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wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

“The Life of the 4th lHo rje drung, ‘Bri gung tulku
O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje (1849-1902)”

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2019 / Vienna 2019

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 698

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ. Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Privatdoz. M.A.

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Acknowledgements

Many things had to come together for this Master's thesis to be written, which I hope will bring much benefit. Therefore, I would like to thank those who supported and inspired me in this endeavour.

First of all I would like to thank my teachers in dharma, at University and otherwise.

In particular I would like to thank Univ.-Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes for his generous and valuable assistance throughout the project. I would like to thank Ontul Rinpoche and his family for their continuous and most generous support; Lama Mark for his continuous and most generous support, for his advice and inspiration, and for supporting and challenging my translation skills and studies; and also Khenpo Konchog Tamphel for his generous help.

I would also like to thank my parter Hannes for all his patience and support; my sister Monika for her advise in writing; my friends in dharma for supporting me in this undertaking, in particular Elisabeth for providing me with useful resources and inspiration, also Leslie, Shelane and Denise for their advise in writing this thesis; my friends and colleagues in Vienna and South Tyrol for their encouragement, in particular Lisi and Helga. And lastly I would like to thank my family for their continuous and generous support in so many ways throughout these years of study.

On the Replication of Tibetan and Sanskrit Terms

The text of the Tibetan edition will not be transliterated, Tibetan terms throughout the rest of the thesis will be transliterated according to the Wylie transliteration scheme. Sanskrit terms will be transliterated according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST).

Sanskrit and Tibetan terms are presented in italic unless an entry exists in the *Cambridge Dictionary* or the *Oxford Living Dictionaries*. The same accounts for the words tulku (Tib. *sprul sku*), bodhisatva and yogin. Diacritics for Sanskrit terms will still be applied. Work titles are given in italic with capital letters, names of persons and traditions are given capitalized solely. Further, the use of case endings for Sanskrit terms will be omitted. Occurrences of Sanskrit and Tibetan terms in citations deviating from these conventions will be adjusted accordingly.

Place names in Chinese are given according to the Pinyin transliteration scheme.

1. Introduction

The present work will shed light on the life of the Tibetan Buddhist master lHo O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje and offer a partial translation of his biography composed by the 7th lHo rje drung bsTan 'dzin nyi ma, born in 1965.

Born in the nineteenth century in the highlands of eastern Tibet, Nus ldan rdo rje became recognised as a tulku, a reincarnated master, at an early age and was subsequently enthroned at the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery lHo lung dkar dgon 'og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling in Nang chen, Qinghai. He was a revealer of spiritual treasures (Tib. *gter ma*) and a *ris med* master¹.

The biography partly translated in this thesis belongs to the genre of 'liberation stories' (Tib. *nam thar*). These are biographies or autobiographies of Tibetan Buddhist masters with hagiographic character that narrate about the protagonist's spiritual life. They convey his or her qualities and may also have an instructional nature, thus serving as an inspiration for dharma-practitioners, enabling them to develop faith in the lineage and the teaching.² Generally three types or levels of *nam thar* are spoken of: the outer, inner and secret. SCHWIEGER briefly describes these as follows: "The outer biography, [...] narrates the life as a sequence of outer events from descent and birth to death. The inner biography mainly deals with the initiations and teaching traditions received in the course of life as well as with the meditation practice. The secret biography tells us about the inner experiences, especially the experiences in meditation, visions and dreams."³

Most *nam thars*, however, include elements of all three levels,⁴ as is the case with the biography partly translated in this thesis: it is an abbreviated outer *nam thar* with elements of the inner and secret biographies.⁵

Nus ldan rdo rje grew up in the dGe rgyal area and later lived at the monastery in the close-by 'Brong smad area, both of which are situated in Nang chen. In the course of this study, which is based on the historical-philological method of analysis, we will get to know more about some aspects of these rural areas; we will find answers to questions about who Nus ldan rdo rje was, where his monastery is located and how a *nam thar* and the spiritual life of a reincarnated lama can look like. We will also find out about what kinds of teachings Nus ldan rdo rje received covering a great part of Buddhist teachings practised and studied in Tibetan Buddhism. Further will we gain insight into the Tibetan-Buddhist life and world-view filled with deities, local spirits,

1 According to Ontul Rinpoche, Galiano Island, Canada, 16.09.2017.

2 See LARRSON 2012:31-2 and 37.

3 SCHWIEGER 2015:272.

4 See SCHWIEGER 2015:272

5 A 84.5.

miraculous events and so forth.

At first, as a preliminary study, we will take a look at the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition, treasure revelations, the eastern Tibetan ethnic region Kham in the nineteenth century and the non-sectarian (Tib. *ris med*) movement.

The next section offers an overview of Nus ldan rdo rje's life, providing information about the main events of his life, the various names he received, his students, the works he composed and revealed and his incarnation line. This is followed by a presentation of his monastery lHo lung dkar dgon. Nus ldan rdo rje had three brothers, two of which were among his foremost students. With these two brothers and Nus ldan rdo rje's main student, or heart-disciple, new incarnation lines began. Until recently, all the masters thereof were residing at lHo lung dkar dgon. Therefore, a list of these incarnation lines connected with Nus ldan rdo rje and the monastery will be provided.

The chapter following this is concerned with the biography partially translated for this thesis. The chapter begins with a brief biography of the author, lHo bstan 'dzin nyi ma, and continues with an outline of biography he composed together with information about available sources on Nus ldan rdo rje's life. Then, after some preliminary remarks on the Tibetan edition and the translation, follows the translation itself, which constitutes the major part of this thesis. The section of the biography chosen for the translation begins with the birth place, family line and birth of Nus ldan rdo rje. It further narrates about his youth and early adulthood followed by the transmission of teachings. A brief summary of what he studied and practiced concludes the translation. A critical edition of the Tibetan is provided following the translation.

2. The ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud Tradition

The ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition of Tibetan Buddhism established in the twelfth century is a branch of the bKa’ brgyud order. The order is one of the so-called new schools (Tib. *gsar ma*) that adhere to the later translations (Tib. *phyi ‘gyur*) of the tantras of the later spread (Tib. *phyi dar*) of Buddhisms in Tibet, which began in the late tenth to early eleventh century.⁶

The bKa’ brgyud order has a long transmission line that goes back to the Indian tantric adept Tilopa⁷ (988-1069), who, according to the tradition, received teachings directly from the *saṃbhogakāya*-buddha Vajradhara (Tib. *rDo rje chang*). Tilopa passed these teachings on to his main disciple Nāropa (1016-1100), who further transmitted them to the Tibetan translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (1012-1097). Further Indian masters significant to the lineage of the bKa’ brgyud tradition are Nāgārjuna, Saraha, Śavari and Maitrīpa. The lineage up to here is referred to as Mar pa bKa’ brgyud. Mar pa passed the lineage on to his main disciple Mi la ras pa (1040-1123⁸), he in turn to sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079-1153). sGam po pa, also known as Dwags po Lha rje, received thorough training in the bKa’ gdams tradition before he met Mi la ras pa. Later he fused the training of the bKa’ gdams tradition with the teachings and practices he received through Mi la ras pa. Resulting from this, a new order was established that could incorporate the tantric practices into a monastic framework, the order referred to as Dwags po bKa’ brgyud.⁹

With sGam po pa’s students the order subdivided into various schools: the disciple Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-1193) founded the Karma bKa’ brgyud; ‘Ba’ rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug (1127-1199/1200) the ‘Ba’ rom bKa’ brgyud; Zhang tshal pa brTson ’grus grags pa (1123-1193), a student of sGam po pa’s nephew sGom pa tshul khriims snying po (1116-1169), founded the Tshal pa bKa’ brgyud; and Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110-1170) founded the Phag mo gru pa bKa’ brgyud.¹⁰ The Tshal pa bKa’ brgyud and the Phag mo gru pa bKa’ brgyud do not exist as independent schools anymore.

Disciples of Phag mo gru pa founded eight further sub-schools collectively known as the ‘four

6 LOSERIES 2016:268-9 and TUCCI 1980:38.

7 For a translation of his biography attributed to Mar pa Chos kyi lo gros, together with a transcription of the Tibetan and a brief presentation of many biographies available in Tibetan, see TORRICELLI&NAGA 2011. The outer and secret biography composed by Padma dkar po has been translated in NĀLANDĀ 1997.

8 According to POWERS 2007:401 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Milarepa. LOSERIES 2006:280 gives the dates 1052-1135.

9 DUCHER 2017:85 n.233; LOSERIES 2016:282 and POWERS 2007:399-403.

10 Further, not included in this list of bKa’ brgyud lineages is the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud tradition founded by Khyung po rnal ‘byor (ca. 10th-11th centuries). Unlike the other bKa’ brgyud traditions, the lineage of the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud does not go back to Nāropa but to the Indian yoginīs Niguma and Sukhasiddhi (LOSERIES 2016:286-7).

major and eight minor bKa' brgyud schools' (Tib. *bka' brgyud che bzhi chung brgyad*).¹¹ Among these we find the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud^{12, 13}

The 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition was founded by 'Jig rten gsum mgon'¹⁴ (1143-1217), also known as 'Jig rten mgon po Rin chen dpal. 'Jig rten gsum mgon was born into the sKyu ra clan in Khams and in his twenties he travelled to Central Tibet to study with Phag mo gru pa. In 1179 he founded the monastery 'Bri gung mthil 'og min byang chub gling in the 'Bri gung valley north-east of Lhasa, which became the main seat of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud lineage. Until the seventeenth century the throne was kept within the sKyu ra clan, passed on from uncle to nephew. As this family line broke, the incarnation lineages of the Che tshang and Chung tshang Rinpoches were installed as the 'Bri gung throne holders.

Nus ldan rdo rje's life saw the reign of three throne holders (31st to 33rd): the 5th Chung tshang dKon mchog chos nyid nor bu (1827-1865, reigned 1832-1865), the 5th Che tshang dKon mchog thugs rje nyi ma (1828-1885, reigned 1865-1871) and the 6th Chung tshang bsTan 'dzin chos kyi blo gros (1868-1906, reigned 1871-1906).

There are many 'Bri gung monasteries throughout Tibet, northern India and Nepal, as well as centres in the West.¹⁵ The current, 7th Che tshang tulku bsTan 'dzin phrin las lhun grub (born in 1946) resides in Dehradun, India, while the current, 8th Chung tshang tulku bsTan 'dzin chos kyi snang ba (born in 1942) still resides in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.¹⁶

11 It is to note that the terms 'major' and 'minor' do not indicate size or importance of a school but are to be understood in the sense of relative proximity to sGam po pa and are in this way also referred to as the "four root and eight branch bKa' brgyud orders" (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2013, s.v. *bka' brgyud che bzhi chung brgyad*; KONG SPRUL 2010:348).

12 The other sub-schools are the sTag lung bKa' brgyud founded by sTag lung thang pa bKra shis dpal (1142-1210); the gLing ras bKa' brgyud founded by gLing rje ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128-1288), which later became the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud with gLing rje ras pa's disciple gTsang pa rGya ras ye shes rdo rje; the Khro phu bKa' brgyud founded by rGya tsha (1118-1195), Kun ldan ras pa (1148-1217), and their nephew Khro phu lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal (1173-1228); the sMar tshang bKa' brgyud founded by sMar pa grub thob Shes rab seng ge (dates unknown); the Yel pa bKa' brgyud founded by Ye shes brtsegs pa (dates unknown); the Shug gseb bKa' brgyud founded by Gyer sgom Tshul khriims seng ge; and the g.Ya' bzang bKa' brgyud founded by Zwa ra ba sKal ldan ye shes seng ge (died in 1207). Of these only the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud, the sTag lung bKa' brgyud and the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud survive to this day independently (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2013, s.v. *bka' brgyud che bzhi chung brgyad* and POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:78).

13 LOSERIES 2016:284; KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:347; KVAERNE 2008:310 and POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:77-78.

14 For a biography of 'Jig rten gsum mgon mainly based on the *Chos rje 'jig rten mgon po'i rnam thar rdo rje rin po che 'bar ba* (BKCZ vol. p.1-142 and *dGongs gcig yig cha*, vol.1, pp.1-95), composed by his disciple sPyan snga Shes rab 'byung gnas (1187-1241, BDRC ID P131), see WATTS 2017. For a more concise account of his life see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jikten Gonpo Rinchen Pel.

15 For its main monasteries see the official website of the order (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/main-monasteries>, last access 13.05.2019).

16 BURGHART 2017:2; *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jikten Gonpo Rinchen Pel; <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/main-monasteries> and <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 12.05.2019.

3. Treasure Revelations

Treasures (Tib. *gter ma*) are considered to have been concealed by masters of the past, predominantly by Padmasambhava and his circle, to ensure the transmission of the teachings, to provide teachings suitable for future generations and to convey blessings. The treasure would then be revealed by a prophesied master, the treasure revealer (Tib. *gter ston*), from its place of concealment (Tib. *gter gnas*).¹⁷

The place of concealment can either be a physical place, such as the ground, a rock, a wall, a statue and so forth, in which case it is called a earth treasure (Tib. *sa gter*), or the mind of the treasure revealer, in which case it is called a mind treasure (Tib. *dgongs gter*). The former is further divided into earth treasures as such and rediscovered treasures (Tib. *yang gter*), and the latter into mind treasures as such and recollected treasures (Tib. *rjes dran gter*).¹⁸

Earth treasures may be religious texts and other sacred objects, such as ritual implements or buddha-statues, as well as so called wealth treasures like jewels and precious metals. Rediscovered treasures are treasures that were once again concealed and revealed, as the right conditions were not met at its first revelation. As mentioned, mind treasures are teachings the *gter ston* reveals from his or her mind, while recollected treasures are teachings remembered from a former life.¹⁹

Further, pure visions (Tib. *dag snang*), which are visions experienced by masters wherein they receive teachings from deities, are often mentioned in the context of treasure revelations. They are closely related to mind treasures and sometimes no clear distinction is being made between the two. In contrast to mind treasures, pure visions are not claimed to be historical.²⁰

Treasure texts generally comprise a variety of contents and they consist of a group of texts, which is why they are often referred to as treasure cycles (Tib. *gter skor*). Typically, the main teachings of the treasure are contained in root texts, which are complemented by additional texts that elaborate these core teachings.²¹

Treasures were mainly revealed within the rNying ma tradition and Bon, but we also find treasure revealers among the Sa skya, Karma bKa' brgyud, 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud, 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud

17 DARGYAY 1998:62-3; THONDUP 1986:62-3. For an introduction to *gter ma* see also GYATSO 2015.

18 This particular classification of treasures stems from the *ris med* visionaries 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse dbang po and mChog gyur gling pa (DOCTOR 2005:26-7). For an introduction to the various taxonomies applied over the centuries see DOCTOR 2005:20-26.

19 DOCTOR 2005:21, 26-7 and GYATSO 1998:147.

20 GYATSO 1998:147 and 293 n.8.

21 GYATSO 1998:148.

and dGe lugs traditions. Among the treasure revealers in the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition are the 17th 'Bri gung hierarch Rin chen phun tshogs (1509-1557), the 1st 'Bri gung Che tshang dKon mchog rin chen (1590-1654) and the 1st Chung tshang Chos kyi grags pa (1595-1659).²²

The central texts of many *gter mas* were gathered and preserved in 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's *Rin chen gter mdzod* (RTZ), on which he worked until his passing.²³ Nus ldan rdo rje's treasure revelations are not contained in this collection. However, according to Ontul Rinpoche, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul intended to include these as well, but passed away before he could do so.²⁴

4. Geographical and Political Division of Khams in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, the eastern Tibetan region Khams, which is one of the territorial divisions of ethnic Tibet with vague geographical boundaries, was situated between the dGa' ldan pho brang government in Lhasa in the West and the Chinese Qing Empire in the East. The region itself was split into highly autonomous kingdoms. Among the larger kingdoms was the kingdom of Nang chen, the homeland of Nus ldan rdo rje. The kingdom was a dependency of the Qing empire after 1724.²⁵

The Qing dynasty fell in 1911 and in 1914 the Republic of China claimed control over Khams and subsequently divided the cultural region among the provinces Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan and what later came to be the Tibetan Autonomous Region.²⁶

22 GYATSO 1998:148; SMITH 2001:239-40 and <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 12.05.2019.

23 SCHUH 1976:lxvii and SMITH 2001:263.

24 Ontul Rinpoche, Galiano Island, Canada, 16.09.2017.

25 GARDNER 2009:98-99; KAPSTEIN 2006:167; PRZYJEMSKA 2012:429; RYAVEC 2015:150-1 (map 40) and 275; YUDRU TSOMU 2015:30. For an overview of nineteenth-century Khams, including topics such as topography, social and political structures, see YUDRU TSOMU 2015:1-35. For more information on the Nang chen kingdom see RYAVEC 2015:157-9; for a list of the kingdom's official rulers and the twenty-five tribes of Yushu, which constitute the main subdivisions, see SPERLING 2003:13-37.

26 GARDNER 2009:99 n.5 and RYAVEC 2015:131.

5. The Non-sectarian Movement

The nineteenth-century Kham is marked by a major cultural and religious development, which came to be known as the non-sectarian (Tib. *ris med*) movement with its central hub in the sDe dge kingdom and spearheaded by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul (1813-1899), 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892) and mChog gyur bde chen gling pa (1829-1870). Other leading figures were 'Ju Mi pham rGya mstho (1846-1912) and rDza dPal sprul O rgyan chos kyi dbang po (1808-1887).²⁷ As the main literary sources for the movement SMITH mentions the collected works of 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po,²⁸ the *rGyud sde kun btus*²⁹ and *sGrub thabs kun btus*³⁰ compiled under the inspiration of mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, and 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's *mDzod lnga*^{31, 32}. The term *ris med*, in this respect often translated as non-sectarian,³³ captures an important facet of the movement, yet there is more to it. The term or the movement as such was never defined by the actors of the stage,³⁴ however, further facets characteristic for this development were identified by GARDNER.³⁵ They are, as summarised by PRZYJEMSKA: "[...] non-partiality regarding philosophical viewpoints; the concern with the practice of meditation as opposed to institutionalized religion; revisiting Indian Buddhist ideals of a yogin-scholar; dedication to the preservation of oral and scriptural lineages; and finally, maintaining the doctrinal view of the *Zhentong* (*gZhan stong*) as universal."³⁶

27 KAPSTEIN 2006:166 and PRZYJEMSKA 2012:430.

28 BDRC ID W21807.

29 BDRC ID W27883.

30 BDRC ID W23681.

31 This collection of 'five treasures' is comprised of the *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (BDRC ID W5488), the *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod* (KONG SPRUL 1982), the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (RTZ), the *gDams ngag mdzod* (BDRC ID W23605), and the *rGya chen bka' mdzod* (BDRC ID W23723), also known as the *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:337 and SMITH 2001:262). For a brief description of these see SMITH 2001:262-7.

32 SMITH 2001:236. For further reading on the *ris med* movement see GARDNER 2006:109-165; KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:31-42; PRZYJEMSKA 2012; SMITH 2001:227-272 et al.

33 Cf. SMITH 2001:235.

34 PRZYJEMSKA 2012:431.

35 GARDNER 2006:117.

36 PRZYJEMSKA 2012:432-3.

6. Nus ldan rdo rje

6.1. Outline of Nus ldan rdo rje's Life³⁷

lHo rig 'dzin O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje, the 4th lHo rje drung tulku, was born in 1849 in 'Om chen thog brag into the gSho thang family in today's rDza stod (Zadoi) county, sKye rgu mdo (Yushu) prefecture, mTsho sngon (Qinghai) province.

He was recognised as a tulku at the age of six by 'Bri gung skyabs mgon Chos nyid nor bu³⁸ and 'Brug pa chos mgon³⁹. At the age of eight he was enthroned at lHo lung dkar monastery and he took the lay practitioner vows. At the age of eighteen he took the monastic vows, at the age of twenty-one the bodhisatva vows and at the age of twenty-four the tantric vows. He studied the five sciences of traditional Tibetan education and received a vast range of teachings from numerous teachers of various Tibetan Buddhist traditions. Throughout his life and from an early age on he revealed many treasures of every kind. Further, he established many great practices (Tib. *sgrub chen*) at his monastery, such as those of the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*,⁴⁰ the *Phur pa yang gsang bla med*,⁴¹ the *Thugs sgrub yang snying 'dus pa*⁴² and the *'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed yang zlog me'i spu gri*.^{43,44} Nus ldan rdo rje died on October 7th in 1902⁴⁵ at the age of fifty-four and remained in samādhi for three days.

During his life, Nus ldan rdo rje became known under various names. Among these are:

- the full ordination name dKon mchog bstan 'dzin 'phrin las mthar phyin mi 'gyur mchog gi snang ba ye shes mchog grub rgyal po dpal bzang sde,
- the bodhisatva vow name dKon mchog nges don sgrub brgyud bstan pa'i nyi ma,
- the tantric name: O rgyan che mchog nus ldan rol pa'i rdo rje,

37 The information for this chapter was primarily gathered from Nus ldan rdo rje's biography (A 6.5-85.2), see also the chapter "The Translation."

38 5th 'Bri gung Chung tshang tulku and 31st 'Bri gung throne holder (1827-1865, BDRC ID P2232) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 17.04.2018).

39 Possibly the sixth 'Brug pa Chos mgon born 1801 (BDRC ID P8LS12748) or the seventh 'Brug pa Chos mgon rDo rje 'dzin pa bShad sgrub chos kyi nyin dge (dates unknown; see BDRC ID P8LS12749).

40 A *gter ma* revealed by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396) (http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Sangs_rgyas_gling_pa, accessed 02.05.2019).

41 A *gter ma* revealed by Ratna gling pa (1403-1479) (http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Rat%2Bna_gling_pa, accessed 07.05.2019).

42 A *gter ma* revealed by Ratna gling pa (1403-1479) (http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Rat%2Bna_gling_pa, accessed 07.05.2019).

43 A *gter ma* revealed by rGya Zhang khrom (9th century) (BDRC ID P7419 and http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Rgya_zhang_khrom_rdo_rje_%27bar, accessed 07.05.2019).

44 See A 51.3-5.5-A 52.3.

45 A 76.4-77.1; <http://www.digitaltibetan.org/cgi-bin/phugpa.pl?year=1902>, accessed 07.05.2019.

- *rje btsun lCang lo me 'bar* ('venerable Flaming Dreadlocks') and
- *lHo dbu ral can* ('the one with the head mane from the lHo [clan]').

