi/<sup>514</sup>

/brjod.pa.<sup>i</sup>med.las.yongs.rdzogs.pa'i/<sup>j</sup>

/don.dam.spros.med.nam.mkha'.<sup>515</sup>dra/

/de.rtags.<sup>k</sup>sku.ru.yongs.rdzogs.pa'o/

/zhes.glengs.te.<sup>l</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.<sup>m</sup>g-yas.phyogs.su.<sup>516</sup>

bzhugs.so/<sup>n</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>517</sup>bdag.po.des/

thugs.rje.<sup>o</sup>yongs.su.<sup>p</sup>byung.ba.zhes.byā.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K trām.a.garbha.ya (W with rin-chen spungs-shad after trām), M trām.a.garbha.yā [= trām.ā.garbha.yaḥ]

<sup>b</sup> W,K namkha'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K gsal.ba; M gsal.bar

<sup>f</sup> W,K omits ces

<sup>g</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit pa

<sup>j</sup> T pa.yi/; K pa.yis/

<sup>k</sup> T,W rtag; K dag

<sup>l</sup> T,W gleng.ste/; K glengs.te/

<sup>m</sup> T gyi; W,K kyis

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K bzhugso/

<sup>o</sup> M rjes

la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas.<sup>a</sup>gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/ **D186r**  
/gā\*<sup>b</sup>/<sup>c</sup>

<sup>d</sup>di.phyung.ma.thag.tu/<sup>e</sup>

'khor.ba.<sup>518</sup>dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad/<sup>f</sup>g

bdud.rtsi'i.rgyun.zhes.by.a.ba.la.<sup>519</sup>gnas.par.mdzad.do/\*<sup>h</sup> **M814 W15r**

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>520</sup>bdag.po.des/

sku.gsang.ba.<sup>i</sup>gsung.gsang.ba.<sup>j</sup>thugs.gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.

sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/hrīḥ.ha.hūṃ.padma.pā.dam<sup>k</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.spyan.ras.gzigs.dbang.phyug.gi.<sup>521</sup>sku.

phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.thams.cad.yongs.su.<sup>l</sup>rdzogs.par.<sup>m</sup>

'thon.<sup>522</sup>te.<sup>n</sup>di.skad.ces.glengs.so/

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>523</sup>kyi/<sup>524</sup>

/ma.bcos.dag.pa'i.dbyings.nyid.las/<sup>o</sup>

**K150v**

<sup>p</sup> T,K yongsu

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ga

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>d</sup> M inserts /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,K thamḍ

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M gyur.to/

<sup>i</sup> M inserts /

<sup>j</sup> M inserts /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M hri.ha.padma.ba.dha.ma [= hrīḥ.ha.hūṃ.padmā.bhata.mah]

<sup>l</sup> T,K thamḍ.yongsu

<sup>m</sup> T,K pa

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M pas/

/thugs.rje.<sup>525</sup>nyid.shar.<sup>a</sup>kun.la.khyab/  
 /de.rtags.sku.ru.bstan.pa.yin/  
 /<sup>526</sup>zhes.glengs.te.<sup>b</sup>bcom.lidan.'das.kyi.<sup>527</sup>rgyab.phyogs.su.<sup>c</sup>  
 bzhugs.so/<sup>528</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>529</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 rdo.rje.spro.ba.<sup>d</sup>zhes.byab.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.nas.<sup>e</sup>gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /gha/<sup>f</sup>  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu/<sup>g</sup>  
 'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.thams.cad/<sup>h</sup>  
 snying.po'i.rgyan.<sup>530</sup>zhes.byab.ba.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/  
 'de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>531</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>i</sup>  
 sku.gsang.ba.<sup>k</sup>gsung.gsang.ba.<sup>l</sup>thugs.gsang.ba.las.<sup>532</sup>rig.pa'i.  
 sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>533</sup>  
 /dzim.ku.ru.pa.na.hri/<sup>m</sup>  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.phyag.na.rdo.rje'i.<sup>534</sup>sku.phyag.rgya.

T30

<sup>a</sup> T,W nyid.ltar; K,M nyi.ltar

<sup>b</sup> T,W gleng.ste/; K glengs.ste/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M tu for phyogs.su

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M spro.pa

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>g</sup> M omits /

<sup>h</sup> T,K thamd; T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>k</sup> M inserts /

<sup>l</sup> M inserts /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M dzi.ku.ru.pa.na.hri

chen.po.rgyan.<sup>535</sup>thams.cad.\*<sup>a</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.te/<sup>b</sup>  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>c</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>536</sup>thams.cad.<sup>d</sup>kyi/<sup>537</sup>  
 /chos.sku.spros.med.dbyings.nyid.las/  
 /rnam.rtog.<sup>538</sup>bdud.rnams.tshar.gcod.'joms/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>539</sup>sku.nyid.\*<sup>e</sup>yongs.rdzogs.yin/  
 /zhes.glengs.te/<sup>f</sup>  
 /bcom.ldan.'das.kyi.g-yon.phyogs.su.<sup>540</sup>bzhugs.so/<sup>541</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>g</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>542</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 kun.la.snyoms.pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i.\*<sup>h</sup>ces.by.a.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.  
 la.snyoms.par.zhugs.<sup>543</sup>te.<sup>i</sup>gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>j</sup>  
 /pa/<sup>k,l</sup>  
 \*<sup>m</sup>phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad/<sup>n</sup>  
 sdug.bsngal.yongs.su.<sup>o</sup>bral.ba.zhes.by.a.ba.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/

M815

W15v

D186v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M insert yongs.su (T,K thamd.yongsu)

<sup>b</sup> T,W thon.te/; K thon.ste/

<sup>c</sup> T glengo/; W gleng.ngo/

<sup>d</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M ru

<sup>f</sup> T,K glengso/; W,M glengs.so/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K omit yang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i.bdag.nyid, for D's pa.zhes.by.a.ba'i

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W gsungso/; K,M gsungs.so/

<sup>k</sup> M ba

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M insert 'di

<sup>n</sup> T,K thamd; T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>o</sup> T,K yongsu

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>544</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>a</sup>  
 sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>545</sup>gsang.ba.las.<sup>b</sup>rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /mai.dha.ra.ṅi.swā.hā<sup>c</sup>/  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.byams.pa'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.<sup>546</sup>  
 thams.cad.<sup>d</sup>yongs.su.<sup>e</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>f</sup>te.<sup>g</sup>'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>547</sup> **T31**  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>548</sup>kyi/<sup>549</sup> **K151r**  
 /kun.gyi.<sup>550</sup>dngos.gzhi.dam.pa.las/<sup>h</sup>  
 /khams.gsum.sems.can.<sup>551</sup>don.rnams.'byung/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>i</sup>sku.ru.bstan.pa.yin/<sup>j</sup>  
 /zhes.glengs.te.<sup>552</sup>kshar.lho.mtshams.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.la.  
 phyogs.nas.bzhugs.so/<sup>553</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>554</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 sgrib.pa.thams.cad.<sup>555</sup>gcod.pa.zhes.byab.a'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>l</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.<sup>m</sup>phyung.ngo/<sup>556</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,K omits /

<sup>b</sup> T,W la

<sup>c</sup> T me.nga.ra.ni.swā.hā, W,K,M me.da.ra.ni.swā.hā [= mai.dha.ra.ṅi.swā.hā]

<sup>d</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K yongsu

<sup>f</sup> T,W pa.de.thon, K pa.thon, for par.'thon (T has final n of thon subscripted and compressed)

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ste/

<sup>i</sup> T rtag; K dag

<sup>j</sup> T,W ni, omitting / or / /; K ni/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K por for po.'di

/phā\*<sup>a</sup>/<sup>b</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
thams.cad.<sup>557</sup>nyon.mongs.pa.dang.mi.\*<sup>c</sup>bral.zhing.mi.dmigs.pa.la.<sup>d</sup>  
gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>558</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>e</sup>

sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>559</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
/thlhim.ni.ssa.rambhā.ya.swā.hā<sup>f</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.sgrib.pa.rnam.par.<sup>g</sup>sel.ba'i.sku.phyag.  
rgya.chen.po.rgyan.thams.cad.<sup>560</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>h</sup>te.<sup>i</sup>

M816

'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>561</sup>

/e.ma.ho.<sup>562</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>563</sup>kyi/<sup>564</sup>

/chos.kyi.<sup>565</sup>dbyings.nyid.dag.pa.las/

/sems.can.<sup>566</sup>sgrib.pa.gcod.par.byed/

/de.rtags.<sup>j</sup>sku.nyid.rdzogs.pa.yin/<sup>k</sup>

/zhes.<sup>l</sup>glengs.te.<sup>m</sup>lho.nub.mtshams.na.<sup>n</sup>bcom.ltan.'das.la.

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pha

<sup>b</sup> T omits /; W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit mi

<sup>d</sup> T,K las

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,M thlim.ni.ram.ba.ya.swā.hā, W,K thlam.ni.ram.ba.ya.swā.hā [= thlim.ni.sā.ram.bhā.ya.swā.hā]

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K omit rnam.par

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K pa.thon

<sup>i</sup> T,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T rtag; K dag

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M par.byed/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M ces

<sup>m</sup> T,W ste; M inserts /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M nas

phyogs.nas.bzhugs.so/<sup>ab</sup>

/de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>567</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>c</sup>

ngang.nyid.ces.byā.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas.<sup>d</sup>

gsang.ba'i.snying.po.<sup>e</sup>di.phyung.ngo/

/bā\*<sup>f</sup>/<sup>g</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.<sup>h</sup>pa'i.chos.

thams.cad.<sup>568</sup>mi.dge.ba.<sup>i</sup>med.pa.zhes.byā.ba.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/ **W16r**

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>569</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>j</sup>sku.gsung.thugs.

kyi.<sup>570</sup>gsang.ba.las.<sup>k</sup>rig.pa'i.<sup>l</sup>sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/ **T32**

/hūṃ.sa.rā.dzā.ya.swā.hā<sup>m</sup>/

**D187r**

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.kun.tu.bzang.po'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.

rgyan.<sup>571</sup>thams.cad.<sup>572</sup>yongs.su.<sup>n</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.te<sup>o</sup>.<sup>p</sup>

'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>q</sup>

**K151v**

<sup>a</sup> W,K bzhugso/

<sup>b</sup> M sogz/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>d</sup> M inserts /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M sngags for snying.po

<sup>f</sup> **T,W,K ba/, M bha/; T,W,K seem more correct**

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>h</sup> M omits 'das

<sup>i</sup> M dag.pa

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit pa'i

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K raṃ.pa.ya.sa.ha; M raṃ.ba.ya.sa.ha

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit yongs.su

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K pa.thon.te/

<sup>p</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>q</sup> T,K glengso/

/e.ma.ho.<sup>573</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>574</sup>kyi/<sup>575</sup>  
 /<sup>576</sup>chos.kun.dag.pa.bdag.med.pa/  
 /dri.ma.med.cing.gsal.<sup>a</sup>ba'i.dngos/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>b</sup>sku.ru.<sup>c</sup>yongs.rdzogs.pa'o/  
 /zhes.glengs.te.<sup>d</sup>nub.byang.\*<sup>e</sup>mtshams.kyi.<sup>577</sup>ngos.su.bcom.  
 ldan.'das.\*<sup>f</sup>la.<sup>578</sup>phyogs.nas.bzhugs.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>h</sup>bcom.lidan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>579</sup>bdag.po.des/  
 dmigs.pa.thams.cad.<sup>i</sup>nam.par.dag.pa.zhes.byaba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.  
 la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>j</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.sngags.\*<sup>k</sup>di.phyung.ngo/  
 /bha/<sup>l</sup>  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad<sup>580/m</sup>  
 rdul.dang.bral.ba.zhes.byaba.la.<sup>n</sup>gnas.par.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>581</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>o</sup>

M817

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K pa.gsang; M cing.gsang

<sup>b</sup> T,W rtag

<sup>c</sup> T,W omit ru

<sup>d</sup> T,W gleng.ste/; K,M glengs.te/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K insert gi.phyogs, M inserts gi; I have preferred T,W,K

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M insert nyid

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K bzhugso/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit yang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit thams.cad

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M snying.po for D's sngags

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M rin-chen spungs-shad for /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W las

<sup>o</sup> T,W,M omit /



sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>582</sup>gsang.ba.las/<sup>a</sup>  
 rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /mūṃ.shrī.āṃ.rā.gā.ya.swā.hā<sup>b</sup>/  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'jam.dpal.gzhon.nu'i.sku.phyag.rgya.chen.po.  
 rgyan.<sup>583</sup>thams.cad.<sup>584</sup>rdzogs.par.'thon.<sup>c</sup>te.<sup>d</sup>di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>e</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>585</sup>kyi/<sup>586</sup>  
 /<sup>587</sup>ngo.bo.nyid.las.thams.cad.<sup>588</sup>byung/  
 /<sup>589</sup>bde.chen.gsang.bar.de.\*<sup>f</sup>gnas.<sup>590</sup>te/  
 /<sup>591</sup>brjod.med.smra.bsam.<sup>g</sup>yul.las.'das/  
 /<sup>592</sup>de.rtags.<sup>h</sup>phyag.rgya.yongs.rdzogs.yin/\*<sup>i</sup>  
 /<sup>593</sup>zhes.glengs.te.<sup>j</sup>byang.shar.\*<sup>k</sup>mtshams.<sup>594</sup>su.bcom.ldan.'das.la.  
 phyogs.nas.bzhugs.so/<sup>l</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>595</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>m</sup>  
 rol.mo.rnam.par.bsgyings.<sup>596</sup>pa.dang/<sup>n</sup>  
 mdzes.pa.dang/

W16v

T33

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M swa.rā.dza.ya.swā.hā, K swa.ra.dza.ya.swā.hā [= mūṃ.shrī.āṃ.rā.gā.ya.swā.hā]

<sup>c</sup> T,K pa.thon; W pa.'thon

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>e</sup> T,K glengso/

<sup>f</sup> T,W ba.des; K,M ba.de; bar.des seems correct

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>h</sup> T,K rtag

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M rgyar.rdzogs.pa.yin/; perhaps the intended reading is rgyar.yongs.rdzogs.yin/

<sup>j</sup> T glengs.ste; W gleng.ste; M inserts /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M insert gyi

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K bzhugso/

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K omit /

nmam.par.<sup>a</sup>spras.\*<sup>b</sup>pa.dang/<sup>c</sup>  
 sna.tshogs.pa'i.bye.brag.gi.<sup>d</sup>ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.<sup>597</sup>nas.<sup>e</sup>gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /tsa.tsha.dza.dzha/  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad.<sup>598</sup>dri.ma.med.cing.rol.pa.zhes.bya.ba.<sup>599</sup>la.  
 gnas.par.gyur.<sup>599</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>h</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>600</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>i</sup>  
 sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /hūṃ.lā.sye.sa.ma.ya.stwaṃ/<sup>j</sup>  
 /traṃ.mā.le.sa.ma.ya.hoḥ<sup>k</sup>/  
 /hriḥ.gī.rti.ra.go.'ham/  
 /oṃ.nī.rti.rā.ga.yā.mi<sup>m</sup>/

K152r

D187v M818

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M omit mdzes.pa.dang/ nmam.par; K omits both this and the next three words, spros.pa.dang/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M spros

<sup>c</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit bye.brag.gi.

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K tsa.tsha.dza.dza

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin for ba

<sup>h</sup> T,W omit yang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K hūṃ.la.se.sa.ma.ya.hūṃ; M hūṃ.lā.se.sa.ma.ya.hūṃ

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M traṃ.ma.le.sa.ma.ya.ho

<sup>l</sup> T,W hri.gī.ti.rā.ga.yā.mi; K hri.gī.ti.ni.rti.rā.ga.yā.mi; M hri.gīrti.ra.ho.ham [= hriḥ.gī.te.rā.go.'ham]. T,W,K have conflated this mantra with the next, which they omit; although T subscripts ni.rti in tiny letters, immediately following a final rin-chen spungs-shad placed after yā.mi

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit this as a complete mantra, but conflate elements of it with the previous mantra (see note above); M a.nirti.ra.ga.yā.mi [= a.nṛtye.rā.ga.yā.mi]

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.lā.sye.ma.<sup>a</sup>dang/<sup>b</sup>  
 mā.le.ma.<sup>c</sup>dang/<sup>d</sup>  
 gīrti.<sup>e</sup>dang/<sup>f</sup>  
 nī.rti.<sup>g</sup>rnams.<sup>h</sup>sku.<sup>601</sup>cha.lugs.dang.rgyan.yongs.su.<sup>i</sup>rdzogs.  
 par.thon.<sup>j</sup>te.<sup>k</sup>di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>602</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>603</sup>kyi/<sup>604</sup>  
 /yang.dag.nyid.las.thams.cad.<sup>605</sup>byung/<sup>m</sup>  
 /ji.ltar.mdzes.shing.mnyes.pa.dang/  
 /ji.ltar.snang.rtags.<sup>n</sup>sku.ru.rdzogs/  
 /zhes.glengs.te/  
 sa'i.snying.po.dang/<sup>o</sup>  
 nam.mkha'i.<sup>p</sup>snying.po.dang/<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K lā.sē.ma [= lā.syā]

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M mā.le; K mā.le.mā [= mā.lā]

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W gīr.ti [= gī.tā]

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M nir.ti [= nrtyā]

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit rnams

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M omit dang.rgyan.yongs.su

<sup>j</sup> W,D 'thon

<sup>k</sup> M inserts /

<sup>l</sup> T,W gleng.ngo/

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M 'byung/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M ba'i for rtags

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K omit /

spyan.ras.gzigs.dbang.phyug.<sup>a</sup>dang/<sup>b</sup>  
 phyag.na.rdo.rje'i.<sup>606</sup>sku.la.dgyes.<sup>c</sup>pa'i.tshul.gyis.<sup>d</sup>khрил.<sup>e</sup>nas.  
 bzhugs.so/<sup>f</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 rab.tu.mnyes.shing.gsal.ba.<sup>g</sup>dri.ma.med.pa.zhes.byā.ba'i.ting.nge.  
 'dzin.la.snyoms.par.zhugs.nas/<sup>h</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /ya.ra.la.wa/  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
 thams.cad.<sup>607</sup>rab.tu.bde.zhing.gsal.ba.zhes.byā.ba.la.  
 gnas.par.gyur.<sup>608</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/<sup>i</sup>  
 sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>j</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
 /dzah/ dhu.pa.pra.wesha<sup>k</sup>/  
 /hūṃ.pu.ṣpa.ā.we.sha<sup>l</sup>/  
 /baṃ.di.pa.su.gi.rī<sup>m</sup>/<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit dbang.phyug

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>c</sup> K 'gyes, M dges, for la.dgyes

<sup>d</sup> D lacuna for one letter

<sup>e</sup> T,W mkhril

<sup>f</sup> T,W bzhugso/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit kyi

<sup>k</sup> T,K,M dza.dhu.ba.pra.be.sha.ya; W dza.dhu.ba.pre.ba.sha.ya [= dza.dhū.pe.pra.wesha]

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M omit this mantra [= hūṃ.puṣpe.ā.we.sha]

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M baṃ.dī.pam.su.ki.ni; K ditto, but paṃ for pam [= vaṃ/baṃ.dī.pa.su.khi.ni]

/ho.gan.dhe.ci.tta.ho<sup>a</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.dhu.pe.ma.dang<sup>b</sup>

puṣpe.ma.dang<sup>c</sup>

ā.<sup>d</sup>lo.ke.dang<sup>e</sup>

gan.dhe.<sup>f</sup>ma.rnams.sku.rgyan.<sup>609</sup>dang.cha.lugs.yongs.su.<sup>g</sup>rdzogs.par.

'thon.\*<sup>h</sup>te.<sup>i</sup>'di.skad.ces.glengs.so<sup>j</sup>

/e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>610</sup>kyi/<sup>611</sup>

W17r

/dri.med.gsal.ba'i.ye.shes.mchog/

/gsal.'tsher.lhun.sdug.gzi.byin.can/

/de.rtags.<sup>612</sup>sku.ru.rdzogs.pa'o/

M819

/zhes.glengs.te<sup>k</sup>

/<sup>l</sup>byams.pa.dang<sup>m</sup>

sgrib.pa.rnam.par.<sup>n</sup>sel.ba.dang<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M insert a further mantra, probably a corrupted transposition of the one they omit above: hūṃ.su.pa.a.be.sha/

<sup>a</sup> T,W ho.gan.de.ci.ta.ho; K ho.gan.te.ci.ta.ho; M ho.gan.de.ci.tta.ho [= ho.gan.dhe.ci.tta.ho]

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>d</sup> T,K,M a

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>g</sup> W,K yongsu

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K thon

<sup>i</sup> M inserts /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K glengso/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K gleng.ste/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K omit rnam.par

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K omit /

kun.tu.bzang.po.<sup>a</sup>dang<sup>613/b</sup>

'jam.dpal.<sup>614</sup>gzhon.nu'i.sku.la.'khril.ba'i.tshul.gyis.bzhugs.so/<sup>615</sup> **K152v**

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>c</sup>bdag.po.des/

rnam.rtog.<sup>d</sup>joms.pa.zhes.byab.a'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.

zhugs.<sup>616</sup>so/<sup>e</sup>

/de.nyid.las.gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/

/nga.nya.ma.sa/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.

thams.cad<sup>617/f</sup>

rab.tu.zlog.<sup>g</sup>pa.zhes.byab.a.las.\*<sup>h</sup>gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>618</sup>bdag.po.des/

sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>619</sup>gsang.ba.las/<sup>i</sup>

**D188r**

rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/

/ya.mān.ta.kṛt.phaṭ/<sup>j</sup>

bighāṃ.ta.kṛt.phaṭ/<sup>k</sup>

padmānta.kṛt.phaṭ/<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W kun.bzang for kun.tu.bzang.po

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>c</sup> K gis

<sup>d</sup> K rtogs

<sup>e</sup> T,W zhugso/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M bzlog; D ldog

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K ya.ma.ta.kṛid.phaṭ; M ya.man.ta.kṛid.phaṭ

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M big.nan.ta.kṛid.phaṭ [= bigh.nān.ta.kṛt.phaṭ]

<sup>l</sup> T padma.na.ṭa.kṛid.phaṭ; W padma.na.ta.kṛid.phaṭ; K padma.ta.kṛid.phaṭ; M padman.ta.kṛit.phaṭ

pradznyānta.kṛt.phat<sup>a</sup>/  
 'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'joms.<sup>620</sup>pa.chen.po.<sup>b</sup>reg.shes.dang/  
 'joms.pa.chen.po'i.reg.<sup>621</sup>byed.dang/  
 'joms.pa.chen.po.reg.bya.dang/<sup>c</sup>  
 'joms.pa.chen.po.mthar.<sup>d</sup>byed.kyi.sku.<sup>e</sup>phyag.rgya.chen.po.rgyan.  
 thams.cad.yongs.su.<sup>622</sup>rdzogs.par.<sup>623</sup>'thon.\*<sup>f</sup>te.'di.skad.ces.  
 glengs.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>624</sup>kyi/<sup>625</sup>  
 /phrin.<sup>h</sup>las.ma.lus.yongs.rdzogs.pa'i/\*<sup>i</sup>  
 /byams.dang.snying.rje.la.sogs.pa'i/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>627</sup>sku.ru.bstan.pa.yin/<sup>628</sup>  
 'zhes.glengs.te.<sup>k</sup>sgo.bzhir.<sup>629</sup>'khod.do/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>630</sup>bdag.po.des<sup>631</sup>/<sup>l</sup>  
 yon.tan.gyi.<sup>632</sup>mdzod.ces.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.nas/<sup>m</sup>  
 gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/

T35

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pradznyā.ta.krid.phat

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K par for pa.chen.po.

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit this line

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M gar

<sup>e</sup> M omits sku

<sup>f</sup> T pa.thon, W pa.'thon; perhaps par.thon is better.

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K glengso/

<sup>h</sup> K,M 'phrin

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M thams.cad.<sup>626</sup>gzhol.ba.yi/; K yis/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M brjod.de

<sup>l</sup> T,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit /

/dzah.hūm.baṃ.hoḥ<sup>a</sup>/

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.'das.pa'i.chos.  
thams.cad.<sup>633</sup>gzi.mdangs.<sup>634</sup>dang.<sup>b</sup>ldan.zhing.gnyis.su.<sup>c</sup>med.pa'i. **M820**  
ngang.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>635</sup>bdag.po.des/<sup>636</sup>

sku.gsung.<sup>d</sup>thugs.kyis.<sup>637</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.sngags.'di.phyung.ngo/  
<sup>e</sup>badzra.dhara.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ<sup>f</sup>/

ratna.dhara.ma.hā.krodhīshwarī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ<sup>g</sup>/ **W17v**

padma.dha.ra.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ<sup>h</sup>/

karma.dha.ra.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ<sup>i</sup>/ **K153r**

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.rtag.par.<sup>j</sup>ma.yin.pa.dang/<sup>k</sup>

chad.par.<sup>l</sup>ma.yin.pa.dang/<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M dza.hūm.baṃ.ho

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit dang

<sup>c</sup> W,K gnyisu

<sup>d</sup> M lacuna for one letter

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,K badzra.ma.hā.dha.ra.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dza.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ; W ditto, but dzwa for dza; M badzra.mahā.dhā.ra.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ [= badzra.dha.ro.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ]

<sup>g</sup> T,W radna.dha.ra.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ; K ditto, but dza for dzwa; M ratna.dha.ra.mahā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ [= ratna.dha.ro.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ]

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M padma.dha.ra.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ [= padma.dha.ro.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ]

<sup>i</sup> T karma.dha.ra.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ; K ditto, but dza for dzwa; W,M karma.dha.ra.mahā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ [= karma.dha.ro.ma.hā.kro.dhī.shwa.rī.dzwa.la.ni.hūm.phaṭ]

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit /



gnyis.su.<sup>638</sup>ma.yin.pa.dang/<sup>a</sup>  
 thal.bar.ma.yin.pa.rnams.kyi.<sup>639</sup>sku.rgyan.<sup>640\*</sup>bcha.lugs.thams.  
 cad.<sup>641</sup>dang.ldan.par.<sup>c</sup>thon.<sup>642</sup>te.<sup>d</sup>di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>e</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>f</sup>thams.cad.<sup>643</sup>kyi/  
 /rol.pa'i.phyag.rgya.gar.rnams.kun/  
 /yang.dag.nyid.las.byung.bas.na/  
 /de.rtags.<sup>g</sup>phyag.rgya.\*<sup>h</sup>rdzogs.pa.yin/<sup>i</sup>  
 /zhes.glengs.te.<sup>644j</sup>joms.pa.chen.po.rnams.kyi.sku.dang.gnyis.su.<sup>k</sup>  
 med.par.bzhugs.so/<sup>l</sup>  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>645</sup>bdag.po.<sup>646</sup>des/  
<sup>647</sup>so.so'i.mtshan.ma.<sup>m</sup>snang.ba.zhes.bya.ba'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.nas.<sup>n</sup>gsang.ba'i.snying.po.'di.phyung.ngo/<sup>648</sup>  
 /a.ā/<sup>o</sup> i.ī/<sup>p</sup> u.ū/<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W omit pa.dang/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert dang

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K pa

<sup>d</sup> W,M insert /

<sup>e</sup> W,K glengso/

<sup>f</sup> T,K sangyas

<sup>g</sup> T,K rtag

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M rgyar

<sup>i</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>j</sup> M inserts /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K gnyisu

<sup>l</sup> T zhugs.so/; W zhugso/; K bzhugso/

<sup>m</sup> M la

<sup>n</sup> M inserts /

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K omit /

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.'khor.ba.dang.mya.ngan.las.<sup>649</sup>'das.pa'i.  
chos.thams.cad/<sup>a650</sup>

D188v

so.so'i.mtshan.nyid.kyi.<sup>651</sup>bye.brag.la.gnas.par.gyur.to/<sup>652</sup>

/de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>653</sup>bdag.po.des.<sup>b</sup>

M821

sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>654</sup>gsang.ba.las.rig.pa'i.<sup>655</sup>sngags.'di.  
phyung.ngo/

/oṃ.mu.ne.kriṃ.swā.hā/

T36

/oṃ.mu.ne.hūṃ.truṃ.swā.hā/

/oṃ.mu.ne.sruṃ.swā.hā/

/oṃ.mu.ne.braṃ.\*<sup>c</sup>swā.hā/

/oṃ.mu.ne.kṣaṃ.swā.hā/

/oṃ.mu.ne.ye.swā.hā/<sup>d</sup>

'di.phyung.ma.thag.tu.thub.pa.chen.po.drug.gi.'so.so'i.sku.ru.

'thon.\*<sup>f</sup>te.<sup>g</sup>'di.skad.ces.<sup>656</sup>glengs.so/<sup>h</sup>

/e.ma.ho.<sup>657</sup>sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.<sup>658</sup>kyi/

/<sup>659</sup>bde.ba.chen.po'i.chos.sku.las/<sup>660</sup>

/<sup>661</sup>'gro.drug.ji.ltar.'dul.ba.yi/<sup>662</sup>

/sprul.skur.bstan.pa.yongs.'rdzogs.pa'o/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M praṃ

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K /mu.ne.kri.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.hūṃ.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.braṃ(T:bruṃ).swā.hā/  
/mu.ne.kṣaṃ.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.sruṃ.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.ye.swā.hā/ (K omits all initial /) M:  
/mu.ne.kṣiṃ.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.hūṃ.drung.swā.hā/ /mu.ne.braṃ.swā.hā/, then as T,W,K

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit gi

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K thon

<sup>g</sup> M inserts /

<sup>h</sup> T glengso//; W glengso/

<sup>i</sup> D omits yongs

/zhes.glengs.te.<sup>a</sup>khyams.la.<sup>b</sup>bzhugs.<sup>c</sup>par.gyur.<sup>663</sup>to/  
 /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/  
 mam.pa'i.<sup>d</sup>mchog.dang.lan.<sup>e</sup>pa'i.ting.nge.'dzin.la.snyoms.par.  
 zhugs.nas.<sup>f</sup>ched.du.brjod.pa.'di.gsungs.so/<sup>664</sup>  
 /nga.yi.dkyil.'khor.gsang.ba'i.mchog/  
 /thams.cad.<sup>665</sup>kun.la.khyab.chen.po/  
 /'di.bsgrub.las.gang.<sup>g</sup>'grub.par.'gyur/  
 /thams.cad.<sup>666</sup>joms.pa'i.phur.pa.yin/  
 /zhes.gsungs.so/<sup>h</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.gnas.rnams.thams.cad.<sup>667</sup>kun/\*<sup>j</sup>  
 /ji.ltar.ba.<sup>k</sup>yi.lbsam.rdzogs.pa/  
 /'gro.rnams.bkod.pa.ji.lta.bar/  
 /de.'drar.bde.chen.gsang.bdag.mdzad/

K153v

W18r

/rgyud.kyi.rgyal.po'i.<sup>668</sup>yang.rgyal.po/<sup>m</sup>  
 de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thams.cad.<sup>669</sup>kyi.<sup>670</sup>gsang.ba'i.yang.gsang.ba/<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> M inserts /

<sup>b</sup> T la, followed by lacuna for one letter; W,K las

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M gnas

<sup>d</sup> T,W pa

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert par.gyur

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K te; M te/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K yang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K te/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M du/

<sup>k</sup> M lta.bu

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K ba'i for ba.yi

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

kī.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.mdo.las/

gleng.gzhi'i.<sup>671</sup>le'u.ste.dang.po'o//

Chapter One: Single Readings of T,W,K

(1) W: brug; (2) K: gi; (3) K: sum.gyis; (4) T: mchog; (5) K: gyis; (6) K: thaṃd; (7) K: gnyisu; (8) K: lis; (9) K: thaṃd; (10) K: thaṃd; (11) K: thaṃd; (12) K: gis.rgyalo/; (13) K: thaṃd; (14) T: bsnyes; (15) K: 'gyur; (16) W: inserts /; (17) K: phrin; (18) W: yang; (19) T: inserts /; (20) K: gyis; (21) K: thaṃd; (22) K: mi subscripted; (23) W: omits /; (24) K: seṃn.gyis; (25) K: gyis; (26) W: inserts /; (27) K: gis; (28) K: brtsun; (29) K: thaṃd; (30) K: rgyan; (31) T: dud; (32) K: final s subscripted; (33) T: inserts /; (34) W: inserts /; (35) K: omits dang; (36) W: inserts /; (37) T: inserts /; (38) W: inserts /; (39) K: mtha'; (40) W: pa; (41) T: inserts /; (42) K: gyis; (43) K: sangyas; (44) K: sangyas; (45) W: inserts /; (46) K: 'gyur; (47) K: rjod; (48) K: gis.brdul; (49) T: bzhi; (50) K: kyis ; (51) K: kyi; (52) W: zhig; (53) W: khyad; (54) T: bzhugso/; (55) K: bzhugso/; (56) K: kyis; (57) K: gyis; (58) K: spob; (59) T: bzhugso/; (60) K: gis; (61) K: de; (62) K: thaṃd; (63) K: la subscripted in small writing, positioned by dots; (64) T: omits gi.dbang; (65) K: seṃda'i; (66) K: sangyas; (67) K: grangs for bgrang.ba; (68) K: gyis; (69) K: sangyas; (70) K: thaṃd; (71) K: gis; (72) K: inserts ma; (73) K: thaṃd; (74) K: namkha'i; (75) K: yin.no/ for yin.pa'o/; (76) K: sangyas; (77) T: 'das in tiny letters, subscripted, positioned by dotted line; (78) K: dgong; (79) K: seṃn; (80) K: gyis; (81) T: 'di; (82) T: omits /; (83) K: gyis; (84) K: rjesu; (85) T: inserts /; (86) T: inserts /; (87) W: omits dang; (88) K: thaṃd; (89) K: final s subscripted; (90) K: thaṃd; (91) K: 'gyuro/; (92) W: omits /; (93) K: final s subscripted; (94) W inserts an extra line here: /ma.ltar.byams.shing.thugs.rje.chen.po.'dis/ (dittography, assimilating elements of the lines above and below) ; (95) W: brjod.med.kyi.ngang.las.reg.pa, for brjod.pa'i (dittography, cf. *homeomeson* brjod); (96) K: omits ni; (97) W: inserts /; (98) K: gcig; (99) T: byung; (100) K: yongsu; (101) K: seṃn; (102) K: 'gyuro/; (103) T: gnyisu; (104) K: sprul; (105) T: inserts /; (106) K: seṃn; (107) W: rjes; (108) K: mo'i; (109) K: pa.'dangs; (110) T: inserts /; (111) T: inserts /; (112) K: 'byung; (113) K: gyis; (114) K: final s subscripted; (115) K: 'dzes; (116) T: klu; (117) K: yongsu; (118) K: thaṃd; (119) K: final s subscripted; (120) K: gsan/; (121) T: inserts /; (122) K: gis; (123) W repeats the previous sixteen syllables: par.snang.zhing.ye.shes.kyi.rdo.rje.rtse.dgu.pa.can.lta.bu.dus.gsum. (dittography; perhaps the scribe's eye caught the previous occurrence of gsum); (124) W: omits yum; (125)

K: 'gyuro/; (126) K: de; (127) T: yongsu; (128) K: bzhugs; (129) T: zhugso/; (130) K: kyis; (131) K: kyi; (132) W: omits nyid; (133) T: omits kyi; (134) K: gis; (135) T: gsum; (136) K: yongsu; (137) T: mkhyud; (138) K: te; (139) K: phra; (140) K: bzhugs.cing; (141) K: mo'i; (142) T: za.mi for zim; (143) T: inserts /; (144) K: gyis; (145) T: omits /; (146) K: gis; (147) K: omits 'dzin; (148) W: inserts pa; (149) K: brgyan; (150) T: glengso/; (151) K: yum.gyis; (152) K: sangyas.sem; (153) K: po'o/; (154) K: omits ho; (155) K: thamd; (156) K: kyis; (157) K: omits kyi; (158) K: can.gyi; (159) K: mams; (160) K: dang superscripted in small writing; (161) K: thamd; (162) K: inserts can; (163) W: 'dzin subscripted, positioned by dotted line; (164) T: omits /; (165) K: gsungso/; (166) K: thamd; (167) K: gyis; (168) K: kyis; (169) K: gis; (170) K: gis; (171) K: gis; (172) K: yongsu; (173) K: bsdud; (174) K: gis; (175) K: yongsu; (176) K: gis; (177) K: 'di; (178) K: thamd; (179) K: yongsu; (180) K: omits can; (181) K: 'gyur; (182) K: gis; (183) K: yongsu; (184) K: thamd; (185) K: gis; (186) K: po.des for pos; (187) K: sangyas.thamd; (188) K: brgyan/; (189) K: padma; (190) K: ' subscripted; (191) K: gdug; (192) K: rgyan/; (193) K: gsungso/; (194) K: gis; (195) K: yongsu; (196) K: te/; (197) K: gyis; (198) K: kyis; (199) K: thamd; (200) K: bzhugs; (201) K: phyungo/; (202) K: omits /thā/; (203) K: gyis; (204) K: sangyas; (205) T: inserts /; (206) T: tshe subscripted, in tiny letters; (207) K: inserts can; (208) K: gis; (209) K: pa'i for pa.de'i ; (210) K: ga; (211) K: bsgragso/; (212) K: sangyas.thamd; (213) K: dag; (214) K: sangyas; (215) K: gis; (216) K: sangyas; (217) K: bsgragso/; (218) K: bzhugs; (219) W: zhugso/; (220) K: gis; (221) K: bzhugs; (222) K: gyis; (223) K: sangyas; (224) K: btib; (225) K: final s subscripted; (226) K: shig; (227) K: thamd; (228) K: thamd; (229) K: sangyas; (230) K: rje; (231) K: yongsu; (232) K: la superscripted in tiny writing; (233) K: bzhugs; (234) K: thamd; (235) K: yongsu; (236) T: 'byung; (237) K: yongsu; (238) K: final s subscripted; (239) K: skyod; (240) T: omits /; (241) K: kyis; (242) K: gis; (243) K: thamd; (244) K: sangyas.thamd kyis/; (245) K: gyis.sangyas; (246) K: sangyas.thamd; (247) K: par; (248) W: omits this line; (249) K: gis; (250) K repeats gsang.ba.mchog (dittography); (251) K: gis; (252) K: spros.pa; (253) T: tinge; (254) K: bzhugs; (255) T: zhugso/; (256) K: bzhi; (257) K: sangyas; (258) K: bsgrags; (259) K: thamd.kyis/; (260) W: ba; (261) K: gyis; (262) T: gragso/; (263) K: thamd.yongsu; (264) K: 'gyur; (265) K: gis; (266) K: thamd; (267) K: mthon; (268) T: glengso/;

(269) K: yis; (270) K: sangyas; (271) K: gyis; (272) K: yis; (273) K: gyis; (274) K: thamd.kyis/; (275) T: bzhugso/; (276) K: gis; (277) K: thamd; (278) K: gsungso/; (279) K: thamd.kyis/; (280) K: thamd; (281) K: gyis; (282) K: gyis; (283) K: pas; (284) K: 'gyur; (285) K: gis; (286) K: gsungs; (287) K: yongsu; (288) K: 'jugs; (289) K: gsungs; (290) K: thamd.kyis/; (291) W has lacuna for one letter; (292) K: thamd; (293) T: nas; (294) W: inserts /; (295) T: zhugso/; (296) K: gyis; (297) K: gyis; (298) K: semn; (299) K: gis; (300) W: inserts /; (301) T: rab.tu in tiny, compressed letters; (302) K: thamd; (303) K: gyis; (304) K: las; (305) K: gis; (306) W: omits /; (307) T: inserts /; (308) K: thamd; (309) T: lacuna for two letters; (310) K: semn; (311) K: kyis; (312) K: sangyas; (313) K: inserts gnas (dittography); (314) K: thamd; (315) K: omits /; (316) K: kyis; (317) K: bzhugs; (318) K: sangyas.thamd; (319) K: semn; (320) K: gyis; (321) K: inserts 'di; (322) K: gis; (323) K: omits spros.shing; (324) W: lacuna for one letter; (325) K: bsgragso/; (326) K: sangyas.thamd; (327) K: gis; (328) K: bzhugs; (329) K omits the next two sentences, beginning here up to snyoms.par.zhugs.so/ (*saut du même au même*); (330) T: e'i in tiny writing; (331) T: zhugso/; (332) T: omits /; (333) K: gyis.sangyas; (334) T: kyi; (335) K: sangyas; (336) K: gyis; (337) K: semn; (338) K has mistaken the phrase /de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.des/ occurring two sentences below, for the same phrase occurring here, and has thus omitted what comes in between (*saut du même au même*). Evidently realising his mistake upon reaching the phrase chos.kyi.sems.dpa'i, the scribe immediately placed an asterisk there; then inserted the missing text; then indicated the correct ordering of the jumbled-up phrases by marking them with the first four letters of the alphabet, ka, kha, ga, nga; and finally, after another asterisk, continued where he left off, with sku.phyag.rgya.chen.por etc. (339) K: thamd; (340) K: omits pa; (341) K: bar for ba.la; (342) K: semda'i; (343) K: brgyan; (344) K: glengso/; (345) K: 'dod; (346) K: gyis; (347) K: thamd; (348) K: gsungso/; (349) K: sangyas.thamd.kyis/; (350) K: yongsu; (351) K: 'gyur; (352) K: gis; (353) K: inserts /; (354) K: sangyas.thamd.kyis/; (355) T: omits /; (356) K: yongsu; (357) K: gis; (358) K: gis; (359) W: de; (360) K: gyis; (361) W: inserts /; (362) W: inserts grub (subscripted in small dbu-med writing, positioned by a dotted line) ; (363) K: thamd; (364) K: kyis; (365) K: gragso/; (366) K: bzhugs; (367) T: zhugso/; (368) K: 'gyur; (369) K: gis; (370) K: brgyan; (371) K: thon; (372) K: yongsu; (373) K:

thamd; (374) K: semn; (375) K: gyis; (376) T: bzhugso/; (377) T: lacuna  
 for four letters; (378) K: kyis; (379) K: kyis; (380) K: gris; (381) K:  
 gsungso/; (382) K: gis; (383) K: zhes; (384) K: gsungso/; (385) K:  
 thamd.kyis/; (386) T: thā; (387) T: byung; (388) K: thamd; (389) K: gis;  
 (390) K: brgyan; (391) K: sangyas; (392) K: kyis/; (393) K: pos; (394)  
 K: khyabs/; (395) K: skyon; (396) T: inserts /; (397) K: gis; (398) T:  
 bi.tinge; (399) T: chedu; (400) K: sangyas; (401) K: kyis/; (402) K:  
 sangyas; (403) K: 'gyur; (404) K: ge; (405) K: omits /; (406) T:  
 phyungo/; (407) K: ta/; (408) K: bstan; (409) K: kyis; (410) T:  
 phyungo/; (411) K: gyis; (412) K: sangyas; (413) K: brgyan; (414) T:  
 yongsu; (415) K: thon; (416) T: glengso/; (417) K: sangyas; (418) K:  
 kyis/; (419) T: omits /; (420) K: yongsu; (421) K: gsung; (422) K: gis;  
 (423) K: thamd; (424) K: gsungso/; (425) K: sangyas.thamd; (426) K:  
 kyis/; (427) K: bsdud/; (428) K: yig.ge; (429) W: mamr; (430) K:  
 gsungso/; (431) W: don; (432) K: thamd.dbyingsu; (433) K: gis; (434)  
 K: kyis; (435) T: rigs; (436) K: brgyan; (437) T: yongsu; (438) K: thon;  
 (439) T: glengso/; (440) K: inserts /; (441) K: sangyas; (442) K: kyis/;  
 (443) K: kyis; (444) W: pa'i; (445) T: ba'i; (446) K: semda'; (447) K:  
 gnyisu; (448) K: gis; (449) T: chedu; (450) K: inserts /; (451) K: kyis/;  
 (452) K: kyis; (453) W: omits yang; (454) K: gis; (455) T: phyungo/;  
 (456) K: thamd; (457) T: yongsu; (458) K: mthon; (459) T: glengso/;  
 (460) K: sangyas; (461) T: yongsu; (462) K: snyams; (463) K: thamd;  
 (464) K: kyis; (465) K: semda'i; (466) K: gis; (467) K: sangyas.thamd;  
 (468) K: kyis/; (469) K: sku; (470) K: thamd; (471) K: bcos; (472) K:  
 gsungso/; (473) K: skyod; (474) K precedes ṇa with the syllable a,  
 crossed through; (475) K: gis; (476) T: omits /; (477) K: kyis; (478) K:  
 skyod; (479) K: gyis; (480) K: brgyan; (481) K: thon; (482) T: gleng.so/;  
 (483) K: sangyas; (484) T: la/; (485) T: dbyingsu; (486) K: bsdud/; (487)  
 K: yongsu; (488) T: bzhugso/; (489) K: thamd.dbyingsu; (490) K: semn;  
 (491) K: bsdud; (492) K: can/; (493) K: thamd; (494) K: gis; (495) T:  
 inserts /; (496) K: gis; (497) K: la; (498) T: phyungo/; (499) K: thamd;  
 (500) K: kyis/; (501) T: gleng; (502) T: gnaso/; (503) K: gis; (504) T:  
 phyungo/; (505) K: thamd; (506) K: gis; (507) W: inserts /; (508) W:  
 inserts /; (509) T: yongsu; (510) T: yongsu; (511) K: thon; (512) K:  
 glengso/; (513) K: sangyas; (514) K: kyis/; (515) K: namkha'; (516) T:  
 phyogsu; (517) K: gis; (518) T: ba in tiny writing; (519) W: ba'i for  
 ba.la; (520) K: gis; (521) K: gis; (522) K: thon; (523) K: sangyas.thamd;  
 (524) K: kyis/; (525) K: rje'i; (526) T: omits /; (527) K: kyis; (528) T:



bzhugso/; (529) K: gis; (530) K: po.brgyan; (531) K: gis; (532) K: omits las; (533) T: phyungo/; (534) K: rje; (535) K: brgyan; (536) K: sangyas; (537) K: kyis/; (538) K: rtogs; (539) K: dag; (540) K: phyogsu; (541) T: bzhugso/; (542) K: gis; (543) K: bzhugs; (544) W: gsang.ba'i, followed by lacuna for mchog.gi; (545) K: kyis; (546) K: brgyan; (547) T: glengso/; (548) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (549) K: kyis/; (550) K: gyis; (551) K: semn; (552) T: ste; (553) T: bzhugso/; (554) K: gis; (555) K: thamḍ; (556) K: phyungo/; (557) K: thamḍ; (558) K: gis; (559) K: kyis; (560) K: thamḍ; (561) K: glengso/; (562) T: inserts /; (563) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (564) K: kyis/; (565) K: nyid; (566) K: semn; (567) K: gis; (568) K: thamḍ; (569) K: gis; (570) K: kyis; (571) K: brgyan; (572) K: thamḍ; (573) K: inserts /; (574) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (575) K: kyis/; (576) T: omits /; (577) K: 'tshams.kyis; (578) K: las; (579) K: gis; (580) K: thamḍ; (581) K: gis; (582) K: kyis; (583) K: brgyan; (584) K: thamḍ; (585) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (586) K: kyis/; (587) T: omits /; (588) K: thamḍ; (589) T: omits /; (590) K: g of gnas subscripted; (591) T: omits /; (592) T: omits /; (593) T: omits /; (594) K: 'tshams; (595) K: gis; (596) K: bsgying; (597) K: bzhugs; (598) K: thamḍ; (599) K: 'gyur; (600) K: gis; (601) K: omits sku; (602) K: glengso/; (603) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (604) K: kyis/; (605) K: thamḍ; (606) K: rje; (607) K: thamḍ; (608) K: 'gyur; (609) K: brgyan; (610) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (611) K: kyis/; (612) K: dag; (613) K: omits dang; (614) W: omits dpal; (615) T: bzhugso/; (616) K: bzhugs; (617) K: thamḍ; (618) K: gis; (619) K: kyis; (620) K: 'jom; (621) T: rig; (622) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (623) K: pa; (624) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (625) K: kyis/; (626) K: thamḍ; (627) K: dag; (628) W: ni/; (629) T: gzhir; (630) K: gis; (631) T: das; (632) K: gyis; (633) K: thamḍ; (634) T: gzim.dangs; (635) K: gis; (636) K: omits /; (637) K: kyis; (638) W: gnyisu; (639) K: kyis; (640) K: brgyan; (641) K: thamḍ; (642) K: mthon; (643) K: thamḍ; (644) K: gleng.te; (645) K: gis; (646) K: po subscripted, positioned by a dotted line; (647) T: inserts /; (648) K: gsungs.so/; (649) K: omits las; (650) K: thamḍ; (651) K: gyis; (652) K: gyuro/; (653) K: gis; (654) K: kyis; (655) K: rigs.lnga'i; (656) T: omits ces; (657) T: inserts //; (658) K: sangyas.thamḍ; (659) T: omits /; (660) K: po.thamḍ.kyis/; (661) T: omits /; (662) K: yis/; (663) K: 'gyur; (664) W: gsungso/; (665) K: thamḍ; (666) K: thamḍ; (667) K: thamḍ; (668) K: po; (669) K: thamḍ; (670) K: kyis; (671) T: bzhi'i

GNYSIS

//de.nas.rdo.rje.chos.rang.gi.<sup>1</sup>stan.<sup>a</sup>las.langs.te<sup>2</sup>  
 bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.<sup>3</sup>mchog.gi.bdag.po.la<sup>b/c</sup>  
 phyi.nang.gsang.ba.gsum.gyi.<sup>4</sup>mchod.pa.rgya.chen.pos.mchod.cing.  
 bstod.pa.<sup>4</sup>byas.nas/ M822  
 lan.brgya.<sup>e</sup>stong.du.bskor.ba.byas.nas.phyag.'tshal.nas/<sup>f</sup>  
 'di.skad.ces.gsol.ba.btab.bo/<sup>g</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.<sup>5</sup>bcom.ldan.'das/<sup>6</sup> T37  
 /gsang.gsung.\*<sup>h</sup>don.gyi.<sup>7</sup>bdag.nyid.gtso/  
 /stong.pa.rnam.<sup>8</sup>dag.kun.gyi.<sup>9</sup>mdzod/  
 /ma.bcos.spros.med.snying.po'i.sku/  
 /dngos.med.byang.chub.sems.kyi.bdag/  
 /sangs.rgyas.<sup>10</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>11</sup>gtsor.gyur.<sup>12</sup>pa/  
 /sngags.kyi.bdag.po.khyod.la.'dud/ D189r  
 /e.ma.ho.sangs.rgyas.<sup>i</sup>bcom.ldan.'das/  
 /dkyil.'khor.rnams.kyi.de.nyid.don/<sup>13</sup>  
 /byang.chub.sems.kyi.mtshan.nyid.<sup>14</sup>dang/  
 /ma.bcos.snying.po'i.<sup>j</sup>don.rnams.kun/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K bstan

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K des

<sup>c</sup> M omits /

<sup>d</sup> W gsum.gyis; K gsum.gyi.gsum.gyis

<sup>e</sup> K rgya; M omits brgya

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M te/

<sup>g</sup> T,W btab.pa'o/; K gtab.pa'o/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M gsang.gsum, K gsum.gsum; T,W,M seem better

<sup>i</sup> T,K sangyas, T in tiny subscripted letters, positioned by a dotted line

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M pa.yi, K pa.yis, for snying.po'i

/bdag.cag.<sup>15</sup> khor.la.bshad.du.gsol/  
 /zhes.zhus.pa.dang/  
 de.nas.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>a</sup>bdag.po.des/  
<sup>16</sup>rdo.rje.chos.la.bka'.stsal.pa/  
<sup>17</sup>sems.dpa'.<sup>18</sup>chen.po.nyon.cig/<sup>19</sup>  
 /khyod.kyis.zhums.\*<sup>b</sup>pa'i.sems.ma.yin.<sup>c</sup>par/\*<sup>d</sup>  
 spobs.pa.bskeyed.<sup>e</sup>nas.<sup>f</sup>zhus.pa.legs.so.legs.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.rnams.kyi.de.nyid.ni/  
 /gsang.ba'i.don.las.byung.ba.yin/  
 /don.dam.kun.rdzob.gnyis.yod.de/  
 /mkhas.pa.rnams.kyis.<sup>h</sup>rig.<sup>20</sup>par.bya/  
 /byang.chub.sems.kyi.de.nyid.ni/  
 /sngon.gyi.<sup>21</sup>rgyal.bas.ma.gsung.shing/<sup>i</sup>  
 /da.lta'i.rgyal.bas.<sup>j</sup>mi.gsung.la/<sup>k</sup>  
 /phyis.kyang.gsung.bar.mi.'gyur.ro/  
 /dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>22</sup>rnams.kyis.kyang/  
 /rab.tu.gsung.par.\*<sup>l</sup>dka'.<sup>23</sup>ba.yin/<sup>24</sup>

K154r

W18v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M ba'i for ba.mchog.gi

<sup>b</sup> T,W kyizhus; K,M kyizhus; perhaps kyizhum is better

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M yengs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W skyed

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>g</sup> W legso/, K legso, for legs.so.legs.so/

<sup>h</sup> T,W kyiz

<sup>i</sup> T,W gsung.la/; K gsung.la/

<sup>j</sup> M ba

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K omit this line

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M gsung.bar

/ma.bcos.pa.yi.\*<sup>a</sup>kho.na.nyid/<sup>b</sup>

/sems.kyi.mtshan.nyid.med.pa'i.phyir/\*<sup>c</sup>

/snod.du.gyur.<sup>25</sup>pa.dkon.pa.yin/

/zhes.gsungs.nas/

/<sup>d</sup>sems.dpa'.<sup>26</sup>chen.po.<sup>27</sup>khyod.nyid.<sup>28</sup>kyis.\*<sup>e</sup>sems.la.dris.shig/

<sup>f</sup>ces.<sup>g</sup>bka'.stsal.nas.<sup>h</sup>cang.mi.gsung.<sup>29</sup>bar.bzhugs.so/

/de.nas.<sup>i</sup>'khor.gyi.<sup>30</sup>de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thams.cad.<sup>31</sup>kyis.<sup>j</sup>

rdo.rje.chos.la.<sup>k</sup>bka'.stsal.pa/

byang.chub.sems.dpa'.chen.po.khyod.nyid.ni.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>m</sup>dus.gsum.gyi.sangs.rgyas.<sup>33</sup>thams.cad.<sup>n</sup>kyi.<sup>34</sup>thugs.yang.dag.pa.

yin.pas.na.<sup>o</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.la.zhu.bar.yang.spobs.par.'gyur.ba.<sup>p</sup>

yin.pas.<sup>q</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.gnyis.su.<sup>r</sup>med.