6.2. Students⁴⁶

Among Nus ldan rdo rje's students were his main disciple or heart-son rGyal tshab O rgyan bstan 'dzin, who became the principal doctrine holder, his elder and younger brothers dBon sprul Kun bzang 'gro 'dul and gCung sprul sGrub brgyud bstan 'dzin, and further, the 'Bri gung hierarchs Thugs rje'i nyi ma⁴⁷ and Chos kyi blo gros⁴⁸, mGar chen Phrin las yongs khyab,⁴⁹ mGar rnam rol,⁵⁰ the 7th lHo chen tulku,⁵¹ the Nang chen king and his son, dBon bzang dga', mChog sprul Phrin las rgya mtsho, also know as Bla ma phur dga',⁵² dPal me'i lho kun bzang mchog sprul⁵³, Nyi rdzong khri chen and Nyi rdzong khri chung,⁵⁴ Khams skyo bla ma Kun mkhyen,⁵⁵ Khams skyo rDzong sprul Phrin las nyi ma,⁵⁶ Bum mang mchog sprul,⁵⁷ Rigs tsha g.Yu sgra mchog sprul,⁵⁸ Grub thob stom pa rig 'dzin, mGo 'gu rtogs ldan, Rigs tsha dge rgyal rDzogs chen tulku sgrub mchog and so forth. Some of these masters were also his teachers.

6.3. Works

The following collections of Nus ldan rdo rje's works are available: the *Rig 'dzin nus ldan rdo rje'i gsung 'bum* (see TSONDU SENGHE 1977-1985) comprised of eight volumes and written in *dbu med* script.

- 46 LKCB 374.13-375.13 and *Souvernir* 2.12-13.
- 47 The 32nd 'Bri gung throne holder and 5th Che tshang Rinpoche (1828-1885, BDRC ID P2231) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 17.04.2019).
- 48 The 33rd 'Bri gung throne holder and 6th Chung tshang Rinpoche (1868-1906) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 15.01.2019).
- 49 The 7th mGar chen tulku, dates unknown (BDRC ID P8581).
- 50 Possibly mGar rnam rol dKon mchog bstan 'dzin gzhan phan dbang po (dates unknown) mentioned in the biography (see chapter "The Translation").
- 51 Dates unknown (BDRC ID P8LS13090).
- 52 1883-1938, the previous incarnation of 'Bri gung 'Brong pa rgyal po, Lam mkhyen/chen rgyal po Rinpoche (BDRC ID P8468) (<https://www.ddcv.com/lamchen-gyalpo-rinpoche.html>, 24.05.2019).
- 53 The 'Bri gung bla ma dKon mchog bstan 'dzin phrin las rab rgyas, dates unknown (LKCB 199.11-12 and 203.4-5).
- 54 The Nyi rdzong khri chen and Nyi rdzong khri gcung are incarnation lineages of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery Nyi rdzong in Yushu prefecture, Qinghai (BDRC ID G2595; <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/main-monasteries/eastern-tibet/nyidzong-goen>, 24.05.2019).
- 55 Dates unknown. The Kun mkhyen incarnation line is affiliated with the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery Khams skyo in Yushu prefecture, Qinghai (BDRC ID G2594; PADMA KUN DGA' 2002:259.10).
- 56 The 12th rDzong sprul of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery Khams skyo (PADMA KUN DGA' 2002:259.6-7).
- 57 A tulku of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery Bum mang thub bstan rab rgyas gling in rDza stod district, dates unknown (U YON LHAN KHANG 1999:193.14-15).
- 58 A 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tulku (LKCB 199.11-12 and 203.15-16).

This collection was compiled by Tsondu Senghe.

The major collection of his works is the NDSB published in 2005. It is comprised of nineteen printed volumes and was compiled by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma. Volume nineteen of this work is an amended volume composed by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma. This collection is, however, not complete: based on the catalogue (Tib. *dkar chag*) of a collection of Nus ldan rdo rje's works and *gter mas*, most of which has been lost or scattered, it is known that this former collection was comprised of twenty-one volumes, thus three volumes are still missing. Over many years lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma gathered many texts that were included in it from various places, including India, Nepal, central Tibet and upper and lower Khams. Since sections were missing, got split or mixed up, lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma re-arranged the texts for this new collection and wrote a new catalogue for it.⁵⁹

Further, the BKCZ also contains a collection of Nus ldan rdo rje's works in volumes 135 to 144.

6.3.1. Treasure Revelations⁶⁰

Earth treasures (Tib. *sa gter*)

Nus ldan rdo rje's earth treasures include:

- the *bDe gshegs rtsa gsum kun 'dus bla ma'i thugs sgrub bde chen snying po* (NDSB vols.11-13) and
- the *Bi ma mi tra'i thugs kyi thig le* (NDSB vol.14); this cycle is incomplete⁶¹.

Mind treasures (Tib. *dgongs gter*)⁶²

The mind treasures include:

- the *Gu ru sku gsum yon tan 'dus pa'i thugs sgrub*:
this treasure cycle revealed at the age of twenty-five is comprised of the cycle of teachings *Yab bka' bde chen padma rgyal po* (NDSB vol.15, pp.1-207), which is incomplete⁶³, and the cycle of teachings *Yum bka' bde chen padma mkha' 'gro* (NDSB vol.15, pp.209-884);
- the *Thugs sgrub rtsa gsum drag po*:
this cycle revealed at the age of twenty is contained in the NDSB as *O rgyan rtsa gsum drag po'i thugs sgrub* (NDSB vol.16, pp.1-504); the cycle is incomplete⁶⁴;
- the *Bla ma bdud 'dul rgyal po*:

59 A 5.4-6.1 and 213.3-5; NDSB vol.19, pp.1.4-2.1 ("dPar skrun gsal bshad").

60 The information for this chapter was gathered with the help of the catalogue (Tib. *dkar chag*) to Nus ldan rdo rje's collected works contained in B 72-132 and the index provided by BDRC (BDRC ID W1KG4282).

61 B 117.6.

62 LKCB 373.3-9 and A 58.3-5.

63 B 118.12.

64 B 124.6-7.

this cycle revealed at the age of twenty-three is contained in the NDSB as *rTsa gsum kun 'dus ma hā gu ru dbang drag bdud 'dul rgyal po* (NDSB vol.16, pp.505-858); the cycle is incomplete⁶⁵;

- the *Thugs sgrub yid bzhin kun 'byung*:

this cycle revealed at the age of eleven is incomplete⁶⁶, only one text is included in the NDSB (vol.18, pp.123-129).⁶⁷

Rediscovered treasures (Tib. *yang gter*)⁶⁸

The rediscovered treasures include among others the *Sangs gling phur pa thugs kyi snying khu* (NDSB vol.18, pp.313-510).

Recollected treasures (Tib. *rjes dran gter*)⁶⁹

Among the recollected treasures are instructions on channels and wind practices (Tib. *rtsa rlung*) of the *gter ma Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa* revealed by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396⁷⁰) (NDSB vol.4, pp.91-119), recollections concerned with the *gter ma bKa' rdzogs pa chen po yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus* revealed by 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656)⁷¹ (NDSB vol.3, pp.837-962), and so forth.

Pure visions (Tib. *dag snang*)⁷²

The pure visions include among others:

- the *bDe gshegs kun 'dus rig 'dzin rtsa sgrub* (NDSB vol.17), received in a vision at the age of thirty-two,
- the *bDe chen zhing sgrub* (NDSB vol.18, pp.1-122), and
- a *sādhana* (Tib. *sgrub thabs*) of O rgyan skal ldan 'dren mdzad, received in a vision at the age of thirty-nine (the *sādhana* and the related texts are contained in NDSB vol.18, pp.131-192).

6.4. Incarnation Line⁷³

The following is the incarnation line of the lHo rje drung or lHo 'Brong sprul tulkus:

65 B 125.8-9.

66 B 132.1-2.

67 The title of the text is: *Yang gsang dgongs pa zab mo'i klong las byung ba'i gu ru thod phreng sde lnga'i thugs sgrub yid bzhin kun 'byung gi rgyun 'khyer yid bzhin snying po*.

68 LKCB 373.16.

69 A 59.3-5.

70 http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Sangs_rgyas_gling_pa, accessed 02.05.2019.

71 1585-1656, BDRC ID P882.

72 LKCB 373.9-13 and A 59.5-60.4.

73 LKCB 513 and <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 02.05.2019.

1st lHo rje drung Phrin las lhun grub

lHo rje drung sGrub brgyud bstan 'dzin phrin las lhun grub, his precise dates are not known – it is only known that he was born in the 12th and died in 13th Tibetan cycle (Tib. *rab byung*).⁷⁴ He was recognised by the 2nd Che tshang tulku Phrin las bzang po (1656-1718, reigned 1661-1718) and his seat was at lHo Mi g.yel monastery⁷⁵ in Nang chen.⁷⁶

2nd lHo rje drung lHo grub chen ting 'dzin bzang po (1761-1834)

The 2nd lHo rje drung's monastic seat was at lHo Mi g.yel monastery before he established the monastery lHo lung dkar.⁷⁷ He was recognised by the 3rd Che tshang bsTan 'dzin 'gro 'dul (1724-1766) and the 3rd Chung tshang Chos kyi nyi ma (1755-1792).

3rd lHo rje drung lHo bstan 'dzin byang chub bzang po (1835-1848)

He had a fairly short life-span of only fourteen years. He was recognised by the 5th Chung tshang Chos nyid nor bu (1827-1865) and the 14th Karma pa Theg mchog rdo rje (1798/9-1868/9)⁷⁸.

4th lHo rje drung lHo rig 'dzin O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje (1849-1902)

5th lHo rje drung lHo 'Brong sprul bstan 'dzin rgyal ba'i myu gu (1903-1925)

dkon mchog bstan 'dzin mi 'gyur rgyal ba'i myu gu⁷⁹ also lived a fairly short life of only twenty-three years. He was recognised by the 6th Chung tshan Chos kyi blo gros (1868-1906) and sTag lung Ma sprul⁸⁰.

6th lHo rje drung lHo 'brong sprul dkon mchog bstan 'dzin 'gro 'dul (1926-1961)

He was recognised by the 6th Che tshang Rinpoche Zhi ba'i blo gros (1886-1943).

74 The 12th *rab byung* spans from 1687 to 1746 and the 13th *rab byung* from 1747 to 1806 (<http://www.tactus.dk/tacom/calendar5.htm>, accessed 02.05.2019).

75 BDRC ID G2614.

76 BDRC ID G2614; LKCB 122.3-4 and 123.17-124.1.

77 *Lung dkar dran rten* 2.1-3.

78 BDRC ID P562.

79 LKCB 397.14-15.

80 Dates unknown. One of the hierarchs of sTag lung monastery (BDRC ID G67) north of Lhasa, the main seat of the sTag lung bKa' brgyud (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. sTag lung; SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:674).

7th lHo rje drung tulku⁸¹

The 6th lHo rje drung tulku reincarnated in four emanation bodies:

The body emanation is dKon mchog lhun grub snyan grags rnam rgyal, born in 1976 in India.

The speech emanation is dKon mchog mdo sngags bstan 'dzin, born in 1979 in Zla nyin in Nang chen. He was also recognised as the emanation of the 2nd rGyal tshab tulku (see below).

The mind emanation is lHo 'Brong sprul bsTan 'dzin nyi ma, also known as dKon mchog bstan 'dzin phrin las mtha' yas⁸² (his life will be discussed in more detail further below).

The quality emanation is Lho Orgyen Drodul Dorje Rinpoche (lHo O rgyan 'gro 'dul rdo rje), also known as Karma Ratna. He was born in 1980 in India as the son of the current dBon sprul (Ontul Rinpoche).⁸³

7. Nus ldan rdo rje's Monastery, lHo lung dkar dgon 'og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling⁸⁴

The 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery lHo lung dkar dgon 'og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling is situated near sPyi stod (Jidoi)⁸⁵ in the 'Brong smad area of rDdza stod (Zadoi) county, sKye rgu mdo (Yushu) prefecture, in mTsho sngon (Qinghai) province (Khams ethnic region), at an elevation of about 4.250 metres.⁸⁶ It was built in 1798 by the 2nd lHo rje drung tulku lHo grub chen ting 'dzin bzang po and was at its peak during Nus ldan rdo rje's time when it housed about four hundred monks.

The monastery, which is surrounded by many sacred sites, was completely destroyed in 1958 by Chinese communist forces. In 1980, the authorities gave permission for the restoration of the monastery and it was subsequently rebuild. Today, about hundred-fifty monks reside there, including three tulkus.⁸⁷

81 GBLG 619.14-7, 619.23-620.1-4, 620.10, 620.18; <http://www.lotus-see-hamburg.de/dharmapraaxis/lho-ogyen-drodul-dorje-rinpoche/index.html>, accessed 02.05.2019.

82 A 214.1-2.

83 For a biography see <http://www.lotus-see-hamburg.de/dharmapraaxis/lho-ogyen-drodul-dorje-rinpoche/index.html> (accessed 02.05.2019).

84 The information for this chapter and the sub-chapter "Structure of the Monastery" was received from rGyal tshab Rinpoche (as translated by Karma Ratna Rinpoche, Lung dkar dgon, 28.8.2018) and taken from *Lung dkar dran rten* 2.1-10, 2.20-35, 3.3-8 and 3.16-17; GBLG 494.8-9, 625.17-8 and 627.13-9. The information on altitude and GPS-coordinates are based on own measurements.

85 Along the lCi river (map: *mDo khams stod ma'i sa khra*). See *East Tibet road map* (Gecko Maps 2014, here the river is called "Ngom (chu)") and *Bod kra* 32°-33°/95°-96°. The map by Tibet Map Institute (map n°3295) shows sPyi stod ("Phytö") ten to fifteen kilometres further upstream.

86 GPS-coordinates of the monastery: Latitude: 32,6017; Longitude: 95,3046.

87 For more information on the monastery see the websites http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/A_brief_history_of_Lho_Lungkar_Gon and <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/main-monasteries/eastern-tibet/lho-lungkar-goan> (accessed 28.04.2019).

7.1. Structure of the Monastery

At the centre of the monastery complex is the old main temple, gSang chen grub pa'i gtsug lag khang, and a dharma-protector temple. The old temple was damaged during a major earthquake in 2010 and is currently in the process of renovation.

North of the old temple is a much larger new temple, called rNam snang sprul pa'i gtsug lag khang chen mo. The five-storeyed building comprises a large pūjā hall on the ground floor and on the upper floors a library and various rooms used as temples that are filled with statues. Within the compounds of the monastery is a monastic school (Tib. *bshad grwa*), called 'Jam dbyangs dgal tshal gling, and a medical centre and school (Tib. *gso rig sman grwa*) for traditional Tibetan medicine, called Kun bde gling, with a dispensary for Tibetan and Western medicine.

Besides that there are numerous stūpas, including one large stūpa called 'Bum mo che, and the following temples: mNgon dga' bde ldan gling, an architectural maṇḍala resembling Amitābha's pure land Sukhāvātī; the 'golden' temple (Tib. *gser khang*) containing stūpas with relics of the lineage masters; and another, smaller protector temple of lHo lineage. The monastery also has a sky-burial ground. West of the monastery complex, up in the hills, is the monastery's retreat centre, Dil yag dpal ri'i sgrub sde gsang sngags mchog grub gling. Not within the monastery compounds but built by the monastery is a school for the local children.

Not far from the monastery, in south-eastern direction, is the affiliated nunnery rTsa rlung dge dgon bsam gtan dar rgyas gling,⁸⁸ under the care of lHo lung dkar dgon. The nunnery was established in 1893 by Nus ldan rdo rje. Today, over fifty nuns live there.

lHo lung dkar dgon also has a facility in the city rDza stod, which is called 'Brong smad lho lung dkar dgon. The facility includes an A phyi temple, a publishing house, a medical centre, a library and a guesthouse. Further, there is a branch-monastery in the city Nag chu, in Nag chu prefecture, north-east of Lhasa⁸⁹.

Another branch of the monastery is the monastery in exile, 'Og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling in Tso Pema (Rewalsar), Himachal Pradesh, India. It was established in 1971 by the current Ontul Rinpoche and houses about fifty monks.⁹⁰

88 GPS-coordinates: Latitude: 32.5756; Longitude: 95.3416. Altitude: ca. 4.450m.

89 DORJE 2009:462.

90 <http://www.dharma-media.org/wogmin/>, accessed 28.04.2019.

7.2. Incarnation Lines of the Monastery

Apart from the lHo rje drung incarnation line, the monastery is home to the incarnation lines that originated with Nus ldan rdo rje's brothers who were also his disciples, and his main disciple. They are as follows:

7.2.1. The dBon sprul Incarnation Line⁹¹

The 1st dBon sprul Kun bzang 'gro 'dul was the elder brother of Nus ldan rdo rje. He passed away in 1899.

The 2nd dBon sprul dBon rgan Chos dbyings rang grol died in 1949.

The 3rd and current dBon sprul Phrin las rab rgyas was born in 1950. He fled to India in 1957 and currently resides in Tso Pema (Rewalsar, Himachal Pradesh), where he established a new monastery.⁹²

7.2.2. The gCung sprul Incarnation Line⁹³

This incarnation lineage is also known as the Thub bstan snying po incarnation line.

The 1st gCung sprul sGrub brgyud bstan 'dzin was the younger brother (Tib. *gcung*) of Nus ldan rdo rje. The dates of his birth and death are not known.

The 2nd gCung sprul already passed away in infancy.

The 3rd gCung sprul dKon mchog bstan 'dzin thub bstan snying po was born in 1916. He was imprisoned in Xining in 1958 at the age of forty-two and passed away in prison.

The 4th gCung sprul is known as mChog sprul O rgyan rdo rje and 'Gro mgon rab rgyas, which is short for dKon mchog bstan 'dzin 'gro mgon rab rgyas chos nyid lhun grub. He was born in 1976.

7.2.3. The rGyal tshab Incarnation Line⁹⁴

The 1st rGyal tshab O rgyan bstan 'dzin was the main disciple of Nus ldan rdo rje. His birth and death dates are not known.

91 LKCB 15.9-11, 427.8-9, 428.2-4, 431.12, 432.16 and 433.3-5; https://www.rigpawiki.org/images/0/02/Calendrical_cycle.png, accessed 28.04.2019.

92 For a biography see <http://www.dharma-media.org/wogmin/> (accessed 06.05.2019).

93 GBLG 622.4-5 and LKCB 15.15, 164.12-15, 439.10-11, 439.14, 440.9-15, 441.2-3, 441.10, 441.13-5 and 435.5.

94 GBLG 620.3-4 and 623.5-6; LKCB 444.4-5, 444.10-11 and 444.14-15.

The 2nd rGyal tshab was Kun khyab seng ge, his dates are also not known.

The 3rd and current rGyal tshab, mDo sngags bstan 'dzin, was born in 1979. He was recognised as both the emanation of the previous rGyal tshab tulku as well as the speech emanation of the 6th lHo 'Brong sprul.

8. Nus ldan rdo rje's Biography

8.1. A Biographical Sketch of the Author, lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma⁹⁵

lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma, the 7th lHo 'Brong sprul, was born in 1965 in lCi nyin, in the area of the monastery lHo lung dkar dgon was. His father's name was Mi nyag Byang chub bzang po and his mother's name was sTag bza' lhun bzang. As a child he didn't enjoy much education, so later in his life he taught himself and became very skilled in all the fields of knowledge of traditional Tibetan learning. At the age of sixteen he became a monk as mGar chen Rinpoche was invited to lHo lung dkar dgon and performed the hair-cutting ceremony on him.

lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma's first main teacher was rTogs ldan 'gro mgon, under which he completed the accumulation of the preliminary practices (Tib. *sngon 'gro*). However, rTogs ldan 'gro mgon soon passed away and lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma went to 'Bri gung several times to meet with eminent teachers.

In his autobiography, lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma particularly mentions having received the *Phyag chen lnga ldan*, the *Nā ro chos drug*, the *Mos gus srog 'khor* and other profound teachings from dPa' chung Rinpoche⁹⁶ and the retreat master bsTan 'dzin nyi ma.⁹⁷ Further, he received the renunciate vows from mKhan sog sprul while in 'Bri gung. Later, lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma was recognised by Che tshang Rinpoche⁹⁸ as the mind-emanation of Nus ldan rdo rje. With twenty-six he entered a retreat on the practices of *Phyag chen lnga ldan* and *Nā ro chos drug* for over three years.

On the request of Che tshang Rinpoche he visited many places including Nepal, India, the United States, Canada, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong. Back at his monastery, owing to many donations from foreigners and locals,⁹⁹ he was able to establish a new medical centre and a public school, the main temple was rebuild and the retreat centre renovated. Afterwards he set himself on the task of publishing the *Nus ldan rdo rje'i gsung 'bum*.

95 LKCB 494.5-497.2 and BGCB 620.10-3 and 717.10.

96 dKon mchog 'phrin las 'od zer (1900-1988) (BDRC ID W00KG09671).

97 On these practices see the respective notes in the chapter "The Translation."

98 The current Che tshang Rinpoche bsTan 'dzin phrin las lhun grub, born in 1946 (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 06.05.2019).

99 rGyal tshab Rinpoche (as translated by Karma Ratna Rinpoche, Lung dkar dgon, 28.8.2018).

Among his teachers are Chung tshang Rinpoche, Che tshang Rinpoche, mGar chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, Grub dbang bstan 'dzin nyi ma, Lam mkhyen bla ma rgyal po Rinpoche, rDzogs chen mkhan Rinpoche, [rDogs chen *mkhen po*] Thub bstan rnam rgyal, lHo dBon sprul Rinpoche, mKhas dbang khro ru tshe rnam, mkhan po Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan and dGe bshes blo bzang bde chen.¹⁰⁰

8.2. Outline of the Biography

The biography begins, as is common in the genre of *rnam thar*, with an account of the protagonist's previous lives. The actual biography of this life begins with prophecies predicting the birth of an extraordinary being. The author continues with describing the birthplace and family line. Then follows an account of the birth and the signs that accompany it, followed by the extraordinary qualities shown during Nus ldan rdo rje's first years of life, as well as the education he received. Next it is briefly described how he was recognised as a tulku, his subsequent enthronement and the vows he took, beginning with the lay practitioner vows and followed by the monastic vows, the bodhisatva vows and lastly, the tantric vows.