M823

T38

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>b</sup> M yi.de.kho.nyid/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M brjod.med.phyir/

<sup>d</sup> T,W omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M kyi

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K zhes

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert yang

<sup>j</sup> T,M insert /; W //

<sup>k</sup> T,W las

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>m</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M rnams for thams.cad

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K ma.yin.na/, M yin.na/, for yin.pas.na

<sup>p</sup> M bar

<sup>q</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>r</sup> T,W gnyisu

pa.la.mnga'.brnyes.pa.ni.<sup>a</sup>the.tshom.thams.cad.<sup>35</sup>gcod.pa.yin.pas.<sup>b</sup>  
khyod.kyis.kyang.the.tshom.dang.som.nyir.<sup>c</sup>gyur.pa.thams.cad.<sup>36</sup>  
zhushig/<sup>d</sup>

/yang.nas.<sup>e</sup>yang.du.zhus.shig/<sup>f</sup>

/gsang.ba'i.bdag.po.ni.snod.kyi.rim.pa.ji.lta.bar.chos.ston.par.  
mdzad.cing.<sup>g</sup>

/byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>37</sup>blo.dman.zhing.sems.zhums.\*<sup>h</sup>pa.rnams.  
la.<sup>38</sup>yang.byin.gyis.brlab.bo.\*<sup>i</sup>

/zhes.<sup>j</sup>bka'.stsal.pa.dang/

rdo.rje.chos.kyis.<sup>k</sup>khor.rigs.lnga'i.sangs.rgyas.<sup>l</sup>

**D189v K154v**

byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>39</sup>rnams.kyis.<sup>40</sup>bskul.ba.<sup>m</sup>thugs.su.<sup>n</sup>

chud.de.<sup>o</sup>khor.gyi.<sup>41</sup>byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>42</sup>blo.dman.pa.

grangs.med.pa.\*<sup>p</sup>byin.gyis.brlabs.<sup>43</sup>nas.snod.du.rung.bar.byas.so/<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>c</sup> T,K nyis; W nyid

<sup>d</sup> T,W cig/; K gcig/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M dang

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K cig/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M mdzod.cig/

<sup>h</sup> **T,W,K,M zhum**

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M rlobs.shig/; **D omits /**

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K ces

<sup>k</sup> T,W kyi

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M lnga.dang/ for lnga'i.sangs.rgyas.

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M bar

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K thugssu

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>p</sup> **T,W,K,M insert rnams**

<sup>q</sup> W,K byaso/

/de.nas.<sup>a</sup>yang.rdo.rje.chos.kyis.<sup>b</sup>ston.pa'i.zhal.du.blta.s.nas.<sup>c</sup>  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs.so/<sup>d</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.<sup>44</sup>gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/  
 /<sup>45</sup>gsung.mchog.bka'.ni.dri.ma.med/  
 /bdag.cag.<sup>46</sup>'khor.tshogs.ma.'tshal.<sup>47</sup>na/  
 /bde.bar.gshegs.pas.bshad.du.<sup>48</sup>gsol/  
 °de.nas.yang.gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>49</sup>bdag.po.des/  
<sup>50</sup>spros.pa.med.cing.brjod.pa.<sup>51</sup>las.'das.pa'i.ting.nge.<sup>52</sup>dzin.la.  
 snyoms.par.zhugs.te.<sup>f</sup>'di.skad.ces.bka'.stsal.to/  
 /<sup>53</sup>rdo.rje.chos.dang/\*<sup>g</sup>rigs.lnga.dang/  
<sup>h</sup>'khor.du.'<sup>i</sup>dus.pa'i.byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>j</sup>  
 ji.snyed.'dus.pa.kun.nyon.cig/<sup>k</sup>  
 /byang.chub.sems.kyi.<sup>54</sup>mtshan.nyid.ni/  
 /brjod.med.smra.bsam.kun.rtog.<sup>55</sup>bral/  
 /dngos.med.byang.chub.sems.zhes.brjod/  
 /brjod.pa.zhes.by.<sup>l</sup>kun.rdzob.yin/  
 /yang.dag.nyid.la.brjod.pa.<sup>56</sup>med/

M824

W19r

T39

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M omit de.nas

<sup>b</sup> M kyī

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M te/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K glengso/

<sup>e</sup> W,K,M insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M dang

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M sems/, for D's sems.dpa'.

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K mongs/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M ces.by.ba

/rang.byung.sku.ste.bde.ba'i.mchog/  
 /ma.bcos.don.dam.ngang.nyid.la<sup>a</sup>/  
 /sangs.rgyas.sems.can.<sup>57</sup>gnyis.su.<sup>58</sup>med/  
 /rang.gi.lus.ngag.yid.gsum.dang/  
 /gnyis.med.ma.bcos.rdo.rje.ste/  
 /lus.ngag.yid.<sup>59</sup>gsum.dmigs.med.pas/  
 /ma.bcos.pa.yi.<sup>b</sup>sems.nyid.kyis/  
 /don.dam.kun.rdzob.gnyis.su.snang/  
 /der.\*<sup>c</sup>snang.dbyings.las.bskyod.<sup>60</sup>pa.med/  
 /de.ltar.rig.pa'i.skyes.bu.de/\*<sup>d</sup>/  
 /gnyis.med.byang.chub.mchog.sems.bskyed/  
 /ces.<sup>f</sup>gsungs.so<sup>g</sup>/  
 /de.nas.'khor.rigs.lnga.dang/  
 /<sup>h</sup>der.'dus.pa'i.byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>61</sup>rnam.<sup>i</sup>  
<sup>62</sup>rang.rang.gi.lus.ngag.yid.gsum.la.sems.nas\*<sup>j</sup>cang.mi.smra.  
 bar.gyur.to/  
 /de.nas.rdo.rje.chos.kyis.<sup>k</sup>rtogs.tshad.'di.gsungso/<sup>l</sup>

K155r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M las/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K pa'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M des/

<sup>e</sup> T,W skyed/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K zhes

<sup>g</sup> W,K gsungso

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M sems.la.dmigs.nas/ (M omitting /), for D's la.sems.nas

<sup>k</sup> M inserts /

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M byang.chub.sems.dpa'(K:semḍa').la.gsol.pa/, for rtogs.tshad.'di.gsungso/

/<sup>a</sup>e.ma.ho.bde.<sup>b</sup>gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/  
 /<sup>63</sup>dus.gsum.rgyal.ba.<sup>c</sup>thams.cad.kyi/<sup>64</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>/chos.sku.\*<sup>e</sup>byang.chub.sems.las.byung/  
 /rgyu.yi.dus.na.de.nyid.gsal/  
 /rig.pa.rim.par.gsal.byas.te/  
 /ma.bcos.don.dam.ngo.bo.nyid/  
 /spros.bral.brjod.las.'das.pa'i.sems/  
 /nam.mkha'.<sup>f</sup>rdul.dang.bral.ba.ste/<sup>g</sup>  
 /dpes.kyang.<sup>h</sup>de.la.mtshon.mi.nus/  
 /rtogs.<sup>i</sup>par.dka'.ba'i.snying.po.'di/<sup>j</sup>  
 /rab.tu.mi.rtog.gnas.med.pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsungso.<sup>k</sup>/  
 /de.nas.yang.bcom.ldan.'das.mi.bskyod.<sup>65</sup>pas/<sup>l</sup>  
 byang.chub.sems.<sup>m</sup>rtogs.pa'i.tshad.<sup>n</sup>di.gsungso.<sup>o</sup>/  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/

M825

D190r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>b</sup> M bder

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M sangs.rgyas; K sangyas

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit the three lines from here up to byas.te/

<sup>e</sup> D reads chos.sku; this should be emended to read chos.kun.

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M de/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K dpe.yi; M dpe.yis

<sup>i</sup> T,K,M rtog

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M mchog/

<sup>k</sup> W,K gsungso/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>m</sup> M inserts la

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M mtshan.nyid for tshad

<sup>o</sup> W,K gsungso



<sup>66</sup>dus.gsum.<sup>a</sup>sangs.rgyas.<sup>67</sup>rnams.kyi.thugs/  
 /dmigs.pa.med.las.thams.cad.bskeyed/<sup>68</sup>  
 /de.rdzogs.sngags.kyi.<sup>69</sup>don.rab.gsal/  
 /byang.chub.sems.rdzogs.bde.ba'i.gnas/  
 /gzung.<sup>b</sup>dzin.rnam.spangs.rig.par.gsal/<sup>c</sup>  
 /gsal.la.dri.med.rgyal.ba'i.bka'/  
 /de.rdzogs.ngo.bo.gnyis.med.sku/  
 /tshig.dang.yi.ge.sgra.las.'das/  
 /brjod.med.brjod.bral.don.gyi.<sup>d</sup>mchog/  
 /bsam.dang.bral.ba'i.sems.nyid.ni/  
 /rang.gi.ngo.bo.ma.skyes.<sup>e</sup>pa'o/  
 /zhes.gsungs.so/  
 /de.nas.yang.rnam.<sup>70</sup>pa.thams.cad.<sup>71</sup>mkhyen.pa'i.bcom.ldan.'das.  
 rnam.par.snang.mdzad.kyis/  
 byang.chub.kyi.<sup>f</sup>sems.<sup>g</sup>rtogs.<sup>h</sup>pa'i.tshad.'di.gsungs.so/  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/  
 /dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>72</sup>  
<sup>73</sup>byang.chub.sems.las.<sup>j</sup>thams.cad.<sup>74</sup>shar/  
 /shar.ba'i.ngang.las.ma.g-yos.<sup>75</sup>gsal/

T40

W19v

<sup>a</sup> T sku.gsum; W sku.gsungs

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K gzungs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M rim.pa.bral/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>e</sup> M bskeyed

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit byang.chub.kyi

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M insert la

<sup>h</sup> T,W rtog

<sup>i</sup> W,K gsungso

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M la

/gsal.<sup>a</sup>ba'i.ye.shes.bde.chen.<sup>b</sup>yin/  
 /bde.chen.ngang.nyid.sna.tshogs.pa'i/  
 /ji.ltar.brtag.pa.<sup>c</sup>gnyis.su.<sup>d</sup>med/  
 /gnyis.med.brjod.las.'das.pa'o<sup>e</sup>/  
 /zhes.gsungs.so<sup>f</sup>/  
 /de.nas.<sup>g</sup>bcom.ltan.'das.rin.chen.'byung.ba.<sup>76</sup>zhes.byab.a'i.<sup>\*h</sup>  
 byang.chub.kyi.<sup>77</sup>sems.<sup>\*i</sup>rtogs.pa'i.tshad.'di.gsungs.so<sup>j</sup>/  
 /e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.bcom.ltan.'das/  
 /dus.gsum.bde.gshegs.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>78</sup>  
 /gnyis.med.byang.chub.sems.zhes.byab.<sup>k</sup>/  
 /ngo.bo.nyid.las.'thams.cad.<sup>79</sup>'byung/  
 /ji.ltar.snang.ba.dag.pa'i.dbyings/  
 /ma.bcos.ye.nas.mkha'.ltar.dag/  
 /gnyis.med.thabs.dang.shes.rab.don/<sup>80</sup>  
 /mnyam.pa.nyid.las.gzhan.med.do/<sup>81</sup>  
 /zhes.gsungs.so<sup>82</sup>/  
 /de.nas.yang.<sup>m</sup>bcom.ltan.'das.'od.dpag.pa.<sup>83</sup>las.'das.pa'i.sems.dpas.<sup>84 n</sup>

K155v

M826

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K gsang

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M rtags.pa'i; M brtag.pa'i

<sup>d</sup> W,K gnyisu

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,K gsungso

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K insert yang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M bas/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert la

<sup>j</sup> W,K gsungso

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K pa/

<sup>l</sup> M la

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K omit yang

byang.chub.kyi.<sup>85</sup>sems.<sup>a</sup>rtogs.pa'i.tshad.'di.gsungs.so<sup>b</sup>/

T41

/e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/

<sup>86</sup>chos.kyi.<sup>87</sup>dbyings.las.<sup>c</sup>thams.cad.<sup>88</sup>shar/

D190v

/shar.ba.nyid.na.<sup>d</sup>brjod.du.med/

/brjod.med.ngang.las.thams.cad.<sup>89</sup>gsal/

/gsal.ba'i.bye.brag.thams.cad.gsal/\*<sup>e</sup>

/gsal.ba'i.bye.brag.so.sor.byung/

/de.las.thams.cad.<sup>90</sup>nyon.mongs.med/

/dri.med.rnam.dag.rgyal.ba'i.sku/

/rnal.'byor.blo.ldan.gyis.bsgoms.<sup>f</sup>grub/

<sup>g</sup>ces.<sup>h</sup>gsungs.so<sup>i</sup>/

/de.nas.yang.<sup>j</sup>bcom.ldan.'das.don.thams.cad.<sup>91</sup>grub.pas/

W20r

<sup>92</sup>byang.chub.kyi.<sup>93</sup>sems.\*<sup>k</sup>rtogs.pa'i.tshad.'di.gsungs.so<sup>l</sup>/

/e.ma.ho.bde.gshegs.bcom.ldan.'das/

<sup>94</sup>chos.sku.\*<sup>m</sup>byang.chub.sems.las.byung/<sup>95</sup>

<sup>n</sup> M inserts /

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K insert la, M inserts las

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K gsungso

<sup>c</sup> M la

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M nas

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit this line, which seems to be an accidental assimilation of portions of the lines above and below.

<sup>f</sup> K,M bsgom

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K zhes

<sup>i</sup> W,K gsungso

<sup>j</sup> M omits yang

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M insert la

<sup>l</sup> W,K gsungso

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M kun

/rgyu.yi.<sup>a</sup>dus.na.de.nyid.gsal<sup>b</sup>/

M827

/rim.pa.rim.par.<sup>c</sup>gsal.byas.te/

/gnyis.med.ngo.bo.nyid.la.gnas/<sup>d</sup>

/ma.bcos.brjod.med.ngo.bo.nyid/

/mal.'byor.dam.pas.bsgoms.nas.<sup>e</sup>'grub/

/ces.gsung.s.so<sup>96</sup>/

K156r

/de.nas.bde.bar.gshegs.pa.lnga.la.sogs.pa.'dul.ba'i.'khor.tshogs.

rnams.gnyis.su.<sup>97</sup>med.pa'i.ngang.nyid.brjod.pa.dang.bral.ba'i.

don.la.sems.nas.bzhugs.so<sup>98</sup>/

/rgyud.kyi.<sup>99</sup>rgyal.po'i.yang.<sup>f</sup>rgyal.po/<sup>g</sup>

de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thams.cad.<sup>h</sup>kyi.<sup>100</sup>gsang.ba'i.yang.gsang.ba.

kī.la.ya.'bcu.gnyis.kyi.<sup>101</sup>mdo.las.<sup>j</sup>

byang.chub.sems.kyi.<sup>k</sup>nges.pa.de.kho.na.nyid.kyi.<sup>102</sup>le'u.ste.gnyis.pa'o//

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K rgyu'i

<sup>b</sup> Unmetrically, T inserts byed.te, W inserts byas, K,M insert byas.te

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M pas

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M las.'das/

<sup>e</sup> T,W bsgoms.na; K bsgom.na

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K omit rgyal.po'i.yang

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>h</sup> T,K thaṃd

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M kī.la for kī.la.ya

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>k</sup> T dpa'; K,M omit kyi

Chapter Two: Single Readings of T.:W.:K:

(1) K: gis; (2) K: ste/; (3) K: omits gsang.ba; (4) K: cing; (5) K: 'shegs; (6) T: omits /; (7) K: gyis; (8) K: gsum; (9) K: gyis; (10) K: sangyas; (11) K: gyis; (12) K: 'gyur; (13) W: do/; (14) K: nyi; (15) K: bcag; (16) T: inserts /; (17) W: inserts /; (18) K: semda'; (19) K: gcig/; (20) K: rigs; (21) K: gyis; (22) K: sangyas; (23) T: bka'; (24) K: yis/; (25) K: 'gyur; (26) K: semda'; (27) K: omits chen.po; (28) W: nyid in tiny letters, subscripted, positioned by a dotted line; (29) W: gsungs; (30) K: gyis; (31) K: thamd; (32) K: inserts kyis; (33) K: gyis.sangyas; (34) K: kyis; (35) K: thamd; (36) K: thamd; (37) K: semda'; (38) K: omits la; (39) K: semda'; (40) W: kyi; (41) K: gyis; (42) K: semda'; (43) K: rlabs; (44) K: inserts bar; (45) W: omits /; (46) K: bcag; (47) K: tshal; (48) W: bshadu; (49) K: gis; (50) T: inserts /; (51) K: omits pa; (52) W: tinge; (53) T: omits /; (54) K: kyis; (55) K: rtogs; (56) W: pa in tiny writing, subscripted, positioned by dotted line; (57) K: sangyas.semñ; (58) W: gnyisu; (59) T: yi; (60) K: skyod; (61) K: semda'; (62) W: inserts /; (63) T: omits /; (64) K: thamd.kyis/; (65) K: skyod; (66) T: omits /; (67) K: sangyas; K: has here mistakenly repeated the first five lines of the verse uttered by Vajradharma immediately above, no doubt deceived by the similarity of the beginning of that verse with the intended one (*homoearchon*). After noticing his error, he has let the first line and a half remain, since they are identical to those of the intended verse, and put the remainder of the repetition within brackets; then continued again with the second half of the second line. Hence the following redundant words are enclosed between brackets at this point in the text: thamd.kyis/ ma.bcos.don.dam.ngo.bo.nyid/ spros.bral.brjod.las.'das.pa'i.sems/ namkha'.rdul.dang.bral.ba.des/; (68) T: thamd.skyed/; (69) K: kyis; (70) K: rnams; (71) K: thamd; (72) K: sangyas.thamd.kyis/; (73) W: omits /; (74) K: thamd; (75) K: bcos; (76) K: ldan; (77) K: kyis; (78) K: thamd.kyis/; (79) K: thamd; (80) K: gnon/; (81) W: medo/; (82) W: gsungso; (83) K: pa subscripted in small writing, positioned by dots; (84) K: semda'; (85) K: kyis; (86) T: omits /; (87) K: kyis; (88) K: thamd; (89) K: thamd; (90) K: thamd; (91) K: thamd; (92) T: inserts /; (93) K: kyis; (94) T: omits /; (95) K: 'byung/; (96) W: gsungso; (97) W: gnyisu; (98) W: bzhugso; (99) K: kyis; (100) K: kyis; (101) K: kyis; (102) K: kyis

GSUM

//de.nas.yang.rdo.rje.chos.kyis.<sup>a</sup>bcom.lдан.'das.la.<sup>b</sup>  
 phyi.nang.gsang.ba.gsum.gyi.<sup>1</sup>mchod.pa.rnam.par.dag.pa.phul.nas/  
 lan.brgya.<sup>2</sup>phrag.stong.du.bskor.ba.byas.shing/<sup>c</sup>  
 brkyang.phyag.'tshal.\*<sup>d</sup>nas.<sup>e</sup>  
 gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>3</sup>bdag.po.la.gsol.ba.btab.<sup>4</sup>pa/  
 e.ma.ho.<sup>5</sup>bde.gshegs.bcom.lдан.'das/  
 /kun.gyi.<sup>6</sup>gnyen.gyur.<sup>7</sup>dam.pa'i.gtso/  
 /kun.la.snyoms.pa'i.ngang.tshul.can/  
 /'khor.ba'i.gnas.nas.<sup>f</sup>drangs.\*<sup>g</sup>pa.<sup>8</sup>dang/  
 /sems.can.<sup>9</sup>lam.<sup>h</sup>la.'god.\*<sup>i</sup>pa'i.phyir/  
 /rdo.rje.<sup>10</sup>dkyil.'khor.rin.chen.dkyil/  
 /pad.ma'i.dkyil.'khor.las.kyi.dkyil/<sup>j</sup>  
 /rnam.<sup>11</sup>snang.mdzad.chen.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /dngos.grub.thams.cad.'byung.ba'i.gnas/  
 /bde.gshegs.ngo.mtshar.khyod.la.'dus/<sup>k</sup>

T42

<sup>a</sup> T,W kyī<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert /<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit /<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M btsal<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M insert /<sup>f</sup> T,W,K dang<sup>g</sup> T,W,M drang<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M las<sup>i</sup> T,W,M dgod, K dgos; T,W,M seem better<sup>j</sup> T,W,K omit this line<sup>k</sup> T,W,M 'dud/; K assimilates the first half of the above line with the second half of this line, omitting the words in between, to produce a single unmetrical line: dngos.grub.tham.d.ngo.mtshar.khyod.la.'dud/

/gsang.ba.gsum.las.byung.ba.rnams/<sup>12</sup>

**M828**

/'gro.ba.rigs.<sup>13</sup>drug.thams.cad.<sup>14</sup>la/

/rab.tu.phan.pa'i.sems.'chang.zhing/

/rnal.'byor.rnams.la.thugs.brtse'i.<sup>15</sup>phyir/

/bdag.cag.<sup>16</sup>'khor.tshogs.zhu.bar.'tshal/

**D191r**

/zhes.gsol.ba.btab.<sup>17</sup>po/

/de.nas.ston.pa.gsang.bdag.gis/

/rdo.rje.chos.kyi.<sup>a</sup>tshig.gsan.<sup>18</sup>nas/

**W20v**

/so.so.rang.rang.dkyil.'khor.rnams/

/rab.tu.tams.\*<sup>b</sup>dga'.thogs.<sup>c</sup>med.bshad/

/rnal.'byor.blo.ltan.rtse.\*<sup>d</sup>phyir.ro/<sup>19</sup>

**K156v**

//as.kyi.<sup>20</sup>bye.brag.thams.cad.<sup>e</sup>dang/<sup>f</sup>

/dngos.grub.rab.'bring.tha.ma.rnams/

/slob.dpon.byed.par.'dod.pa.dang/

/bde.bar.gshegs.pa.<sup>g</sup>rjes.'brang.<sup>h</sup>ba'i/<sup>i</sup>

/so.so'i.mtshan.nyid.bshad.par.bya/

/rgyud.shes.legs.par.ston.<sup>j</sup>pa.dang/

/ting.'dzin.drod.ltan.gdeng.<sup>k</sup>du.bcang/<sup>l</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K kyis

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M nyams

<sup>c</sup> T,W thog

<sup>d</sup> M brtse

<sup>e</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M kyang/

<sup>g</sup> K pas; M pa'i

<sup>h</sup> W,K,M 'brangs

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M bas/

<sup>j</sup> T rtog; W,K,M rtogs

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K rdeng

/bka'.dang.bstan.bcos.<sup>a</sup>thams.cad.<sup>21</sup>la/  
 /rab.tu.mkhas.shing.the.tshom.med/  
 /don.la.<sup>b</sup>srans.tshugs.bsgom.<sup>22</sup>la.<sup>23</sup>brtson/  
 /gnyis.med.blo.ldan.<sup>24</sup>dad.pa.che/  
 /gsang.ba.bzhi.yi.<sup>c</sup>don.rnams.dang/  
 /gab.cing.sbas.pa'i.thabs.mchog.rnams/  
 /snod.ngan.sbas.pa.gsang.mi.thub/  
 /de.la.rtag.tu.mi.<sup>d</sup>ster.zhing<sup>e</sup>/  
 /gsang.gsum.dbang.mchog.thob.pa.ni/  
 /rdor.'dzin.<sup>f</sup>dkiyl.'khor.dag.la.shis/  
 /rtsa.ba.dag.dang.yan.lag.bcas/  
 /dam.tshig.ma.nyams.legs.thub.dang/  
 /mdog.bzang.gzugs.mdzes.dri.mchog.<sup>\*g</sup>ldan/  
 /mi.'os.stobs.lsan.shugs.'chang.zhing/  
 /lag.mthil.'khor.lo.rtsibs.<sup>25</sup>brgyad.yod/  
 /kha.dog.ser.zhing.shin.tu.'tsher/  
 /'khor.lo.can.gyi.<sup>h</sup>las.rnams.ni/  
 /ci.dgar.<sup>i</sup>dkiyl.'khor.<sup>26</sup>bya.bar.<sup>j</sup>gsungs/<sup>k</sup>

T43

M829

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<sup>1</sup> M bcas/

<sup>a</sup> M chos

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K las

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K bzhi'i

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K med

<sup>e</sup> W,K shing/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M rdo.rje.'dzin.pa'i for rdor.'dzin

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M zhim

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K dga'

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K ba'i



/blo.yangs.<sup>27</sup>yon.tan.kun.gyi.\*<sup>a</sup>brgyan/<sup>28</sup>  
 /shes.pa.gsal.<sup>b</sup>zhing.<sup>c</sup>yon.tan.ltan/  
 /rig.<sup>29</sup>pa'i.gnas.mchog.kun.la.mkhas/  
 /spyad.\*<sup>d</sup>lam.rnam.bzhir.<sup>e</sup>lhun.sdug.cing/  
 /mdzes.pa'i.glu.<sup>30</sup>dbyangs.rnams.la.mkhas/  
 /yon.tan.kun.la.<sup>f</sup>ma.'gags.<sup>31</sup>spyod/  
 /rdo.rje.slob.dpon.bka'.<sup>g</sup>bzhin.byed/  
 /rdo.rje.spun.la.gdung.ba.che/<sup>h</sup>  
 /rin.po.che.yi.<sup>i</sup>las.rnams.<sup>32</sup>kun/  
 /mal.'byor.de.yis.<sup>j</sup>bya.bar.gsung/<sup>33</sup>  
 /rtag.<sup>k</sup>par.ting.'dzin.rgyun.mi.gcod/  
 /bzlas.pa.dag.la.rab.tu.brtson/  
 /sngags.kyi.don.rnams.ma.lus.mkhyen/  
 /ngag.kyang.shin.tu.'jam.par.smra/  
 /bden.smra.mgrin.bde.glu.dbyangs.mkhas/  
 /phyi.nang.chos.la.mos.shing.'chad/<sup>\*l</sup>  
 /tshig.sgo.gsal.zhing.kha.dog.dmar/

K157r

W21r

D191v

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<sup>k</sup> T,W,K gsung/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M gyis

<sup>b</sup> T,W bsal

<sup>c</sup> K,M shing

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M spyod

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K bzhi'i; M bzhi

<sup>f</sup> T la.'ang, W,K,M la'ang, for la

<sup>g</sup> T,W dka'

<sup>h</sup> T,W sprul.pa.gdung.sems.che/; K,M spun.la.gdung.sems.che/

<sup>i</sup> T,W che'i

<sup>j</sup> M yi

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K dag

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K 'chang/

/padma.can.gyi.<sup>34</sup>las.kyi.<sup>a</sup>rigs/  
 /phyi.nang.las.rnams.thams.cad.<sup>35</sup>la/  
 /shin.tu.ma.rmongs.dbang.yang.thob/  
 /sngags.la.brtson.zhing.shes.rab.gsal/  
 /phyi.nang.rgyud.kyi.las.rnams.la/  
 /lhag.gam.<sup>36</sup>on.te.chad.kyang.rung/  
 /de.yi.<sup>b</sup>don.rnams.ma.nor.<sup>c</sup>skong/<sup>d</sup>  
 /phrin.<sup>e</sup>las.rnam.<sup>f</sup>bzhi'i.las.la.mkhas/  
 /las.kyi.dkyil.'khor.byabar.gsung/<sup>g</sup>  
 /yon.tan.thams.cad.<sup>37</sup>kun.dang.ldan/  
 /phyi.nang.sde.snod.kun.la.mkhas/  
 /spyod.pa'i.bye.brag.mang.po.<sup>38</sup>spyod/  
 /las.dang.byaba.kun.la.mkhas/  
 /rtag.pa.<sup>h</sup>dang.<sup>i</sup>ldan.snying.rje.che/  
 /ting.'dzin.bye.brag.kun.la.mkhas/  
 /byang.sems.mtshan.nyid.thugs.su.<sup>39</sup>chud/<sup>40</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.spyi.yi.<sup>j</sup>las.su.rung/  
 /slob.dpon.lung.ldan.dam.<sup>41</sup>.pa.des/  
 /slob.ma'i.mtshan.nyid.brtag.par.byab/