Now follows a long list of teachers of various traditions together with teachings he received from them. This constitutes a major part of the translation presented here. The next section basically constitutes a summary of his studies and practices. This concludes the translation offered in this thesis. The narration continues with an account of the signs of accomplishment and experiences Nus ldan rdo rje had while practicing, the practices he established at his monastery, visions he received and *gter mas* he revealed. This is followed by citations of some of the great masters of the time, such as 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse and mChog gyur gling pa, praising Nus ldan rdo rje as an extraordinary master. Further, treasure prophecies are cited that foretell Nus ldan rdo rje as an authentic *gter ston*. The biography concludes with a description of the *gter stons* death and the accompanying auspicious signs, including relics and other sacred objects in his remains.

Lastly, the author gives a brief statement about the contents of this biography.

100 For more information on lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma see http://www.dharma-media.org/ratnashripj/teacher_bongtul.html (accessed 06.05.2019).

8.3. Available Sources on Nus ldan rdo rje's Life

The first edition of the biography (B 4.6-57.10) partially translated in this thesis was published in 1998 in a Western-style book by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma with the title *Ngo mtshar bka' babs bdun gyi bdag nyid lho 'brong sprul o rgyan nus ldan rdo rje'i gsung 'bum dang zab mo gter chos phyogs bsdoms par du bzhengs pa'i rtogs brjod them byang dkyus su bkod pa zab mdzod sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde mig ces bya ba bzhugs so* (B). In 2015, lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma published a new edition of Nus ldan rdo rje's collected works (NDSB) with an amended volume (vol.19). This volume includes an edited version (A) of B; the biography is contained in A, pages 6.5 to 85.2. The section used for the translation is contained in A, pages 19.4 to 43.3.

The first volume of Nus ldan rdo rje's collected works (NDSB) comprises much more extensive liberation stories (Tib. *rnam thar*): the ordinary outer,¹⁰¹ the extraordinary inner¹⁰² and the very extraordinary secret¹⁰³ liberation stories, as well as a prayer recalling his liberation story (Tib. *rnam thar rjes su dran pa'i gsol 'debs*)¹⁰⁴. These are also contained in the BKCZ.¹⁰⁵

Another extensive biography, with the title *lHo rje drung o rgyan nus ldan rdo rje'i rnam thar cung zad rgyas par bkod pa*, can be found in the Western-style book *lHo lung dkar dgon gyi gdan rabs chos 'byung* (LKCB 146.12-397.13) by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma. This book also contains short biographies of the other lHo tulkus.

A much shorter life story (seventeen pages) is found in the *lHo rje drung o rgyan nus ldan rdo rje'i bla sgrub dang 'brel ba'i 'don chog phyogs bsgrigs byin rlabs 'dod 'jo* (see lHO bSTAN 'DZIN NYI MA 2015), a small Western-style book for practicing the outer, inner and secret Nus ldan rdo rje-guru practices, compiled by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma. An even shorter biography of only two pages is found in Khetsun Sangpo's *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* (see KHETSUN SANGPO 1981).

As for sources in English, an account of the religious life of Nus ldan rdo rje written by the 'Bri gung mkhan po dKon mchog smon lam¹⁰⁶ is given on the following website: <http://rywiki.tsadra.org/>.

101 *sPrul sku rig 'dzin o rgyan che mchog nus ldan rol pa'i rdo rje'i thun mong phyi yi rnam thar skal bzang dad gsum shing rta*, NDSB vol.1, pp.1-476.

102 *sPrul sku rig 'dzin o rgyan che mchog nus ldan rol pa'i rdo rje'i thun min nang gi rnam thar rin po che'i phreng ba*, NDSB vol.1, pp.477-526.

103 *sPrul sku rig 'dzin o rgyan che mchog nus ldan rol pa'i rdo rje'i shin tu thun min gsang ba'i rnam thar*, NDSB vol.1, pp.527-835.

104 *Kho bo rig 'dzin o rgyan nus ldan rdo rje'i rnam thar rjes su dran pa'i gsol 'debs tshigs su bcad pa utpa la'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*, NDSB vol.1, pp.837-889. The older, eight-volume collection of Nus ldan rdo rje's works (TSONDU SENGHE 1977-1985) also includes such a prayer: 'Gro 'dul kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po dpal rig 'dzin nus ldan rdo rje'i rnam thar gsol 'debs tshigs su bcad pa (TSONDU SENGHE 1977-1985, vol.1, pp.163-186).

105 The outer *rnam thar* is contained in BKCZ vol.135, pp.1-271; the inner *rnam thar* in BKCZ vol.135, pp.439-467; the secret *rnam thar* in BKCZ vol.135, pp.278-439 and the prayer recalling the *rnam thar* in BKCZ vol.135, pp.467-497.

106 For more information on this person see http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/Khenpo_Konchog_Monlam (accessed 20.05.2019).

org/index.php/A_brief_history_of_Lho_Lungkar_Gon (accessed 20.05.2019). Some information on Nus ldan rdo rje is also given on the following website, in particular with regard to the monastery lHo lung dkar: <http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/main-monasteries/east-ern-tibet/lho-lungkar-goen> (accessed 20.05.2019).

8.4. Preliminary Remarks on the Translation and the Tibetan Edition

The critical edition of the Tibetan is based on A, pages 19.4 to 43.3, which is contained in volume nineteen of the NDSB. The text will be compared to B, pages 13.1 to 29.3, which is almost identical to A. The pagination of A and B will be provided in the Tibetan edition. Occasionally reference will be given to Nus ldan rdo rje's biography in the LKCB, pages 146.12 to 397.13, which contains some passages of A spread throughout the book with the same or almost the same wording. All three sources were composed by lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma. The translation is based on this critical edition.

For ease of reading, the translation and the Tibetan edition will be split into sections with headings and paragraphs that were not in the original. Text in square brackets, both in the translation and the Tibetan edition, show my own additions inserted for better comprehension or grammatical correctness. In the translation I will omit the use of square brackets for any pronouns regarding the protagonist of the life story that do not appear in the Tibetan edition. In the biography Nus ldan rdo rje is often referred to as '*rje rig 'dzin*,' which will be treated like a personal name in the translation and left untranslated: rJe Rig 'dzin.

BDRC ID

For every person mentioned in the translation, the resource identification code for the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC, formerly Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center) will be provided wherever available and identified. This code will generally be given after the birth and death dates and in some cases it also constitutes the source for these dates. Occasionally, such reference to BDRC will also be given for monasteries, locations and texts.

References to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*

As concerns tantras of the rNying ma tradition, I will give reference to the gTing skyes edition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (NGB) whenever possible. Further, I will include references to the master catalogue provided by the Tibetan and Himalayan Library (THL), which includes every text of the sDe dge (BDRC ID W21939), gTing skyes (BDRC ID W21518) and mTshams brag (BDRC ID W21521) editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, and every text of the *Bai ro'i rgyud 'bum* (BDRC ID W21519).

This master catalogue provides the exact location of each text within the different editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* and the *Bai ro'i rgyud 'bum*, as well as the corresponding numbers of the Taiwan and Kaneko catalogues where applicable. Further, the catalogue provides additional information available such as author, translator and variant titles. The reference to the master catalogue will be given as 'THL ID' followed by the identification code of the text in question (e.g. THL ID Ng.480). The catalogue entry can be viewed on the THL website under the web-link <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=ng> (last access 28.05.2019). However, it should be kept in mind that the different editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* sometimes vary from each other to the extent that a text included in one edition might not be included in another, or a certain text might be significantly different to the same text in a different edition.¹⁰⁷

107 <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=tk>, accessed 01.03.2019.

9. The Translation

9.1. Birthplace and Family Line

Concerning the place where the magic of [his] form-body¹⁰⁸ manifested according to the wishes [of sentient beings]: In the country of greater Tibet [lies] the range ‘Bri zla zal mo,¹⁰⁹ one of the so-called six ranges of mDo khams,¹¹⁰ or to be precise, the upper part of the range lHo zla ngang ma¹¹¹. [There is] the area (Tib. *yul ljongs*) called dGe rgyal zla rgyud,¹¹² ruled by the lord of the land *ma sang g.Ya’* spang skyes gcig,¹¹³ one among the thirty *dregs pa*-leaders,¹¹⁴ or the so-called deity

108 While both *nirmāṇakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* are form-bodies (Tib. *gzugs sku*), as opposed to the formless *dharmakāya* (Univ.-Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Vienna 23.03.2018), in the following narration the author only speaks of the *nirmāṇakāya*, the physical emanation body (THL dict.)

109 There are some discrepancies among different sources regarding the location of this range: according to the GBLG (150.3-4), the range ‘Bri zla zal mo lies between the rivers ‘Bri (Yangtze) and lHo zla (a tributary of the Mekong river), thus south-west of the ‘Bri river. The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *sMad mdo khams sgang drug*) on the other hand, states that the range Zal mo (which is the same mountain range, see SMITH 2001:332 n.839) lies between the northern parts of the ‘Bri and Nyag river (Yalongjiang), also known as Shar zla, thus north-east of the ‘Bri river (GBLG 156.1; <http://places.thlib.org/features/8252>; <http://places.thlib.org/features/8265>, accessed 17.04.2019). Secondary sources generally follow the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (e.g. SMITH 2001:332 n.839, https://www.rigpawiki.org/index.php?title=Zalmo_Range and http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/chu_bzhi_sgang_drug, accessed 25.03.2018). In DORJE&KAPSTEIN (1991: map 10, F/G 22-23) ‘Bri zla zal mo is depicted as running along both sides of the ‘Bri river.

Here, we clearly find ourselves in the area south-west of the ‘Bri river. (Since the rivers lHo zla and Shar zla are often given with the names Zla chu and rDza chu, note that both rivers, lHo zla and Shar zla, may be referred to as both Zla chu and rDza chu (GBLG 155.18-19).)

110 The other five ranges are: Tsha ba sgang, sMar khams sgang, sPo ‘bor sgang, dMar rdza sgang and Mi nyag rab sgang (*Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *sMad mdo khams sgang drug*).

111 The name of this mountain range derives from the lHo zla river (GBLG 155.19-20). Hence, it is the area along this river, which stretches roughly from the city rDza stod to the city Chab mdo (see the map *mDo khams stod ma’i sa khra*).

112 According to Ontul Rinpoche this is a valley (Vienna 21.05.2018). The map *mDo khams stod ma’i sa khra*, shows former administrative divisions with dGe rgyal in their names (dGe rgyal zla srib, dGe rgyal nag tshang, dGe rgyal bar ma and dGe rgyal smad pa) in the surroundings of the city rDza stod and extending eastwards. A map of the Nang chen kingdom provided by RYAVEC (2015:157, map 42) depicts various such divisions with dGe rgyal in their name extending south-east along the Zla river.

113 This *ma sangs* deity is the chief local deity of the lHo zla ngang ma mountain range (GBLG 4) and according to Ontul Rinpoche, it is a demi-god (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018). The *ma sang* are eight brothers that are powerful warriors in retinue of rDo rje legs pa. The *ma sang* are also a class of deities of the pre-Buddhist pantheon, many of which are mountain gods (NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ 1996:156 and 224; <https://www.oew.ac.at/tibetantumulustradition/thematic-introduction/royal-tombs-2/>, accessed 17.04.2019). In NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ (1996:154) *ma sang g.Ya’* spang skyes gcig (alt. *ma sangs g.Ya’* spangs skyes) is also mentioned as one of the names of the oath-bound dharma-protector rDo rje legs pa, who is considered a worldly guardian (Tib. *‘jig rten pa’i srung ma*). See RIKEY 2015:125-8 for more information on *ma sang g.Ya’* spang skyes; for more information on rDo rje legs pa see NEBESKY & WOJKOWITZ 1996:154-9; for information on the *ma sang*-deities see NEBESKY & WOJKOWITZ 1996:224.

114 Tib. *dregs pa’i sde dpon sum cu*. A *dregs pa* can be a transcendent guardian (Tib. *‘jig rten las ‘das pa’i srung ma*) or dharma-protector (Skt. *dharmapāla*, Tib. *chos skyong*), but more commonly the term refers to worldly

Byang rtse or Bya thul¹¹⁵ of Khams, rDo rje dbang drag¹¹⁶ of Zla rgyal¹¹⁷ of the virtuous class of the thirteen *rje yi mgur* deities¹¹⁸.

[There lies] the valley Zla nyin ‘om chen [on] the left bank of the gently flowing [river] Zla klung sngon mo¹¹⁹. [Within that] are what are known as the four big districts in the land with a perfectly complete display of a [pure] land¹²⁰, the hidden place¹²¹ known as A ta rong¹²² praised [in] the prophesy of the lord of victorious ones, Padma thod phreng rtsal,¹²³ with threefold snow mountains and so forth, a place where the wheel of the king’s (Tib. *sa spyod*) speech [is being turned]. Among these [four big districts] is the upper district¹²⁴ ‘Om chen thog brag.

The marvellous family, coming from a chain of descendants of the emanated great treasure revealer Chos rgyal Ratna gling pa¹²⁵, transmigrated to dGe rgyal [into] the so-called gSho thang

guardians. There are three groups of *dregs pa*-leaders, one of these are the thirty *dregs pa*-leaders. In the two different lists provided by NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ (1996:266-8) *ma sang g.Ya*’ spang skyes gcig is not mentioned, only a form of rDo rje legs pa is (rDor legs dkar po) (NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ 1996:3-4, 158, 253, 266). For more information on the *dregs pa* see NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ 1996:253-317.

115 No reference found.

116 According to Ontul Rinpoche, rDo rje dbang drag is another name for *ma sang g.Ya*’ spang skyes gcig (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

117 The name of a mountain (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

118 The thirteen *rje yi mgur* deities (Tib. *rje yi mgur lha bcu gsum*) are a group of mountain deities of the pre-Buddhist pantheon consisting of the nine *lha chen*, also known as *srid pa chags pa’i lha dgu*, and the four *mgur lha* (NEBESKY & WOJKOWITZ 1996:223-4 and TUCCI 1949:730). The names of these deities are listed in TUCCI 1949:730; rDo rje dbang drag is not mentioned in this particular list.

119 Another name of the Zla or lHo zla river, a tributary of the Mekong. It flows south-east through the city rDza stod and later merges with the Ngom river at Chab mdo (*mDo khams stod ma’i sa khra*; GBLG 158.19-21 and *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. Zla chu).

120 I.e. a pure buddha-field, such as buddha Akṣobhya’s Abhirati or buddha Amitābha’s Sukhāvātī (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *buddhakṣetra*).

121 Tib. *sbas yul*. Hidden places are sanctuaries established by Padmasambhava for the protection against dangers and enemies, places where the dharma can flourish. These idyllic places generally exist on outer, inner and secret levels. The latter two can only be located and opened for access by adepts (POWERS & TEMPLEMAN 2012:620-1).

122 No relevant information found. ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul (in ZANGPO 2001:193), for example, mentions a sacred place called A ta rong, yet as part of the lower region of the sDe dge kingdom, which is not where we are located here.

123 Another name of Guru Rinpoche or Padmasambhava (Tib. Padma ‘byung gnas, BDRC ID P4956), an eighth century tantric master from Oḍḍiyāna, an area in medieval India often associated with today’s Swāt Valley in Pakistan. He played a central role in the first dissemination of the Buddhist teaching in Tibet and thus particularly to the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism, the adherents of which consider him as the second buddha. Padmasambhava co-founded bSam yas, the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:406; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:504-505 and BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Padmasambhava). For more information on Padmasambhava see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Padmasambhava. For his life story see for example TSOGYAL, KUNSANG&SCHMIDT 1999 and ZANGPO 2002; about the development of the legend of Padmasambhava see DALTON 2004; for an analysis of his various life stories see BLONDEAU 1980.

124 Tib. *rdzong*. According to Ontul Rinpoche this is not a district but an area (Vienna 21.05.2018).

125 Ratna gling pa (1403-1479, BDRC ID P470), also known as ‘Gro ‘dul gling pa, Zhig po gling pa and Rin chen dpal bzang po, was from lHo brag (BDRC ID G2134), an area in southern Tibet. He is considered an emanation

mantra-lineage¹²⁶. Among those are the master of accomplished ones gSho thang Padma dbang chen,¹²⁷ the mantra-holder Hūṃ nag drag rtсал¹²⁸ or the dharma-protector of the gSho thang [lineage], ‘Das smyon ‘dan ma sangs rgyas¹²⁹ and other [great masters].

They appeared in an unbroken succession of accomplished yogins, characterised by that they held the transmissions of the three: family, dharma and deity; they rode horses among red rocks¹³⁰; stabbed ritual daggers into the rock; ignited fire on water; tamed *gdon* [and] ‘*dre* [demons]¹³¹, the owners of sickness; they clearly saw the way saṃsāra and nirvāṇa appear; at the time of their passing they all departed with relics in their remains; and so forth.

Among [this] mantric family four siblings were born at the time of Tshe dbang rnam rgyal,¹³² the chieftain of dGe rgyal nag tshang¹³³: gSho thang bKra shis rNam rgyal,¹³⁴ the resurrected ‘Dan ma sangs rgyas,¹³⁵ Karma lha chog¹³⁶ and Karma bdud ‘dul¹³⁷. These awareness holders are the father.¹³⁸

The mother [is an emanation of] Ngang btsun dpal gyi rgyal mo,¹³⁹ king Mu tig btsad po’s¹⁴⁰ wife,

of Lang ‘gro dkon mchog ‘byung gnas, one of Padmasambhava’s twenty-five disciples (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Ratna Lingpa). For a short biography see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:793-795.

126 No reference was found regarding this lineage.

127 Not identified.

128 Possibly the *gter ston* who is also known as rTsa gsum gter bdag gling pa or Gar dbang gnam lcags rdo rje (1694-1738, BDRC ID P680). He was born near gZe rgyal in Nang chen (RTZ vol.1, p.648.3-4). However, a reference to a gSho thang lineage was not found. A brief account of this *gter ston*’s life and treasure revelations can be found in the *gTer ston brgya rtсал* (RTZ vol.1, pp.648-51), which has been translated in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSON 2011:287-9.

129 Not identified.

130 Tib. *brag dmar*. According to Ontul Rinpoche it does not mean red rocks but “bare rocks” (Vienna 21.05.2018).

131 There are various classes and types of *gdon* demons, some of which are said to cause harm to children. Five classes of ‘*dre* demons are known, all of which are said to cause deadly diseases. ‘*Dre* demons are also said to cause diseases (JÄSCHKE 2003:267, s.v. *gdon*; NEBESKY&WOJKOWITZ 1996:310-1 and TUCCI 1949:721).

132 No further information found.

133 An former administrative division situated north-east of the city rDza stod (map: *mDo kham stod ma’i sa khra*). The chieftain of dGe rgyal nag tshang, who was only indirectly subordinate to the Nang chen king, had the Qing official rank *be hu* (Chin. *baihu*), a “commander of one hundred (military) households” (SPERLING 2003:20).

134 Not identified.

135 ‘*Das log* ‘Dan ma sangs rgyas seṅge, dates unknown (BDRC ID P8841).

136 Not identified.

137 Not identified.

138 In rural Tibet it is common for brothers to be married with one and the same woman, an arrangement known as fraternal polyandry. It is such that the younger brothers are automatically married to the woman married to the eldest brother. The children she bears are seen as his children. A younger brother is freed from this arrangement and loses all rights connected with it by settling in another place. Fraternal polyandry is, out of economical reasons, common among settled farmers with allotted land. Other and similar marriage arrangements are also known (KAPSTEIN 2006:195 and 197 and STEIN 1993:105-6).

139 No reference found in secondary literature.

140 Kapstein gives *btsad po* as a variant form of the usual rendering *btsan po* (KAPSTEIN 2006:83). The king, who is also known as Khri lDe srong btsan and Sad na legs (798-815, BDRC ID P8LS13667), had four wives of aristocratic

who, according to the wishes [of sentient beings], took rebirth in Bon po bza'¹⁴¹ in that region. She had the characteristics and signs of a *ḍākinī* and was free from every fault of women¹⁴²: she was called 'Bum sde lha mo, had a patient nature and a highly altruistic mind, she exerted herself solely [in] the noble dharma, and so forth.

Four sons were born to these fathers and mother: The lower middle [brother] (i.e. the 3rd son) is the great rJe Rig 'dzin himself; the elder [brother] is dBon Kun bzang 'gro 'dul,¹⁴³ a manifestation and descendant of Khye'u chung lo tsā [ba]¹⁴⁴ of the Ban [branch] of the 'Brog [clan]; [the second son is gSho thang dbon po or mChog grub;]¹⁴⁵ and the young[est brother] is gCung sGrub brgyud bstan 'dzin,¹⁴⁶ an emanation of Ā tsar dPal dbyangs,¹⁴⁷ the heart-son of the Guru (i.e. Padmasambhava).

9.2. Mother's Dream upon Conception

When he, the great rJe Rig 'dzin, was conceived (lit. he entered the womb), a person with a very terrifying appearance, who is said to be *ma sang g.Ya'* spang skyes gcig, came [to the mother] in a dream. He was maroon-coloured, wearing a cloak of black silk and a coat of mail adorned with peacock feathers¹⁴⁸ in the spaces in between,¹⁴⁹ riding a black horse and so forth.

Having fastened his mount to the outer door of the felt tent¹⁵⁰, he unhesitatingly went inside and [entered] the play of the union of means and insight¹⁵¹. As he gave [her] a golden statue of Guru Padma[sambhava], which was intensely blazing [with] splendour, [he] said:

cratic background. He reigned from 804 to 815 (KAPSTEIN 2006:75 and POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:365).

141 Not located.

142 In the *Chos rnam kun btus*, for example, we find three sets of lists enumerating the faults of women, among them are faults like being very greedy, jealous, easily swayed by others, careless, disrespectful and so on (see *Chos rnam kun btus*, s.v. *bud med kyi skyon lnga*, s.v. *bud med kyi skyon rnam pa lnga* and s.v. *bud med kyi skyon brgyad*).

143 1st dBon sprul Rinpoche (died in 1899) (see chapter "The dBon sprul Incarnation Line").

144 One of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava. He lived from early to late eighth century (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Khyeuchung Lotsāwa). BDRC ID P3AG56.

145 Dates unknown. He was the one who upheld the family lineage (LKCB 164.9-12).

146 Dates unknown.

147 Ā tsar Ye shes dPal dbyang (dates unknown) was one of the disciples of Padmasambhava and a consort of Ye shes mtsho rgyal (DOWMAN 1996:85, 284).

148 According to Ontul Rinpoche, it was vulture down (Vienna, 21.05.2018).

149 I.e. between the cloak and the armour, showing through the mail coat (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

150 Tib. *sbra chon*. A felt tent made of black yak-hair, used by nomads as dwellings (KAPSTEIN 2006:13 and THL dict.).

151 Tib. *thabs shes kyi snyoms 'jug rol*. I.e. sexual intercourse (Univ.-Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Vienna 23.03.2018).

“Hold on to this! An extraordinary tulku will appear, arisen from the miraculous display of the three secrets¹⁵² of the glorious protector of the teaching and beings, Guru Padma[sambhava].”

Then he departed to his own place.

The mother was very delighted and dreamt she placed the statue into her breast pocket. The next morning footprints the length from elbow to the fisted middle finger (Tib. *khru gang tsam*) were in the snow that had fallen, set down in ever longer distances towards Zla rgyal.

According to the meaning of the above prophesy, [Nus ldan rdo rje] also came to be known as the son of the disguised *ma sang* Zla rgyal¹⁵³.

9.3. Birth

In 1849, on a day with a very auspicious result of the [astrological] fivefold [conjunction],¹⁵⁴ the 13th day in the first half of the *āśvina* month¹⁵⁵, in the female earth-bird year of the 14th Tibetan cycle,¹⁵⁶ [Nus ldan rdo rje] was born to these fathers and mother related to humans and non-human beings. [He was born] without causing pain to the mother by establishing the seven-point [posture of Vairocana]¹⁵⁷ and without turning around his body and end.

At that time infinite auspicious signs [appeared], such as a rain of rainbow light and flowers falling from the sky; the valley being pervaded by a sweet smell never perceived before; the mountains behind and before, to the right and left, being mutually connected with a rainbow-coloured net [spun] among them; the clear sound of thunder roared throughout all directions; a great variety of wild animals, cattle and feathered birds intoned in myriad voices and circumambulated

152 I.e. body, speech and mind (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

153 I.e. the local deity *ma sang* g.Ya' spang skyes gcig, also called rDo rje dbang drag.

154 That is, the five aspects of astrological calculation based on the *Kālacakratantra* (KONGTRUL&DORJE 2012:23-4): “[...] the seven alternating days of the week, the twenty-seven constellations that demarcate the lunar and solar longitude individually, the twenty-seven combined calculations of solar and lunar longitude, and the eleven impacts of the lunar month [...]” (KONGTRUL&DORJE 2012:24). These are given in slightly more detail in KONGTRUL&DORJE 2012:355.

155 Tib. *tha skar*. This way of naming the twelve months derives from the *Kālacakratantra*. Another and possibly more common system applied by Tibetans is the *hor zla* system (‘the Mongolian month’). The *hor zla* system uses ordinal numbers instead of names, such as the first month, the second month and so on. The *āśvina* month corresponds to the ninth month of the *hor zla* system. The Tibetans adopted this system from the Mongols, it is, however, common to other Central Asian peoples as well (BAUMANN 2008:73-4; DHONGTHOG&VAN SCHAIK 2016:4).

156 Following the Phug pa and Tshur phu calendar, the date of birth corresponding to the Gregorian calendar is Monday, October 29, 1849 (http://www.kalacakra.org/calendar/tdata/pl_1849.txt and http://www.kalacakra.org/calendar/tdata/ts_1849.txt, accessed 27.03.2018).

157 This seven-point posture, which includes the position of the legs, hands, shoulders, abdomen, spine, chin and eyes, is given in SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:62 n.2.

the felt tent clockwise.

[Already] when cutting the umbilical cord he was able to say “Master, think of me!” in a way it was heard by everyone present. The baby’s pretty face was lovely to behold and its eyebrows were covered by matted head hair. The ornaments and characteristics of an awareness holder were naturally on his body, such as the six ornaments,¹⁵⁸ a tiger [hide] skirt, marks with the pattern of feathered wings and a series of moles similar to a garland of human skulls.¹⁵⁹

Three days after being born he saw the face of the *yi dam* Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka Āyuspati¹⁶⁰. Therefore he recited the mantra of approach¹⁶¹ three times in a way it could be heard by everybody, and so on. Since then, without obstruction, he recited the mantra of the three roots,¹⁶² whatever ap-

158 I.e. the six bone ornaments. There are variations among different sources as to their enumeration and sometimes only five ornaments are mentioned (KONGTRUL, GUARISCO&MCLEOD 2005:493 n.13). In CHANG (1999:575) the following six are given: “the tiara of human skulls, the necklace of human heads, the bone armlets and wristlets, the anklets, the breast-plate Mirror-of-Karma and cemetery-dust ointment.”

159 These are ornaments and characteristics of a *heruka* like Vajrakīla, see for example DOCTOR 2013:135.

160 Tib. ‘Jam dpal gshin rje tshe bdag. This deity appears in various forms: for example, rGya Zhang khrom (9th century, BDRC ID P7419) is said to have revealed instructions of this deity in the form of lCags ‘dra, lCags sdig, Kha thun, Yang zlog, ‘Char kha, King kang and Khro chu (RTZ vol.1, p.412.1-2). The most prominent form of Yamāntaka Āyuspati in the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition is ‘Jam dpal gshin rje yang zlog me’i spu gri (which has been confirmed by Khenpo Konchog Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019). According to lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma (A 52.1-3), ‘Jam dpal gshin rje yang zlog me’i spu gri’ zla gsang was the secret meditation deity of Chos kyi grags pa and every ‘Bri gung throne holder had visions of this form of Yamāntaka. Further he states that it entered the ‘Bri gung tradition through Rin chen phun tshogs. As such it is based on the *gter ma* ‘Jam dpal gshin rje gshed yang zlog me’i spu gri (RTZ vol.61, pp.241-259), revealed by rGya Zhang khrom (9th century, BDRC ID P7419) (<http://rubinmuseum.org/collection/artwork/yamari-blazing-razor-of-extreme-repelling-1998-16-3>, accessed 08.12.2018).

This *yi dam* is depicted in JACKSON 2015:170-2, fig. 8.26-28, also on the weblink <http://rubinmuseum.org/collection/artwork/yamari-blazing-razor-of-extreme-repelling-1998-16-3> (accessed 8.12.2018). The iconography of this deity is described in detail on the website <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/661> (accessed 8.12.2018). The figures shown and described in these sources match the iconographic description in rGya Zhang khrom’s *gter ma* (RTZ vol.61, p.242.1-2) and Rin chen phun tshogs’ *sādhana* for this deity, the ‘Jam dpal gshin rje tshe bdag gi sgrub thabs (BKCZ vol.69, p.303.1-3).

Note that the Sanskrit term *āyuspati* is a back-translation and is not attested as compound noun in the dictionary by NEGI, but its components are. Further, the sDe dge and Peking editions of the *bsTan* ‘gyur comprise two texts concerned with this form of Yamāntaka, the titles of which mainly give *āyus* for *tshe bdag*, however, the title of P. 4822 gives *āyuspati*: the Sanskrit given for the ‘Phags pa dpal gshin rje tshe bdag nag po sgrub pa’i thabs (D. 2087, P. 8420) is *Āryaśrīyamāyuskālasādhana* in the sDe dge edition and *Āryaśrīyamakālāyuspatīsādhana* in the Peking edition; and similarly the Sanskrit given for the *dpal gshin rje tshe bdag nag po’i dkyil ‘khor gyi cho ga* (D. 2089, P. 4822) is *Śrīyamāyuskālaṃḍalavidhi* in the sDe dge edition and *Śrīyamakālāyuspatimaṇḍalavidhi* in the Peking edition.

161 Approach (Tib. *bsnyen*) and accomplishment (Tib. *sgrub*) are the two phases of the development stage (Tib. *bskyed rim*) of deity visualisation and mantra recitation. The development stage is one of the two main aspects of tantric practice, the other being the completion stage (Tib. *rdzogs rim*) (SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:46 n.1; KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:371 n.8).

162 Here the three roots are guru, *yi dam* and *ḍākini* (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

appropriate essence [mantras],¹⁶³ the *ālikāli* [vowels and consonants],¹⁶⁴ and so forth; and he became infinitely [swamped] with nothing but pure visions, like having visions of and [receiving] instructions (Tib. *lung bstan*) from deities and gurus¹⁶⁵ and continuously seeing the array of [pure] lands in the ten directions. The dharma protectresses A phyi¹⁶⁶ and Śrīdevī¹⁶⁷ protected and watched over him, never separating from him like a mother [from her] child.

Even at night his face [remained] white like the autumn moon – unobscured by darkness – and his head was encircled by white light as if touched by moon-rays.¹⁶⁸ As the glorious 5th Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa¹⁶⁹ said in the list of prophesies he entrusted to gShen Ye shes snying po¹⁷⁰:

“In upper Zal mo sgang¹⁷¹ in mDo khams, a man with [good] karma [will appear], with the complexion of the autumn moon and perfectly [abiding] in the nature of the changeless *dharmadhātu*. He will lead all [those with whom he has] a connection to the Lotus Light [Palace]¹⁷². ”¹⁷³

This master manifested [as stated] in the prophesy, in which [the Karma pa] saw what would eventually happen.

163 In contrast to the long *dhāraṇī* mantras, the essence mantra is the short mantra of a deity, such as the well-known six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara (KONGTRUL&BARRON 2003:326 n.435, THL dict., s.v. *snying po'i sngags*).

164 These are the vowels and consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *ālikāli*).

165 Even though ‘deities and gurus’ (Tib. *lha dang bla ma*) are not given in plural in Tibetan, according to Ontul Rinpoche, this refers to many deities and many gurus (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

166 A phyi Chos kyi sgrol ma, usually depicted riding a horse, is the protectress of the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition and the ‘Bri gung valley north-east of Lhasa. Besides having been a great tantric practitioner and teacher, she is also said to have been the paternal great-grandmother of ‘Jig rten gsum mgon. She vowed to return every generation to protect and bless the lineage that would arise from her descendants. Later, ‘Jig rten gsum mgon established her as a central protectress of the ‘Bri gung tradition (KAPTSEIN 2006:46-7; <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=3991>, accessed 26.03.2019). KAPTSEIN (2006:46-7) points out that, although being a purely Buddhist deity, her deification likely represents pre-Buddhist ancestral cults.

167 Śrīdevī (Tib. dPal ldan lha mo), the fierce protectress of the Dalai Lamas, is one of the chief supramundane dharma-protectors (CABEZÓN 2010:10 and NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 196:23). On Śrīdevī, her different forms and her retinue see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 196:22-37 and TUCCI 1949:590-4, the latter also includes information about the transmission of this deity. For depictions of different forms of Śrīdevī see the weblink <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=164> (accessed 13.04.2019).

168 Literally: “[He] was encircled by white light as if moon-rays fell towards his head.”

169 1384-1415, BDRC ID P1410.

170 Unidentified person.

171 See note on ‘Bri zla zal mo.

172 Tib. *padma ‘od [kyi pho brang]*. The Lotus Light Palace marks the centre of Padmasambhava’s pure land, the Glorious Copper-coloured Mountain (Tib. Zangs mdog dpal ri) (THONDUP&LAMSAM 2012:3). The Lotus Light Palace has been described together with many illustrations in THONDUP&LAMSAM 2012, in particular pages 3 to 31.

173 This section in the biography of the 5th Karma pa reads as follows: “*mdo khams zal mo sgang rgyud la [las can skyes bu ston zla’i mdog] chos dbyings ‘gyur med gshis la rdzogs [’brel thog padma ‘od du ‘dren]*” (KARMA RGYAL MTSHAN 1997:47.2-5).

Having grown a little in age, even [while being engaged] in all the amusements of a young [child], he was instructed solely in dharma-activities such as the bestowal of empowerment¹⁷⁴, dharma-teaching, ‘*cham* [dance]¹⁷⁵ and *gtor ma*¹⁷⁶ making.

9.4. Age 5: Prophecies, Memories, Mind Treasures and the Like

At the beginning of the sixth year he made prophecies of future events; he clearly described the monastery of his previous incarnations,¹⁷⁷ the students of the monastic school¹⁷⁸ [and] the benefactor with the riding horse; and so forth. He vividly (Tib. *sa ler*) perceived vast hidden knowledges, and the birthplaces of the lower realms¹⁷⁹ and the array of the realms of happy existence¹⁸⁰.

From an early age on, out of great compassion for living beings he stopped eating meat altogether on his own accord, and without having been taught, he performed the transference [of consciousness] with signs¹⁸¹ on the corpses of large and small animals. He naturally revealed many

174 An empowerment or initiation (Skt. *abhiṣekha*, Tib. *dbang* or *dbang bskur*) is a tantric ceremony by which the disciple is introduced to or initiated into a specific maṇḍala (Tib. *dkyil 'khor*). This empowers the disciple to engage in the related practices (DALTON 2002:6 and SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:551). For more information on this term see BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *abhiṣeka* and KONGTRUL&KALU 2003b:340-1 n.39.

175 A masked ceremonial dance (THL dict.). For detailed information on this topic together with a translation of a ‘*cham* performance manual see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1976; for a general description of various aspects of ‘*cham* dance with illustrations see PEARLMAN 2002.

176 *gtor mas* (Skt. *bali*) are food offerings made of dough, which, according to purpose, are formed into various shapes and may be coloured or uncoloured (TUCCI 1988:115-6). See TUCCI 1988:115-117 for more information on *gtor mas*.

177 The monastery lHo lung dkar dgon ‘og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling.

178 In the monastic school (Tib. *bshad grwa*) the students receive the intellectual and ritualistic training through the study of liturgy and scriptures over a period of several years. The counterpart to this, within the Rnying ma and bKa’ brgyud schools, is the retreat centre (Tib. *sgrub grwa*) where the focus lies on practice (TUCCI 1988:113-114).

179 These are the realms of animals, spirits or ghosts and hell denizens (CUEVAS 2004:739). For further reading on these see for example PATRUL&PADMAKARA 2015:63-78.

180 These are the higher realms of gods, demigods and humans. Together with the three lower realms, these constitute the realms of existence of saṃsāra (CUEVAS 2004:739). For a brief introduction to the beings of the six realms see KONGTRUL&KALU 2003a:154-5. For further reading on the beings of the higher realms and their sufferings see for example PATRUL&PADMAKARA 2015:78-94.

181 The practice of the transference of consciousness (Skt. *saṃkrānti*, Tib. ‘*pho ba*) has been well-described by KAPSTEIN in the following words: “In general, the technique of ‘*pho ba*, a special form of yogic exercise, is said to cause the consciousness of the dying individual to depart suddenly from the body through a forced opening at the crown of the skull and to travel immediately to a pure land, usually the Sukhāvātī realm of the Buddha Amitābha, in which enlightenment can then be swiftly attained. The technique is one that produces swift and unmistakable physical effects” (KAPSTEIN 1998:99). ‘Transference of consciousness with sings’ means he successfully performed the transference of the animals’ consciousness. The signs of successful ‘*pho ba* practice, when training in it, may include a swelling, the forming of a hole or the secretion of yellow fluid at the crown and so forth (Sangs rgyas gling pa in MEI 2009:169). In the context of the performance of ‘*pho ba* on other beings, like other humans or animals, the following signs are mentioned in a ‘*pho ba* manual by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396): “[the] eyes look upward, the nape bends backward, dew drops sparkle

cycles of teachings from the depth of his mind¹⁸² and most of the time he exerted himself only in meditation and recitation. [Further,] he mastered reading and writing by merely being shown the [written] sign.

9.5. Age 6: Recognition

From the beginning of the seventh year, his activity that can not be embraced by an ordinary mind was infinite, like spontaneously composing whatever is appropriate. [The world] was pervaded by his fame [to the extent that] he was prophesied by wise ones as a great and noble being, and genuine beings spread his fame, and so forth.

At that time, according to a request for an examination regarding where the reincarnation of the former master of lHo lung dkar monastery had been born, both the most excellent ‘Bri gung sky-abs mgon Chos nyid nor bu¹⁸³ and ‘Brug pa chos mgon¹⁸⁴ [gave] very clear prophetic instructions [stating] the area, year, element, father, mother, name, signs and so forth. What [was stated] before [in the prophetic instructions] came to be identical [with what happened] afterwards.

The day the determination was applied the tulku said:

at the head and steam floats on the crown” (as translated in MEI 2009:185).

182 I.e. mind treasures (Tib. *dgongs gter*) (Ontul Rinpoche, Vienna 21.05.2018).

183 The 31st ‘Bri gung throne holder and 5th Chung tshang tulku (1827-1865, BDRC ID P2232) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 17.04.2018).

184 Possibly the sixth ‘Brug pa Chos mgon born 1801 (BDRC ID P8LS12748) or the seventh ‘Brug pa Chos mgon rDo rje ‘dzin pa bShad sgrub chos kyi nyin dge (dates unknown; see BDRC ID P8LS12749). Yet, since only the birth date of the sixth ‘Brug pa Chos mgon (1801) and the death date of eighth ‘Brug pa Chos mgon (1964, BDRC ID P8LS12750) are known, each one of the three could be the ‘Brug pa Chos mgon the author refers to here, although unlikely the latter.

“Last night the great dharma king *ging*¹⁸⁵ and the *yakṣa*¹⁸⁶ dharma-protector Tse’u dmar¹⁸⁷ came to receive me. Therefore [I knew], my owner¹⁸⁸ will come today.”

It happened exactly as he said and it was like meeting someone they knew. [Thus] they had come [to] immeasurable certainty that he was the third tulku in the lHo rje drung succession of reincarnations,¹⁸⁹ and they offered him robes and a name.

9.6. Age 8: Enthronement and Lay Practitioner Vows

At the beginning of the ninth year, in the fire-snake year of the 14th Tibetan cycle, the year 1857, the spiritual community and the lay community welcomed him with a very elaborate reception and he was enthroned on a high throne of Mahāyāna teachings at the monastic seat lHo lung dkar ‘og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling.

At that time auspicious signs spread evidently, such as a mask of A phyi [hanging in the monas-

185 Tib. *chos rgyal ging chen*. The term *ging* (alt. *gying*, ‘*gying*’) is mainly found as a title of dharma-protectors (e.g. *lha’i ging chen Tshangs pa dkar po*), but also as a title of *dpa’ bo* (“hero”), *pho nya* (“messenger”) and *las mkhan* (“officer”) type of deities. Further, there are the classifications of female and male *ging*, minor *ging* (Tib. *ging phran*), four classes of great *ging* (Tib. *ging chen*) and so forth. *Ging* are also found in the retinue of dharma-protectors, such as dPal ldan lha mo and Tshangs pa dkar po. See NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:278-80 for all the different types of *ging*. No reference to a *chos rgyal ging chen* or one with the name Chos rgyal ging chen was found, however, Ontul Rinpoche suggested that it might refer to the dharma-protector king Pe har with his minister Tse’u dmar (Vienna 21.05.2018). And indeed, there are some indications pointing this direction. The title *ging* is also found in some of Pe har’s names: Dam can shel ging dkar po, Rāja shel ging dkar po and Ging ka ra (for the various spellings and names of Pe har see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:96). Moreover, one of the forms in which Pe har may appear is the form of a *chos rgyal* (Skt. *dharmarāja*) with the name dGra lha chen po. Pe har, the chief of all *rgyal po* demons, was the guardian of bSam yas monastery for seven centuries until the seventeenth century. After that he became the guardian of the monastery gNas chung, and the dharma-protector and *yakṣa* Tse’u dmar, the king of *btsan* demons, took his place as the guardian deity of bSam yas. Among the forms of Tse’u dmar we find Yam shud dmar po, a dharma-protector in the retinue of Pe har, and rDo rje grags ldan, Pe har’s chief minister. Both Pe har and Tse’u dmar are considered worldly guardians (Tib. ‘*jig rten pa’i srung ma*’) (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:4, 34, 94-96, 98, 104, 147, 166-7 and 278). For more information on the dharma-protector Pe har see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:94-133.

186 Tib. *gnod sbyin*. A class of nature spirits, harmful beings that caused epidemics and diseases before they were transformed into guardians of the teaching (TUCCI 1949:571 and 718). According to NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ (1996:280-1), the *gnod sbyin* were originally pre-Buddhist deities, which later lost their identity as they were identified with the Indic *yakṣas*.

187 See note on Chos rgyal ging chen. For more information on the dharma-protector Tse’u dmar see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:166-76 (the different spellings and names of Tse’u dmar are given on pages 166 and 168).

188 I.e. someone of the tantric lineage he belonged to (Univ.-Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Vienna 23.03.2018).

189 I.e. the fourth lHo rje drung tulku.

tery beginning to] smile, and the local deity *lha sman*¹⁹⁰ rDo rje ‘od ldan ma¹⁹¹ appeared and made commitments.

From the glorious Karma pa Theg mchog rdo rje¹⁹² and lHo Rinpoche Chos dbang blo gros,¹⁹³ [from one] earlier [and from the other] later, he received the lay practitioner vows of taking up the threefold refuge,¹⁹⁴ and he began to study the dharma and the different sciences¹⁹⁵.

9.7. Age 18: Full Ordination

At the beginning of his nineteenth year, in the year of fire-rabbit dawning at the beginning of the fifteenth Tibetan cycle (1867),¹⁹⁶ in Sra brtan rdo rje'i pho brang,¹⁹⁷ [the place of] origin of the ‘Bri gung [lineage], he received the monastic vows from His Eminence (Tib. *skyabs mgon*) Thugs rje'i nyi ma nges legs chos kyi ‘od zer dpal bzang po,¹⁹⁸ a manifestation of the great bodhisatva abbot¹⁹⁹ and was given the full ordination name dKon mchog bstan ‘dzin ‘phrin las mthar phyin mi ‘gyur

190 *lha sman* is a female type of god (Tib. *lha*) that are predominantly celestial beings. Tucci (1949:720) describes the *lha sman* as “goddesses of light.” With the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, the beings of this class became converted into guardians of the teaching (Tib. *btsan srung*) (Tucci 1949:720-1).