T44  
M830

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M bya'i

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K de'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K lus

<sup>d</sup> T,K bskong/; W bskongs/; M bskor/

<sup>e</sup> K,M 'phrin

<sup>f</sup> D lacuna for one letter

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K gsung/

<sup>h</sup> K lacuna for one letter after pa; D par

<sup>i</sup> D ?dad

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K spyi'i

/rtsa.ba.yan.lag.dam.tshig.bsrungs/\*<sup>a</sup>  
 /shes.rab.rnam.gsum.<sup>b</sup>sgo.nas.sbyangs/  
 /dad.lдан.brtson.'grus.rkyen.thub.dpa'/\*<sup>c</sup>  
 /ston.pa'i.bka'.dang.<sup>d</sup>bstan.chos.mkhas/  
 /slob.dpon.'khur.zhing.snying.rje.<sup>e</sup>ldan/  
 /rdo.rje.<sup>43</sup>spun.la.brtse.<sup>f</sup>gdung.che/  
 /bla.ma'i.man.ngag.shin.tu.'dzin/<sup>44</sup>  
 /rdo.rje.'dzin.pa'i.slob.mar.rung/  
 /lus.la.dri.zhim.ngad.lдан.zhing/<sup>45</sup>  
 /lus.mdzes.skra.yang.ser.la.'jam/<sup>46</sup>  
 /slob.dpon.rdo.rje.spun.<sup>47</sup>la.gdung/  
 /dkyil.'khor.gyi.<sup>48</sup>ni.las.la.mkhas/  
 /stod.smad.phyed.<sup>49</sup>cing.mig.dkyus.<sup>50</sup>ring/  
 /drang.por.smra.zhing.tshig.mi.'gyur/  
 /ngag.kyang.shin.tu.bde.zhing.'jam/  
 /'khor.lo.can.gyi.<sup>51</sup>slob.mar.<sup>g</sup>run/  
 /spyod.pa.spang.\*<sup>h</sup>shing.dpa'.<sup>i</sup>rtsal.che/  
 /rin.chen.sna.tshogs.nor.rnams.'chang/<sup>j</sup>

K157v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M srung/, K bsrung/; T,W,M seem better

<sup>b</sup> D lacuna for one letter

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M dad.lдан.rkyen.thub.brtson.<sup>42</sup>ldan.pa/

<sup>d</sup> D ?dad

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M rjer

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K rtse

<sup>g</sup> T ma; K yang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M yangs

<sup>i</sup> T dpar; W dpal

<sup>j</sup> T yang.'chad/; W,K,M yang.'chang/

/gser.dang.bye.\*<sup>a</sup>ru.mu.tig.rnams/  
 /ji.ltar.'os.pa'i.rin.chen.gyis/<sup>b</sup>  
 /bla.ma'i.dgongs.pa.<sup>c</sup>skong.bar.byed/  
 /ngag.snyan.<sup>d</sup>lus.kyang.mdzes.pa.dang/  
 /skyon.rnams.thams.cad.\*<sup>e</sup>spangs.pa.<sup>52</sup>ni/<sup>f</sup>  
 /rin.chen.dkyil.'khor.slob.mar.rung/  
 /lus.dang.ngag.dang.yid.gsum.gyi/<sup>g</sup>  
 /mi.dge.bcu.po.yongs.su.spong/\*<sup>h</sup>  
 /dge.ba.bcu.la.rtag.tu.brtson/  
 /ngag.snyan.mgrin.bde.glu.la.mkhas/<sup>j</sup>  
 /mdog.dmar.lus.la.tsandan.<sup>k</sup>dri/  
 /skra.yang.mthon.mthing.sen.mo.dmar/  
 /yan.lag.phra.\*<sup>l</sup>la.tshig.<sup>m</sup>rnams.drang/<sup>53</sup>  
 /padma.'chang.gi.<sup>54</sup>slob.mar.bshad/  
 /phyi.nang.chos.la.rtag.tu.dga'/  
 /phrin.las.rnam.<sup>n</sup>bzhi'i.<sup>o</sup>las.la.'grus/<sup>p</sup>

W21v

M831

T45

D192r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M byu

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M gyi/

<sup>c</sup> W,K,M ma'i.'dod.pa, T mi'i.'dod.pa

<sup>d</sup> T,W snyen

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M ma.lus

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>g</sup> K,M gyis/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M spangs/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M dga'/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M tsan.dan

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M drang

<sup>m</sup> M tshigs

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M omit mam

/dpa'.rtsal.che.zhing.lhun.yang.sdug/  
 /bzo.la.mkhas.shing.rig.pa.gsal/  
 /bla.ma.dam.pa.mnyes.byed.cing/  
 /dgongs.<sup>a</sup>pa.thams.cad.<sup>b</sup>skong.<sup>c</sup>byed.pa/  
 /sna.tshogs.las.la.shin.tu.mkhas/  
 /las.kyi.<sup>55</sup>rigs.skyi.\*<sup>d</sup>slob.mar.<sup>56</sup>rung/  
 /yon.tan.mchog.<sup>57</sup>rnam.s.kun.tshang.zhing/  
 /mang.pos.bkur.zhing.bsngags.<sup>e</sup>pa.brjod/  
 /lus.mdzes.spyod.gzo.\*<sup>f</sup>yid.du.<sup>58</sup>'ong/  
 /phyi.nang.dkyil.'khor.<sup>59</sup>las.la.mkhas/  
 /man.ngag.gsang.<sup>g</sup>ba.sbas.pa.thub/  
 /spyod.pa.gang.bsgoms.slob.dpon.'khur/<sup>h</sup>  
 /rig.pa'i.gnas.la.'gag.pa.med/  
 /spyi.yi.<sup>i</sup>dkyil.'khor.<sup>60</sup>slob.mar.rung/  
 /dang.po.gnas.kyi.brtag.<sup>j</sup>pa.ni/<sup>k</sup>  
 /bzang.ngan.gnyis.su.<sup>l</sup>shes.par.bya/

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<sup>o</sup> M yi

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M gus/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M dgos

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M dam.pa, T with pa in tiny writing, subscripted

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M skongs; K bskong

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M dkyil.'khor

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K sngags

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M bzo

<sup>g</sup> M gsal

<sup>h</sup> T,W khur/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K spyi'i

<sup>j</sup> D lacuna for one letter

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M dang.po.gnas.kyi.sa.brtag.pa/

<sup>l</sup> W,K gnyisu

/bzang.po.\*<sup>a</sup>dngos.grub.mchog.kyang.'grub/  
 /ngan.pas.rnal.'byor.nyid.brlag.<sup>b</sup>'gyur/  
 /spang.blang.<sup>c</sup>gnyis.su.<sup>61</sup>shes.par.gyis/  
 /sngon.la.spang.ba'i.<sup>d</sup>gnas.bstan.<sup>e</sup>pa/  
 /gnod.sbyin.srin.po.bsgrub.pa.\*<sup>f</sup>dang/  
 /srin.mos.<sup>62</sup>brad.pa'i.sder.rjes.<sup>g</sup>dang/  
 /srin.gdug.<sup>63</sup>mtshon.cha.'dra.ba.dang/  
 /srin.po.bsad.<sup>h</sup>pa'i.khrag.rjes.dang/  
 /'byung.po.mang.po.'du.ba'i.gnas/<sup>64</sup>  
 /klu.gdug.chu.mig.ngam.gnag.\*<sup>i</sup>dang/  
 /lha.'dre.ca.n.gyi.rgyun.\*<sup>j</sup>srang.dang/  
 /sngon.<sup>k</sup>chad.lha.mi'i.gnas.<sup>l</sup>gzhi.dang/  
 /gnod.sbyin.gnas.pa'i.lha.rten.<sup>66</sup>sa/  
 /de.lta.bu.yi.gnas.dag.tu/<sup>67</sup>  
 /blo.ltan.rnal.'byor.des.bsgoms.na/<sup>m</sup>  
 /kha.na.ma.tho.<sup>n</sup>bcas.'gyur.zhing/

K158r

M832

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M pos, K po'i; T,W,M seem better

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rlag; K brlags

<sup>c</sup> T spangs.blangs; W spang.slang; K spangs.blang

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K pa'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W brtan

<sup>f</sup> T,K,M bsgrubs.sa, W sgrubs.sa; T,K,M seem better

<sup>g</sup> T rjes.rter; W,K,M rjes.ster

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K dbas

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M nag

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M btsan.gyi.<sup>65</sup>rgyu

<sup>k</sup> M sng obscured by blot

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M bcas

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M rnal.'byor.blo.ltan.de.bsgoms.na/; K ditto, but bsgom for bsgoms

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K mtho

/sdug.bsngal.rnams.kyang.'phel.bar.'gyur/  
 /de.lta.bu.yi.<sup>68</sup>gnas.dag.ni/<sup>a</sup>  
 /mtshan.nyid.legs.par.shes.byas.la/  
 /spangs.na.dngos.grub.mchog.kyang.'grub/  
 /blang.bar.byabai.gnas.rnams.ni/  
 /rdo.rje.brag.dkar.mdangs.<sup>b</sup>bzang.ba/  
 /ri.bo.lhun.sdug.brag.chen.gtams/<sup>69</sup>  
 /ri.ni.rin.chen.spungs.<sup>c</sup>pa.'dra/<sup>d</sup>  
 /de.lta.bu.yi.<sup>70</sup>rtse.rnams.sam/  
 /nyams.dga'.gangs.ri.<sup>e</sup>mtha'.ma.bskor/  
 /shin.tu.nyams.<sup>71</sup>dga'.yid.'ong.ba/<sup>f</sup>  
 /rdo.rje.'i.<sup>g</sup>dkyil.'khor.<sup>72</sup>bsgrub.pa'i.gnas/  
 /spang.phug.ri.bo.nyams.dga'.dang/<sup>\*h</sup>  
 /sngon.gyi.<sup>73</sup>bde.gshegs.kyis.bsgrubs.ba/<sup>i</sup>  
 /mi.dang.'du.'dzi.<sup>\*j</sup>dben.pa.dang/  
 /ri.bo.chen.po'i.sul.<sup>k</sup>dag.dang/  
 /nags.<sup>l</sup>tshal.chen.po.<sup>m</sup>gtibs.pa.dang/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M tu/

<sup>b</sup> T,W mdab; K 'dab

<sup>c</sup> M dpungs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M 'dra.dang/

<sup>e</sup> T gang.ris; W,M gangs.ris; K gangs.gis

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M bar/; K 'bar/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M rje

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M bar/

<sup>i</sup> T,W shegs.rnams.kyis.bsgrubs/; K,M gshegs.rnams.kyis.bsgrubs/, K with final s of bsgrubs subscripted

<sup>j</sup> T,W 'dzi'i, M 'dzis; T,W seem better

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M tshul

<sup>l</sup> T,W nag

/skyed.mos.tshal.gyis.mtha'.bskor.dang/<sup>a</sup>  
 /nyams.dga'.shar.du.kha.bltas.dag/<sup>b</sup>  
 /'khor.lo'i.<sup>74</sup>dkiyl.'khor.bsgrub.<sup>c</sup>pa'i.gnas/  
 /kha.dog.rnam.pa.lnga.yod.dang/  
 /rin.chen.sna.lnga'i.dbyibs.'dra.ba/<sup>\*d</sup>  
 /yang.na.rin.chen.zur.brgyad.dam/<sup>e</sup>  
 /rin.chen.myu.gu.'dra.ba.'am/<sup>75</sup>  
 /mdzes.pa'i.bya.skad.sna.tshogs.sgrogs/  
 /lung.pa.mdzes.shing.kha.dog.sngo/  
 /skye.shing.legs.po.\*<sup>f</sup>yod.pa'i.gnas/  
 /rin.chen.dkiyl.'khor.bsgrub.pa'i.gnas/  
 /ri.ni.dri.zhim.sna.tshogs.yod/  
 /tsandan.<sup>g</sup>dmar.po'i.nags.<sup>76</sup>tshal.<sup>77</sup>can/  
 /me.tog.padma'i.gling.yod.dmar/  
 /yid.'ong.lung.pa.dmar.la.mdzes/  
 /padma.'dra.ba'i.dbyibs.yod.dang/<sup>78</sup>  
 /gnam.ni.zlum.la.<sup>h</sup>ya.yo.med/  
 /bra.<sup>79</sup>ma.smug.pos.<sup>i</sup>gtibs.<sup>80</sup>pa.der/

K158v

M833

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<sup>m</sup> T,W po'i

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M ba/; K omits this line

<sup>b</sup> T,K,M nyams.dga'.shin.tu.kha.bltas.la/; W nyams.dga'.shin.tu.kha.ba.ltas.la/

<sup>c</sup> M bsgrubs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M 'am/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M mo; D's po followed by lacuna for one letter

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M tsan.dan

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M po

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M po



/padma<sup>81</sup>.i.dkyil.<sup>82</sup>'khor.bsgrub.<sup>83</sup>pa'i.<sup>a</sup>gnas/  
 /dur.<sup>84</sup>'khrod.ma.mo.'du.ba'i.gnas/  
 /thang.yang.s.grog.po.gdung.btsugs.sam/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 /lam.gsum.bsnol.<sup>85</sup>ba'i.dbus.su.'am/  
 /grog.<sup>86</sup>po.phas.\*<sup>c</sup>chod.chus.<sup>d</sup>chod.gleng/\*<sup>e</sup>  
 /ri.la.rdza.mo.yod.pa.dang/  
 /brag.sngon.rag.rag.mang.ba<sup>f</sup>.dang/  
 /ral.gri.'dra.ba'i.dbyibs.yod.par/<sup>g</sup>  
 /las.kyi.<sup>87</sup>dkyil.'khor.bsgrub.par.shis/  
 /ri.bo.lhun.sdug.bsgyings.<sup>88</sup>pa.dang/  
 /ri.brag.mang.pos.bskor.<sup>89</sup>ba.dang/  
 /lung.pa.mdzes.shing.kha.dog.yang/\*<sup>h</sup>  
 /lcug.phran.tshal.dag.<sup>i</sup>skyes.pa.dang/  
 /mdzes.pa'i.sa.ni.rin.chen.'dra/  
 /gnam.ni.'khor.lo.rtsibs.brgyad.'dra/  
 /logs.<sup>89</sup>la.<sup>90</sup>sman.gyi.<sup>j</sup>nags.<sup>90</sup>tshal.yod/  
 /dkyil.'khor.spyi.yi.<sup>k</sup>bsgrub.'pa'i.gnas/

T47

W22v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K par

<sup>b</sup> T thang.spang.grogs.po.gdung.tshugs.ma/; W thang.spang.grogs.po.gdungs.tshugs.ma/; K thang.spang.grog.po.gdung.tshugs.ma/; M thang.spang.grog.po.gdung.tshugs.bsam/; D's reading of btsugs should probably be emended to tshugs.

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M phan

<sup>d</sup> T,W chod.tshus; K tshun.tshus

<sup>e</sup> K gling/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M yod.pa

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>h</sup> T,W khongs.pa.yang/, K khong.pa.yang/, M khong.pa.yangs/; M seems better.

<sup>i</sup> T dgwa; W dwag

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M dang

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K spyi'i

/yang.<sup>a</sup>na.dkyil.'khor.lnga.char.ni/  
 /yon.tan.cha.dang.cha.yis.brgyan/  
 /de.ltar.<sup>b</sup>spyi.yi.<sup>c</sup>gnas.su.<sup>d</sup>bstan/<sup>91</sup>  
 /de.lta.bu.yi.<sup>e</sup>gnas.rnams.<sup>f</sup>ni/  
 /mal.'byor.blo.dang.ldan.pa.yis/  
 /mtshan.nyid.shes.shing.rtogs.byas.la/  
 /dang.du.blangs.te.bsgrub.\*<sup>g</sup>par.byā/  
 /slob.dpon.slob.ma.gnas.rnams.dag/<sup>h</sup>  
 /gzhung.dang.mthun.par.rnyed.<sup>92</sup>nas.ni/  
 /slob.dpon.ting.'dzin.mi.ldan.na/  
 /nyes.<sup>i</sup>dang.bcas.shing.ya.gar.'gyur/  
 /dngos.grub.med.cing.tshi.\*<sup>j</sup>chad.'gyur/  
 /de.yi.<sup>k</sup>mtshan.nyid.zin.byas.la/<sup>l</sup>  
 /shes.dang.\*<sup>m</sup>spang.bar.<sup>n</sup>bya.ba.<sup>o</sup>yin/

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K159r

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<sup>l</sup> T,W,K sgrub

<sup>a</sup> M yang obscured

<sup>b</sup> K lter; M lta

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K spyi'i

<sup>d</sup> W,K gnasu

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K bu'i

<sup>f</sup> T,K,M gnas.su; W gnasu

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M gnas

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M nyen

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K tshe

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K de'i

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M pas/

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M nas

<sup>n</sup> T,W spangs.par

<sup>o</sup> T,W byas.pa

/ting.'dzin.las.su.<sup>93</sup>rung.ba.yis/<sup>a</sup>  
 /nal.'byor.blo.dang.lدان.pa.des/<sup>b</sup>  
 /gnas.dang.slob.<sup>c</sup>ma'i.mtshan.nyid.ni/  
 /cho.ga.yo.<sup>94</sup>byad.ma.tshogs.kyang/  
 /dngos.grub.ji.ltar.'dod.pa.rnams/  
 /'grub.'gyur.'bras.bu.thag.mi.ring/  
 /gnas.dang.slob.ma'i.mtshan.nyid.ni/  
 /cho.ga.yo.byad.lدان.gyur.na/  
 /mkhas.pas.rim.pa.byas.<sup>d</sup>bsgoms.na/  
 /dngos.grub.'bras.bu.myur.'grub.<sup>e</sup>ces/<sup>f</sup>  
 /dus.gsum.sangs.rgyas.<sup>95</sup>kyis.gsung.s.pas/  
 /kun.gyi.<sup>96</sup>mtshan.nyid.bshad.pa.yin/<sup>g</sup>  
 /dngos.po'i.<sup>h</sup>chos.la.dad.pa.dang/  
 /mtshan.ma.dag.la.dga'.ba.dag/<sup>\*i</sup>  
 /drang.zhing.mtshan.dngos.gzhom.pa'i.phyir/  
 /lung.pa'i.ri.dang.bar.snang.dang/  
 /rigs.<sup>97</sup>lnga.so.so'i.mtshan.nyid.dang/  
 /rab.tu.brtags.<sup>98</sup>te.gzung.bar.byā/  
 /gnyis.med.don.la.dga'.ba.dang/  
 /ma.bcos.don.rnams.nyams.su.<sup>99</sup>len/

D193r

T48

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M yi/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M yis/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M bla

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K rig.pa.byā; M rig.par.byas

<sup>e</sup> T,W gyur

<sup>f</sup> M cing/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M yis/

<sup>h</sup> T,K,M po

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

/gsang.ba.sbas.pa'i.don.la.brtaḡ/<sup>a</sup>  
 /de.la.rtse.gcig.ting.'dzin.<sup>b</sup>brtan/<sup>c</sup>  
 /dang.po.\*<sup>d</sup>rang.lus.rnal.'dug.ste/<sup>e</sup>  
 /ting.'dzin.rtse.gcig.byas.nas.su/<sup>100</sup>  
 /phyi.nang.dngos.po.thams.cad.la/<sup>101</sup>  
 /rang.bzhin.med.rtog.<sup>f</sup>des.<sup>g</sup>bsgoms.<sup>102</sup>na/  
 /de.ni.sa.sbyong.<sup>h</sup>dang.po.yin/  
 /mig.g.yas.<sup>103</sup>nyi.ma.g-yon.zla.ba/  
 /sna.nas.rlung.gi.bsreg.<sup>104</sup>gtor.bkrus/<sup>i</sup>  
 /de.ni.sbyong.ba.<sup>j</sup>gnyis.pa.yin/<sup>105</sup>  
 /byang.chub.sems.chus.rab.bsar.<sup>k</sup>ba/  
 /de.ni.sbyong.<sup>l</sup>ba.<sup>m</sup>gsum.pa'o/  
 /de'i.<sup>n</sup>tshe.phyag.rgya.bcas.nas.ni/  
 /dpang.gyur.<sup>o</sup>lha.mo.spyan.drangs.la/<sup>p</sup>

W23r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M rtog/; K rtogs/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ting.'dzin.rtse.gcig

<sup>c</sup> K brten/; M bstan/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M por

<sup>e</sup> T,W 'dul.te/; K 'dug.te/

<sup>f</sup> T,W med.rtogs; K ma.rtogs; D has lacuna for one letter

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M sbyangs; K sbyang

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M klugs/; K blugs/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M sbyangs.pa; K sbyang.pa

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M chu.rab.gsal

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M sbyangs

<sup>m</sup> M pa

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M de

<sup>o</sup> T,W dpang.mo; K dbang.mo; M dbang.sgyur

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M nas/

/mchod.de.'od.zhu.<sup>106</sup>sa.la.thim/  
 /bdud.dang.gnod.sbyin.ma.rungs.pas/  
 /bar.du.gcod.par.<sup>a</sup>mi.nus.shing<sup>b</sup>/  
 /bsod.nams.tshogs.bsags.<sup>107</sup>dam.pa.mchog/  
 /dngos.gzhi.dam.par.<sup>108</sup>de.'gyur.ro/  
 /sa.gzhi.byin.gyis.brlab.<sup>c</sup>par.bya/  
 /gzhung.dang.mthun.pa'i.sa.gzhi.de/  
 /rgyal.po'am.<sup>d</sup>sa.bdag.la.sogs.la/\*<sup>e</sup>/  
 /dbang.btsan.<sup>f</sup>thug.<sup>g</sup>thub.ma.yin.par/  
 /bden.pa'i.gtam.smras.<sup>h</sup>rin.gyis.<sup>i</sup>blang/\*<sup>j</sup>/  
 /de.nas.rdo.rje'i.<sup>k</sup>khang.pa.'bya/  
 /de.dbus.stegs.<sup>109</sup>bu.gru.bzhi.<sup>m</sup>brtsig/<sup>n</sup>/  
 /bdud.rtsi.rnam.pa.lnga.rnams.<sup>110</sup>dang/  
 /dri.zhim.po.ni.<sup>o</sup>sna.tshogs.pas/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>b</sup> T,W cing/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K brlabs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K omit 'am

<sup>e</sup> **T,W,K,M pa/**

<sup>f</sup> T,W rtsal; K brtsal

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M thugs

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M smra

<sup>i</sup> T,W gyi

<sup>j</sup> **T,W,M bslang/, K blangs/; T,W,M seem better**

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K rje

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K par

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M bzhir

<sup>n</sup> T brstigs/; W brtsibs/; K rtsigs/

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M rnam.pa

/rab.tu.bsres.<sup>111</sup>te.byugs.par.<sup>a</sup>bya/  
 /mthug.\*<sup>b</sup>srab.<sup>112</sup>pa.yi.<sup>c</sup>ko.ba.tsam/  
 /legs.par.'thas.shing.snyoms.par.bya/<sup>113</sup>

T49

/rdo.rje'i.<sup>d</sup>khang.pa.gsal.yang.gdab/  
 /dkyil.'khor.so.so'i.kha.dog.gi/<sup>e</sup>  
 /rigs.<sup>114</sup>dang.mthun.<sup>f</sup>pa'i.grogs.mchog.des/<sup>g</sup>  
 /mdzes.shing.khrus.byas.rgyan.gyis.<sup>115</sup>spras/

D193v

/byin.dang.ldan.pas.dbang.bskur.bya/<sup>h</sup>  
 /de.dag.rnal.'byor.g-yon.du.bzhag/<sup>i</sup>  
 /tshad.ldan.rdo.rje.srad.bu.la/  
 /de.ldan.<sup>j</sup>dbang.bskur.byin.brlabs.nas/  
 /thig.gi.<sup>k</sup>bye.brag.dkyil.'khor.gzhung/  
 /ji.ltar.<sup>116</sup>os.par.<sup>l</sup>thig.gdab.brtsam/<sup>m</sup>  
 /de.rjes.<sup>n</sup>dri.yi<sup>o</sup>.<sup>117</sup>thig.le.bya/  
 /so.so'i.pho.brang.gdan.du.brtsig/<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M ba.yug

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M 'thug

<sup>c</sup> T pa'i; W,K ba'i

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M rdo.rje; K rdoe

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M sor.de.dag.gi/; K sor.de.dag.gis/

<sup>f</sup> T thun; K 'thun

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M de/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M la/

<sup>i</sup> M gzhag/

<sup>j</sup> M ltar

<sup>k</sup> W le; K gis

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M pas

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K tsam/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,M rdo.rje; K rdoe

<sup>o</sup> T,W dri'i

/rang.bzhin.dkyil.'khor.spyan.drangs.nas/  
 /mchod.bstod.<sup>119</sup>rim.par.byas.nas.ni/  
 /rab.tu.mnyes.byas.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /tshon.<sup>a</sup>rtsi.<sup>120</sup>sna.lnga.<sup>b</sup>rab.'bring.tha/  
 /rab.tu.bsgrims.<sup>121</sup>te.byin.brlabs.la<sup>c</sup>/  
 /'gro.ba.rmongs.pa.las.dang.pos/<sup>d</sup>  
 /dang.po.\*<sup>e</sup>mtshan.nyid.shes.byas.nas/  
 /sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.<sup>122</sup>dkyil.'khor.de/  
 /rab.tu.mtshon.<sup>123</sup>par.byab.a'i.phyir/  
 /rnam.lnga'i.dkyil.'khor.bri.<sup>124</sup>bar.bshad/  
 /rdo.rje.'dzin.pa'i.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /dbus.su.<sup>125</sup>rab.tu.zlum.pa.<sup>f</sup>la/  
 /thig.bzhi.<sup>g</sup>btab.<sup>126</sup>pas.le'u.<sup>h</sup>tshe.dgu/  
 /gru.chad.dang.ni.bar.'khyams.dang/  
 /sgo.khyud.dang.ni.rin.chen.lnga/  
 /'dod.yon.rin.chen.pha.gu.dang/  
 /dra.ba.dra.phyed.rol.mor.bcas/  
 /'ba'.tu.<sup>i</sup>la.dang.rta.babs.dang/  
 /dril.bu.g.yer.kha.<sup>j</sup>sil.sil.sgra/

W23v

K160r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K mtshon

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M na/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M po/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M po'i

<sup>f</sup> T bzlum.po; K zlum.po

<sup>g</sup> T,W bzhi'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M le

<sup>i</sup> W,K hū

<sup>j</sup> T,W ka; K ka'

/chos.kyi.'khor.lo.twa.ra.ṅa<sup>a</sup>/  
 /rin.chen.rgyan.<sup>127</sup>gyis.<sup>b</sup>brgyan.par.bri/<sup>128</sup>  
 /de.'dra'i.dkyil.'khor.rdo.rje.'dzin/  
 /dbyings.phyug.ma.dang.gnyis.med.'khril/  
 /seng.ges.gtams.<sup>129</sup>pa'i.khri.steng.du/<sup>c</sup>  
 /nyi.zla.padma.<sup>d</sup>rin.po.che/  
 /de.steng.yab.yum.yang.dag.gnas/  
 /rgyan.<sup>130</sup>mams.yongs.su.<sup>e</sup>rdzogs.par.gsal/  
 /kha.dog.mthing.ga.<sup>f</sup>'od.dang.bcas/  
 /g-yas.dkar.g-yon.pa.dmar.ba.yin/  
 /phyag.ni.rmam.pa.drug.tu.gsungs/  
 /g-yas.kyi.<sup>131</sup>dang.po.rdo.rje.ste/  
 /bar.ma.'khor.lo.tha.ma.rin/  
 /g-yon.gyi.<sup>132</sup>dang.po.dril.bu.dkur/<sup>g</sup>  
 /bar.ma.rin.chen.myu.gu'o/  
 /tha.ma.ral.gri.'bar.ba.bsams/<sup>h</sup>  
 /zhabs.gnyis.mnyam.pa'i.skyil.krung.<sup>133</sup>bcas/<sup>\*i</sup>  
 /mdun.du.rnam.par.snang.mdzad.de/<sup>j</sup>

T50

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M na/

<sup>b</sup> T,W gyi

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M stengs.na/

<sup>d</sup> M padma'i

<sup>e</sup> W,K yongsu

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M ka; K kha

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M sku/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K mams/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M bzugs/

<sup>j</sup> W mdzade/; K mdzad.des/



/sangs.rgyas.<sup>134</sup>spyan.dang.gnyis.su.<sup>a</sup>med/

/glang.po'i.<sup>b</sup>gdan.dang.bcas.pa.la/

/nyi.zla.padma.rin.po.che/

/de.steng.<sup>c</sup>yab.yum.yang.dag.gnas/

/kha.dog.dkar.po'i.'od.'bar.bas/<sup>d</sup>

/g-yas.ser.g-yon.pa.sngo.ba.yin/

/g-yas.dang.<sup>e</sup>'khor.lo.thugs.kar.<sup>135</sup>'dzin/

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/bar.pa.<sup>f</sup>rdo.rje.rtse.lnga.pa/

/tha.ma.rin.chen.myu.gu'o/<sup>g</sup>

/g-yon.dang.<sup>h</sup>dril.bu.dku.'la.brten/<sup>136</sup>

/bar.pa.<sup>j</sup>padma.kha.'bus.bsname/

/tha.ma.rdo.rje.rgya.gram.mo/

/zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>137</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/

W24r

/g-yas.su.<sup>138</sup>rin.chen.'byung.ltan.te/<sup>k</sup>

/mā.ma.ki.dang.gnyis.su.<sup>l</sup>med/

/rdzu.'phrul.rta.yi.<sup>m</sup>khri.steng.<sup>n</sup>na/<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> W,K gnyisu

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K po

<sup>c</sup> M stengs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K dkar.po.'bar.ba'o/; M dkar.po.'od.'bar.ro/

<sup>e</sup> M la

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ma

<sup>g</sup> M gu.o/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K sku

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M ma

<sup>k</sup> K ste/; M de/

<sup>l</sup> W,K gnyisu

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K rta'i

<sup>n</sup> M stengs

/nyi.zla.padma.rin.po.che/  
 /de.steng.<sup>a</sup>yab.yum.yang.dag.bzhugs/  
 /kha.dog.<sup>'</sup>dzam.bu.na.<sup>b</sup>da'i.gser/  
 /g-yas.dmar.g-yon.pa.dkar.ba.yin/  
 /phyag.drug.g-yas.dang.<sup>c</sup>rin.po.che/  
 /bar.ma.<sup>139</sup>rdo.rje.tha.ma.pad/  
 /g-yon.dang.<sup>d</sup>dril.bu.bar.ma.'khor/  
 /tha.ma.<sup>e</sup>ral.gri.bsname.pa'o/  
 /zhabs.ni.brkyang.bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /rgyab.tu.snang.ba.mtha'.yas.te/<sup>140</sup>  
 /gos.dkar.mo.<sup>f</sup>dang.gnyis.med.bzhugs/<sup>g</sup>  
 /rma.byas.<sup>h</sup>gtams.<sup>141</sup>pa'i.khri.steng.<sup>i</sup>na/  
 /nyi.zla.padma.rin.po.che/  
 /de.steng.<sup>j</sup>yab.yum.yang.dag.bzhugs/  
 /kha.dog.<sup>142</sup>padma.rā.ga'i.<sup>k</sup>mdog/  
 /g-yas.pa.dkar.la.ser.ba.ste/<sup>l</sup>  
 /g-yon.pa.sngo.la.<sup>143</sup>skya.ba'o/

K160v

T51

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<sup>o</sup> T,W,M nas/

<sup>a</sup> M stengs

<sup>b</sup> M nī

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K mar

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ma

<sup>g</sup> T,M gnyis.su.med/; K gnyisu.med/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M bya

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

<sup>j</sup> M stengs

<sup>k</sup> K ra.ga'i; M rā.ga

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M bas.te/; K bas.ste/

/g-yas.dang.<sup>a</sup>padma.thugs.khar.'dzin/  
 /bar.ma.rdo.rje.<sup>144</sup>tha.ma.'khor/  
 /g-yon.dang.<sup>b</sup>dril.bu.dku.la.brten/<sup>c</sup>  
 /bar.ma.rdo.rje.rgya.gram.ste/<sup>145</sup>  
 /tha.ma.rin.chen.myu.gu'o/  
 /zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>146</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /g-yon.du.don.yod.grub.pa.ste/  
 /dam.tshig.sgrol.dang.gnyis.med.bzhugs/<sup>d</sup>  
 /nam.mkha'.<sup>e</sup>lding.gi.<sup>147</sup>khri.steng.'na/  
 /nyi.zla.padma.rin.po.che/  
 /de.steng.<sup>g</sup>yab.yum.yang.dag.bzhugs/<sup>h</sup>  
 /kha.dog.on.dra.nī.la'i.\*<sup>i</sup>mdog/  
 /g-yas.dkar.g-yon.pa.dmar.ba.yin/  
 /phyag.drug.g-yas.dang.ral.gri.thugs/  
 /bar.ma.<sup>j</sup>rdo.rje.<sup>148</sup>tha.ma.pad/  
 /g-yon.pa.dril.bu.dku.la.<sup>k</sup>brten/  
 /bar.<sup>149</sup>ma.'khor.lo.tha.ma.rin/

M838

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M pa; K ba

<sup>c</sup> T sku.ru.bstan/; W,K sku.ru.brten/; M dku.ru.brten/

<sup>d</sup> T,W gnyisu.med/, K,M gnyis.su.med/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>f</sup> W,M stengs

<sup>g</sup> M stengs

<sup>h</sup> M gnas/

<sup>i</sup> T,K in.dra.nī.li'i, W,M in.dra.nī.la'i; W,M seem better

<sup>j</sup> W,K,M pa

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K sku.ru; M dku.ru

/zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>a</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /rgyan.mams.kun.dang.yang.dag.lan/  
 /yum.ni.zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.te/  
 /rdo.rje.dril.bu.thogs.nas.'khyud/  
 /kha.dog.yab.dang.'dra.bar.brta<sup>g</sup>/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 /kun.gyi.<sup>c</sup>mtshan.nyid.yin.pas.so/\*<sup>d</sup>  
 /g-yas.pa'i.phyag.na.bsname.pa.ni/  
 /'khor.lo.rin.chen.padma.dang/  
 /las.kyi.ral.gri.bsname.pa'o/  
 /shar.lho.mtshams.<sup>150</sup>kyi.re'u.mig.la/<sup>e</sup>  
 /padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>f</sup>na/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>151</sup>sa'i.snying.po/<sup>g</sup>  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.dkar/  
 /lā.sye.<sup>h</sup>dkar.mo.sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.rin.chen.myu.gu.bsname/  
 /g-yon.pa.dril.bu.dku.la.brten<sup>i</sup>/<sup>j</sup>  
 /yum.ni.'gying.stabs.<sup>k</sup>yab.la.'khyud/<sup>l</sup>

W24v

D194v

K161r

<sup>a</sup> W,K rkyang

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M rtag/, K rtags/; T,W,M seem better

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M pa'o/

<sup>e</sup> T,K re.mig.ni/ W,M ri.mig.ni/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K sa'i.nying/; M sa.yi.nying/

<sup>h</sup> T,K la.se, W,M lā.se [= lā.syā]

<sup>i</sup> D la and the b of brten, partially obscured

<sup>j</sup> T dri.bu.sku.ru.rten/; W dril.bu.sku.ru.rten/; K dril.bu.sku.ru.brten/; M dril.bu.dku.ru.brten/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K 'gyings.stangs

<sup>l</sup> T,W mkhyud/

/zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>152</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /lho.nub.mtshams.<sup>153</sup>kyi.re'u.mig.la/  
 /padma.dkar.po'i.khri.steng.du/<sup>a</sup>  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>154</sup>nam.mkha'i.<sup>b</sup>snying/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.ni.<sup>155</sup>gnyis.pa.ste/  
 /kha.dog.sngon.po.mdangs.dang.lدان/  
 /mā.le.<sup>c</sup>sngon.mo.<sup>d</sup>sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.ral.gri.g-yon.dril.bu/  
 /yum.ni.phreng.<sup>e</sup>ba.gtso.la.'khyud/  
 /zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>156</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /nub.byang.mtshams.<sup>157</sup>kyi.re'u.mig.la/  
 /padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>f</sup>na/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>158</sup>spyan.ras.gzigs/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.dmar/  
 /gīrti.<sup>g</sup>dmar.mo.sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.rdo.rje.g-yon.pa.dril/<sup>159</sup>  
 /yum.ni.pi.wang.yab.la.'khril/<sup>h</sup>  
 /zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>160</sup>bskum.tshul.du.<sup>161</sup>bzhugs/  
 /byang.shar.mtshams.kyi.<sup>162</sup>re'u.mig.la/  
 /padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>i</sup>na/

T52

M839

<sup>a</sup> T padma.sngon.po'i.gdan.steng.na/; W,K,M ditto, but stengs for steng

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>c</sup> [= mā.lā]

<sup>d</sup> M po

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M 'phreng

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M gir.ti [= gī.tā]

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M 'khyud/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M ljang.khu'i

/byang.sems.phyag.na.rdo.rje.ni/<sup>a</sup>  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.ljang/<sup>b</sup>  
 /nīrti.<sup>c</sup>ljang.gu.<sup>d</sup>sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.rdo.rje.<sup>163</sup>g-yon.pa.dril/<sup>e</sup>  
 /yum.<sup>164</sup>ni.gar.gyi.<sup>165</sup>phyag.rgyas.'khril/<sup>166</sup>  
 /zhabs.ni.brkyang.<sup>167</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/<sup>168</sup>  
 /shar.lho.mtshams.<sup>169</sup>kyi.gru.chad.la/  
 /padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>f</sup>na/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>170</sup>byams.pa.ni/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.dkar/<sup>171</sup>  
 /dhū.pe.<sup>g</sup>dkar.mo.sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.klu.shing.g-yon.pa.dril/  
 /yum.ni.pog.<sup>h</sup>phor.sku.la.'khril/  
 /zhabs.gnyis.<sup>i</sup>brkyang.<sup>172</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /lho.nub.mtshams.kyi.<sup>173</sup>gru.chad.la/  
 /padma.sngo.skya'i.gdan.steng.<sup>j</sup>na/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>174</sup>sgrib.sel.ni/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.ni.gnyis.pa.ste/

W25r

K161v M840

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M (unmetrically) byang.chub.sems.dpa'.phyag.na.rdo.rje.ste/; K ditto, but semda' for sems.dpa'

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M sngo/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M nir.ti [= nṛt.yā]

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M ljang.khu

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M g-yon.dril.bu/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>g</sup> The final 'greng-bu and the initial d of the next word are obscure in D [= dhū.pā]

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K spos

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M ni

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

/sku.mdog.<sup>175</sup>sngo.skya.'od.dang.bcas/  
 /puṣpe.<sup>a</sup>sngo.skya.sku.la.'khril/<sup>176</sup>  
 /g-yas.pa.'khor.lo.g-yon.pa.dril/  
 /yum.ni.me.tog.phyag.rgya.can/  
 /zhabs.gnyis.<sup>b</sup>brkyang.<sup>177</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /nub.byang.mtshams.kyi.<sup>178</sup>gru.chad.la/  
 /padma.dmar.ser.gdan.steng.<sup>c</sup>na/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'.<sup>179</sup>kun.tu.bzang/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.ni.gnyis.pa.ste/  
 /kha.dog.dmar.ser.'od.dang.bcas/<sup>d</sup>  
 /ā.lo.ka.\*<sup>e</sup>dmar.ser.sku.la.'khril/  
 /g-yas.pa.rin.chen.snye.ma.bsname/<sup>180</sup>  
 /g-yon.pa.dril.bu.dku.<sup>181</sup>la.brten/<sup>f</sup>  
 /yum.ni.mar.me.sku.la.'khril/  
 /zhabs.gnyis.brkyang.<sup>182</sup>bskum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /byang.shar.mtshams.kyi.<sup>183</sup>gru.chad.la/  
 /padma.ljang.gu'i.<sup>g</sup>gdan.steng.<sup>h</sup>na/  
 /byang.sems.'jam.dpal.gzhon.nu.ni/<sup>i</sup>  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.ljang/

<sup>a</sup> [= puṣpā]

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ni

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M ldan/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M give the more metrical ā.lo., for D's ā.lo.ka.

<sup>f</sup> T,W sku.ru.rten/; M dku.ru.brten/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ljang.khu'i

<sup>h</sup> T,M stengs; W ste, with lacuna for ngs

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M byang.chub.sems.dpa'.jam.dpal.ni/; K ditto, but semda' for sems.dpa'

/g-yas.pa.utpal.<sup>a</sup>g-yon.pa.dril/  
 /yum.ni.byug.pa.sku.<sup>b</sup>la.'khril/  
 /zhabs.gnyis.brkyang.<sup>184</sup>bškum.tshul.du.bzhugs/  
 /shar.gyi.khyams.na.<sup>c</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /padma.ser.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>d</sup>na/  
 /bcom.ldan.shākya.thub.pa.ni/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.ser/  
 /g-yas.pa.gseg.<sup>e</sup>shang.<sup>185</sup>g-yon.par.bu/  
 /bzhengs.nas.mi.rnams.ston.pa.mdzad/  
 /lho.yi.<sup>f</sup>khyams.na.<sup>g</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /padma.ser.skya'i.gdan.steng.<sup>h</sup>na/  
 /lha.yi.<sup>i</sup>thub.pa.brgya.byin.ni/  
 /zhal.gcig.<sup>186</sup>phyag.gnyis.sku.ser.skya/<sup>j</sup>  
 /pi.wang.bzhengs.nas.lha.yi.<sup>k</sup>ston/  
 /nub.kyi.khyams.na.<sup>l</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /lha.min.thub.pa.thags.<sup>\*m</sup>bzangs.<sup>187</sup>ris/<sup>\*n</sup>

M841

W25v

<sup>a</sup> T (unmetrically) ud.pa.la; W (unmetrically) utpala; M ut.pal

<sup>b</sup> M sku.sku, for pa.sku

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M khyams.la; K 'khyams.la

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K bseg; M seg; (K has b subscripted, below s)

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K lho'i

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M khyams.la; K 'khyams.la

<sup>h</sup> W,K,M stengs

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K lha'i

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K skya.ser.sku/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K lha'i

<sup>l</sup> T kyi.'khyams.la; W,M kyi.khyams.la; K kyiis.'khyams.la

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M thag

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M place this line, more correctly, immediately after the next line.



/padma.dmar.skya'i.gdan.la.bzhugs/\*<sup>a</sup>  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.dmar.skya/  
 /phyag.na.ral.gri.go.cha.bsname/188  
 /bzhengs.nas.lha.min.ston.pa.mdzad/  
 /byang.gi.khyams.na.<sup>b</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /padma.dkar.<sup>c</sup>skya'i.gdan.steng.<sup>d</sup>na/  
 /yi.dwags.<sup>189</sup>thub.<sup>e</sup>pa.kha.'bar.ma/  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.dkar.skya/  
 /sgrom.bu.<sup>f</sup>bzhengs.nas.yi.dwags.ston/  
 /shar.gyi.<sup>190</sup>khyams.'gram.<sup>191</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /padma.sngon.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>g</sup>na/  
 /byol.song.thub.pa.a.glang.mgo/<sup>h</sup>  
 /zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.sngo/  
 /pu.sti.<sup>i</sup>bzhengs.nas.byol.song.ston/  
 /nub.kyi.khyams.'gram.<sup>j</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/  
 /padma.nag.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>k</sup>na/  
 /dmyal.thub.gshin.<sup>192</sup>rje.mi.thod.<sup>l</sup>can/

T54

K162r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M stengs.na/; perhaps steng.na/ is better.

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M dmar

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>e</sup> D lacuna for one letter

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M po.ti

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M (unmetrically) byol.song.thub.pa.a.ba.glang.mgo.can/

<sup>i</sup> T rin.sgroms; W,K,M rin.sgrom

<sup>j</sup> T 'khyams.la; W,K,M khyams.la; D has lacuna for one letter after 'gram

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M stengs

<sup>l</sup> T,W thong

/zhal.gcig.phyag.gnyis.sku.mdog.nag/<sup>a</sup>

/me.chu.bzhengs.nas.dmyal.ba'i.<sup>b</sup>ston/

/shar.gyi.<sup>193</sup>khyams.na.<sup>c</sup>bzhugs.pa.ni/

D195v

/padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>d</sup>na/

/kun.bzang.phyag.na.rdo.rje.dkar/

/rdo.rje.<sup>194</sup>thal.mo.phyag.rgyas.<sup>e</sup>gnon/

/nub.khyams.<sup>f</sup>g-yon.na.bzhugs.pa.ni/

/padma.dkar.po'i.gdan.steng.<sup>g</sup>na/

/kun.tu.bzang.mo.gtso.dang.mthun/<sup>h</sup>

/dkyil.'khor.shar.gyi.<sup>195</sup>sgo.ru.<sup>i</sup>ni/

/'joms.pa.ya.mān.ta.kṛt.<sup>j</sup>ni/<sup>196</sup>

M842

/zhing.gdan.me.dpung.nang.<sup>k</sup>na<sup>197</sup>.bzhugs/

/thod.gdeng.<sup>l</sup>rta.gdong.sku.la.'khril/<sup>198</sup>

/zhabs.gnyis.bgrad.<sup>199</sup>pa'i.tshul.du.bzhugs/

/lho.yi.<sup>m</sup>sgo.ru.bsam.<sup>200</sup>bya.ba/

/'joms.pa.pra.dznyiānta.kṛt.<sup>n</sup>ni/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K gnag/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M stengs

<sup>e</sup> M rgya

<sup>f</sup> K 'khyams

<sup>g</sup> W,M stengs

<sup>h</sup> M 'thun/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K ya.man.ta.krid; M ya.mān.ta.krid

<sup>k</sup> M glong

<sup>l</sup> T thod.grdeng; W thong.brder; K thod.brdeng

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M phyogs

<sup>n</sup> T,W padmar.ta.krid; K padma.ta.krid; M big.nan.ta.krid

/zhing.gdan.me.dpung.nang.na.<sup>201</sup>bzhugs/

/pad.nang.<sup>a</sup>rdo.rje.<sup>202</sup>phag.gdong.'khril/<sup>203</sup>

/zhabs.gnyis.gyad.kyi.dor.stabs.<sup>b</sup>bzhugs/

/nub.kyi.<sup>204</sup>sgo.ru.bsam.bya.ba/

/'joms.pa.padmānta.kṛt.<sup>c</sup>ni/

**T55**

/zhing.gdan.me.dpung.nang.na.<sup>d</sup>bzhugs/

/thod.phor.<sup>e</sup>rdor.bcug.sbrul.gyis.dkris/

/nyi.zla.lcags.sgrog.<sup>f</sup>sku.la.'khril/

/zhabs.gnyis.gyad.kyi.<sup>205</sup>dor.stabs.<sup>g</sup>bzhugs/

/byang.gi.<sup>206</sup>sgo.ru.bsam.bya.ba/

/'joms.pa.bighnāṃ.ta.kṛt.<sup>h</sup>ni/

**W26r**

/zhing.gdan.me.dpung.<sup>i</sup>nang.na.<sup>207</sup>bzhugs/

**K162v**

/rdo.rje.rgya.gram.thod.pa.gnon/<sup>208</sup>

/thal.<sup>209</sup>byed.dril.bu.sku.la.'khril/

/zhabs.gnyis.bgrad.<sup>210</sup>pa'i.tshul.du.bzhugs/

/sgo.pa'i.<sup>j</sup>khro.bo.khro.mo.ni/

/sku.mdog.rigs.<sup>211</sup>las.shes.par.bya/

/bcom.ldan.bder.<sup>k</sup>gshegs.skur.<sup>l</sup>rdzogs.te/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M padma

<sup>b</sup> T gyi.rdor.thabs; W,M kyi.dor.thabs; K kyis.dor.thabs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M padma.ta.krid

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M padma'i.gdan.la

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M par

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K sgrogs

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M thabs

<sup>h</sup> T bigh.nan.ta.krid; W bi.gha.nān.ta.krid; K bigh.nān.ta.krid; M, anomalously, pradznyā.ta.krid [= bighnān.ta.kṛt]

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K me'i, M me.yi, for me.dpung.

<sup>j</sup> T,W sgo'i, K,M sgo.yi, for sgo.pa'i

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M bde

/sangs.rgyas.<sup>212</sup>rdo.rje.'dzin.pa.yi<sup>a</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.dam.pa.nyams.dga'.yin<sup>b</sup>  
 /'khor.lo.can.gyi.<sup>213</sup>dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /'khor.lo.rtsibs.bzhi.mu.khyud.can<sup>c</sup>  
 /gru.chad.bar.khyams.<sup>214</sup>la.sogs.pa/  
 /rdor.'dzin.dkyil.'khor.ji.bzhin.no/  
 /dbus.su.seng.ge'i.gdan.dag.la/  
 /rnam.snang.yab.yum.bsgom.<sup>d</sup>par.bya/  
 /spyan.sngar.mi.skyod.<sup>e</sup>yab.yum.bcas/  
 /gzhan.rnams.so.so'i.mtshan.nyid.ni/  
 /rdor.'dzin.dkyil.'khor.'dra.bar.<sup>f</sup>bri/  
 /rin.chen.dkyil.'khor.bri.<sup>g</sup>ba.ni/  
 /rin.chen.zur.brgyad.'dra.ba.la/  
 /bde.bar.gshegs.pa'i.pho.brang.bya/  
 /bar.khyams.<sup>215</sup>la.sogs.gong.bzhin.bya/\*<sup>h</sup>  
 /dbus.su.<sup>i</sup>rdzu'phrul.rta.yi.<sup>j</sup>khri/  
 /de'i.\*<sup>k</sup>steng.<sup>l</sup>rin.chen.'byung.ltan.bsgom/<sup>216</sup>

M843

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<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M sku

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa'o/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M zhing/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M bcas/

<sup>d</sup> K sgom; D lacuna for one letter after bsgom

<sup>e</sup> M bskyod

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K 'dri

<sup>h</sup> **T,W,M** bri/

<sup>i</sup> W,K dbusu

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K rta'i

<sup>k</sup> **T,W,K,M** de

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M stengs

/yum.dang.gnyis.su.<sup>a</sup>med.par.bzhugs/  
 /lho.ru.rdo.rje.'dzin.pa.bsgom/<sup>b</sup>  
 /yum.dang.gnyis.su.med.par.bzhugs/<sup>c</sup>  
 /gzhan.rnams.gong.ma.ji.bzhin.no/<sup>d</sup>  
 /padma.<sup>e</sup>rigs.kyi.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /padma.'dab.ma.brgyad.pa.bri/<sup>217</sup>  
 /ze'u.<sup>f</sup>bru.padma.'bras.bur.bcas/  
 /dbus.su.rma.by'a'i.gdan.dag.la/  
 /snang.ba.mtha'.yas.yab.yum.bsgom/<sup>g</sup>  
 /nub.tu.<sup>h</sup>rdo.rje.'dzin.pa.bsgom/<sup>i</sup>  
 /gzhan.rnams.gong.ma'i.<sup>j</sup>dkyil.'khor.bzhin/  
 /shin.tu.rgyas.par.bri.ba.yin/<sup>k</sup>  
 /don.yod.<sup>l</sup>grub.pa'i.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /dbus.su.le'u.<sup>m</sup>tshe.dgu.dang.ldan/  
 /phyi.rol.'khor.lo.rtsibs.bzhi.<sup>n</sup>ldan/  
 /rin.chen.zur.brgyad.padma.mdzes/

D196r

T56

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<sup>a</sup> W,K gnyisü

<sup>b</sup> T,W bsgoms/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K omit this line

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M du/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M padma'i

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M ze

<sup>g</sup> T,W bsgoms/

<sup>h</sup> M du

<sup>i</sup> T,W bsgoms/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M gi; K gis

<sup>k</sup> K ni/; M yi/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M rnams

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M le

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bzhir

/dbus.su.nam.mkha'.<sup>a</sup>lding.gi.<sup>218</sup>khri/  
 /de'i.steng.<sup>b</sup>don.yod.yab.yum.bsgom/<sup>c</sup>  
 /byang.du.rdor.'dzin.yab.yum.ste/  
 /gzhan.rnams.kyang.ni.gsal.bar.bri/  
 /dkyil.<sup>219</sup>'khor.dam.pa.<sup>d</sup>de.dag.la/  
 /brgyan.par.byab.ba'i.rdzas.rnams.ni/  
 /bum.pa.brgyad.dam.<sup>e</sup>bcu.drug.gam/<sup>f</sup>  
 /kha.rgyan.<sup>g</sup>mdzes.pa'i.shing.los.byab/<sup>h</sup>  
 /nang.du.gtams.<sup>i</sup>pa'i.bcud.<sup>220</sup>rnams.ni/  
 /bza'.dang.bca'.pa'i.\*jbye.brag.dang/<sup>221</sup>  
 /bu.ram.sbrang.rtsi.mar.rnams.dang/  
 /til.la.sogs.pa'i.'bru.rnams.dang/  
 /rin.chen.sna.lnga.snying.po.lnga/  
 /zla.ba.<sup>222</sup>nyi.ma.chu.sman.dris/\*<sup>k</sup>  
 /yongs.su.<sup>223</sup>gang.ba'i.bum.pa.ni/  
 /dang.po.gser.las.byas.pa.brgyad/  
 /gnyis.pa.shel.dung.dngul.<sup>l</sup>las.byas/

K163r

W26v

M844

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<sup>a</sup> W,K namkha'

<sup>b</sup> T,W,M de.stengs; K de.steng

<sup>c</sup> T,W bsgoms/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M padma

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K brgya.dang; M brgyad.dang

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M dang/; K dag/

<sup>g</sup> T,W brgyan

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M brgyan/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M brgyan

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M ba'i

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M dri/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M dngul.dang.shel