191 No reference found.

192 The 14th Karma pa (1799-1869, BDRC ID P562) (*Ming mdzod* 1992:17).

193 Unidentified person.

194 I.e. taking refuge in the buddha, the dharma, and the *saṃgha* (Buswell&Lopez 2014, s.v. *triśaraṇa*).

195 The sciences or fields of knowledge (Tib. *rig gnas*) of traditional Tibetan learning comprise five major sciences (Tib. *rig gnas che ba lnga*) and five minor sciences (Tib. *rig gnas chung ba lnga*). The major sciences include: arts and crafts (Tib. *bzo rig pa*), medicine (Tib. *gso ba rig pa*), grammar (Tib. *sgra rig pa*), logic (Tib. *gtan tshigs rig pa*) and inner science (Tib. *nang don rig pa*), i.e. Buddhist philosophy. The minor sciences are: poetics (Tib. *snyan ngag*), synonyms (Tib. *mngon brjod*), prosody (Tib. *sdeb sbyor*), dramaturgy (Tib. *zlos gar*) and astrology (Tib. *skar rtsis*) (*Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *rig gnas chung ba lnga* and s.v. *rig gnas che ba lnga*; Kongtrul&Dorje 2012:9). These are set forth in detail in Kongtrul&Dorje 2012:3-11 and 125-394.

196 http://www.phlonx.com/resources/tibetan_calendar/index.php?animal=0&element=0&cycle=15, accessed 01.06.2018.

197 The full name of this historically important monastery situated in Central Tibet is ‘Bri gung rtse sa brtan rdo rje dbyings. It was originally a mansion (Tib. *pho brang*) purportedly built by king Mu tig btsan po (Khri lDe srong btsan, one of the Tibetan kings, 798-815, BDRC ID P8LS13667). Since the building was consecrated as a monastery by the 21st ‘Bri gung hierarch Chos rgyal rin chen phun tshogs (1547-1602, BDRC ID P4580), the enthronement ceremonies of the lineage holders were held there. Later these ceremonies were moved to ‘Bri gung mthil (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyul-lineage/main-monasteries/drikung/drikung-tse>, accessed 17.04.2019).

198 The 32nd ‘Bri gung throne holder and 5th Che tshang Rinpoche dKon mchog thugs rje nyi ma (1828-1885, BDRC ID P2231) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyul-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 17.04.2019). In BGCB (606.10-11), where he is given as the 34th ‘Bri gung hierarch, his name is given as dKon mchog thugs rje'i nyi ma nges legs chos kyi ‘od zer ‘gro ‘dul dpal bzang po.

199 That is, Śāntarakṣita (725-788, BDRC ID P5659), a renowned Mahāyāna scholar from Bengal, India. He played an important role in introducing Buddhism to Tibet and establishing bSam yas, the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery (Buswell&Lopez 2014, s.v. Śāntarakṣita and Powers 2007:148).

mchog gi snang ba ye shes mchog grub rgyal po dpal bzang sde.

9.8. Age 21: Bodhisatva Vows

At [the beginning of] the twenty-second year, in the iron-tiger year (1890),²⁰⁰ in the temple of Thub bstan bshad sgrub gling in mDo kham, from the glorious and excellent great hero (Skt. *mahāsatva*) mGar chen Rinpoche dKon mchog ngag dbang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan,²⁰¹ a true manifestation of the Indian master Āryadeva,²⁰² he fully took the vow [to uphold] the bodhisatva precepts of [training in] aspiration and application [*bodhicitta*]²⁰³ and ultimate [*bodhicitta*] by way of the *Thugs bskyed chen mo*²⁰⁴ by the lord sKyob pa²⁰⁵. [In this respect] he was given the name dKon mchog nges don sgrub brgyud bstan pa'i nyi ma.

9.9. Age 24: Mantric Vows

At [the beginning of] the twenty-fifth year in the water-monkey year (1872) in dPal gyi g.yang 'khyil, the capital of the ruler, the great dharma-king of Nang chen,²⁰⁶ from the master who has accomplished the Great Secret,²⁰⁷ Ngag dbang tshogs gnyis Kun bzang padma 'od zer,²⁰⁸ a magi-

200 http://www.phlonx.com/resources/tibetan_calendar/index.php?animal=11&element=2&cycle=15, accessed 02.06.2018.

201 The 6th mGar chen Rinpoche (dates unknown, BDRC ID P8580).

202 Either the famed co-founder of the Madhyamaka school and disciple of the Madhyamaka master Nāgārjuna, who lived anywhere between the first and the third century, or the Indian *mahāsiddha* and disciple of the tantric master Nāgārjuna (alt. Nāgārjunapāda), who, according to TILLEMANS (1990:6), must have lived after the sixth century (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Āryadeva and TILLEMANS 1990:5-6).

203 Aspiration and application *bodhicitta* together are what is referred to as relative *bodhicitta*, which has the aspect of compassion. Ultimate *bodhicitta* has the aspect of wisdom and builds on the former. These two – relative and ultimate *bodhicitta* – are known as the two types of *bodhicitta* or the twofold *bodhicitta* (KONGTRUL&HANSON 1977:60-1).

204 The *Thugs bskyed chen mo*, the 'great mind generation,' is a special ceremony for taking the bodhisatva vows (Khenpo Konchok Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019).

205 sKyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143-1217, BDRC ID P16), the founder of 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition. See chapter "The 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition."

206 SPERLING (2003:13) gives Nang chen sgar as the seat of the Nang chen king. See RYAVEC 2015:157 (map 42) for the location of Nang chen sGar. Following the map of the Tibet Map Institute (map n°3296), it was located south-west of today's county capital Nang chen (Sharda).

dPal gyi g.yang 'khyil must be another name for Nang chen sgar, as indicated in the colophon of a treasure text by Chos rgyal rdo rje (1789-1859, BDRC ID P1711) from dGe rgyal (KONGTRUL&GYAMTSON 2011:311): "*ching hu rin po che'i gdan sa dpal gyi g.yang 'khyil sgar na mdo sngags bshad sgrub gling gi pho brang nas sbyar ba don rgyud 'brug pa'i bstan pa dbyar mtsho ltar rgyas par gyur cig*" (RTZ vol.14, pp.67.6-68.1).

207 Tib. *gsang chen*. I.e. Vajrayāna (THL dict.).

208 Possibly the first Tshogs gnyis tulku Padma dri med 'od zer (b. 1828, BDRC ID P7262), a *gter ston* with the main seat at the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud monastery Tshes bcu (BDRC ID G2613) in Nang chen county (<http://gebchakgonpa.org/gebchak-lamas/tsoknyi-rinpoche/>, accessed 16.07.2018). See also footnote on Ngag

cal emanation of the vajra master Lang ‘gro dkon mchog ‘byung gnas,²⁰⁹ he completely took the mantric vows of an awareness-holder by way of the vast and profound ripening and liberating of the great empowerment *Bla ma’i thugs sgrub yang snying ‘dus pa*²¹⁰. [Consequently,] he received the reputation of a great *vajradhara*²¹¹ who upholds the three [vows] and became well-known [with the] mantric name O rgyan che mchog nus ldan rol pa’i rdo rje, which was given [to him] by the deity and the *ḍākinī* in a single voice.

Previously, when he was [still] living in his father’s residence (Tib. *yab gzhis*), upon starting to cut his matted head hair, there was a common perception of sparks of fire being emitted without [the hair] being cut by the blade; and as he (Tib. *sku*) was struck by disease with signs of the *ḍākinīs* being disturbed, many noble wise ones advised (Tib. *lung bstan pa*) that it would not be suitable to place a blade on his head hair. Accordingly it was kept in its natural condition, which is why, later, his renown as ‘venerable Flaming Dreadlocks’ (Tib. *rje btsun lCang lo me ‘bar*) and ‘the one with the head mane from the lHo [clan]’ (Tib. *lHo dbu ral can*) [spread] like the wind.

This is also said in Ratna gling pa’s²¹² instructions on essential aspects:

“*Lo ni lnga bcu kha ral dus (?)*,²¹³ a yogin with long hair²¹⁴ will appear, [who] will illuminate my teachings so that they spread everywhere – [in] the outskirts and the centre of Tibet.”²¹⁵

In a treasure prophesy of Guru Jo tse²¹⁶ [it is said]:

“One with long hair (lit. with a head hair blanket) the length of the common *mon bu*²¹⁷ [plant] will appear at the base of a rocky mountain that [looks] like

dbang tshogs gnyis below.

- 209 Lang ‘gro dkon mchog ‘byung gnas (early to late 8th century, BDRC ID P00EGS1017610), one of Padmasambhava’s twenty-five disciples, was a minister of king Khri Srong lde btsan before becoming a monk and translator (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Langdro Konchok Jungne and s.v. Ratna Lingpa).
- 210 A *gter ma* revealed by Ratna gling pa (1403-1479, BDRC ID P470). It is contained in the *Ratna gling pa’i gter chos*, volume 3 and 4, and in the RTZ, *passim* (for the individual texts see http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Bla_ma%27i_thugs_sgrub_yang_snying_%27dus_pa, accessed 16.07.2019).
- 211 Tib. *rdo rje ‘dzin pa*. ‘Vajra-holder,’ a title for an accomplished master (THL dict.).
- 212 1403-1479. See note on Chos rgyal Ratna gling pa.
- 213 Likely a time reference but nothing useful was found in the dictionaries that would make sense.
- 214 Tib. *skra yi lwa ba*. Literally: “a (head) hair blanket.”
- 215 Source not identified, nor quotation found cited in other works.
- 216 A thirteenth century treasure revealer (alt. Guru Jo tshe, BDRC ID P10507) (KONGTRUL&BARRON 2003:438). A brief account of his life can be found in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.442-443), which has been translated in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:106-107.
- 217 The medicinal herb *Bistorta macrophylla* (*Polygonum macrophyllum*), which grows up to thirty centimetres tall (YESHI, GHIMIRE&AUMEERUDDY-THOMAS 2001:50; <https://sites.google.com/site/efloraofindia/species/m--z/po/polygonaceae/bistorta/bistorta-macrophylla>, accessed 14.10.2018). For more information on this plant see YESHI, GHIMIRE&AUMEERUDDY-THOMAS 2001:50.

a big soaring Garuḍa.”²¹⁸

The meaning of [these] prophecies happened to become true.

9.10. The Transmitted Teachings

He received most systems of teachings including the branches of the eight chariots of practice lineages²¹⁹: the orally transmitted teachings and revealed treasure teachings of the rNying ma [tradition];²²⁰ the old and new bKa’ gdams [tradition];²²¹ the gSung ngag lam ‘bras [tradition];²²² the

218 This quotation is found with similar reading in other works as well, such as in the biography of ‘Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse’i dbang po contained in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa*: “‘di ni gu ru tshes brtan rgyal mtshan gyi gter lung las/ mon bu spyi ring skra yi lwa ba can: ri bo khyung chen lding ba’i zhol du ‘byung.” (RTZ vol.1, p.678.2-3). The original source, however, remains unidentified.

219 Tib. *sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad*. ‘Phreng po gter ston Shes rab ‘od zer (1517-1584, BDRC ID P638) is generally attributed the original formulation of this classification model (KAPSTEIN 1996:277). ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul dedicated two sections of the *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (one of the *mDzod lnga*, see footnote on Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas) to a detailed and a more concise description of each of these lineages. For a translation of the former see KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:49-338, for the latter see KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:321-375). Further, ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul collected the essential teachings of each lineage in the *gDams ngag rin po che’i mdzod* (BDRC ID W23605), or short *gDams ngag mdzod* (one of the *mDzod lnga*) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *sgrub brgyud shing rta chen po brgyad*). A detailed catalogue based on the Shechen edition of this work (BDRC ID W23605), with detailed information on each text and available translations, can be found on the website http://dnz.tsadra.org/index.php?title=Main_Page&oldid=50088 (accessed 15.01.2019). For a translation of Kong sprul’s catalogue (Tib. *dkar chag*) to this work see KONGTRUL&BARRON 2013.

220 The rNying ma tradition goes back to the earlier spread (Tib. *snga dar*) of Buddhist teachings in Tibet. According to CANTWELL&MAYER (2008:2), much of its most significant early development probably took place between the collapse of the Tibetan empire and the early eleventh century (KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:63). As summarised by KAPSTEIN (1996:277), the tradition’s special instructions derive “primarily from the teachings of Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra, eighth-century Indian Buddhist masters who visited Tibet, and from the great Tibetan translators who were their contemporaries, especially Pa gor Bai ro tsa na [i.e. Vairocana].” We will get to know more about this tradition, in particular about its literature, further below. For a brief introduction to the rNying ma tradition see KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:63-66; also for a brief introduction, in particular with regard to the tradition’s later developments and luminaries see SMITH 2001:14-26. A major source for the history and teachings of this tradition is DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991 together with its accompanying reference work DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991. See also KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:324-332, KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:63-96, POWERS 2007:367-397, TUCCI 1980:76-87 et al.

221 The bKa’ gdams pa tradition goes back to the Bengali master Atiśa Dīpaṃkara (982-1054, BDRC ID P3379) and his disciple ‘Brom ston rGyal ba’i ‘byung gnas (1004-1063, BDRC ID TBRC P2557). The main scriptural work of this tradition is Atiśa’s *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Tib. *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*, D. 4465, P. 5378 and D. 3947, P. 5343). The *bstan rim* literature, which is a precursor of the *lam rim* literature, is based on this work. This tradition was eventually absorbed by the new bKa’ gdams tradition, better known as the dGe lugs school. The dGe lugs school, originally called the dGa’ ldan tradition, was founded by Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419). This tradition is home to the Dalai Lama and Pañchen Lama incarnation lineages (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. bKa’ gdams, s.v. *bstan rim* and s.v. dGe lugs; KAPSTEIN 1996:277 and VETTURINI 2007:48). For an introduction to the bKa’ gdams tradition see LOSERIES 2016:272-5; for a thorough study see VETTURINI 2007. For an introduction to the dGe lugs tradition see HOFFMANN 1986:163-70 and POWERS 2007:467-496; for a more extensive presentation see THUKEN&SOPA 2009:215-320. See also KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:332-336 and KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:97-111 for information on both traditions.

222 gSung ngag lam ‘bras is short for gSung ngag rin po che lam ‘bras bu dang bcas pa, ‘the precious oral instruc-

general and particular bKa' brgyud [tradition],²²³ [the traditions of] Zhi byed and gCod yul,²²⁴ sByor drug,²²⁵ bsNyen sgrub,²²⁶ [and the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud]²²⁷ – in an uncertain order [of which

tions – the path that includes the result,' but generally the tradition is simply referred to as Lam 'bras. This tradition, primarily associated with the Sa skya school, goes back to the Indian *mahāsiddha* Virūpa (ca. 7th–8th centuries, BDRC ID P3293) and 'Bro g mi lo tsā ba Śākya Ye shes (992–1072, BDRC ID P3285). Central to the tradition is the *Hevajra* literature and the tradition's most basic scripture is the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (full title: *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, D. 2284, P. 3131). As a practice, lam 'bras refers to completion phase practices particularly associated with the *Hevajratāntra* (DHONGTHOG&VAN SCHAIK 2016:3; DUCHER 2017b:97 n.316; KAPSTEIN 1996:277; STEARNS 2002:6 and STEARNS 2006:1). For a translation of some of the core texts of the Lam 'bras tradition including the *rDo rje tshig rkang* see STEARNS 2006; for information on the lives and works of the early Lam 'bras masters see STEARNS 2002. See DHONGTHOG&VAN SCHAIK 2016 for a traditional account of the history of the Lam 'bras and Sa skya traditions. For an introduction to these traditions and their teachings see also KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:336–343, KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:97–111, POWERS 2007:433–466 et al.

223 I.e. the greater bKa' brgyud order with all its branches and the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition, respectively (see chapter “The 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition” for information on these).

224 The Zhi byed ('pacification [of suffering]') tradition goes back to the south Indian master Pha dam pa sangs rgyas (11th century to 1117, BDRC ID P1243). It's approach with a special emphasis on the *Prāññāpāramitā* literature is a direct confrontation with suffering, which is said to naturally lead to the dissolution of afflictive emotions, the cause of suffering. The gCod yul ('object of severance' or 'the object to be severed') tradition, which is related to Zhi byed, goes back to Pha dam pa's student, the Tibetan yoginī Ma gcig lab sgron (1055–1149, BDRC ID P3312). Ma gcig lab sgron is said to have established the gCod yul system of practice primarily by merging her own realisation of the *Prāññāpāramitā* teachings and teachings directly received from the bodhisatva Tārā with the *gcod* teachings of various Indian masters that were passed down to her through Pha dam pa sangs rgyas. While Zhi byed practices are hardly performed anymore, those of the gCod tradition are being practised throughout all Tibetan Buddhist schools and the Bon tradition. Despite being two related yet distinct practice traditions, within the framework of the eight practice lineages they are treated as one tradition with gCod yul being considered subsidiary to Zhi byed (KONGTRUL&BARRON 2003:xx; KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:255–6 and 276; KONGTRUL&HARDING 2016:xiii and LOSERIES 2016:287).

As identified by Harding (in KONGTRUL&HARDING 2016:xiv), volume 13 of the *gDams ngag rin po che'i mdzod* (BDRC ID W23605) contains the teachings of Pha dam pa's Zhi byed tradition and volume 14 the teachings of Ma gcig lab sgron's gCod tradition. For an introduction to both Zhi byed and gCod see KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:255–88, KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:356–67 and LOSERIES 2016:287–8; for a thorough study of the history of both traditions together with a presentation of the relevant sources see KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 1993. For an introduction to the gCod tradition and teachings, as well as a biography of Ma gcig lab sgron see ALLIONE 2000:165–220 and EDOU 1996. A brief introduction is also given in TUCCI 1988:87–92. For a translation of volume 14 of the *gDams ngag rin po che'i mdzod* concerned with the essential teachings of the gCod tradition see KONGTRUL&HARDING 2016.

225 This tradition teaches a system of advanced practices called *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (Tib. *yan lag drug pa'i rnal 'byor*, also *sbyor drug*, 'the six-branch yoga'), also referred to as *vajrayoga* (Tib. *rdo rje'i rnal 'byor*), the completion phase practices of the *Kālacakra* cycle. Over seventeen lineages have been identified within this tradition and its teachings have been transmitted most notably in the Jo nang tradition (HENNING 2009:237; KONGTRUL&BARRON 2003:xxi and KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:290–1). For information on *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* as transmitted in the Jo nang tradition and a brief introduction to the history of transmission of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* see HENNING 2009; see also KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:289–330 and KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:367–72 for an introduction to the sByor drug tradition, its lineages and teachings.

226 The bsNyen sgrub tradition, in full *rDo rje'i gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub* ('approach and accomplishment of the three vajras'), is based on visionary teachings received from Vajravārāhī and other *ḍākinīs* as transmitted by O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309, BDRC ID P1448). It is also closely related to the *Kālacakratāntra* and has some practices in common with the sByor drug tradition. This tradition has become very rare (KAPSTEIN 1996:279 and KONGTRUL&BARRON 2003:xxi). For an introduction to this traditions see KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:331–8 and KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:372–4.

227 Literally: and so forth. The Shangs pa bKa' brgyud tradition was founded by Khyung po rnal 'byor (1050/990–1127, BDRC ID P39). Central to it are the *Ni gu chos drug* ('the six dharma of Nigu[ma]') and the *mahāmudrā*-teachings Khyung po rnal 'byor received from the Indian masters Niguma (born in 10th centu-

transmissions he received] before the other, from victorious bKa' brgyud masters and disciples such as the two, the sun and moon, His Eminence (Tib. *skyabs mgon*) Thugs rje'i nyi ma²²⁸ and His Eminence (Tib. *skyabs mgon*) Chos kyi blo gros,²²⁹ the two above mentioned lHo²³⁰ and mGar,²³¹ the two 'Jam mgons mKhyen [brtse'i dbang po]²³² and Kong [sprul Blo gros mtha' yas],²³³ the glorious Karma pas Theg mchog rdo rje²³⁴ and mKha' khyab rdo rje,²³⁵ sGam po tulku,²³⁶ 'Brug pa Chos

ry) and Sukhasiddhi. The four main branches of this tradition are the Jo nang, Thang lugs, 'Jag pa and the Nyang smad bsam sding lineages (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:630-1 and STEARNS 2002:5).