/gsum.pa.baiḍurya.yi.\*<sup>a</sup>brgyad/  
 /bzhi.pa.zangs.<sup>b</sup>las.byas.pa.brgyad/  
 /lga.pa.lcags.las.byas.pa.brgyad/<sup>c</sup>  
 /de.rnams.dkyil.'khor.lga.yi.<sup>224</sup>brgyan/  
 /dkyil.'khor.drug.pa.la.brgyan.pa/  
 /zangs.<sup>d</sup>lcags.dngul.dang.baiḍūrya/<sup>e</sup>  
 /gser.la.sogs.pas.brgyan.par.bya/  
 /gzhan.yang.brgyan.<sup>225</sup>par.bya.ba'i.rdzas/  
 /rol.mo'i.bye.brag.thams.cad.<sup>226</sup>dang/  
 /yid.du.'od.\*<sup>f</sup>ba'i.lhab.lhub.dang/  
 /bza'.dang.bca'.ba'i.bye.brag.gis/<sup>227</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.<sup>228</sup>dam.pa.brgyan.par.bya/  
 /phyogs.skyong.<sup>229</sup>gtor.ma.la.sogs.pa/  
 /dkar.gsum.mngar.gsum.'o.mas.brgyan/  
 /'bru.sna.tshogs.pa'i.<sup>230</sup>chan.rnams.dang/  
 /sha.sna.tshogs.pa'i.gtor.ma.dgram/<sup>231</sup>  
 /de.nas.rnal.'byor.can.dag.gis/  
 /sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.rdo.rje.brlab/<sup>g</sup>  
 /phyag.rgya.snying.gar.<sup>h</sup>gsal.bar.bskyed/  
 /phyag.rgya.bzhi.dang.ldan.par.bya/  
 /bdag.gi.dkyil.'khor.rdzogs.zhes.bya/

T57

D196v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K bai.ḍūrya'i, M bai.ḍūrya.yi; M seems better

<sup>b</sup> M final s subscripted

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M omit this line

<sup>d</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>e</sup> T bai.ḍārya/; W bai.ḍūr.ya/; K bai.ḍurya/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M 'ong

<sup>g</sup> T bslab/; K brlabs/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M khar

/rang.bzhin.grub.pa'i.gnas.nas.ni/  
 /bde.gshegs.'khor.bcas.<sup>a</sup>spyan.drangs.mchod/  
 /phyag.rgya.bzhi.yis.<sup>b</sup>gnyis.med.bstim/<sup>232</sup>  
 /phyi.nang.gsang.ba'i.dbang.yang.nod/  
 /de.la.mchod.pa'i.bye.brag.byā/  
 /lha.mo.mdzes.pa'i.\*<sup>c</sup>kha.dog.lnga/\*<sup>d</sup>  
 /phyi.nang.mchod.par.<sup>e</sup>dbul.bar.byā/  
 /spyi.yi.<sup>f</sup>mchod.pa.<sup>g</sup>dbul.byā.ba/<sup>h</sup>  
 /dhū.pe.<sup>i</sup>puṣpe.<sup>j</sup>ā.lo.ke.<sup>k</sup>/  
 /ghandhe.<sup>l</sup>ma.yis.<sup>m</sup>mchod.bstod.<sup>233</sup>byā/  
 /lā.sye.<sup>n</sup>mā.le.<sup>o</sup>gīrti.<sup>p</sup>dang/  
 /nīrtis.<sup>q</sup>mchod.bstod.las.byā'o/  
 /nang.gi.mchod.pa'i.las.byā.ba/

K163v

M845 W27r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M lo

<sup>b</sup> T,W yi

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M lngas/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>f</sup> T,K,M phyi'i; M phyi.yi

<sup>g</sup> T,K pa.'ang, W,M pa'ang, for pa

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M dbul.bar.byā/; K 'bul.bar.byā/

<sup>i</sup> W dhu.pe, K puṣpe [= dhū.pā]

<sup>j</sup> K dhuṣpe; K's reversal of the order of these names possibly derives from the habitual recitation of the seven offerings, argham etc [= puṣpā]

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M a.lo.ke [= ā.lo.kā]

<sup>l</sup> [= ghandhā]

<sup>m</sup> T ma'is, W,K ma'i.sa, for ma.yis

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M lā.se [= lā.syā]

<sup>o</sup> [= mā.lā]

<sup>p</sup> [= gī.tā]

<sup>q</sup> T,W,M nirtis; K nir.ti [= nṛt.yā]



/yum.lnga'i.mchan.\*<sup>a</sup>nyid.can.gyis.<sup>234</sup>bya/  
 /gsang.ba'i.mchod.pa.de.bzhin.no/  
 /de.nas.las.rnams.so.so.<sup>235</sup>yi/  
 /mtshan.nyid.ldan.pa'i.bu.mchog.der/<sup>b</sup>  
 /dkyil.'khor.dam.pa.bstan.pa'i.phyir/  
 /bu.tshur.\*<sup>c</sup>ci.la.dga'.zhes.dri/<sup>236</sup>  
 /rigs.dang.ldan.pa'i.bu.mchog.des/  
 /bdag.ni.'di.la.dga'.lags.so<sup>d/e</sup>/  
 /so.so'i.dkyil.'khor.mtshan.nas.brjod/  
 /slob.dpon.lung.ldan.<sup>f</sup>dam.pa.des/<sup>237</sup>  
 /mna'.<sup>238</sup>bsgag.chu.blud.byaba'i.phyir/  
 /om.badzra.amṛta.kuṇḍali.hanodaka.tha<sup>g</sup>/  
 /bzlas.<sup>239</sup>pa'i.chu.'di.<sup>h</sup>kha.ru.blud/  
 /gsang.ba'i.<sup>240</sup>dkyil.'khor.'di.dag.la/  
 /gang.dag.mi.<sup>i</sup>mos.pa.yi.<sup>j</sup>drung/  
 /khyod.kyis.<sup>241</sup>smra.bar.ma.byed.cig/<sup>242</sup>  
 /gal.te.smra.bar.gyur.<sup>243</sup>na.ni/  
 /khyod.ni.<sup>k</sup>sdug.bsngal.dang.mi.'bral/

T58

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M mtshan

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K des/; M de/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M tshul

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K lagso

<sup>e</sup> M la.sogs/

<sup>f</sup> T,K,M bstan, W bstan.pa, for ldan

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K om.a.mri.ta.kun.ḍa.li.ha.no.da.kang; M om.a.mṛ.ta.kun.ḍa.li.ha.no.da.kan [I am unsure of a correct Sanskrit form behind this mantra]

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ni

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M ma

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K pa'i

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K kyi

/tshe.yi.<sup>a</sup>du.byed.byas.nas.ni/<sup>244</sup>  
 /sems.can.<sup>245</sup>dmyal.ba.<sup>246</sup>chen.por.skye/  
 /khyod.kyis.bsrung.<sup>b</sup>bar.byā.ba.ni/  
 /yi.dam.lha.la.rtag.gnas.<sup>c</sup>bya/  
 /bla.ma.mig.gi.<sup>'</sup>bras.ltar.ltos/<sup>d</sup>  
 /rdo.rje.spun.la.brtse.<sup>e</sup>gdung.skyed/<sup>f</sup>  
 /sngags.dang.phyag.rgya.rtag.tu.bca'/  
 /gsang.ba.sbas.pa'i.thabs.mchog.rnams/<sup>g</sup>  
 /snod.ngan.gzhan.la.spel.byā.min/  
 /zla.ba.nyi.ma.chu.sman.dri/<sup>\*h</sup>  
 /zla.ba.yab.kyi.byang.chub.sems/  
 /nyi.ma.yum.gyi.rakta.chu.sman.dri/  
 /sgrub.<sup>i</sup>rdzas.rtag.tu.bsten.<sup>j</sup>par.byā/  
 /sha.yi.<sup>k</sup>bye.brag.rnam.pa.lnga/  
 /chang.lnga.rnams.kyang.bsten.<sup>l</sup>par.byā/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K tshe'i

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M bsdu

<sup>c</sup> T,K nas

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M lta/; K blta/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K rtse

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M bskyed/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ni/

<sup>h</sup> The next two lines occur only in D. Given that the second line is unmetrical, and that the two lines probably need to be taken together, they appear to be marginal glosses that have intruded into the main text.

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M bsgrub

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K brten

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K sha'i

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K brten

/bud.med.'dod.pa.drag. <sup>a</sup> tu.bsten/ <sup>b</sup>	M846
/sbyor.sgrol.phra.ma. <sup>c</sup> mi.snyan.brku/ <sup>d</sup>	
/'di.dag.rtag.tu.spyad.par.byā/	
/mu.stegs.dka'.thub.ma.yin.zhing/	
/nyan.thos.khrims.dang.sdom. <sup>e</sup> pa.min/	
/gsang.ba'i.sdom.pa.'da'.bar.dka'/	D197r
/slob.dpon.smad.par.byā.ba.min/	
/gal.te.smad.par.gyur.na.ni/	
/dngos.grub.med.cing.dmyal.bar.ltung/	
/de.ltar.dam.tshig. <sup>247</sup> bsgrags.nas.ni/	K164r
/de.nas.bla.ma. <sup>f</sup> lung.ltan.des/ <sup>248</sup>	
/snod.kyi.khyad.par.ci.rigs.par/	
/dbang.rnams.rim.par.bskur.bar.byā/	W27v
/dang.po. <sup>g</sup> dkiil.'khor.gzhug. <sup>h</sup> pa'i.dbang/	
/gnyis.pa.gsang.ba.nyan.pa'i.dbang/	
/gsum.pa.rdo.rje.slob.dpon.dbang/	
/bzhi.pa.las.bzhi' <sup>i</sup> lung.yang.bstan/	
/lga.pa.dbugs. <sup>249</sup> dbyung. <sup>j</sup> bstan.pa.ste/ <sup>250</sup>	

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<sup>a</sup> M pas.rtag

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K omit this line

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M mo

<sup>d</sup> T kun/; W,K sku/; M rku/

<sup>e</sup> M sdoms

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M slob.dpon

<sup>g</sup> M por

<sup>h</sup> T,W bzhus; K 'jug; D lacuna for one letter after gzhug

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M bzhi

<sup>j</sup> T dbyang; M byung

/drug.pa.rab.'byams.rgyal.po'i.<sup>a</sup>dbang/  
 /bdun.pa.gsang.ba'i.dbang.dag.<sup>251</sup>sbyin/  
 /brgyad.pa.shes.rab.dbang.mchog.sbyin/  
 /dgu.pa.ye.shes.dbang.mchog.sti/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 /mthar.phyin.dbang.mchog.rdzogs.par.sbyin/  
 /de.nas.dbang.mchog.ldan.bya'i.\*<sup>c</sup>phyir/  
 /so.sor.\*<sup>d</sup>rigs.kyi.<sup>e</sup>bu.mchog.des/<sup>f</sup>  
 /bye.brag.so.so'i.yon.mams.dbul/  
 /bdag.lus.srog.<sup>252</sup>dang.nor.la.sogs/  
 /bdag.nyid.bu.dang.chung.mar.bcas/  
 /zhum.pa.med.pa'i.sems.kyis.<sup>253</sup>dbul/  
 /rdo.rje.'dzin.pa'i.yon.tan.\*<sup>g</sup>no/<sup>254</sup>  
 /bran.dang.bcas.pa'i.'dod.yon.lnga/  
 /de.\*<sup>h</sup>ltar.rigs.<sup>i</sup>pa'i.rjes.\*<sup>j</sup>rnam.kun/  
 /'khor.lo.can.gyi.<sup>255</sup>yon.du.<sup>256</sup>dbul/<sup>k</sup>  
 /rin.chen.sna.<sup>l</sup>lnga'i.<sup>m</sup>bye.brag.gdang/\*<sup>n</sup>

T59

M847

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M rgyas.pa'i

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ste/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M so'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M mchog; K mthun

<sup>f</sup> T,W de/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M yin

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ji

<sup>i</sup> T,W rig

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M rdzas

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M 'bul/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M omit sna

<sup>m</sup> M lnga.yi

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

/glang.po.rta.<sup>257</sup>dang.ma.her.bcas/  
 /dgos.pa'i.bye.brag.ci.yod.par/\*<sup>a</sup>  
 /rin.chen.rigs.kyi.<sup>258</sup>yon.yin.no/  
 /ma.sring.bu.mo.chung.ma.rnams/<sup>b</sup>  
 /rin.chen.sna.lngas.brgyan.<sup>c</sup>byas.la/  
 /rgod.ma.la.sogs.mo.yi.ming/<sup>d</sup>  
 /padma'i.<sup>259</sup>rigs.kyi.yon.yin.no/<sup>e</sup>  
 /glang.po.\*<sup>f</sup>nor.gyis.brgyan.pa.dang/  
 /ma.he.nor.gyis.brgyan.pa.dang/  
 /shing.rta.nor.gyis.brgyan.pa.dang/  
 /theg.pa'i.bye.brag.thams.cad.<sup>260</sup>la/  
 /rdzas.kyi.bye.brag.mang.po.\*<sup>g</sup>bka/<sup>261</sup>  
 /las.<sup>262</sup>kyi.<sup>263</sup>rigs.kyi.<sup>264</sup>yon.yin.no/<sup>h</sup>  
 /rin.chen.bye.brag.sna.tshogs.dang/  
 /theg.pa'i.bye.brag.sna.tshogs.dang/  
 /bza'.<sup>265</sup>dang.bca'.ba'i.'bye.brag.rnams/  
 /yid.du.<sup>266</sup>ong.ba'i.rdzas.rnams.kun/  
 /spyi.yi.<sup>j</sup>dkiyl.'khor.<sup>267</sup>yon.du.bshad/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M dang/

<sup>c</sup> T,W rgyan

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K give this line only five syllables, /rgod.ma.las.mo.ming/; (in W, rgod is obscured by a blot)

<sup>e</sup> W,K yino/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M chen

<sup>g</sup> T,W pos

<sup>h</sup> W,K yino/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M dang

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K phyi'i; M phyi.yi

/dkyil.'khor.<sup>268</sup>dam.pa.de.<sup>a</sup>dag.tu/\*<sup>b</sup>  
 /dbang.gi.rim.pa.thams.cad.<sup>269</sup>kun/  
 /tshang.<sup>c</sup>par.<sup>d</sup>bskur.ba.mthar.phyin.dbang/  
 /de.yi.<sup>e</sup>gzungs.<sup>f</sup>ma.de.dag.la/<sup>g</sup>  
 /gong.gi.<sup>270</sup>yon.mams.dbul.ba.yin/  
 /dbang.mchog.thob.pa'i.slob.ma.la/  
 /dbang.thob.rtags.<sup>271</sup>re.sbyin.pa.dang/\*<sup>h</sup>  
 /dang.po.rgyu.'bras.mi.bslu.\*<sup>i</sup>bstan/  
 /gnyis.pa.phyag.rgya.bsgom.<sup>272</sup>pa.bstan/  
 /gsum.pa.gsang.ba'i.<sup>j</sup>nges.don.<sup>k</sup>bshad/  
 /bzhi.pa.phyag.rgya.bzhi.yang.bstan/<sup>l</sup>  
 /Inga.pa.chos.kyi.<sup>273</sup>'khor.lor.\*<sup>m</sup>sbyin/  
 /drug.pa.chos.kyi.<sup>274</sup>dung.yang.sbyin/  
 /bdun.pa.gsang.ba'i.man.ngag.sbyin/<sup>n</sup>  
 /brgyad.pa.sems.kyi.<sup>275</sup>gtan.tshigs.<sup>o</sup>sbyin/

K164v

D197v

W28r

T60

<sup>a</sup> M 'di<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M kun/<sup>c</sup> T,W,K tshangs<sup>d</sup> M bar<sup>e</sup> T,W,K de'i<sup>f</sup> T,W,K gzugs<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M kun/<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M par.byā/<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M slu<sup>j</sup> T,W,K ba<sup>k</sup> T,W,K pa<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M sbyin/<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M lo<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bstan/<sup>o</sup> T,W,K tshig

/dgu.par.\*<sup>a</sup>gnyis.med.<sup>b</sup>byung.ba'o/  
 /de.ltar.rtags.rnams.tshang.ngar.\*<sup>c</sup>sbyin/  
 /de.nas.slob.ma.gnas.by.a.ba/<sup>d</sup>  
 /lus.bkrus.<sup>e</sup>gos.bzang.gen.\*<sup>f</sup>nas.ni/  
 /shar.phyogs.kha.bltas.<sup>g</sup>mi.smra.nyal/  
 /de.dus.rmi.lam.brtag.<sup>276</sup>byas.la/  
 /dbang.mchog.<sup>h</sup>dam.pa.thob.pa'i.ltas/  
 /bde.gshegs.sngun.na.<sup>i</sup>gnas.pa.la/  
 /rang.gi.<sup>277</sup>dbang.nos.rmi.ba.dang/  
 /phyi.nang.chos.rnams.thams.cad.<sup>278</sup>la/  
 /bdag.gis.'khor.bar.\*<sup>j</sup>rmi.ba.dang/  
 /'gro.ba.rigs.drug.thams.cad.<sup>279</sup>la/  
 /kha.lo.<sup>k</sup>sgyur.bar.<sup>280</sup>rmi.ba.dang/<sup>281</sup>  
 /rgyal.po.dbang.'dus.\*<sup>l</sup>rmi.ba.dang/  
 /sa.dang.bar.snang.chu.dag.la/  
 /mi.'byin.\*<sup>m</sup>mi.thogs.<sup>282</sup>gro.rmi.dang/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M insert las

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M tshang.bar, K tshangs.par; T,W,M seem better.

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M par.by.a/

<sup>e</sup> T dkrus; K bkru

<sup>f</sup> T,K,M gon, W gyon; T,K,M seem better.

<sup>g</sup> T,M ltas

<sup>h</sup> T,K chog

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M sngon.nas

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M gi.sprul.par

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K dog; D has lacuna for one letter after lo

<sup>l</sup> T,W,M bsdus, K sdus; T,W,M seem better.

<sup>m</sup> T,W 'bying, K bying; T,W seem better.

/rgya.mtsho.chen.po'am.<sup>a</sup>chu.bran.la/<sup>b</sup>  
 /gru.gzings.<sup>283</sup>byas.\*<sup>c</sup>nas.mi.sgrol.rmi/<sup>284</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>/mang.po'i.kha.dpon.<sup>285</sup>byas.nas.ni/  
 /'thab.pa'i.g-yul.<sup>286</sup>las.rgyal.ba.rmi/  
 /rdo.rje.thogs.nas.chos.'chang.rmi/<sup>e</sup>  
 /rdo.rje.'dzin.pa'i.<sup>f</sup>dbang.thob.rtags/  
 /sa.bdag.rgyal.po.yin.par.rmi/  
 /kun.la.dbang.<sup>g</sup>sgyur.<sup>h</sup>las.kyang.bsgo/<sup>287</sup>  
 /kun.gyi.slob.dpon.byed.pa.dang/  
 /phyi.nang.chos.<sup>288</sup>la.thogs.pa.med/  
 /mi.mthun.gzugs.la.chos.ston.dang/  
 /lus.la.me.'bar.chu.yang.'brub/<sup>i</sup>  
 /gzugs.skye.\*<sup>j</sup>nam.pa.mi.'dra.ston/  
 /rnal.'byor.mang.po.'dus.pa.yis/\*<sup>k</sup>  
<sup>l</sup>/kun.gyis.<sup>m</sup>bkur.ba'i.'os.yin.rmi/

K165r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W po'i; K,M po

<sup>b</sup> T,M ngang/; W,K dang/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M bcas

<sup>d</sup> K has its next three lines (it omits the third line from here), written in a markedly different hand, extremely crude and quite large.

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M rdo.rje.lag.tu.bcangs.pa.rmi/; K omits this line

<sup>f</sup> M pa

<sup>g</sup> D has lacuna for one letter, possibly b

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K bsgyur

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K 'brug/; M brug/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M kyi

<sup>k</sup> T,M yi/, W yin/; T,M seem better.

<sup>l</sup> K has the three lines starting here written in a distinctively different, larger, crude hand

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K gyi



/rgyal.mtshan.lag.tu. <sup>a</sup> thogs. <sup>289</sup> nas.ni/	W28v
<sup>b</sup> /rnal.'byor.kha.dpon.byed.pa.rmi/	T61
/tshogs.kyi.slob.dpon.byed.rmi.dang/	
/lag.tu.ba.dan.thogs.nas.ni/	
/kun.gyi. <sup>c</sup> dmag.dpon.byed.pa.dang/	
/lag.tu.'khor.lo.babs.rmi.na/* <sup>d</sup>	M849
/'khor.lo.can.gyi. <sup>290</sup> dbang.thob.rtags/ <sup>e</sup>	
/rin.po.che.yi. <sup>f</sup> bang.mdzod.la/	
/bdag.ni.rtag.tu.spyod.pa.dang/	
/rin.chen.sna.tshogs.lus.la.brgyan/	D198r
/'dod.pa'i.yon.tan.lnga.po.la/* <sup>g</sup>	
/thogs.pa.med.par.spyod.pa.dang/	
/sdug.cing.mdzes.pa'i.gos.gon. <sup>h</sup> dang/	
/phyi.nang.chos.la.nyan.sems.dang/	
/glegs.bam. <sup>291</sup> chos.kyi. <sup>292</sup> sbyin.pa.gtong/ <sup>i</sup>	
/mi.'os.pa. <sup>293</sup> yi. <sup>294</sup> sgra.thos.dang/	
/sa.dang.shing.dang.rdo.dag.dang/* <sup>j</sup>	
/sngon.ma.thos.pa'i.sgra.rnams.kun/	

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M par

<sup>b</sup> M has the five lines, starting here, in small writing, indicating a correction to the text.

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K gyis

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M ba/

<sup>e</sup> T nas/; W,M Itas/; K bltas/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K che'i

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M la.sogs/

<sup>h</sup> T,W gyon; K brgyan, in large, crude handwriting

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K ston/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M sa.dang.rdo.dang.shing.dag.las/ (K la/)

/bdag.gi.\*<sup>a</sup>thos.par.rmi.ba.dang/  
 /rin.chen.lag.tu.thogs.<sup>295</sup>pa.dang/  
 /de.yis.<sup>b</sup>sems.can.<sup>296</sup>skong.ba.<sup>c</sup>dang/  
 /bdag.nyid.yongs.su.<sup>d</sup>tshims.\*<sup>e</sup>rmi.ba/  
 /rin.chen.rigs.kyi.dbang.thob.rtags/  
 /padma'i.stan.<sup>f</sup>la.'dug.pa.dang/  
 /padma'i.rdzing.<sup>297</sup>na.brtse.\*<sup>g</sup>ba.dang/  
 /padma'i.'bras.bu.<sup>298</sup>za.<sup>h</sup>ba.dang/  
 /padma'i.rtsa.ba.brko.\*<sup>i</sup>ba.dang/  
 /shes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.pa.yi/<sup>j</sup>  
 /don.la.dbyod.\*<sup>k</sup>cing.glegs.bam.rnyed/  
 /de.don.gzhan.la.'chad.<sup>299</sup>cing.ston/  
 /'gro.ba.rigs.drug.sems.can.<sup>300</sup>la/  
 /ji.ltar.'tsham.<sup>301</sup>pa'i.chos.'chad.<sup>l</sup>dang/  
 /phyogs.bcu'i.sangs.rgyas.<sup>302</sup>sras.bcas.kyis/<sup>m</sup>  
 /bdag.la.bskor.ba.<sup>n</sup>rmi.ba.dang/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M gis

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K de'i; M de.yi

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M skongs.pa; W bskong.pa

<sup>d</sup> W,K yongsu

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M tshim

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K gdan

<sup>g</sup> T,K,M bu.rtse, W bu.brtse; T,K,M seem better.

<sup>h</sup> T,W ze

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M rko

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M la/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M spyod

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M ston

<sup>m</sup> T,W kyil

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K bar; W has the r subscribed

/padma.lag.par.bcangs.<sup>303</sup>pa.dang/  
 /padma'i.khang.<sup>304</sup>par.zhugs.rmi.ba/  
 /'od.dpag.med.pa'i.<sup>a</sup>dbang.thob.rtags/  
 /phyi.nang.las.la.'jug.pa.dang/  
 /ro.yi.<sup>b</sup>phung.por.<sup>305</sup>zhugs.'pa.dang/  
 /lus.la.me.'bar.rmi.ba.dang/  
 /ral.gri.rnon.pos.<sup>306</sup>gcod.pa.rmi/\*<sup>d</sup>/  
 /ri.rab.gling.bzhi.<sup>c</sup>bcas.pa.rnams/  
 /bdag.gi.lag.thogs.<sup>f</sup>rmi.ba.dang/<sup>g</sup>  
 /nyi.zla.lag.par.thogs.nas.ni/  
 /sems.can.<sup>307</sup>rnams.kyi.<sup>h</sup>don.byed.rmi/  
 /'jig.rten.pa.yis.\*<sup>i</sup>longs.spyod.la/  
 /brel.ba.med.par.spyod.pa.dang/<sup>j</sup>  
 /g-yul.'gog.<sup>k</sup>dgra.rnams.bsad.<sup>l</sup>rmi.dang/  
 /g-yul.las.shin.tu.rgyal.rmi.<sup>m</sup>dang/  
 /rta.dang.glang.chen.la.sogs.pa'i/  
 /theg.pa'i.bye.brag.thams.cad.<sup>308</sup>la/

K165v T62

M850

W29r

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M kyi

<sup>b</sup> T,W ri'i; K ri.bo'i; M ri.yi

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K bzhugs

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M rmi.ba/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M bzhir

<sup>f</sup> D has the final s subscripted

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M bdag.nyid.lag.tu.thogs.rmi.ba/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M kun.gyi; K kun.gyis

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K pa'i, M pa.yi; M seems better.

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M pa'i.longs.spyod.dang/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M 'bog; K dbog; D lacuna for one letter after 'gog

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K gsad

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M ba

/bdag.gi.<sup>a</sup>dbang.byas.<sup>309</sup>zhon.rmis.\*<sup>b</sup>dang/  
 /sbyin.pa'i.bye.brag.thams.cad.<sup>c</sup>la/  
 /chags.pa.med.par.gtong.ba.dang/  
 /bdag.nyid.bshas.<sup>d</sup>par.rmi.ba.dang/  
 /bdag.gi.sha.rnams.bgos.rmi.ba/  
 /las.kyi.<sup>310</sup>rigs.<sup>311</sup>kyi.<sup>312</sup>dbang.thob.rtags/<sup>313</sup>  
 /rigs.lnga'i.rmi.lam.thams.cad.<sup>314</sup>rmi/  
 /gsang.ba.gsum.gyi.<sup>315</sup>dbang.thob.rtags/  
 /de.yi.<sup>316</sup>gnyis.med.don.rtags.rmi/<sup>e</sup>  
 /'on.te.rmi.lam.thams.cad.<sup>317</sup>kun/  
 /med.par.chos.nyid.la.gnas.rmi/  
 /rigs.lnga.so.so'i.<sup>318</sup>phyag.mtshan.rnams/  
 /rang.gi.<sup>319</sup>lag.pa.<sup>f</sup>brgyan.rmi.ba/  
 /spyi.yi.<sup>g</sup>dkyil.'khor.dbang.thob.rtags/  
 /rigs.kyi.<sup>320</sup>bu.mchog.gang.zhig.gis/  
 /dkyil.'khor.de.dang.de.dag.<sup>h</sup>tu/  
 /dbang.rnams.<sup>321</sup>thob.pa'i.<sup>322</sup>gang.zag.de/<sup>i</sup>  
 /rgyal.pos.<sup>323</sup>bkur.zhing.mchod.pa.dang/  
 /rgyal.<sup>324</sup>phran.dang.ni.dmangs.<sup>j</sup>kyis.<sup>325</sup>bkur/<sup>k</sup>

D198v

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M gis

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M rmi

<sup>c</sup> K thamd

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K bshad; M gshed

<sup>e</sup> T,W de.yis.mnyes.med.rtags.rmi.ba/; K,M ditto, but gnyis for mnyes

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M lus.la

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K spyi'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W rtag

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K des/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M 'bangs

/rigs.ngan.<sup>326</sup>bram.ze'i.rigs.kyis.kyang/  
 /mchod.cing.bkur.<sup>a</sup>sti.byed.par.'gyur/  
 /tshe.ring.nad.med.gnyer.ma.dengs/<sup>b</sup>  
 /'jig.<sup>327</sup>rten.di.yi.\*<sup>c</sup>bde.ba.yang/  
 /phun.sum.<sup>328</sup>tshogs.pa.thob.par.'gyur/  
 /ji.ltar.smmas.pa.ngag.snyan.'gyur/<sup>d</sup>  
 /spyod.pa.ci.byas.sdug.<sup>e</sup>par.'gyur/  
 /sems.kyi.<sup>329</sup>bsam.pa.'grub.par.'gyur/  
 /'dus.pa.kun.gyis.bstod.par.byed/  
 /bsngags.<sup>330</sup>pa.dag.kyang.brjod.<sup>f</sup>par.byed/  
 /rgyal.po'i.bu.mo.<sup>331</sup>snying.du.sdug/  
 /'jig.rten.'di.ru.grags.pa.yi/\*<sup>g</sup>  
 /lha.'am.klu.'am.gnod.sbyin.rnams/<sup>332</sup>  
 /mi.mos.<sup>h</sup>mthu.chen.\*<sup>i</sup>thams.cad.<sup>333</sup>dul/  
 /rtse.gcig.sems.ni.\*<sup>j</sup>mnyan.par.'gyur/  
 /byang.chub.sems.dpa'i.<sup>334</sup>spun.<sup>335</sup>du.dgongs/  
 /sangs.rgyas.<sup>336</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>337</sup>sras.yin.pas/  
 /de.la.dbang.bskur.byed.pa'o/

M851

T63

K166r

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<sup>k</sup> T,W bskur/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K bskur

<sup>b</sup> M dangs/

<sup>c</sup> T,W di'i, K 'di.yis, M 'di.yi; M seems better.

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M ji.ltar.myur.ba.dag.nyan.'gyur/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K bsdug

<sup>f</sup> D initial lacuna for b, followed by rjod

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M yin/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M 'os

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M che

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M kyis; W has final s obscured by blot

/lha.dang.klu.dang.gnod.sbyin.rnams/  
 /de.yi.<sup>338</sup>rgyal.po.'am.bdag.por.<sup>a</sup>mthong/  
 /ma.mo.mkha.'gros.las.rnams.bsgrub/<sup>b</sup>  
 /de.yi.rje.dpon.yin.par.mthong/  
 /sems.can.<sup>339</sup>rnams.kyis.<sup>c</sup>gtso.bor.mthong/  
 /de.ltar.dbang.thob.yon.tan.ni/  
 /bsam.mi.khyab.ste.<sup>d</sup>dpag.mi.lang/  
 /sangs.rgyas.<sup>340</sup>bde.chen.gsang.ba.ni/  
 /sku.yi.<sup>e</sup>341dkyil.'khor.dam.pa.yis/\*<sup>f</sup>  
 /nang.zhugs.<sup>g</sup>dbang.thob.yon.tan.ni/  
 /ji.ltar.bsam.pa.bzhin.du.'grub/  
 /yon.tan.gong.<sup>342</sup>las.brjod.med.'das/  
 /gsang.ba'i.dkyil.'khor.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>343</sup>  
 /gsung.mchog.dam.pa'i.dkyil.'khor.ni/  
 /yi.ge'i.<sup>344</sup>tshogs.rnams.<sup>h</sup>bkod.pa.las/  
 /de.nang.zhugs.nas.<sup>i</sup>dbang.thob.pa/  
 /yon.tan.gong.dang.'dra.ba.\*<sup>j</sup>thob/  
 /gsang.ba'i.dkyil.'khor.thams.cad.kyi/<sup>345</sup>  
 /thugs.kyi.dkyil.'khor.dam.pa.ni/

W29v

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M bdag.po.'am.rgyal.por

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M ma.mo.'am.mkha.'gro.las.la.'grub/

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M kyi

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M cing

<sup>e</sup> T,W sku'i

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M yi/, K ni/; T,W,M seem better.

<sup>g</sup> T,W,M bzhugs; K zhug

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ni

<sup>i</sup> T,W,M bzhugs.na; K zhugs.na

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M bar

/thugs.mtshan.phyag.rgya.bkod.pa.ru/  
 /nang.zhugs.<sup>a</sup>dbang.thob.yon.tan.ni/  
 /gong.gi.<sup>346</sup>yon.tan.de.dang.'dra/  
 /sku.yi.<sup>b</sup><sup>347</sup>dkiyl.'khor.dam.pa.yis/  
 /gti.mug.'joms.pa'i.phur.pa'o/  
 /gsung.gi.dkiyl.'khor.dam.pa.ni/  
 /'dod.chags.'joms.pa'i.phur.pa'o/  
 /thugs.kyi.dkiyl.'khor.gsang.ba.yis/<sup>c</sup>  
 /zhe.sdang.'joms.pa'i.phur.pa'o/  
 /yon.tan.dkiyl.'khor.gsang.ba.yis/<sup>d</sup>  
 /nga.rgyal.'joms.pa'i.phur.pa'o/  
 /las.kyi.<sup>348</sup>dkiyl.'khor.sna.tshogs.kyi/<sup>\*e</sup>  
 /phrag.dog.'joms.pa'i.phur.pa'o/  
 /de.ltar.phur.pa.<sup>349</sup>drug.po.yis/  
 /btab.<sup>350</sup>na.<sup>351</sup>ci.'dod.sbyin.no.zhes/  
 /dam.tshig.bdag.pos.<sup>352</sup>rab.tu.bsgrags/  
 /rang.gi.<sup>353</sup>snying.gar.<sup>f</sup>zla.dkiyl.'khor/  
 /de.steng.<sup>g</sup>nyi.ma'i.dkiyl.'khor.bsam/<sup>h</sup>  
 /de.steng.<sup>i</sup>so.so'i.yig.'bru.dbus/

M852

D199r

T64

K166v

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,M bzhugs

<sup>b</sup> T,W sku'i

<sup>c</sup> T,W,M yi/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M yi/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K kyiis/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M khar

<sup>g</sup> M stengs

<sup>h</sup> T,K bsam/

<sup>i</sup> M stengs

/tha.ma.bzlas.<sup>354</sup>pa'i.sngags.kyis.<sup>a</sup>bskor/  
 /bsnyen.<sup>355</sup>bsgrub.gnyis.la.de.bzhin.te/  
 /las.su.<sup>b</sup>sbyar.bar.by.a.ba'i.sngags<sup>c</sup>/  
 /so.so'i.las.gang.sngags.kyis.<sup>d</sup>spro/  
 /de.ltar.bltas.<sup>e</sup>la.sngags.rnams.ni/  
 /glod.la.ting.'dzin.'dres.<sup>f</sup>par.bzlas/  
 /sngags.kyi.phreng.<sup>g</sup>ba.dam.par.<sup>h</sup>bya'o/  
 /bye.ba.sa.ya.bsnyen.pa'i.dus/  
 /nyis.'bum.sum.'bum.bsgrub.pa'i.dus/  
 /stong.ngam.brgya.rtsa.brgyad.pa.ni/  
 /las.kyi.<sup>356</sup>dus.su.<sup>357</sup>shes.par.by.a/  
 /mtshan.ma'i.'bye.brag.mthong.nas.ni/  
 /de.nas.las.gang.brtsam.<sup>j</sup>par.by.a/  
 /sku.gsung.thugs.kyi.dkyil.'khor.la/  
 /re.re.la.yang.<sup>358</sup>gsum.gsum.<sup>359</sup>ste/<sup>k</sup>  
 /de.las.'phros.pa.<sup>l</sup>bsam.mi.khyab/  
 /de.bas.nges.<sup>m</sup>pa.med.par.<sup>n</sup>ni/

W30r

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K kyī

<sup>b</sup> T,W lasu

<sup>c</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K kyī

<sup>e</sup> T ltas; W lacuna for one letter after bltas

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M 'dris

<sup>g</sup> K,M 'phreng

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M pas

<sup>i</sup> T,K ' subscripted, tiny

<sup>j</sup> M brtsams

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K te/

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K pas

<sup>m</sup> T,W ngas



/dus.gsum.<sup>360</sup>bde.gshegs.rnams.<sup>a</sup>kyi.gsung/<sup>b</sup>

M853

/rgyud.<sup>361</sup>kyi.rgyal.po'i.<sup>c</sup>yang.rgyal.po/<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>de.bzhin.gshegs.<sup>362</sup>pa.tham.cad.<sup>f</sup>kyi.<sup>363g</sup>

gsang.ba'i.yang.gsang.ba/

<sup>364</sup>kī.la.<sup>365</sup>ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.mdo.las/

so.so'i.dkyil.'khor.gyi.<sup>366</sup>rim.pa.bshad.pa'i.<sup>h</sup>le'u.ste.gsum.pa'o//

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>a</sup> T,K rnams

<sup>b</sup> T kyi.gsung;/ K,M kyis.gsung/

<sup>c</sup> W,K pos, both with the final s subscripted

<sup>d</sup> M omits /

<sup>e</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,K thamd

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M rim.pa'i for rim.pa.bshad.pa'i

Chapter Three: Single Readings of T.W.K

(1) K: gyis; (2) K: rgya; (3) K: gis; (4) K: gtab; (5) T: inserts /; (6) K: gyis; (7) K: 'gyur; (8) K: ba; (9) K: semn; (10) K: rdoe; (11) K: rnams; (12) T: rnams; (13) T: rig; (14) K: thamd; (15) K: rtse; (16) K: bcag; (17) K: gtab; (18) K: bsan; (19) K: phyiro/; (20) K: kyis; (21) K: thamd; (22) W: bsgoms; (23) K: las; (24) K: dang; (25) K: brtsibs; (26) K: dkyior; (27) T: yang; (28) T: rgyan/; (29) W: rigs; (30) T: klu; (31) K: 'gag; (32) K: mam; (33) T: gsung/; (34) K: gyis; (35) K: thamd; (36) K: gi; (37) K: thamd; (38) K: por; (39) K: thugsu; (40) K: tshud/; (41) W: omits dam; (42) K: btson; (43) K: rdoe; (44) K: mdzes/; (45) K: omits this line; (46) K: mdzes/; (47) K: dpon; (48) K: gyis; (49) K: 'byed; (50) W: kyus; (51) K: gyis; (52) K: ba; (53) K: dang; (54) K: ba'i; (55) K: kyis; (56) T: ma; (57) K: tshogs; (58) W: yidu; (59) K: 'khor.lor; (60) K: dkyior; (61) W: gnyisu; (62) K: mo'i; (63) K: sdug; (64) K: sa/; (65) K: gyis; (66) K: brten; (67) K: omits this line; (68) K: yis; (69) K: bstams/; (70) K: yis; (71) K: nyam; (72) K: dkyior; (73) K: gyis; (74) K: lo; (75) K: omits this line; (76) T: nag; (77) K: 'tshal; (78) W: dam/; (79) T: brag; (80) K: gtib; (81) K: sgrub; (82) T: dud; (83) K: snol; (84) W: grogs; (85) K: kyis; (86) K: 'gying; (87) K: po'i.skor; (88) K: log; (89) W: dang; (90) T: nag; (91) K: brten/; (92) K: brnyed; (93) W: lasu; (94) K: yod; (95) K: sangyas; (96) K: kyis; (97) T: rig; (98) K: rtags; (99) K: nyamsu; (100) K: gnasu/; (101) K: tham.dang/; (102) K: bsgom; (103) K: mig-yas; (104) K: gis.sregs; (105) W: yis/; (106) K: zhus; (107) W: omits bsags; (108) K: pa; (109) K: steg; (110) K: nam; (111) K: sres; (112) W: sras; (113) K: byas/; (114) T: rig; (115) K: gyi; (116) K: ltas; (117) K: yis; (118) K: rtsigs/; (119) K: stod; (120) K: brtsi; (121) K: sgribs; (122) K: kyis; (123) T: brtson; (124) K: 'bri; (125) K: dbusu; (126) K: gtab; (127) K: brgyan; (128) K: bris/; (129) K: gis.bstam; (130) K: brgyan; (131) K: kyis; (132) K: gyis; (133) K: dkyil.dkrungs; (134) K: sangyas; (135) W: dkar; (136) W: bsten/; (137) K: rkyang; (138) W: g-yasu; (139) K: pa; (140) K: ste/; (141) K: bltams; (142) K: mdog; (143) T: na; (144) K: rdoe; (145) T: khram.te/; (146) K: rkyang; (147) K: gis; (148) K: rdoe; (149) K: 'bar; (150) K: 'tshams; (151) K: semda'; (152) K: rkyang; (153) K: 'tshams; (154) K: semda'; (155) T: ni in tiny writing, subscripted, positioned by dots; (156) K: rkyang; (157) K: 'tshams; (158) K: semda'; (159) T: g-yon.dril.bu/; (160) K: rkyang; (161) K: chu; (162) K: 'tshams.gyis; (163) K: rdoe;

(164) K: yum; (165) K: gyis; (166) W: inserts an extra line here: padma.ljang.khu'i.gdan.stengs.na/ (dittography, see five lines above); (167) K: rkyang; (168) W: zhugs/; (169) K: 'tshams; (170) K: semda'; (171) K: dmar/; (172) K: rkyang; (173) K: 'tshams.kyis; (174) K: semda'; (175) K: dog; (176) K: khрил/; (177) K: rkyang; (178) K: 'tshams.gyi; (179) K: semda'; (180) K: rnams/; (181) K: sku; (182) K: ni.rkyang; (183) K: 'tshams.gyi; (184) K: rkyang; (185) K: shangs; (186) K: cig; (187) K: bzang; (188) K: rnams/; (189) T: dags; (190) K: kyis; (191) K: 'grams; (192) T: shin; (193) K: kyis; (194) K: rdoe; (195) K: gyis; (196) T: ti/; (197) K: nas; (198) K: khрил/; (199) K: bsgrad; (200) T: bsams; (201) K: nas; (202) K: rdoe; (203) K: khрил/; (204) K: gyis; (205) K: byad.gyis; (206) K: gis; (207) K: nas; (208) T: gnod/; (209) W: thal obscured by blot; (210) K: bsgrad; (211) K: rig; (212) K: sangyas; (213) K: gyis; (214) T: 'khyams; (215) K: 'khyams; (216) K: bsgoms/; (217) K: bris/; (218) K: gis; (219) K: reversed gi-gu; (220) K: gcud; (221) K: omits this line; (222) K: ba'i; (223) K: yongsu; (224) K: yis; (225) K: rgyan; (226) K: thamd; (227) T: gi/; (228) K: dkyior; (229) K: skyongs; (230) W: omits pa'i.; (231) K: 'gram/; (232) K: stims/; (233) K: stod; (234) K: gyi; (235) W: s with two na-ro above it, for so.so; (236) K: dris/; (237) K: de/; (238) K: gna'; (239) K: zlas; (240) T: a-chung subscripted, tiny; (241) K: kyi; (242) T: geig/; (243) K: 'gyur; (244) K: nis/; (245) K: semn; (246) W: bar; (247) W: tshigs; (248) K: bstan.ni/; (249) K: dbug; (250) T: te/; (251) W: bdag; (252) K: srogs; (253) K: kyi; (254) K: yino/; (255) K: gyis; (256) T: tu; (257) T: rtag; (258) K: kyis; (259) K: padma; (260) K: thamd; (261) W: bka'/; (262) W: las obscured by blot; (263) K: kyis; (264) K: kyis; (265) K: gza'; (266) W: yidu; (267) K: dkyior; (268) K: dkyior; (269) K: thamd; (270) K: gis; (271) K: brtag; (272) W: bsgoms; (273) K: kyis; (274) K: kyis; (275) K: kyis; (276) K: rtags; (277) K: gis; (278) K: thamd; (279) K: thamd; (280) W: ba; (281) T: dad/; (282) T: thog; (283) K: zings; (284) T: mi/; (285) T: dpen; (286) T: yul; (287) K: sgo/; (288) W: chos.chos for chos.; (289) K: final s subscripted; (290) K: gyis; (291) K: gleg.bam; (292) K: kyis; (293) W: lacuna for one letter; (294) K: yis; (295) K: thog; (296) K: semn; (297) K: sdzing; (298) K: 'brus; (299) T: chad; (300) K: semn; (301) K: 'tshams; (302) K: sangyas; (303) K: bcang; (304) W: khar; (305) K: po; (306) K: po'i; (307) K: semn; (308) K: thamd; (309) T: byed; (310) K: kyis; (311) T: rig; (312) K: kyis; (313) K: brtags/; (314) K: thamd; (315) K: gyis; (316) K: yis; (317) K: thamd;

(318) K: so; (319) K: gis; (320) W: kyi obscured by blot; K: kyis; (321) T: mam; (322) T: a-chung subscripted, tiny; (323) K: po'i; (324) W: rgyan; (325) K: kyi; (326) T: lnga'i; (327) K: 'jigs; (328) K: gsum; (329) K: kyis; (330) K: sngags; (331) K: mo'i; (332) K: nam/; (333) K: thamd; (334) K: semda'i; (335) K: semda'i.dpun; (336) K: sangyas; (337) K: gyis; (338) K: yis; (339) K: semn; (340) K: sangyas; (341) K: yis; (342) W: gang; (343) K: thamd.kyis/; (344) K: ge; (345) K: thamd.kyis/; (346) K: gis; (347) K: yis; (348) K: kyis; (349) K: inserts bcu (unmetrically); (350) K: gtab; (351) T: ni; (352) K: po; (353) K: gis; (354) T: zlas; (355) K: mnyen; (356) K: kyis; (357) W: dusu; (358) K: omits yang; (359) T: gsum.gsum; (360) T: gsum; (361) W: bdud; (362) T: final s subscripted, tiny; (363) K: kyis; (364) T: inserts /; (365) T: lä; (366) K: kyis

RTSA-BZHI

//de.nas.<sup>a</sup>khro.bo.karma.he.ru.ka.la.stsogs.<sup>b</sup>pa.

'dus.pa'i.'khor.tshogs.ma.lus.pa.<sup>c</sup>rnam.s.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>so.so.rang.rang.gi.bsam.<sup>f</sup>pa.mthar.phyin.cing.mngon.du.gyur.<sup>1</sup>te/ **W88v**

<sup>g</sup>lus.ngag.yid.gsum.gyi.<sup>h</sup>sgo.nas.<sup>i</sup> **D250r**

<sup>j</sup>bcom.ltan.'das.<sup>k</sup>badzra.kī.la.ya.la. **K227r**

bskor.<sup>l</sup>ba.lan.gsum.byas.te.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>3</sup>phyag.'tshal.<sup>n</sup>nas/<sup>o</sup> **T194**

gsang.ba.mchog.gi.bdag.po.la.mdun.gyis.bltas.te.<sup>p</sup>

shin.tu.rmad.du.<sup>4</sup>byung.ba'i.tshig.'di.<sup>5</sup>skad.ces.bstod.do/<sup>6</sup>

/e.ma.ho.<sup>9</sup>ngo.mtshar.rmad.du.<sup>7</sup>byung.ba'i.chos/

/mnyam.nyid.dbyings.mchog.dam.pa.la/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K omit de.nas

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M sogs

<sup>c</sup> M omits pa

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>e</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>f</sup> T,W bsams

<sup>g</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K go

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W insert /

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M insert dpal.khrag.'thung.gi.<sup>2</sup>rgyal.po.

<sup>l</sup> T,W skor

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K bya.ste/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M btsal

<sup>o</sup> T,K omit /.

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K omit mdun.gyis.bltas.te

<sup>q</sup> T,W insert / /; M inserts /

/thugs.rje.chen.pos.gsang.ba.yis/\*<sup>a</sup>  
 /ma.'dres.kun.la.khyab.bdal.\*<sup>b</sup>dbyings/  
 /sku.dang.gsung.thugs.yon.tan.dang/  
 /phrin.<sup>c</sup>las.phyag.rgya'i.<sup>d</sup>dkyil.'khor.rnams/  
 /brjod.kyis.<sup>8</sup>mi.lang.<sup>9</sup>grangs.<sup>e</sup>las.'das/  
 /'gro.ba.bsam.yas.so.so'i.dbang/<sup>f</sup>  
 /de.yi.<sup>g</sup>nam.rtog.<sup>10</sup>de.snyed.par/<sup>h</sup>  
 /thugs.rje.<sup>11</sup>'phros.pas.'ngo.mtshar.che'o/  
 /e.ma.ho.'ngo.mtshar.rmad.du.byung.ba'i.chos/<sup>k</sup>  
 /mtshan.nyid.nam.mkha'.<sup>l</sup>'dra.ba.la/\*<sup>m</sup>  
 /sgyu.ma.lta.bur.'phrul.<sup>n</sup>pa.rnams/  
 /kun.rdzob.tsam.du.bstan.par.'tshal/\*<sup>o</sup>  
 /zhes.glengs.so/<sup>p</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M po.gsal.ba.yi/, K po.gsal.ba.yis/; T,W,M seem better.

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M brdal

<sup>c</sup> K,M 'phrin

<sup>d</sup> T,W,M kyi.ni; K kyis.ni

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M bgrang; K grang

<sup>f</sup> T,W,M so.so'i.bsam.yas(K:pa).dbang/

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K de'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M rnyed.pas/; K snyed.pas/

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>j</sup> T inserts / /; W,K,M insert /

<sup>k</sup> T smad.byung.ba.yi/, W rmadu.byung.ba.yin/, K smad.byung.ba.yis/, M rmad.du.byung.ba.yi, for rmad.du.byung.ba'i.chos/ (T,K unmetrical)

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K namkha'

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M las/

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bu.'khrul

<sup>o</sup> T,W pa.mtshar/, K pa.tshar/, M pa.'tshal/; M seems better

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K glengso/

/bcom.ldan.'das.dpal.khrag.'thung.gi.<sup>12</sup>rgyal.po.

badzra.<sup>a</sup>kī.la.ya.ni.<sup>b</sup>

dus.bzhi.mnyam.<sup>13</sup>pa.nyid.gnyis.su.<sup>c</sup>med.pa.la.dgongs.<sup>d</sup>nas/<sup>e</sup>

smra.bsam.las.'das.te.cang.mi.gsung.bar.bzhugs.so/<sup>14</sup>

/de.nas.khro.bo.karma.he.ru.kas.<sup>f</sup>rang.gi.stan.<sup>15</sup>las.langs.te/

gtsug.gis.<sup>g</sup>dud.pas.phyag.'tshal.<sup>h</sup>te.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>16</sup>'di.skad.ces.gsol.to/\*<sup>j</sup>

/kye.kye.bcom.ldan.lung.bstan.bdag/

/zhal.nas.gsungs.pa.<sup>17</sup>mdo.yi.<sup>k</sup>don/

/bsdus.<sup>18</sup>nas.bdag.cag.<sup>19</sup>rnams.la.ni/

/sgom.<sup>20</sup>pa'i.lung.'di.bstan.du.gsol/

<sup>l</sup>zhes.gleng.\*<sup>m</sup>pa.dang/

bcom.ldan.'das.<sup>21</sup>gsang.ba.mchog.gi.<sup>22</sup>bdag.po.

badzra.kī.la.yas.<sup>n</sup>gnyis.med.kyi.<sup>o</sup>ngang.las.<sup>24</sup>bzhengs.nas/<sup>p</sup>

M1007

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M omit badzra

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K insert /

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K gnyisu

<sup>d</sup> T lasogs; W la.sogs; K li.sogs

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> T inserts / /; W,K insert /

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M gi

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M btsal

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,W,M gsol.ba.btab.po/, for K,D's gsol.to/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K mdo'i

<sup>l</sup> T,M insert /

<sup>m</sup> W,K,M glengs

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M ya

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M gnyis.su.<sup>23</sup>med.pa'i, for D's gnyis.med.kyi

<sup>p</sup> T,W,K,M te/

<sup>25</sup>rdzu.'phrul.gyi.<sup>a</sup>spyan.<sup>26</sup>gyis.'khor.gyi.<sup>27</sup>dkyil.'khor.la.

gzigs.pa.med.pa'i.tshul.gyis.gzigs.te/

<sup>28</sup>gzigs.\*<sup>b</sup>pa'i.zhal.'dzum.pa.<sup>c</sup>dang.<sup>29</sup>bcas.nas.<sup>d</sup>

**K227v**

karma.he.ru.ka.la.gzigs<sup>e</sup>.te.<sup>f</sup>di.skad.<sup>30</sup>ces.bka'.stsal.to/

**T195**

/nyon.cig.karma.he.ru.ka/

**W89r**

/rgyud.kyi.rgyal.po.chos.kyi.<sup>31</sup>don/

/'di.nyid.<sup>32</sup>ngas.bsdus.bshad.par.byao/

/chos.mams.<sup>33</sup>sems.kyi.<sup>34</sup>'phrul.pa.ste/

/sems.las.<sup>g</sup>ma.gtogs.<sup>h</sup>chos.rnams.med/<sup>i</sup>

/'khrul.<sup>j</sup>pa.bzlog.phyir.chos.bstan.<sup>k</sup>pa/

**D250v**

/de.yi.<sup>l</sup>sgyu.'phrul.'phrul.par.<sup>m</sup>snang/

**M1008**

/'khrul.par.snang.ba'i.chos.rnams.kun/<sup>n</sup>

/rang.sems.snang.ba.kho.nar.zad/<sup>o</sup>

/sems.kyi.<sup>35</sup>rang.bzhin.dngos.ma.grub/<sup>36</sup>

<sup>a</sup> W gyis; K omits gyi

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M mdzes

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M bag

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>e</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>f</sup> T nas/; W,K,M nas

<sup>g</sup> T,W omit las; K la

<sup>h</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>i</sup> T,K,M med.do/; W medo/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K 'phrul

<sup>k</sup> T,W,M ston

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M ni

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K 'khrul.pa; M 'khrul.par

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M /sgyu.'phrul.'khrul.ba(K,M:pa).snang.ba'i.chos/

<sup>o</sup> T,W,K,M /rang.gi(K:gis).sems.nyid.snang.ba.kho.nar.zad/



/snga.phyir.bsres.<sup>a</sup>na.rang.bzhin.med/  
 /gdod.<sup>b</sup>nas.ma.skyes.rnam.par.dag/  
 /yi.ge.med.cing.sgra.dang.bral/  
 /tha.snyad.<sup>c</sup>rnams.dang.bral.ba.ste/  
<sup>d</sup>/stong.pa.stong.pa'i.yul.las.'das/  
 /yul.las.'das.te.brjod.dang.bral/  
 /de.phyir.sems.nyid.chos.rtsa.ba/  
 /de.nyid.srid.dang.grol.las.\*<sup>e</sup>sngang/  
 /ho//<sup>f</sup>e.<sup>g</sup>ma.ho.sems.nyid.stong.pa.ste/  
 /ma.bcos.<sup>37</sup>stong.pa.chen.po'i.dbyings/  
 /brjod.dang.bral.ba'i.ngo.bo.la/  
 /gnas.dang.rgyan.<sup>h</sup>zhes.gdags.su.<sup>i</sup>med/<sup>j</sup>  
 /ston.<sup>k</sup>pa.'khor.zhes.ga.la.yod/  
 /ting.'dzin.yig.'bru.so.sor.\*<sup>l</sup>med/  
 /phyag.mtshan.sku.mdog.<sup>m</sup>rtag.pa.med/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K phyi.bsregs

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K bzod

<sup>c</sup> T,W snyed

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K assimilate this line with the line below, omitting three syllables (*saut du même au même*, cf.yul.las.'das): /stong.pa.stong.pa'i.yul.las.'das.te.brjod.dang.bral/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M la