- 228 See note on Thugs rje'i nyi ma nges legs chos kyi 'od zer dpal bzang po.
- 229 The 33rd hierarch of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud school and 6th Chung tshang tulku dKon mchog bstan 'dzin chos kyi blo gros, born in 1868 (1869 according to HUBER 2006:2) in Lhasa. He held his office from 1871 until the year of this death in 1906 (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 15.01.2019; HUBER 2006:2).
- 230 lHo Rinpoche Chos dbang blo gros (see above).
- 231 The 6th mGar chen Rinpoche (dates unknown, BDRC ID P8580).
- 232 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892, BDRC ID P258), born south-east of sDe dge in Khams, in today's Sichuan province, is the first in the mKhyen brtse incarnation line. He is considered the fifth of the so-called five kingly treasure revealers (Tib. *gter ston rgyal po lnga*) and was a leading figure in the *ris med* movement. His seat was at the Sa skya monastery rDzong gsar in the vicinity of sDe dge (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang po, and s.v. rDzong gsar; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:327). For more information see DUDJOM 2002:849-858; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:327-9 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo.
- 233 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899, BDRC ID P264), the first Kong sprul tulku, was born at Rong rgyab in 'Bri zla zal mo sgang in Khams and later resided at the Karma bKa' brgyud monastery dPal spungs near sDe dge. First he studied Bon teachings, later he became ordained in the rNying ma tradition, then in the bKa' brgyud tradition. Further, he was a proponent of the *gzhan stong* ('empty of other') view. Having been a leading figure of the *ris med* movement and having produced a copious amount of literature, he is counted among the most influential Tibetan Buddhist masters of the time (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:334-6 and SMITH 2001:267). For further information see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jamgon Kongtrul Lodro Taye; for a translation of his autobiography see KONG-TRUL&BARRON 2003; for a biography see DUDJOM 2002:859-868; for an account of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's life and incarnation line, his impact on Tibetan culture, the *ris med* movement and the *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* see SMITH 2001:235-272.
- 234 The 14th Karma pa (1799-1869) (see note on Karma pa Theg mchog rdo rje).
- 235 The 15th Karma pa mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870/1-1921/2, BDRC ID P563) was born in rGyal rtse khul in gTsang and enthroned at the age of six. He had two sons: the second Kong sprul tulku mKhyen brtse 'od zer (1940-1954/5) and the 12th Zhwa dmar tulku 'Jam dbyangs Rinpoche (1892-1946) (*Ming mdzod* 1992:12; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:447-8). For more information see KUNSANG&MARCIA 2005:53-61 and *Ming mdzod* 1992:12-14.
- 236 The sGam po tulkus constitute the incarnation lineage of sGam po pa's Dwags po bKa' brgyud proper, as opposed to the four major and eight minor bKa' brgyud schools, which are also referred to as Dwags po bKa' brgyud (see chapter "The 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition"). The seat of sGam po pa's monastery Dwags lha sgam po, established in 1121 in the Dwags po region south-east of Lhasa, was passed down through his family lineage up until the 16th century. After that it was passed down through an incarnation line starting with Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal (1511/2/3-1587) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal; POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:229 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Daklha Gampo). The last incarnation I found information about is the 5th sGam po tulku O rgyan 'gro 'dul gling pa, born in 1757, also known as *gter ston* rDo rje rgyal po and *gter ston* bDe chen rdo rje (BDRC ID P834 and SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:660). Yet, it is not certain that he is the tulku referred to here.

mgon,²³⁷ the sTag lung [tulkus] Ma sprul Dge legs rab 'byams²³⁸ and rTse sprul Ngag dbang grags pa yongs khyab,²³⁹ and the 9th dPa' bo [tulku] gTsug lag bstan pa'i nyin byed;²⁴⁰ and from many non-sectarian, learned and accomplished *kalyāṇamitras*,²⁴¹ such as Ri pa'i mkhas mchog grub dbang,²⁴² Ngag dbang tshogs gnyis²⁴³ of Nang chen, Grub dbang mtshan mchog Rinpoche,²⁴⁴ mGon sprul bsTan 'dzin grags pa,²⁴⁵ Byams me lha mchog Tshe dbang dpal bzang,²⁴⁶ mChog [gyur] gling

237 Possibly sixth 'Brug pa Chos mgon born 1801 (BDRC ID P8LS12748) or the seventh 'Brug pa Chos mgon rDo rje 'dzin pa bshad sgrub chos kyi nyin dge (dates unknown; see BDRC ID P8LS12749) (see note on 'Brug pa Chos mgon). The 'Brug pa Chos mgon incarnation line, heading the bDe chen chos 'khor lineage of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud, is one of the so-called 'four pillars' of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud, that is, its main incarnation lineages. The other pillars being the Yongs 'dzin, Khams sprul and 'Brug chen or rGyal dbang 'Brug pa incarnation lineages. The first 'Brug pa Chos mgon is 'Brug zhabs drung Chos kyi mgon po, born in 1507 (LOS-ERIES 2016:285-6; <http://www.drukpachoegon.info/rinpoche-biography/choegon-rinpoche-long-biography.aspx>; <http://www.drukpachoegon.info/rinpoche-biography/the-choegon-rinpoches-biographies.aspx> and http://www.rigpawiki.org/index.php?title=Drukpa_Kagy%C3%BC, accessed 26.01.2018).

238 Dates unknown. One of the hierarchs of sTag lung monastery, the main seat of the sTag lung bKa' brgyud. The monastery was established in 1180 north of Lhasa (for its exact location see BDRC ID G67) and completely destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The other hierarchs of the monastery are the sTag lung, rTse sprul and Zhabs drung tulkus (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. sTag lung; SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:674).

239 Dates unknown. One of the hierarchs of sTag lung monastery (see previous note).

240 He died in 1911 (BDRC ID P1376). The dPa' bo incarnation line connected with the Karma bKa' brgyud has its beginnings in the 15th century with Chos dbang lhun grub (1440–1503). Since 1673/4 the main seat of the dPa' bo tulkus is at gNas nang monastery in central Tibet (for its exact location see BDRC ID G194). The current incarnation is the 11th dPa' bo tulku is gTsug lag smra ba'i rta dbyang, born in 1993 (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. dPa' bo incarnations; *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Nenang). See also *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Pawo.

241 Tib. *dge ba'i bshes gnyen*. The *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* three kinds of *kalyāṇamitras* ('virtuous friends'): an instructor, a fellow practitioner and a lay supporter (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2013, s.v. *kalyāṇamitra*).

242 Unidentified person.

243 The 1st Tshogs gnyis tulku Padma dri med 'od zer, born in 1828 (BDRC ID P7262). The *gter ston* was a rNying ma and 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud master, and was considered a reincarnation of both Mi la ras pa's disciple Ras chung rdo rje grags pa (1085-1161) and Ratna gling pa (1403-1479). He founded many retreat centres and had his main disciple build the nunnery Gad chags in 1892 in Nang chen, which is said to have been the first nunnery in eastern Tibet and now has a dozen branch nunneries.

Padma dri med 'od zer's main seat was at Tshes bcu monastery (see BDRC ID G2613) in Nang chen, a 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud monastery founded and headed by the A lde'u tulkus. During the Chinese Cultural Revolution the monastery was completely destroyed and the head of the monastery imprisoned for fifteen years. Later it was rebuild again and the lineages of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud and Ratna gling pa's treasure teachings, on which the Tshogs gnyis lineage is based, revived. The current incarnation, the 3rd Tshogs gnyis tulku, is Ngag dbang tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho, born in 1966 in Kathmandu, Nepal (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Śākya Śrī; <https://tsoknyirinpoche.org/902/adeu-yangsi-rinpoche/>; <https://tsoknyirinpoche.org/7877/news-of-tse-chu-gompas-ongoing-restoration/>; <http://gebchakgonpa.org/gebchak-lamas/tsoknyi-rinpoche/> and <http://gebchakgonpa.org/about/>, accessed 16.07.2018).

244 Unidentified person.

245 Unidentified person.

246 Unidentified person. There is a Byams me lha mchog incarnation line connected with the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud monastery Byams me situated in Nang chen, but little is known about the individual tulkus. Apart from the current incarnation, only an approximate birth date of the 5th Byams me lha mchog (BDRC ID P5884) is known, that is, the 19th century. Although the date could be fitting, his name, Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin blo gros or Chos dpal rgya mtsho, does not correspond to the person in question here, unless it is an alias I am unaware of (www.oocities.org/drukklama/thekchen/lhamchog.htm, accessed 30.01.2019).

[pa]’s son ‘Jigs med tshe dbang nor bu,²⁴⁷ Khams sprul gSang sngags bstan pa’i nyi ma,²⁴⁸ gter ston ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje,²⁴⁹ lHo Kun bzang Phrin las rab rgyas,²⁵⁰ mGar rnam rol dKon mchog bstan ‘dzin gzhan phan dbang po,²⁵¹ the 4th lHo Chags med,²⁵² Khams skyo rDzong sprul Phrin las nyi ma,²⁵³ g.Yu sgra mChog sprul,²⁵⁴ Ri stod Chos ‘dzin dbang po,²⁵⁵ (the following lamas are only a few of those whom he received some reading transmissions from:) Ri smad tulku Kun bzang nges don,²⁵⁶ Karma’i mkhan po Rin chen dar rgyas,²⁵⁷ rDzogs chen bla ma Thub bstan grags pa,²⁵⁸ sGrub sgar

247 He was born in 19th century (BDRC ID P2713) as the third child of mChog gyur gling pa (1829-1870, BDRC ID P564) (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Chokgyur Lingpa).

248 The 6th Khams sprul tulku (1848-1907, see BDRC ID P924), born in Nang chen county. The Khams sprul incarnation line, also known as rGyal ba mDo khams pa, constitutes one of the ‘four pillars’ of the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud (see note on ‘Brug pa Chos mgon) and originates with Karma bstan ‘phel (1569-1637, BDRC ID P875). According to *Treasury of Lives* (s.v. Khampa Gar), it was the 4th Khams sprul bsTan ‘dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1779/1780, BDRC ID P313) who established the main seat of the incarnation lineage, Khams pa sgar monastery in Chab mdo county in Khams. During the Chinese Cultural Revolution the 8th Khams sprul Don brgyud nyi ma (1931-1980) fled to India and founded a new Khams pa sgar monastery in Tashi Jong in Himachal Pradesh. Currently there are two reincarnations of the 8th Khams sprul, Jigme Pema Nyinjadh and Shedrub Nyima, the head of Khams pa sgar monastery in India (<https://www.gyalwadokhampa.org/about/the-sixth-gyalwa-dokhampa-tenpai-nyima>; <https://www.gyalwadokhampa.org/about/the-eighth-gyalwa-dokhampa-dongyud-nyima>; <https://www.gyalwadokhampa.org/about/the-ninth-gyalwa-dokhampa-shedrub-nyima>, accessed 01.02.2018). For biographical sketches of each reincarnation see the official website of the 9th Khams sprul Jigme Pema Nyinjadh: <https://www.gyalwadokhampa.org/abouts/khamtrul-lineage> (accessed 01.02.2019).

249 The 1st ‘Bar dor tulku gter chen ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje (1836-1918/20, BDRC ID P7420), affiliated with the ‘Ba’ rom bKa’ brgyud, was the founder of Rag sprul monastery in Shar zla, Nang chen (for the monastery’s exact location see BDRC ID G2607). Currently there are two 3rd ‘Bar dor tulkus, one residing at Rag sprul monastery and one living in the United States (GYAMTSO 2003:ix; KUNSANG&SCHMIDT 2005:399; <http://www.kunzang.org/treasure-lineage/barway-dorje-lineage/>, accessed 16.07.2018). The inner autobiography of ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje has been translated in GYAMTSO 2003.

250 A ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud lama (dates unknown). His full name is lHo Kun bzang mchog sprul dKon mchog bstan ‘dzin phrin las rab rgyas (LKCB 199.11-12 and 203.4-5).

251 Dates unknown. mGar rnam rol is a ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud incarnation line. The current incarnation, the 8th mGar rnam rol, was born in 1972 in Nang chen (<https://drikung-aachen.de/lehrer/se-namrol-rinpoche/>, accessed 04.02.2019).

252 Po khre chags med (dates unknown). This incarnation lineage beginning with A grags chags med is associated with the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud monastery lHo mi g.yel in Nang chen (BDRC ID G2614; SGA KARMA DON GRUB PHUN TSHOGS 1999:441.12-14).

253 The 12th rDzong sprul of the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud monastery Khams skyo in Khri ‘du district, Yushu prefecture, Qinghai (BDRC ID G2594; PADMA KUN DGA’ 2002:259.6-7). For more information on the monastery see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Kham Kyogon; for its exact location see BDRC ID G2594.

254 A ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud lama (LKCB 199.11-12 and 203.15-16). The BGCB lists five tulkus in the g.Yu sgra incarnation line (BGCB 719.19-21), each of which BDRC holds an entry for (BDRC ID P8651-5), but no further information is provided.

255 Unidentified person. The painted map *Chu bo lci zla ‘bri gsum gyi pha yul* depicts the Ri stod monastery along the lCi river, upstream of lHo lung dkar dgon, i.e. towards the north-eastern direction.

256 Unidentified person. The painted map *Chu bo lci zla ‘bri gsum gyi pha yul* depicts the Ri smad monastery near the lCi river, downstream of lHo lung dkar dgon.

257 1835-ca.1916 (BDRC ID P2710). A close student of mChog gyur gling pa and abbot of the Karma bKa’ brgyud monastery lHo karma in Chab mdo in Khams, a branch monastery of mTshur phu founded in 1184 by the 1st Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (BDRC ID G35; KUNSANG&SCHMIDT 2005:62 and TASHI TSERING 2013:154).

258 Unidentified person.

mkhan po bDe ldan,²⁵⁹ ‘Bri gung bla ma Dung dkar,²⁶⁰ ‘Brong ngu’i bla ma Byang chub bzang po,²⁶¹ Grub dbang ti se bzang po,²⁶² Grub dbang tshe brtan Rinpoche²⁶³ and Grub dbang brtson ‘grus²⁶⁴.

9.10.1. rNying ma

For example, alone [from] the early translation [school]²⁶⁵ [he received the following]:

a. The Long Oral Transmission Lineage

With regard to the cycle of the long oral transmission lineage²⁶⁶ [he received] the two stainless Kriyā- and Caryātantras;²⁶⁷ ripening [empowerments], liberating [instructions] and supportive

259 Unidentified person.

260 Unidentified person.

261 A ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud lama (dates unknown) (LKCB 199.11-12 and 204.8).

262 A ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud lama (dates unknown) (LKCB 199.11-12 and 204.12-13).

263 A lead teacher (Tib. ‘*khrid dpon*) of ‘Bri gung mthil monastery born in the 18th century (BDRC ID P6575).

264 A ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud lama (dates unknown) (LKCB 199.11-12 and 204.15).

265 That is, the rNying ma tradition. The teachings of the early translation school are categorised in a scheme of nine successive vehicles (Skt. *yāna*, Tib. *theg pa*), of which the last six are tantra classes, as opposed to the gSar ma schools, which apply a system of seven vehicles with four tantra classes. The first set of three vehicles comprises the causal vehicles, they are the vehicles of the *śrāvaka* (Tib. *nyan thos*), the *pratyekabuddha* (Tib. *rang rgyal*) and the bodhisatva (Tib. *byang chub sems dpa’*). The following six are the resultant vehicles. Here, the first set of three comprises the vehicles of outer tantras (Tib. *phyi rgyud*), they are Kriyātantra (Tib. *bya ba’i rgyud*), Ubhayatantra (Tib. *gnyis ka’i rgyud*) or Caryātantra (Tib. *spyod pa’i rgyud*) and Yogatantra (Tib. *rnal ‘byor pa’i rgyud*). The last set of three, the inner tantras (Tib. *nang rgyud*), are Mahāyoga (Tib. *rnal ‘byor chen po*), Anuyoga (Tib. *rjes su rnal ‘byor*) and Atiyoga (Tib. *shin tu rnal ‘byor*) (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:17). For more information on the causal vehicles see DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:223-237, for the resultant vehicles see CABEZÓN 2013:221-246, DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:268-372 and TUCCI 1980:76-87.

266 The rNying ma canon consists of teachings transmitted through the long oral transmission lineage (Tib. *ring brgyud bka’ ma*) and teachings transmitted through the short treasure lineage (Tib. *nye brgyud gter ma*), which has less links of transmissions. A third category is often added, which is the transmission through profound pure vision (Tib. *zab mo dag snang*). The oral transmission lineage is particularly associated with the three inner tantra classes and its teachings are primarily collected in the NGB (for a description of the different editions of this collection see MAYER 1996:223-242), the *bKa’ ma rgyas pa* and the *bKa’ ma shin tu rgyas pa*. Some of the tantras have also been admitted into the *bKa’ gyur* (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *bka’ ma* and s.v. *gter ma*). For an introduction to rNying ma tantras see MAYER 2015.

267 The fourth and fifth *yāna*, that is, the first two of the outer tantras (see note on the early translation school).

[reading transmissions] of the three - *mDo*,²⁶⁸ *sGyu*²⁶⁹ and *Sems*,²⁷⁰ together with the explanation of the tantras, such as:

a.1. Mahāyoga

[Concerning] tantra Mahāyoga,²⁷¹ [this includes] the cycles of the tantra section²⁷² and the

268 *mDo* is the abbreviation of the central literary work of Anuyoga and here refers to the entire Anuyoga class, which will be discussed below. This tantra is generally referred to as *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa*, the actual title in short form is *Samājasarvavidyāsūtra*, or *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* in Tibetan (full title: *Sarvatathāgata-cittajñānaguhyārthagarbhaveyūhavajratāntrasiddhiyogāgamasamājasarvavidyāsūtramahāyānābhīsamaya-dharmaparyāyavyūhanāmasūtra*, Tib. *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*, D. 829, P. 452, NGB vol.11, pp.2-537, THL ID Ng.480).

This tantra teaches, in this context most noteworthy, the system of the nine vehicles (see note on the early translation school), providing a structure for the entire Buddhist teachings of the rNying ma tradition. The tantra, which was composed around the end of the ninth century, is extant only in its Tibetan translation translated from the language of Bru sha, which is known today as Burushaski (DALTON 2002:3, 36 and 267-8; DARGYAY 1998:70; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:40 and HIGGINS 2013:41). For extensive information on the tantra, such as contents, origins, its influence over time and the empowerment associated with it, see the work of DALTON 2002, in particular pages 36 to 132 and 265 to 287.

269 *sGyu* is the abbreviation of *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba* (Skt. *Māyājāla*), i.e the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, and here, being the most important tantra of Mahāyoga, refers to the entire Mahāyoga class (see note on tantra Mahāyoga below). The tantra is generally also regarded as the central tantra of the *Māyājāla* cycle (see note on *Vajrasatvamāyājāla* below). The full title of the shortest (twenty-two chapters) and most popular version of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* is the *Śrīguhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya* (Tib. *dPal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid rnam par nges pa*, D. 832, P. 455, NGB vol.14, pp.2-61, THL ID Ng.524), as given in the *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur*. The other versions of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* are the middling version in forty-one (or forty-six) chapters (NGB vol.14, pp.317-415, THL ID Ng.525) and the long version in eighty (or eighty-two) chapters (D. 834, P. 457, NGB vol.14, pp.67-317, THL ID Ng.526). It is noteworthy that there are two lineages of interpretation of the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, one of which, the Rong klong tradition, treats the tantra as Atiyoga text. The other lineage is the Zur tradition; both have their beginnings in the eleventh century (DARGYAY 1998:70; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:40 and GROVE 2009).

270 *Sems* refers to the Atiyoga class (see note on Atiyoga below) and the abbreviation stands for *Chos thams cad rdzogs pa chen po byang chub kyi sems kun byed rgyal po* (Skt. *Sarvadharmamahāśāntibodhicittakulayarāja*, D. 828, P. 451, NGB vol.1, pp.2-166, THL ID Ng.10), in short *Kulayarāja* (Tib. *Kun byed rgyal po*), the most important tantra of the Atiyoga class (DARGYAY 1998:70; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:40; REYNOLDS 1996:31-32 and 236-7). Information on the *Kulayarājantra* can be found in REYNOLDS 1996:236-248. For a study and translation of the tantra see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1992:23-218.

271 Mahāyoga, the first inner tantra (see note on the early translation school), emphasises the creation phase (Skt. *utpattikrama*, Tib. *bskyed rim*), that is, the gradual generation of deity and maṇḍala visualisations. This tantra system, which makes up for the largest category of texts in the NGB, is comprised of a tantra and a sādhana section, which will be discussed in the following notes (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:34 and 461; GROVE 2009 and MAYER 2015:390). It is called tantra Mahāyoga because it presents all ten (or eleven) topics of tantra (Tib. *rgyud kyi dngos po*) extracted from the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, which, in the rNying ma tradition, is considered normative for what constitutes a tantra. In Mi pham's (1846-192, BDRC ID P252) exegetical work on this tantra (as in GERMANO 1994:206) eleven topics are given, arranged in three groups of three and one group of two respectively: view, contemplation and conduct; maṇḍala, empowerment and commitment; actualisation, offering and enlightened activity; and seals and mantras (GERMANO 1994:205-207; KONGTRUL&GUEARISCO&MCLEOD 2005:505 n.22). The tantras pertaining to the Mahāyoga class are contained in volumes 14 to 33 of the NGB (THL ID Ng.524-Ng.1091), some of them have been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (D. 832-844). For further information on Mahāyoga see DORJE 1987:23-25; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:34, 275-283 and 359-363; and GROVE 2009. See DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:458-484 and 533-537 for the lineage and development of Mahāyoga according to the tradition.

272 The tantra section (Tib. *rgyud sde*) is one of two aspects of Mahāyoga representing “a predominantly Indian

sādhana section,²⁷³ such as the *Vajrasatvamāyājāla*²⁷⁴ – the gathering of the great assembly of the

transmission dating back to the eight and ninth centuries, even if they may include Tibetan modifications” (GERMANO 2002:236). The section comprises eighteen cycles of tantras, also referred to as ‘eighteen tantra sections of Mahāyoga’ (Tib. *ma hā yo ga rgyud sde bco brgyad*) or ‘eighteen great sections’ (Tib. *sde chen po bco brgyad*). The enumeration of these vary among traditional Tibetan sources. Among some of these sources (listed in ALMOGI 2014:53-5), Almogi identifies two groups distinct in their schematisation and enumeration of the tantras.

The first group classifies the eighteen tantra sections into five basic or root tantras (Tib. *gzhi ‘am rtsa ba’i rgyud*), the *mūlatantras*; five sādhana-related tantras (Tib. *sgrub pa’i lag len ston pa’i rgyud*), five ancillary tantras (Tib. *spyi’i yan lag tu sgyur pa’i rgyud*), and one ‘tantra [section] which is like a summary [of all others]’ (Tib. *bsdus don lta’i bu’i rgyud*) comprised of the *Māyājālatantras* (see note to *Vajrasatvamāyājāla*) (the Tibetan given follows the *lDe’u chos ‘byung* as given in ALMOGI 2014:55). The first two sets of five tantras are further categorised into body (Tib. *sku*), speech (Tib. *gsung*), mind (Tib. *thugs*), qualities (Tib. *yon tan*) and activities (Tib. *‘phrin las*).

The second, less homogeneous group applies a sixfold division to the eighteen tantra sections: *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, *‘phrin las* and *spyi* (‘general’), each containing three titles (ALMOGI 2014:47-49, 53-61 and 63; DORJE 1987:33).

The structure of the tantra section in the NGB, comprised of volumes 14 to 19, is similar to that of the first group. For a presentation of the many lists considered in Almogi’s article and the differences and similarities among them see ALMOGI 2014:55-103; the tantras which are more or less agreed upon among the various sources are listed in ALMOGI 2014:63. For a reproduction of a list, which follows the schematisation of the second group, by Zur ‘tsho dKon mchog tshul khirms (dates unknown, BDRC ID P7776) with information on where the individual texts are located see MARTIN 1987:179-182.

- 273 The sādhana section (Tib. *sgrub sde*) is one of two aspects of Mahāyoga comprising tantras and ritual texts centred around eight wrathful deities fundamental to the rNying ma tradition and primarily based on the scriptures of the tantra section. These deities are often depicted with the same basic iconographic elements, that is, three heads, six arms, four legs and two wings and all are considered transcendent enlightened deities (see note on *Eight Pronouncements* below for the controversy on this last aspect). The text cycles associated with them are known as the *Eight Pronouncements* (Tib. *bKa’ brgyad*, see also note below) said to have been transmitted by the eight awareness holders (Skt. *vidyādhara*, Tib. *rig ‘dzin*) of India – orally as well as by means of concealment as treasures (Tib. *gter ma*). These awareness holders are Mañjuśrimitra (ca. 7th century, BDRC ID P8398), Nāgārjuna (BDRC ID P4954), Hūṃkara, Vimalamitra (born in 8th century BDRC ID P5011), Padmasambhava (8th century, BDRC ID P4956), Dhanaṣaṃskṛta (ca. 9th century, BDRC ID P2JM74), Rombughya (alt. Rambhughya) and Śāntigarbha (BDRC ID P8195) (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:20 n.279 and 482-3; GERMANO 2002:236-7; MAYER 2012; <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php?cat=ng/3-2>, accessed 09.02.2019). GERMANO (2002:236) describes the sādhana section as being “likely an Indian-based Tibetan development which gradually wove together wrathful meditation deities (Tib. *yi dam*) drawn from Mahāyoga and other sources into a sprawling tradition of mythic narratives, ritual cycles and contemplative praxis based on a set of known as the ‘eight precept deities’ (Tib. *bka’ brgyad*).” The main tantras of each cycle were admitted into the *bKa’ gyur* (D. 439 and 838-844, P. 78 and 461-468). For the early lineage of the sādhana section see DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:475-484.

- 274 Tib. *rDo rje sems dpa’ sgyu ‘phrul drwa ba*. Among the various lists of eighteen cycles of Mahāyoga tantras of the tantra section, the title *Vajrasatvamāyājālatantra* is often applied to designate the entire cycle of *Māyājālatantras*, which is one of the eighteen tantra sections of Mahāyoga (see note on the tantra section). The title is sometimes also used as a variant title for the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (Tib. *gsang ba’i snying po’i rgyud*), which is generally considered the central tantra of the *Māyājāla* cycle and the entire Mahāyoga class. In turn, the designation *Māyājāla* is often applied in place of *Guhyagarbha* or the two titles are given as compound, i.e. *sGyu ‘phrul drwa ba gsang ba’i snying po*. The full title of the *Vajrasatvamāyājālatantra*, as individual tantra, is given in the *sDe dge bKa’ gyur* as *Vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasārvādarśanamātantra* (Tib. *rDo rje sems dpa’i sgyu ‘phrul dra ba gsang ba thams cad kyi me long shes bya ba’i rgyud*, D. 833, P. 456).

The subclassification of the *Māyājāla* cycle, or the lack thereof, and the enumeration of the texts pertaining to it varies among different sources. However, there is a widely accepted division of eight *Māyājālatantras* (Tib. *sgyu ‘phrul sde brgyad*) and four exegetical tantras (Tib. *bshad rgyud sde bzhi*). Further, the maṇḍala of

vajradhātu peaceful ones and the wrathful ones, the *Zhi khro na rak dong sprugs padma brgya ldan*,²⁷⁵ *Buddhasamāyoga*,²⁷⁶ *gShin rje kha thun nag po*²⁷⁷ and [*gShin rje*] *ru mtshon dmar po*²⁷⁸ [according to]

the *Guhyagarbhatantra* and the *Māyājāla* cycle is that of the forty-two peaceful and fifty-eight wrathful deities, also referred to as *sGyu 'phrul zhi khro* (ALMOGI 2014:56, 65 n.28, 66, 66 n.31 and 68; BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2013, s.v. *Guhyagarbhatantra*; DORJE 1987:90 and 111). For a discussion of the *Māyājāla* cycle of tantras and its different enumerations see DORJE 1987:37-49. The different enumerations of this cycle can also be found in ALMOGI 2014:77-79, 86-88 and 100.

- 275 The *Zhi khro khro na rak dong sprugs* is a Mahāyoga ritual cycle still fairly unstudied by modern scholarship. (Note that 'na rak' is rendered according to common Tibetan conventions, yet the word stems from the Sanskrit *naraka* ('hell') and the proper Tibetan transcription would be *na ra ka*.) Being regarded as particularly effective for purifying violations of the tantric vows, which are considered a primary cause for being reborn in hell realms, the cycle is mainly concerned with purificatory and mortuary rites. The major maṇḍala of the cycle is that of the one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities (Tib. *zhi khro*, see BLEZER 1997 for a thorough study on this subject). In contrast to many other *zhi khro* maṇḍalas of the rNying ma tradition, in which the peaceful deities and the wrathful deities are separated into two complementary maṇḍalas, the maṇḍala of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle has the deities combined in one concentric maṇḍala. The 'Hundred[-petalled] Lotus' (Tib. *Padma brgya ldan*) is one of the two known versions of this maṇḍala. As the name suggests, this version of the maṇḍala is arranged upon a lotus (see the photograph in KAPSTEIN 2010:162, fig. 1) and associated with the tantras of the Mahāyoga class. The other version of the maṇḍala is arranged upon a wheel and related to the tantras of the Anuyoga class. Both have blue Vajrasatva as central figure. For a brief description of the *Padma brgya ldan* maṇḍala, which is still being used at sMin grol gling monastery, see KAPSTEIN 2010:168.

The cycle is contained in the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* (vol.13, pp.5-571) and the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol.18, pp.5-575). For a record of all fourteen texts therein see KAPSTEIN 2010:194-6. The main tantra of the cycle is the *Dri med bshags rgyud* (NGB vol.19, pp.423-516, THL ID Ng.557, *bKa' ma rgyas pa* vol.13, pp.5-126, the full title as given in the NGB reads as follows: *Dam tshig thams cad kyi nyams chag skong ba'i lung lnga| bshags pa thams cad kyi rgyud dri ma med pa'i rgyal po* (KAPSTEIN 2010:161-5 and 174).

- 276 Tib. *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*. The full title of this tantra is *Śrīsarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālasambaranāmauttaratānta* (Tib. *dPal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud phyi ma*, D. 366, P. 8, NGB vol.16, pp.163-273, THL ID Ng.539). The tantra is one the five root tantras of the eighteen tantra sections of Mahāyoga. As identified by ALMOGI (2014:63), this is generally agreed upon among the different sources enumerating the tantra sections.
- 277 This ritual cycle pertains to the cycle of Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka (Tib. *'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed*) among the *Eight Pronouncements* (see note below) within the sādhana section. The ritual texts of this cycle are contained in the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* (vol.4, pp.39-773) and the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol.5, pp.5-741). The NGB contains two *gShin rje kha thun nag po* texts, designated as tantra and its subsequent tantra (Tib. *phyi ma'i rgyud*): *gShin rje nag po gsang ba de kho na nyid kyi rgyud kha thun* (NGB vol.21, pp.534-543, THL ID Ng.613) and *gShin rje nag po kha thun gsang ba de kho na nyid phyi ma'i rgyud* (NGB vol.21, pp.544-548, THL ID Ng.614).
- 278 This ritual cycle pertains to the cycle of Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka (Tib. *'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed*) among the *Eight Pronouncements* (see note below) within the sādhana section. The ritual texts of the cycle are contained in the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* (vol.5, pp.5-564 and vol.6, pp.5-465) and the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol.6, pp.5-1.025). The NGB contains one *gShin rje ru mtshon dmar po* text, designated as tantra: *gShin rje dmar po shan pa las kyi rgyud ces bya ba| spu gri reg chod ru mtshon dmar po'i drag sngags* (NGB vol.22, pp.94-102, THL ID Ng.820).

the tradition of gNubs²⁷⁹. [Concerning] the *Eight Pronouncements*²⁸⁰ of the *sādhana* section – the garland of fortresses [this includes] great empowerments connected with Viśuddha [according

279 These Yamāntaka traditions of gNubs stem from the central Tibetan translator Sangs rgyas ye shes (832?-943?, BDRC ID P2885) of the gNubs clan (the dating is according to GERMANO 2002:252; about the discrepancies in the dating see Germano 2002:252-4 and 253 n.95). He is also known as gNubs chen. This tradition is one among the six main transmission lineages (Tib. *bka' babs*) of the inner tantras as identified by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul (in KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:65). The other lineages are those of Padmasambhava (8th century, BDRC ID P4956), Vairocana (b. 8th century, BDRC ID P5013), Vimalamitra (b. 8th century, BDRC ID P5011), rMa Rin chen mchog (ca. 8th century, BDRC ID P2JM5), gNyags Jñānakumāra (Tib. Ye shes gzhon nu, eighth century, BDRC ID P6525) and their successors, and the *gter ma* tradition. Thus, the first five lineages, including that of gNubs, pertain to the *bka' ma* tradition (GERMANO 2002:252; KONGTRUL&HARDING 2007:63-66).

For the early lineage of gNubs with regard to the transmission of the set of *mDo sGyu Sems*, a brief biography of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes and the continuity of the lineage as the traditions of Rong and Nyang, which later became the tradition of Zur, see DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:607-16. The Zur and Rong lineages are further discussed in DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:617-684. A brief biography of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes is also given in POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:252-3 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Nubchen Sanggye Yeshe.

280 The *Eight Pronouncements* (Tib. *bKa' brgyad*, alt. *bKa' ma brgyad*) are tantric cycles fundamental to the rNying ma tradition. Contained in the *sādhana* section, they are centred around eight deities, five of which are classified as wisdom deities (Tib. *ye shes kyi lha lnga*) and three as deities of the mundane (Tib. *'jigs rten pa'i sde gsum*). The five wisdom deities, known as such because they confer wisdom, are each connected to one of the five aspects of a buddha, i.e. enlightened body (Tib. *sku*), speech (Tib. *gsung*), mind (Tib. *thugs*), qualities (Tib. *yon tan*) and activities (Tib. *phrin las*), as well as the five buddha families (i.e. the buddha-family, lotus-family, vajra-family, jewel-family and activity-family, respectively). These five deities are respectively (in the following, the Tōhoku (D.) and Otani (P.) catalogue numbers given are those of the main tantra of the corresponding deity cycle, while the references to the rNying ma rgyud 'bum refer to the cycle as a whole): Mañjuśrī-Yamāntaka (Tib. 'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed, D. 838, P. 461, NGB vols.20-22, THL ID Ng.594-Ng.629) transmitted by Mañjuśrimitra; Hayagrīva (Tib. rTa mgrin, D. 839, P. 462, NGB vols.23-24, THL ID Ng.630-Ng.645) transmitted by Nāgārjuna; Śrīheruka or Viśuddha (Tib. Yang dag, D. 840, P. 463, NGB vol.25, THL ID Ng.646-Ng.651) transmitted by Hūṃkara; Vajrāmṛta (Tib. rDo rje bdud rtsi, D. 841, P. 464, NGB vol.26, THL ID Ng.652-Ng.670) transmitted by Vimalamitra; and Vajrakīla (Tib. rDo rje phur pa, D. 439, P. 78, NGB vols.27-29, THL ID Ng.671-Ng.710) transmitted by Padmasambhava who received it from Prabhāhasti. The cycles are typically referred to with the respective buddha aspect added to the name in abbreviated form: 'Jam dpal sku'i skor for the cycle of Yamāntaka, Padma gsung gi skor for the cycle of Hayagrīva, Yang dag thugs kyi skor for the cycle of Śrīheruka, bDud rtsi yon tan gyi skor for Vajrāmṛta, Phur pa phrin las kyi skor for Vajrakīla.

The three deities of the mundane, known as such because they confer protection against malevolent mundane deities, are Mātrikā (alt. Mātaraḥ, Tib. Ma mo, D. 842, P. 466, NGB vols.30-31, p.442, THL ID Ng.711-Ng.739) transmitted by Dhanasamkrta; Lokastotrapūjā (Tib. 'Jig rten mchod bstod, D. 844, P. 468, NGB vol.32, pp.339-388, THL ID Ng.740) transmitted by Rombughya; and Vajramantrabhīru (Tib. dMod pa drag sngags, D. 843, P. 467, NGB vol.32, p.388 - vol.33, THL ID Ng.741-Ng.759) transmitted by Śāntigarbha (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:481; GERMANO 2002:236-7; MAYER 2012; <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=ng/3-2>, accessed 09.02.2019).

These three deities are often said to be mundane deities tamed by Padmasambhava. In his blog *kīli kīlaya*, MAYER (2012) gives objection to this and claims this is not in accord with the tradition itself, thus he writes: "From the point of view of tradition, this is not a trivial issue, because it calls into question the very nature of the rNying ma yi dam deity octadic system. If it were true, it would raise some pretty fundamental doctrinal issues for rNying ma exegetes. [...] Despite their ostensibly worldly-sounding names, the *herukas* of the cycles of Ma mo rbod gtong, 'Jigs rten mchod bstod, and Mod pa drag sngags are normatively envisaged as enlightened forms, who protect the Dharma by coercing local spirits. As such, they are not in themselves mundane deities tamed by Padmasambhava. Quite the reverse, they are important forms of Heruka, aspects of enlightenment with which Padmasambhava yogically identified himself, or manifested himself as, in order to tame the mundane deities" (MAYER 2012 n.2). The *gter ma* tradition of the *Eight Pronouncements* will be mentioned below.

to] the So tradition,²⁸¹ Vajrakīla²⁸² [according to] the Rog tradition,²⁸³ the lHa nag²⁸⁴ and Rong zom

281 Viśuddha (Tib. Yang dag), or Śriheruka (Tib. dPal heruka), the wrathful form of Vajrasatva, is one of the deities of the *Eight Pronouncements*. The ritual texts on this deity are contained in the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* (vol.3, pp.257-547) and the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol.8, pp.69-379). Both collections also include the tantra *dPal he ru ka'i thugs kyi rgyud gal po* (vol.3, pp.231-256) prior to the ritual texts and both mark it as root tantra (Tib. *rtsa rgyud*) on the side-margins of the folios. The tantra is also included in the NGB (vol.25, pp.376-395, THL ID Ng.647).

The So tradition goes back to So Ye shes dbang phyug (tenth century, BDRC ID P2JM28), one of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye she's main disciples. According to 'Jam mgon Kong sprul (in KONGTRUL&ZANGPO 2010:330), the line of transmission before So Ye shes dbang phyug goes back to gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po (who is, like gNub Sangs rgyas ye shes, also referred to as gNub chen). Depending on the source, he is said to either have been one in a group of Tibetan translators who received the teachings on Viśuddha in India directly from Hūṃkara, or from Padmasambhava who received them from Hūṃkara (CABEZÓN 2013:240 n.32; DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:612-3; GERMANO 2002:237-8 and BDRC ID T353).

282 bDud 'joms Rinpoche (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:710-712) lists and briefly discusses various traditions of Vajrakīla descending from Padmasambhava. Among these are the traditions Phur pa rgyal po, Jo mo, Lcam, sNa nam or Rong, lHa nag and lHa khra. Some of these will be discussed in the following notes.

283 The Vajrakīla cycle of the Rog tradition comprises volume 9 of the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* and volume 11 of the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*. This tradition of Vajrakīla originated with Rog Shes rab bla ma (alt. Rog ban Shes rab 'od, 1166-1244, BDRC ID P4301). For a biography of Rog Shes rab bla ma see CABEZÓN 2013:39-51. The first known person of the Rog clan is Rog ban Nam mkha' ye shes (dates unknown). Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1364, BDRC ID P1583), one of the greatest personalities of the rNying ma tradition, was also a descendant of this clan (CABEZÓN 2013:39-40; DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:575; HIGGINS 2013:43; *bKa' ma rgyas pa*, vol.9, p.453.6). The lineage supplication (Tib. *brgyud 'debs*) in the Vajrakīla cycle of the Rog tradition mentions mKhar chen mTsho rgyal (better known as Ye shes mtsho rgyal, born in 8th century, BDRC ID P7695) and dPal gyi dbang phyug (said to be Ye shes mtsho rgyal's brother, ca. 8th century, PORK1217) right after Padmasambhava (see *bKa' ma rgyas pa*, vol.9, p.453.1-2: "[...] *padma sambhava* | *mkhar chen mtsho rgyal dpal gyi dbang phyug la*]"). Following this, the Rog Vajrakīla tradition continues from the Jo mo tradition which is described in DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:710-1, s.v. Venerable Lady's Tradition. Further, Rog Shes rab bla ma is described as having unified the lineage that focuses on *stod las* practices with the one that focuses on *smad las* practices (*bKa' ma rgyas pa*, vol.9, p.453.4-6). According to BOORD (1993:62), the *stod las* practices, translated as "higher activities," have enlightenment as their main goal. The more widespread *smad las* practices, which he translates as "lower acts," are more concerned with the destruction of demons. In a review article on Boord's work, CANTWELL (1996:88-89) adds to this statement that "the *smad las* rituals can also be used on the Enlightenment path, and in fact complement the *stod las*, by destroying the obstacles and hostile forces which obstruct the Vajrayāna practitioner from his/her goal of realisation."

284 Ritual texts pertaining to this Vajrakīla cycle are contained in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* within the sGyu 'phrul zhi khro phur gsum cycle (see the index of the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol.15, p.34). This cycle spans from vol.15, p.223 to vol.16. According to bDud 'joms Rinpoche (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:712) this tradition beings with 'Bre A tsara sa le (unidentified). The teachings were eventually passed on to Lang lab byang chub rdo rje (11th century, BDRC ID P1018) and eventually to Gu rub yang dag of Yar 'brog (unidentified). The tradition has its name 'Black Deity' due to Gu rub yang dag, who made all the deities of the maṇḍala black on the basis of the tantra *Phur pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud* (full title: *rDo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po*, NGB vol.28, pp.281-383, THL ID Ng.679) (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Langlab Jangchub Dorje).

traditions;²⁸⁵ and [great empowerments connected with] Gu[ru] drag [po]²⁸⁶ [according to] the *bKa' ma* 'O bran tradition,²⁸⁷ together with command-entrustments²⁸⁸ of tantric protectors such as rGyud mgon legs ldan²⁸⁹.

a.2. Anuyoga

[Further, he received] the great empowerment of the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*²⁹⁰ – the great empow-

- 285 The Vajrakīla cycle of the Rong zom tradition comprises volume 8 of the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* and volume 10 of the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, wherein the tradition is referred to as Rong. bDud 'joms Rinpoche (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:712) explains the Rong zom tradition of Vajrakīla to be the same as the sNa nam tradition, which is said to go back to Padmasambhava. He continues explaining that Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po's (1042-1136, BDRC ID P3816; DOCTOR 2013:85 gives the dates 1012-1088) grandfather Rong ban Yon tan rin chen (dates unknown, BDRC ID P2JM129), also known as dPal gyi rin chen, is said to have met Padmasambhava in person and having taught his son Rog ban Rin chen tshul khirms (dates unknown, BDRC ID P8LS15530). Whether other not this is to indicate that Rong zom's grandfather received this transmission from Padmasambhava is not clear, but he explains, the Rong tradition emerged with him. Another account (as cited from the *Nor bu'i do shal* in BOORD 1993:119) gives the sNa nam tradition of Vajrakīla as originating with sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms (ca. 8th century, BDRC ID P4CZ10564). The lineage supplication in the Vajrakīla cycle of Rong zom mentions rDo rje bdud 'joms right after Padmasambhava, a few names later it also mentions the three dPal gyi rin chen, Rin chen tshul khirms and Rong zom Chos bzang (*bKa' ma rgyas pa*, vol.8, p.555.2-3 and *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol.10, p.555.2-3: "[...] o rgyan padma 'byung/ |rdo rje bdud 'joms dpal gyi dbang phyug dang/ |dpal gyi me tog gtsug gtor gzhon nu'i zhabs/ |yon tan grags pa rnams la gsol ba 'debs/ |gu na ratna dpal gyi rin chen dang/ |rin chen tshul khirms rong zom chos bzang zhabs/|"). Taking all this into consideration it becomes clear that the sNa nam tradition continues as the Rong tradition. Albeit the Rong lineage beginning with dPal gyi rin chen, the main figure is clearly Rong zom, which is presumably why lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma refers to it as the tradition of Rong zom. The main figures of the general Rong zom lineage up to the 5th Dalai Lama are discussed in DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:650-684. For a brief account of Rong zom's life see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:703-9.
- 286 Guru drag po is a wrathful form of Padmasambhava (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:406) depicted in DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:589. How this deity is related to the *bKa' brgyad* is not clear to me. A Guru drag po cycle of the 'O bran tradition (*Guru drag dmar*) is contained in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol.18, pp.577-612). The *bKa' ma rgyas pa* only contains one text of this cycle (vol.13, pp.573-590).
- 287 According to the lineage supplication of the Guru drag po cycle of the 'O bran tradition, the lineage goes back to 'O bran dPal 'byung (unidentified), who is mentioned right after Padmasambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal (*bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol.18, p.577.2-3: "rtsa gsum kun 'dus padma 'byung gnas la/| [...] 'phags bzhi bskyed yum dbyings phyug mkhar chen gza/| |grub pa'i dbang phyug 'o bran dpal 'byung dang/| 'byung bzhi dbang bsgyur 'o bran dbang phyug la/|"). Next in line is 'O bran dBang phyug, who likely is 'O bran dPal gyi dbang phyug (early to mid 8th century, BDRC ID P3AG55), as he was the son of 'O bran dPal 'byung and a disciple of Padmasambhava (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:535; *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, p.174 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Odren Pelgyi Wangchuk).
- 288 A command-entrustment (Tib. *bka' gtad*) is a type of initiation or empowerment ritual (Tib. *rjes gnan*) (THL dict.).
- 289 The texts pertaining to this cycle of the *bKa' ma* division are contained in the *bKa' ma rgyas pa* (vol.20, pp.283-393) and the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (whole volume 37).
- 290 This empowerment is one of the most complex of its kind: "Eight hundred and thirty-one 'branch' empowerments are typically granted, gathered into thirty-six 'root' empowerments, which are, in turn, gathered into four 'empowerment streams' (Tib. *dbang gi chu ha*)" (DALTON 2002:95). Through this empowerment initiation can be granted to one of the nine vehicles or to all of them at once. Central to the empowerment ceremony is the *Tshogs chen 'dus pa*, the nine-storeyed maṇḍala of this tantric system with each storey representing one of the nine vehicles (DALTON 2002:3-6, 94-5 and 144). For the structure of the empowerment, its development over time through various empowerment manuals that emerged and later lineages through which it was conveyed see DALTON 2002:133-230. For the early lineage of the empowerment of the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:700-1 and 717-32. On the tantra *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* itself see

erment of the nine gradual vehicles of *āgama* Anuyoga.²⁹¹

a.3. Atiyoga

[Concerning] *upadeśa* Atiyoga [he received the following].²⁹²

note on *mDo*.