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit //

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K ho

<sup>h</sup> T,K rgyun

<sup>i</sup> T,W gdagsu

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M add a line, perhaps by assimilation of the line below with the end of the present line: /stong.pa.'khor.zhes.grags(M:dgags).su.med/

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K stong

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K omit second so (unmetrically), M so.so; M seems better

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M rdzogs

/stan.<sup>a</sup>dang.bzhugs.thabs.bgrang.du.med/

/stong.pa.nyid.med.snying.rje.med/

/tshogs.bsags.<sup>b</sup>byang.chub.sems.bskyed.dang/\*<sup>c</sup>

/gzugs.brnyan.<sup>38</sup>dkyil.'khor.bskyed.<sup>d</sup>pa.med/

/rang.bzhin.dkyil.'khor.spyan.drang.\*<sup>e</sup>med/

/gnyis.med.sngags.dang.phyag.rgya.med/

/thugs.rjes.<sup>39</sup>khams<sup>40</sup>.gsum.<sup>f</sup>'dul.ba.med/

/drag.pos.<sup>g</sup>ma.lus.'dul.med.cing/<sup>h</sup>

/drag.po'i.dkyil.'khor.'joms.pa'ang.<sup>i</sup>med/

/gsod.pa'i.ngan.sngags.snying.po.med/

/khros.pa'i.stangs.<sup>j</sup>stabs.ga.la.yod/

M1009

/rgyun.gyi.<sup>41</sup>ting.'dzin.bye.brag.med/

T196

/phrin.las.rnams.kyi.bye.brag.med/

/dug.la.sogs.pa'i.thun.rnams.med/

K228r

/sems.can.<sup>k</sup>bsrung.ba.ga.la.yod/

/rdo.rjes.<sup>42</sup>gtams.<sup>l</sup>byas.ming.yang.med/

W89v

/thams.cad.<sup>43</sup>bya.ba.rnams.dang.bral/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K gdan

<sup>b</sup> M bsag

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M med/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M skyed

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M drangs

<sup>f</sup> T,W 'dul

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K po'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ba.med/

<sup>i</sup> T 'joms.'ang, K 'jom'ang, for 'joms.pa'ang

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M stang

<sup>k</sup> W,K semn

<sup>l</sup> T,K gtam

/lus.gyi.\*<sup>a</sup>sdom.pa.kun.las.'das/  
 /ngag.gi.<sup>b</sup>sdom.pa.brjod.las.'das/<sup>c</sup>  
 /yid.kyi.<sup>44</sup>sdom.pa.bsam.<sup>45</sup>dang.bral/  
 /thams.cad.<sup>46</sup>brjod.pa.kun.rdzob.yin/  
 /'khrul.pa.bzlog.phyir.kun.rdzob.<sup>47</sup>bstan/  
 /don.dam.bden.pa.rig.par.byā/  
 /sems.las.'das.pa'i.chos.nyid.ni/  
 /tshig.gis.de.la.<sup>d</sup>mtshon.du.med/  
 /tha.snyad.gdag.<sup>48</sup>su.<sup>e</sup>ga.la.<sup>f</sup>yod/  
 /nam.mkha'i.<sup>g</sup>dpes.kyang.mtshon.du.med/  
 /'di.zhes.byā.bar.<sup>h</sup>bstan.du.med/  
 /kha.dog.dbyibs.<sup>i</sup>su.<sup>49</sup>grub.pa.med/  
 /ye.nas.ma.bcos.rnam.par.dag/  
 /rnam.par.dag.ces.brjod.pa.kun/  
 /bstan.pa.rnams.<sup>50</sup>kyang.sgrib.pa.yin/  
 /mtshan.ma.med.pa'i.blo.ldan.de/  
 /tha.snyad.tshig.la.dad.mi.'gyur/  
 /bden.gnyis.blo.dang.ldan.pa.des/<sup>j</sup>  
 /gnyis.med.blo.dang.ldan.par.zad/

D251r

<sup>a</sup> T,W me, K med, M kyi; M seems better

<sup>b</sup> T,W kyi; K kyis

<sup>c</sup> T,K,M brjod.du.med/; W brjodu.med/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K las

<sup>e</sup> T,W gdagsu; M gdags.su

<sup>f</sup> T,W las

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K namkha'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M ba

<sup>i</sup> W,K,M dbyings

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M de/

/ces.gsungs.pas/<sup>a</sup>

'khor.rnams.rab.tu.dang.<sup>51</sup>skyes.\*<sup>b</sup>te/

<sup>52</sup>'dus.pa'i.'khor.tshogs.rnams.ma.bcos.pa'i.de.kho.na.<sup>53</sup>nyid.la.  
gnas.shing/

<sup>54</sup>sems.cang.<sup>c</sup>mi.smra.bar.'khod.do/

**M1010**

/de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.dpal.khrag.'thung.gi.<sup>55</sup>rgyal.po.  
badzra.kī.la.yas/

khro.bo.karma.he.ru.ka'i.lus.ngag.yid.gsum.byin.gyis.<sup>56</sup>brlabs.shing/

<sup>57</sup>don.bsdu.bar.dbang.bskur.nas/<sup>d</sup>

<sup>58</sup>'di.skad.ces.bka'.stsal.to/<sup>e</sup>

/nyon.cig.karma.he.ru.ka/

/nga.nyid.<sup>f</sup>mngon.par.sangs.rgyas.<sup>59</sup>nas/

/mdo.yi.<sup>g</sup>don.nyid.<sup>h</sup>bshad.kyi.<sup>60</sup>bar/

/tshig.\*<sup>i</sup>tsam.du.\*<sup>j</sup>yang.ngas.ma.bshad/

/tha.snyad.tshig.kyang.<sup>k</sup>ngas.ma.brjod/<sup>l</sup>

/bshad.cing.brjod.pa.gang.yang.med/

/phyi.nang.chos.kun.<sup>m</sup>thams.cad.<sup>61</sup>kun/

**T197**

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K zhes.gsungso/ /; M ces.gsungs.so/ /

<sup>b</sup> T,W bskyes, K,M ba.skyes, for D's skyes; K,M seem better

<sup>c</sup> T,W sems.can; K semn

<sup>d</sup> W,M omit /

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K gsol.to/, for bka'.stsal.to/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M yis

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K mdo'i

<sup>h</sup> T,W,M gnyis

<sup>i</sup> T,W insert cig, K,M insert gcig; K,M seem better

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M omit du

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K,M tsam

<sup>l</sup> T,W,K,M bshad/

<sup>m</sup> T,W,K,M 'di

/bshad.cing.brjod.pa.rnams<sup>62</sup>.dang.bral/  
 /phyogs.bcu.dus.bzhi'i.sangs.rgyas.<sup>63</sup>ni/  
 /bshad.cing.brjod.dang.<sup>a</sup>bral.ba'i.don/  
 /thugs.su.<sup>b</sup>chud.nas.mngon.sangs.rgyas/  
 /rdzogs.pa'i.sangs.rgyas.<sup>64</sup>de.las.byung/  
 /de.bas.ma.'ongs.rnal.'byor.la<sup>c</sup>/  
 /don.du.mdo.ni.\*<sup>d</sup>mngon.bsdus.la<sup>e</sup>/  
 /mi.nub.pa.ru.bya.ba'i.phyir/  
 /gsung.mchog.chos.kyi.yi.ger.ni<sup>f</sup>/  
 /snang.zhing.mi.nub.pa.ru.gyis/\*<sup>g</sup>/  
 /ma.nor.'khor.lo'i.lam.'di.ni/  
 /phyi.<sup>h</sup>ma'i.<sup>65</sup>rnal.'byor.rnams.kyis.ston<sup>i</sup>/  
 /de.dag.ma.nor.khong.du.chud/  
 /ye.shes.mchog.de.thob.par.gyis/  
 /ma.nor.lam.lá.bgrad.<sup>66</sup>par.gyis/  
 /sems.can.sangs.rgyas.<sup>67</sup>don.rnams.'kyis/\*<sup>k</sup>/  
 /bden.gnyis.snying.po.'chang.bar.gyis/

K228v

W90r

M1011

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M pa

<sup>b</sup> W,K thugs

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K,M pas/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M 'di

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M pa/

<sup>f</sup> T,W na/

<sup>g</sup> T,W bar.gyis.cig/, K par.gyis.cig/, M par.gyis.shig/; M seems better.

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K phyi'i, for phyi

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K rten/; M don/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K,M thob

<sup>k</sup> W,K,M gyis/

/gsang.ba.<sup>a</sup>khong.du.chud.par.<sup>68</sup>gyis/  
 /lam.gyi.bye.brag.shes.par.gyis/  
 /spyod.pa'i.khyad.par.\*<sup>b</sup>shes.par.gyis/  
 /'on.kyang.dad.can.rnal.'byor.pa/  
 /des.<sup>c</sup>ni.rdo.rje.theg.pa.yi/<sup>d</sup>  
 /gting.ni.'dzugs.<sup>69</sup>shing.mi.nub.byed/  
 /rnal.'byor.dbang.phyug.chen.po.yi/<sup>70</sup>  
 /rgyud.ni.'dzin.par.de.'gyur.ro/<sup>71</sup>  
 /mi.gnas.ye.shes.gnas.gyur.te/<sup>e</sup>  
 /gsang.ba'i.don.rnams.mi.'gyur.ro/<sup>\*f</sup>  
 /gsang.ba'i.don.rnams.mi.nub.'gyur/  
 /sbas.pa.gsang.ba'i.<sup>g</sup>thabs.mchog.rnams/  
 /bye.brag.med.par.de.'gyur.ro/<sup>72</sup>  
 /khro.bo.karma.he.ru.ka/  
 /nga.yis.<sup>h</sup>bshad.pa'i.mdo.'di.ni/  
 /rnal.'byor.dam.pa.rnams.kyis.<sup>73</sup>ni/  
 /nye.lam.bde.rdzogs.yin.pas.na/  
 /khyod.kyis.<sup>74</sup>de.ltar.shes.par.gyis/  
 /gsang.ba'i.nying.khu.yin.par.ni/<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M bzhi

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M bye.brag

<sup>c</sup> T,K 'di; W,M de

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K chen.yin/; M pa.yin/

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M gyur.to/; K 'gyur.to/

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit this line, which D has added perhaps through assimilation of the line below with the ones nearby above, or below.

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M sngags

<sup>h</sup> T,W yi

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M /thabs.kyis(K,M:kyi).rgyal(K:brgyal).po.yin.par.gyis/; note that they give a version of D's reading immediately below

/khyod.kyis.<sup>75</sup>de.ltar.shes.par.gyis/<sup>76a</sup>

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/zhes.gsungs.so/

/de.nas.khro.bo.<sup>b</sup>karma.he.ru.ka.\*<sup>c</sup>rab.tu.dag.pa'i.<sup>d</sup>spyod.pas<sup>77/e</sup>rang.gi.<sup>78</sup>gsang.ba'i.rdo.rje.rang.gi.<sup>79</sup>gsang.ba'i.fgnas.su.<sup>80</sup>gsor.zhing/<sup>81</sup>btsun.mo.kro.dhi.mo.\*<sup>g</sup>dang.gnyis.su.<sup>h</sup>med.pa'i.tshul.gyis/<sup>i</sup>

bcom.ldan.'das.la.'di.skad.ces.gsol.to/

/e.ma.ho.<sup>j</sup>bcom.ldan.thabs.kyi.bdag//sku.mdog.blta.<sup>k</sup>bas.mi.bzad.<sup>l</sup>pa/

M1012

/sangs.rgyas.<sup>82</sup>kun.gyi.<sup>83</sup>sku.yi.<sup>m</sup>mchog/

K229r

/bde.gshegs.sku.la.phyag.'tshal.bstod/

/e.ma.ho.<sup>n</sup>gsung.ni.dri.ma.<sup>84</sup>med.pa'i.gsung/<sup>85</sup>

/chos.kyi.sgra.chen.mtha'.yas.pa/

<sup>a</sup> T,W,K,M add two lines here: T,W,K /gsang.ba'i.dam(K:dam.pa).snying.khu.yin.  
par.ni/ /khyod.kyis.de.ltar.shes.par.gyis/; M ditto, but retains the metre of the first line by  
omitting dam or dam.pa

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K,M omit khro.bo

<sup>c</sup> T kas/ /, W,K,M kas/; W,K,M seem better

<sup>d</sup> M dga'.ba'i

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> T,W,K,M omit gsang.ba'i

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M ma

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K gnyisu

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>j</sup> T,W insert //

<sup>k</sup> T mdo.lta; W,K,M mdog.lta

<sup>l</sup> M bzod

<sup>m</sup> T,W sku'i; K sku.yis

<sup>n</sup> T,W insert //; K,M insert /

/phyi.nang.gsang.ba'i.don.rnams.ston/<sup>a</sup>  
 /bde.gshegs.gsung.<sup>86</sup>la.phyag.'tshal.bstod/<sup>b</sup>  
 /e.ma.ho.<sup>c</sup>gsang.mchog.dgyes.<sup>d</sup>pa.che/  
 /mi.nub.rgyal.mtshan.yongs.kyi.<sup>87</sup>bdag/  
 /dus.gsum.bde.gshegs.thugs.kyi.<sup>88</sup>bdag/  
 /bde.gshegs.thugs.la.phyag.'tshal.bstod/  
 /ces.bstod.nas/<sup>e</sup>  
 'di.skad.ces.glengs<sup>f</sup>.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /bcom.ldan.rnal.'byor.dbang.phyug.che/  
 /'das.pa'i.bde.bar.gshegs.pa.dang/  
 /da.lta.<sup>h</sup>ma.'ongs.pa.rnams.kyi/<sup>i</sup>  
 /nye.lam.chen.po.<sup>j</sup>lta.<sup>89</sup>bur.<sup>90</sup>ni/  
 /mdo.yi.<sup>k</sup>snang.ba.lags.pas.na/  
 /bdag.gi.<sup>\*l</sup>mi.nub.pa.yi.ni/  
 /rgyal.mtshan.chen.por.<sup>m</sup>snang.bar.bgyi/<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,M (unmetrically) rnams.kun/, W rnams.pa.kun/, K chos.rnams.kun/, for don.rnams.ston/

<sup>b</sup> T 'tshal.lo/; W 'tshalo/

<sup>c</sup> T,W insert / /; K inserts /

<sup>d</sup> T dge; W,K,M dges

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit /

<sup>f</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K glengso/

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K ltar

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M kyis/

<sup>j</sup> T,W,K por

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K mdo'i

<sup>l</sup> K,M ni

<sup>m</sup> T,W,M po

<sup>n</sup> T,W,M bgyis/; K gyis/



/gsung.mchog.chos.kyi.<sup>91</sup>yi.ger.yang/<sup>a</sup>  
 /snang.bar.bdag.gis.<sup>b</sup>bgyi.lags.so/<sup>c</sup>  
 /bcom.ldan.gsang.<sup>d</sup>bdag.nyid.du.<sup>e</sup>yang/  
 /bdag.gis.<sup>f</sup>gnas.par.bgyi.lags.so/<sup>g</sup>  
 /'di.don.'chad.<sup>h</sup>cing.ston.<sup>92</sup>pa.yi/<sup>93</sup>  
 /gang.zag.skyes.bu.dam.pa.de/  
 /gzhan.la.phan.thogs.<sup>i</sup>gnas.par.bgyi'o/  
 /yid.bzhin.nor.bu'i.rgyal.po.ltar/  
 /mdo.'di.bdag.gis.<sup>94</sup>gnas.par.bgyi'o/  
 /phas.kyi.rgol.ba.la.sogs.pas/  
 /'di.la.tshugs.par.mi.bgyi'o/<sup>\*j</sup>  
 /khams<sup>k</sup>.gsum.gnas.pa'i.sems.can.<sup>95</sup>rnams<sup>l</sup>/  
 /sangs.rgyas.bstan.pa.dang.\*<sup>m</sup>bar.bgyi'o/<sup>n</sup>  
 /gzhan.gyi.<sup>96</sup>sde.la.sogs<sup>o</sup>.pa.yis/

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<sup>a</sup> T,W,K ge.snang/; M ger.snang/

<sup>b</sup> T,W,K gi

<sup>c</sup> T,W,K lagso/

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K insert ba

<sup>e</sup> T,W,K omit du

<sup>f</sup> T,W gi

<sup>g</sup> T,W lagso/

<sup>h</sup> T,K 'chang

<sup>i</sup> T,K 'dog; W,M 'dogs

<sup>j</sup> T,K,M 'gyur.ro/, W 'gyuro/; T,K,M seem better.

<sup>k</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>l</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>m</sup> K,M dar

<sup>n</sup> T,W,K,M bya'o/

<sup>o</sup> D final s subscripted

/bar.du.gcod.par.mi.'gyur.bgyi/<sup>a</sup>

/zhes.gsol.to/

/de.nas.bcom.ldan.'das.dpal.khrag.'thung.gi.<sup>97</sup>rgyal.po.badzra.kī.la.ya.<sup>b</sup>

gnyis.su.<sup>98</sup>med.pa'i.ngang.la.bzhugs.<sup>c</sup>nas.cang.mi.gsung.bar.gyur.to/

/rgyud.kyi.rgyal.po'i.yang.<sup>d</sup>rgyal.po/<sup>e</sup>

de.bzhin.gshegs<sup>f</sup>.pa.thams.cad.kyi.<sup>99</sup>gsang.ba'i.yang.<sup>g</sup>gsang.ba/<sup>h</sup>

kī.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.<sup>100</sup>mdo.las.<sup>i</sup>

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kī.la.ya'i.'rgyud.bcu.gnyis.kyi.<sup>k</sup>mdo.don.rnam.par.bshad.pa'i.rgyud.

ces.by.a.ba.yongs.su.<sup>101</sup>gtad.pa'i.<sup>102</sup>le'u.ste.<sup>l</sup>nyi.shu.rtsa.bzhi.pa'o//

//de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thams.cad.kyi.sku.gsang.ba/

gsung.gsang.ba/ thugs.gsang.ba/

kī.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.mdo/

kī.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.bshad.pa'i.rgyud.ces.by.a.ba.rdzogs.so//<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> T,W,M gyis/; K gyi/

<sup>b</sup> M inserts dang

<sup>c</sup> W zhugs; D final s subscripted

<sup>d</sup> T,W,K,M omit rgyal.po'i.yang

<sup>e</sup> T,W,M omit /

<sup>f</sup> D final s subscripted

<sup>g</sup> T,W,K,M omit gsang.ba'i.yang

<sup>h</sup> T,W,K,M omit /

<sup>i</sup> T,W,K,M insert /

<sup>j</sup> T,K ya

<sup>k</sup> T,W,K omit kyi

<sup>l</sup> K inserts /; W ste subscripted in small letters, positioned by dots

<sup>m</sup> T,W //de.bzhin.gshegs.pa(T omits pa).thams.cad.kyi.gsang.ba.sku.gsung.thugs.gsum.gyi.gsang.ba'i.yang.gsang.ba.ki.la.ya.bcu.gnyis.kyi.bshad.pa'i.rgyud.ces.by.a.ba.theg.pa.[W91r]chen.po'i.mdo.rdzogs.so(T:rdzogs.sho;W:rdzogs)//; M as T,W, but omitting yang.gsang.ba; K //de.bzhin.gshegs.pa.thamd.kyis.gsang.ba.kī.la.ya.sku.

Chapter Twenty-four: Single Readings of T,W,K

(1) K: 'gyur; (2) K: gis; (3) T: inserts /; (4) W: rmadu; (5) T: 'di.'di, for 'di; (6) W: bstodo/; (7) W: rmadu; (8) K: kyi; (9) K: langs; (10) K: rtogs; (11) K: rjes; (12) K: gis; (13) W: mnyam; (14) W: bzhugso/; (15) K: gis.btan; (16) T: inserts /; (17) K: gsung.pa'i; (18) K: bsdu; (19) K: bcag; (20) K: bsgom; (21) W: bcōmdas; (22) K: gis; (23) T: gnyisu; (24) K: la; (25) T: inserts /; (26) K: can; (27) K: gyis; (28) T: inserts /; (29) K: omits dang; (30) K: skadu, for skad; (31) K: kyis; (32) K: gnyis; (33) T: rnamṣ (compressed); (34) K: kyis; (35) K: kyis; (36) K: 'grub/; (37) T: cos; (38) K: bsnyan; (39) K: rje'i; (40) K: final s subscripted; (41) K: gyis; (42) K: rje; (43) K: thamḍ; (44) K: kyis; (45) W: bsams; (46) K: thamḍ; (47) K: rdzobs; (48) K: snyed.dag; (49) T: dbyibsu; (50) K: final s subscripted; (51) K: dad; (52) T: inserts /; (53) W: omits na; (54) T: inserts /; (55) K: gis; (56) W: gyi; (57) T: inserts /; (58) T: inserts /; (59) K: sangyas; (60) K: kyis; (61) K: thamḍ; (62) K: final s subscripted; (63) K: sangyas; (64) T: sangyas; (65) K: omits ma'i; (66) K: 'grod; (67) K: semn.sangyas; (68) K: par subscripted, positioned by dots; (69) K: 'jugs (final s subscripted); (70) K: yis/; (71) W: 'gyuro/; (72) W: 'gyuro/; (73) W: omits kyis (unmetrically); (74) K: kyi; (75) W: kyi; (76) W: gyi; (77) K: final s subscripted; (78) T: omits gi; (79) K: gis; (80) W: gnasu; (81) T: inserts /; (82) K: sangyas; (83) K: gyis; (84) T: ma subscripted in tiny letters, positioned by dots; (85) K: gsungs/; (86) T: gsungs; (87) K: kyis; (88) K: kyis; (89) T: ltar; (90) K: bu; (91) K: kyis; (92) K: bston; (93) K: yis/; (94) K: gi; (95) K: semn; (96) K: gyis; (97) K: gis; (98) W: gnyisu; (99) K: thamḍ.kyis; (100) K: kyis; (101) W: yongsu; (102) T: gtang.ba'i

BIBLIOGRAPHYABBREVIATIONS and SIGLA

- D: sDe-dge edition of the NGB.
- DAS: *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1902.
- DG: *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu'i 'grel-pa snying-po bsdus-pa dpal chen dgyes-pa'i zhal-lung zhes-bya-ba*, by Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas; copy kindly given by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche. (Cathy Cantwell has made notes or draft translations of sections of this. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).
- Dumbu: *rDo-rje Phur-pa rTsa-ba'i dum-bu* or *Vajrakīlaya-mūlatantra-khaṇḍa*, Peking Kanjur 78, 3; sTog Palace Kanjur Catalogue no. 405; sDe-dge Kanjur, Tōhoku no. 439; Ulan Bator Kanjur handlist, no.469.
- GGGK: *rDo-rje phur-pa'i sgrub-skor* by Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan, *Sa-skyā bka'-'bum* vol.4, p190-198.
- GLP: *bCom-ldan-'das rdo-rje phur-pa rgyud-lugs kyi bsnyen-pa'i las-byang bkol-ba'i dum-bu zhes-bya-ba*, by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, n.d., n.p; copy kindly given by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche. (Cathy Cantwell has made notes towards a draft translation of this. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).
- GTC: *The Guhyagarbha Tantra & its 14th Century Commentary*, PhD Thesis, G.Dorje, SOAS 1987.
- HR: History of Religions.
- JTS: Journal of the Tibet Society.
- JPTS: Journal of the Pali Text Society.

- K: Manuscript NGB, held in the National Archives, Kathmandu.
- M: mTshams-brag manuscript NGB, as reproduced by the National Library, Thimpu, 1981.
- M-W: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, by M. Monier-Williams.
- NGB: rNying-ma'i rgyud-'bum.
- NGMPP: Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
- NP: *dPal rDo-rje Phur-bu bDud-'joms gNam-lcags sPu-gri*, from *The Collected Works of H.H. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che* vols. 10 and 11, n.d., n.p. (Cathy Cantwell has made a draft translation of substantial sections of this in collaboration with Lama Lodro of Rewalsar. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).
- NT: *Nges-don thig-le* (abbreviated version), *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol.Pa, pp.165-169. (Cathy Cantwell has made a translation of this, with reference to a version by Cyrus Stearns. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).
- PCN: *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*
- PraS: *Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra*.
- RP: *rDo-rje phur-pa yang-gsang bla-med-kyi gzhung-pod*. Ratna gling-pa Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po, 1403-1478. IASWR LMpj 012,042 R-2217.
- SD: *dPal rdo-rje phur-pa'i bsnyen-sgrub gsal-byed bdud-rtsi'i 'od-can*. from the *sGrub-thabs kun-btus* vol. Pa, p.140ff. Copy kindly given by H.H. Sakya Trizin. (Cathy Cantwell has made a translation of this in collaboration with various Sa-skyapa lamas, also with some reference to a version by Cyrus Stearns. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).

- SPC: *dPal rdo-rje gzhon-nu sgrub-pa'i thabs bklags-pas don-grub zhes-bya-ba*, popularly known as the *Sa-skya phur-chen*; 79 folios; Rajpur edition; copy kindly given by H.H. Sakya Trizin. (Cathy Cantwell has made a draft translation of this, with reference to Cyrus Stearns' translation of SD. Except when specific attribution is given, I offer my own translation throughout).
- T: gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, in the edition reprinted by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, Thimpu 1973 - 1975.
- TC: *Bod-rgya Tshig-mdzod Chen-mo*, compiled under the supervision of Prof. Thubden Nyima, Chengdu, Szechuan, 1984.
- TJ: Tibet Journal, Dharamsala.
- TN: Verbal explanations of Professor Thubden Nyima of the Sichuan Tibetan Language School (Ven. Zenkar Rinpoche), Visiting Fellow at SOAS, London, 1993-1996.
- TRED: *Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary with Sanskrit parallels*, ed. Y.N.Roerich, Moscow, 1984-1987.
- TSD: *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1959-1961.
- W: Waddell Manuscript NGB, India Office Library, London.
- WZKS: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie.

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Gu-ru bkra-shis. n.d. *Chos-'byung (bsTan-pa'i snying-po gsang-chen snga-'gyur nges-don zab-mo'i chos-kyi 'byung-ba gsal-bar byed-pa'i legs-bshad mkhas-pa dga'-byed ngo-mtshar gtam-gyi rol-mtsho)*. Dan Martin's version A, in 5 volumes, probably published in 1985-6, procured from Dilgo Khyentse's monastery in Bodhanath.

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*Krodamahabalatantra* (sic). gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA).

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mKhyen-rab rgya-mtsho, [A] republ. 1981. *Sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung dris lan smra ba'i phreng ba*. Gangtok, Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang, Palace Monastery.

[B] republ. 1984. *Sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung dris lan nor bu'i phreng ba*. Thimpu, The National Library.

bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, n.d. *dPal rDo-rje Phur-bu'i rgyun gyi rnal-'byor snying-por dril-ba*. n.p.

*rDo-rje phur-pa chen-po gsod-byed 'bar-ba'i rgyud (Vajrakīlaya mahākamali)*. gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA)

*rDo-rje phur-pa zhes-bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po*. gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA)

Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, mnga'-bdag. 1977. *bKa' brgyad bde shegs 'dus-pa'i chos-skör*, vol. 1. A reproduction of a ms. collection of texts from the revelations of mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer, reproduced from a collection from the library of Kyirong Lama

Kunzang, now preserved in the LTWA, Dalhousie.

*dPal rdo-rje phur-pa'i bshad-rgyud dri-med-'od.* gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA)

*Phur-pa rdo-rje bkod-pa rnal-'byor chen-po'i rgyud.* gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA)

*Phur-pa mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i rgyud chen-po.* gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang NGB, vol. 28 (SA)

*Las-kyi 'phreng-ba (Karmamāla-tantra).* mTshams-brag NGB, vol 19.

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