- 291 Anuyoga, the second of the inner tantras, emphasises the completion phase (Skt. *utpannakrama*, *niṣpannakrama*, Tib. *rdzogs rim*), thus, instead of the previous gradual generation of visualisations of divinities and maṇḍalas, these now arise spontaneously. It is called *āgama* ('elucidation,' Tib. *lung*) Anuyoga, because it clarifies the essential points of the ten (or eleven) topics of tantras (see note on Mahāyoga) (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:34 and 461 and KONG SPRUL 2005:505 n.22). Over time various lists emerged organising the scriptures pertaining to this class and thus we find differences among these lists in terms of enumeration and structure. Common to all is a set of four tantras called the 'four root sūtras' (Tib. *rtsa ba'i mdo bzhi*), which are the Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo (full title: *Sarvatathāgatacittaguhyajñānārthagarbhakrodhavadajrakulatantrapīṇḍārthavidyāyoga-siddhanāmamahāyānasūtra*, Tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po khro bo rdo rje'i rigs kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo rnal 'byor grub pa'i rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, D. 831, P. 454, NGB vol.12, pp.2-276, THL ID Ng.479), the *Ye shes rngam pa glog gi 'khor lo* (full title: *Sarvatathāgatacittaguhyamahāguhyakośāṅgayanidhadīpamahāpratapasādhanaatantrajñānāścaryadyuticakranāmamahāyānasūtra*, Tib. *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba' gsang ba'i mdzod chen po mi zad pa gter gyi sgron ma' brtul zhugs chen po bsgrub pa'i rgyud/ye shes rngam pa glog gi 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, D. 830, P. 453, NGB vol.12, pp.276-438, THL ID Ng.481), the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* (see note on *mDo*) and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* (NGB vol.11, pp.537-633, THL ID Ng.483). bDud 'joms Rinpoche (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:289) further lists a set of 'six tantras which clarify the six limits' (Tib. *mtha' drug gsal bar byed pa'i rgyud drug*), a set of 'twelve rare tantras' (Tib. *dkon rgyud bcu gnyis*) and a set of 'seventy literary scriptures' (Tib. *lung gi yi ge bdun cu*). While it is not clear which texts belong to the third set with seventy scriptures, the first two sets are listed in DALTON 2003 and DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:266 and 284 (DALTON 2003). For a more detailed description of Anuyoga see DORJE 1987:25-26 and DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:34-35 and 284-9; and DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:485-500 for the transmission lineage of Anuyoga according to the tradition. For more information on the four root tantras and their commentaries see DALTON 2002:288-299.
- 292 Atiyoga, the pinnacle of the nine vehicles, emphasises what is known as the Great Perfection (Tib. *rDzogs chen*) and generally, these two terms are used synonymously. Unlike Mahāyoga and Anuyoga, Atiyoga does not present the ten (or eleven) topics of tantras (see note on *sGyu*), but provides esoteric instructions as the essence of the other vehicles. Hence it is called *upadeśa* ('instruction,' Tib. *man ngag*) Atiyoga. The most prevalent way of categorising Atiyoga teachings, although not comprising every text and tradition of this tantra class, are the three sections of mind (Tib. *sems sde*), space (Tib. *klong sde*) and instruction (Tib. *man ngag sde*), sometimes also associated with the aspects outer, inner and secret, respectively. In the same order, the three sections represent the base, path and fruition of the Atiyoga path, thus the instruction section, also referred to as *snying thig*, represents the culmination of the three. The mind section constitutes the earliest stage of development lasting from the eighth to eleventh century. The space section developed between the tenth and eleventh century and finally, the instruction section developed between the eleventh and fourteenth century. Further, each section is distinct in its practices and the texts it comprises. Regarding practices, the mind section is associated with four sequential yogas (Tib. *rnal 'byor bzhi*), which "consist of meditation to calm the mind, (Tib. *zhi gnas*), and meditation to develop clarity (Tib. *lhag mthong*). Beyond these two, the practice consists of training to remain in the state of pristine awareness for progressively longer. Eventually one realizes the third yoga, non-duality (Tib. *gnyis med*), and the fourth, spontaneous accomplishment (Tib. *lhun grub*). The first two yogas, however, are not exclusive to rDzogs chen. [...] [The last yoga] is fundamental to all three series. The essential practice of the mind series, therefore, is identical to the fundamental practice of rDzogs chen itself" (LILJENBERG 2012:26-7). With regard to the practices of the space series, there are four stages called the 'four signs' (Tib. *brda bzhi*) which occur simultaneously. Further, this section is associated with physical practices for balancing the elements of the subtle energy-body. Lastly, the practices of the instruction series are known as *Khregs chod* and *Thod rgal* (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:461; GERMANO 1994:215, 235 and 282-3; HIGGINS 2013:25; KONG SPRUL 2005:505 n.22; LILJENBERG 2012:26; REYNOLDS 1996:32-33 and 337 n.1; <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=ng/1-1>, accessed 07.03.2019). For a brief description of *Khregs chod* and *Thod rgal* see REYNOLDS 1996:32-34,

- what belongs to the cycle of the outer **mind section**:²⁹³
the eighteen empowerments of the energy of pure awareness,²⁹⁴ which forcefully point out the intent of the eighteen mother and child [tantras] of the mind section²⁹⁵ – the unified visionary experience of the four scholars²⁹⁶ of India and Tibet;
- the empowerment of the profound hearing lineage, the heart essence of the great translator Vairocana: the *rDor rje zam pa*²⁹⁷ of the **space section**;²⁹⁸ and

for a more detailed presentation thereof see EHRHARD 1990:66-81; for a brief summary of Atiyoga see GYATSO 1998:197-8; for more extensive information on the definition of Atiyoga, its divisions and lineages see DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:35-39, 295-318, 319-345 and 490-501; for a discussion of the historical origins of Atiyoga see REYNOLDS 1996:199-227; for the early development of Atiyoga in Tibet see GERMANO 1994:211-234 and for extensive information on its philosophical foundations in Tibet see the work of HIGGINS 2013.

- 293 The outer mind section (Tib. *phyi sems sde*) is one of three sections within Atiyoga (see note on Atiyoga). The central work of the mind section and Atiyoga in general is the *Kulayarāja tantra* (see note on *Sems*) (REYNOLDS 1996:236). For information on the view, classifications and associated literature of the mind section see DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:319-26. For a brief overview of the literature and lineages of the mind section see GERMANO 1994:234-239.
- 294 The empowerments of the energy of pure awareness (Tib. *rig pa'i rtsal dbang*) are generally referred to as one empowerment, the key rDzogs chen empowerment (GYATSO 1998:187). LILJENBERG (2012:73) for example, mentions the *rig pa'i rtsal dbang* as “an elaborate empowerment ceremony.” Presumably the eighteen empowerments refer to an eighteen-fold empowerment or eighteen individual empowerments given during one greater empowerment ceremony, but this remains without evidence. In KONGTRUL, GUARISCO&MCLEOD (2005:51) the empowerment is described as follows: “This system [rDzogs chen] is entered by means of the ‘initiation of the creative energy of total presence’ (Tib. *rig pa'i rtsal dbang*). This is more of an introduction than a tantric initiation: one is introduced, right from the start, to one’s real condition. It does not need to be preceded by the first three initiations of highest yoga tantra (vase, secret, and pristine awareness through wisdom), nor does it need as its precondition the third initiation which reveals the example pristine awareness.”
- 295 The eighteen mother and child tantras of the mind section (Tib. *sems sde ma bu bco brgyad*) are a major set of tantras that constitutes the earliest written source of the mind section and is said to have been transmitted by Śrīsiṃha (8th century, BDRC ID P10718). These tantras are also referred to as the ‘early and later translations of the Great Perfection’ (Tib. *rdzogs pa chen po snga ‘gyur phyi ‘gyur*) or ‘eighteen great scriptures’ (Tib. *lung chen po bco brgyad*). According to tradition, Vairocana (born in 8th century) translated five tantras, which came to be known as the earlier translations and the ‘mother’ tantras. The thirteen later translations, the ‘child’ tantras, were translated by gNyags Jñānakumāra (8th century) and g.Yu sgra snying po (born in 8th century, BDRC ID P2JM106) under the supervision of Vimalamitra (born in 8th century) (DUDJOM, DORJE&Kapstein 1991:538-9; LILJENBERG 2012:23 and 25). Again, various differing lists enumerating these tantras exist and some of the tantras have so far not been identified, therefore the reader is referred to LILJENBERG 2012:84-140 for the various extant lists of the eighteen tantras and the location of the latter thirteen. In the same work, LILJENBERG (2012:154-296) also offers a translation and critical edition of these texts.
- 296 Based on the context, these are the ones associated with the translation of the eighteen tantras, that is, the Indian Vimalamitra and the three Tibetans Vairocana, gNyags Jñānakumāra and g.Yu sgra snying po.
- 297 The *rDo rje zam pa* instructions, which may be translated as the ‘*Vajra Bridge*’, “is known as such because its practice leads to the attainment of the rainbow body in one lifetime” (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 45 n.591). The basic text, also known as *sNyan/rNa brygud rdo rje zam pa* and attributed to Vairocana (born in 8th century), consists of twenty-two lines (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:605; KARMAY 2007:208). The *rDo rje zam pa* cycle comprises volumes 18 and 19 of the *bKa’ ma rgyas pa* and volumes 31 and 32 of the *bKa’ ma shin tu rgyas pa*. For detailed information on the *rDo rje zam pa*, including the teachings it conveys, the texts included in the *bKa’ ma rgyas pa*, its lineage, as well as a translation and transliteration of the root text see ANSPAL 2005:129-188.
- 298 The space section (Tib. *klong sde*) is one of three sections of Atiyoga (see note on Atiyoga). The *Klong chen rab ‘byams rgyal po’i rgyud* (NGB vol.3, pp.255-393, THL ID Ng.58) is considered the major tantra of this section

- the seventeen tantras²⁹⁹ of the **instruction section**³⁰⁰ of the Great Perfection.

b. The Short Treasure Lineage

With regard to cycle of the short treasure lineage:³⁰¹

With much perseverance he received various profound treasure [teachings] of all possible well known and unknown great and minor treasure revealers, such as various profound treasures headed by the three *Eight Pronouncements*,³⁰² which include the two, the earlier and the later treasures [revealed by] mNga' bdag Nyang ral³⁰³ and Guru Chos dbang³⁰⁴ [respectively], [and] the

(REYNOLDS 1996:236). For information on the view, classifications and associated literature of the space section see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:326-9.

- 299 These seventeen tantras constitute the *snying thig* subdivision of the instruction section and being considered the root tantras of this section in general, the instruction section is often referred to as *snying thig* (cf. HIGGINS 2013:18; KARMAY 2007:209 and REYNOLDS 1996:32). According to tradition, the seventeen tantras were brought to Tibet by Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava, who both received them from Śrīsiṃha. Both concealed these as treasure texts, but from Vimalamitra also continues an oral tradition (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *man ngag sde*; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:554-6; HIGGINS 2013:23 and REYNOLDS 1996:32). The seventeen tantras continuing from the oral tradition are (in the order as they appear in the NGB): the *rDzogs pa rang byung* (NGB vol.9, pp.2-237, THL ID Ng.94), *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs* (NGB vol.9, pp.238-363, THL ID Ng.101), *Yi ge med pa* (NGB vol.9, pp.364-384, THL ID Ng.108), *Nyi zla kha sbyor* (NGB vol.9, pp.386-435, THL ID Ng.103), *Rin chen spungs pa* (NGB vol.9, pp.436-466, THL ID Ng.110), *Nor bu 'phra bkod* (NGB vol.9, pp.468-523, THL ID Ng.109), *Mu tig phreng ba* (NGB vol.9, pp.523-577, THL ID Ng.100), *sGron ma 'bar ba* (NGB vol.9, pp.578-598, THL ID Ng.104), *sKu gdung 'bar ba* (NGB vol.9, pp.600-624, THL ID Ng.102), *Ngo sprod spras pa* (NGB vol.9, pp.626-645, THL ID Ng.105), *Rig pa rang shar* (NGB vol.10, pp.2-334, THL ID Ng.96), *Rig pa rang grol* (NGB vol.10, pp.334-386, THL ID Ng.97), *sGra thal 'gyur* (NGB vol.10, pp.386-530, THL ID Ng.95), *rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long* (NGB vol.10, pp.530-578, THL ID Ng.98), *Kun tu bzang po thugs kyi me long* (NGB vol.10, pp.581-610, THL ID Ng.107), *Kun tu bzang po klong drug pa* (NGB vol.10, pp.610-669, THL ID Ng.99) and the *bKra shis mdzes ldan* (NGB vol.10, pp.669-685, THL ID Ng.106) (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:264-5 and KARMAY 2007:209 n.17).
- 300 The instruction section (Tib. *man ngag sde*) is one of three sections within Atiyoga (see note on Atiyoga). The seventeen tantras are considered the major tantras of this section, particularly the *sGra thal 'gyur* (full title: *Rin po che 'byung bar byed pa sgra thal 'gyur chen po'i rgyud*; NGB vol.10, pp.386-530, THL ID Ng.95) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014 s.v. *man ngag sde*; REYNOLDS 1996:236). For information on the view, classifications and associated literature of the instruction section see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:329-45.
- 301 The short treasure lineage (Tib. *nye brgyud gter ma*) constitutes one of the two main division of the rNying ma canon (see note on the long oral transmission lineage).
- 302 See notes on the sādhanā section and the *Eight Pronouncements* above. The treasure cycles dealing with the *Eight Pronouncements* are included in the RTZ (vol.14, p.119 - vol.34, p.306).
- 303 mNga' bdag Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1124/36-1192/1204, BDRC ID P364) from lHo brag (BDRC ID G2134), an area in southern Tibet, was among the first treasure revealers and is known as the first of the so-called five kingly treasure revealers (Tib. *gter ston rgyal po lnga*). He is said to have revealed the earlier treasure known as *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* (NGB vol.31, p.459 to vol.32, p.424, THL ID Ng.576-Ng.593, RTZ vol.14, pp.393-1.043, vol.33, pp.307-326 and vol.41, pp.487-496) from behind an image of Vairocana, or alternatively, from a massive statue of Vairocana in the temple Kho thing (alt. mKho mthing) in lHo brag (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:755-6; GYATSO 2015:400 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Nyangrel Nyima Ozer and s.v. Khoting Lhakhang). For a life story of and information on mNga' bdag Nyang ral see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:756-9 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Nyangrel Nyima Ozer.
- 304 Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270/1273, BDRC ID P326) from lHo brag is the second of the five kingly treasure revealers (Tib. *gter ston rgyal po lnga*). He revealed the later treasure known as *bKa' brgyad gsang ba yongs rdzogs* (RTZ vol.15, pp.1-137, vol.30, pp.609-630 and vol.33, pp.299-306), which, according to tradition,

northern treasures [revealed by] Rig ‘dzin rGod ldem can³⁰⁵. [Further, he received] all Yamāntaka cycles [revealed] by rGya Zhang khrom;³⁰⁶ the complete *Golden Dharma*³⁰⁷ headed by the *Bla ma dgongs ‘dus*³⁰⁸ [revealed by] Sangs [rgyas] gling [pa];³⁰⁹ the four ‘Dus pa cycles,³¹⁰ the *Phur pa yang gsang bla med*³¹¹ and other [gter mas revealed by] Rat[na] gling [pa];³¹² the *rDzogs chen yang ti nag po*³¹³ [revealed] by Dung mtsho ras pa;³¹⁴ the [treasure] cycle *dGongs pa yang zab*³¹⁵ [revealed] by Rin

he received in a vision from Padmasambhava (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:760 and 765; *Ming mdzod* 1992:246 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Guru Chowang). For a life story of and information on mNga’ bdag Nyang ral see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:760-70 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Guru Chowang.

- 305 The 1st rDo rje brag rig ‘dzin, Rig ‘dzin rGod kyi ldem ‘phru can (1337-1408/1409, BDRC ID P5254), also known as dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, is said to have revealed a treasure casket with five compartments filled with texts and other sacred objects from a hidden chamber in a mountain cave in lHo brag. These treasures constitute the northern treasures (Tib. *byang gter*), so called to be differentiated from the southern treasures (Tib. *lho gter*) revealed by mNga’ bdag Nyang ral nyi ma ‘od zer (1124/1136-1192/1204) and Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270/1273). Of these treasures, it is the *bKa’ brgyad rang byung shar* (RTZ vol.15, pp.139-324) that is associated with the *Eight Pronouncements* (BOORD 1993:22 and 25-7 and DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:780). For a biography of Rig ‘dzin rGod ldem can and more information on the northern treasures and the Byang gter tradition see BOORD 1993:21-38. The biography contained therein is also found in adapted form in *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. The First Dorje Drak Rigdzin, Rigdzin Godemchen Ngodrub Gyeltsen. DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:780-783 also offers a biography.
- 306 rGya Zhang khrom rdo rje ‘od ‘bar (BDRC ID P7419) was born in the ninth century in the gTsang valley in central Tibet (RTZ vol.1, p. 411.2). The RTZ contains the following Yamāntaka cycles of rGya Zhang khrom: the ‘*Jam dpal gshin rje gshed yang zlog me’i spu gri* (RTZ vol.61, pp.241-259), the *gShin rje gshed khro chu dug sdong nag po* (RTZ vol.18, pp.655-801) and the *gShin rje gshed phyag rgya zil gnon tshe bdag lcags ‘dra* (RTZ vol.17, pp.87-476). A very brief account of his life is given in the RTZ (vol.1, pp.410-412), a translation thereof can be found in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSON 2011:77-8.
- 307 Tib. *gSer chos*. No relevant information found.
- 308 The *Bla ma dgongs ‘dus* (RTZ vol.7, pp.1-278 and *passim*) was extracted from the great cavern of sPu ri in the sPu wo district in south-western Khams (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:784-6; DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:464 and 474).
- 309 Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396, BDRC ID P5340) from the Kong po (alt. rKong po) region in south-western Khams is said to have revealed numerous *gter mas*. For a life story of Sangs rgyas gling pa and the *gter mas* he discovered see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:784-8.
- 310 These are the *Bla ma’i thugs sgrub yang snying ‘dus pa* (*Ratna gling pa’i gter chos* vol.3 and 4, RTZ *passim*), the *Thugs rje chen po gsang ba ‘dus pa* (*Ratna gling pa’i gter chos* vol.6 and vol.7, p.1-322, RTZ vol.23, pp.187-364, vol.42 *passim* and vol.46, pp.161-9), the *Tshe sgrub gsang ba ‘dus pa* (*Ratna gling pa’i gter chos* vol.7, p.323-554, RTZ vol.6, pp.435-583) and the *rTa mgrin gsang ba ‘dus pa* (*Ratna gling pa’i gter chos* vol.8-9, RTZ *passim*).
- 311 This *gter ma* based on the deity Vajrakīla is contained in the RTZ (vol.31, pp. 795-926 and *passim*).
- 312 1403-1479. See note on Chos rgyal Ratna gling pa.
- 313 This treasure revelation primarily deals with the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities (Tib. *zhi khro*) and practice-instructions for dark retreats. This *gter ma*, revealed from a rock near Black Maṇḍala Lake (Tib. *mtsho maṇḍala nag po*) in the south of Tibet, is contained in the RTZ with the title *rDzogs pa chen po yang ti nag po gser gyi ‘bru gcig pa* (RTZ vol.59, pp.153-446) (KAPSTEIN 1998:100 and SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:63 n.17).
- 314 This is the later (Tib. *phyi ma*) Dung mtsho ras pa (BDRC ID P5909) born in 15th century. He is considered to be the reincarnation of the earlier (Tib. *snga ma*) Dung mtsho ras pa (1267-1329?, BDRC ID P1801) (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Duntso Repa “The Later”).
- 315 The treasure revelation *dGongs pa yang zab*, which is short for *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab*, is included in parts in the BKCZ (vol.94) and the RTZ (vol.4, pp.761-862; vol.12, pp.703-715; vol.19, pp.743-799). The whole cycle is contained in the first six volumes of the *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab*. For a study of this treasure cycle see BURGHART 2017:176-241.

chen phun tshogs;³¹⁶ the *Grol tig*³¹⁷ [revealed] by ‘Phreng gter Shes rab ‘od zer;³¹⁸ the *Rig ‘dzin yongs ‘dus*³¹⁹ and other [gter mas revealed] by the brother mNga’ ris paṇ chen;³²⁰ the *Zhi khro dgongs grol*³²¹

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- 316 Rin chen phun tshogs chos kyi rgyal po (1509-1557, BDRC ID P399) was born in the ‘Bri gung valley east of Lhasa. He was the 17th ‘Bri gung throne holder but eventually had to give up his office in order to become a treasure revealer. As such he was known as gNam lcags me ‘bar. A collection of his works (Tib. *bka’ ‘bum*) is contained in the BKCZ (vols.66-9), a partial collection of *gter mas* (Tib. *gter chos*), which contains solely texts from his *gter ma Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab*, is also contained therein (BKCZ vol.94) (see BURGHART 2017:303-315 for an index) (BURGHART 2017:1, 6, 28 and 129). For a thorough study of Rin chen phun tshogs’ life and works, including a translation of his autobiography and a study of his treasure revelation *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab* see BURGHART 2017.
- 317 The *Grol tig*, in full *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol*, is the main treasure revelation of ‘Phreng po gter ston Shes rab ‘od zer (1518-1584, BDRC ID P638) (DEROCHE 2009:339 n.35). The *gter ma* is contained in the RTZ (vol.8, pp.65-222, and *passim*).
- 318 ‘Phreng po gter ston Shes rab ‘od zer (1518-1584, BDRC ID P638) is known as such – the treasure revealer of ‘Phreng po – because he spent a large amount of time in ‘Phreng po in the area of rDo rje brag, southern Tibet. Shes rab ‘od zer is generally attributed the formulation of the model of the eight chariots of practice lineages (Tib. *sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad*) (DEROCHE 2009:319). For a translation of his biography from the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.586-90) see DEROCHÉ 2009:324-6. For a more detailed account of his life see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Sherab Ozer.
- 319 The *Rig ‘dzin yongs ‘dus*, in full *Bla ma rig ‘dzin yongs ‘dus*, is the major treasure revelation of mNga’ ris paṇ chen. He is said to have revealed this treasure cycle at the age of forty-seven from a chest hidden in the back of an image of Vairocana at bSam yas monastery (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:807 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Ngari Paṇchen Pema Wanggyel). This *gter ma* is contained in the RTZ (vol.4, pp.745-760, vol.7, pp.619-778, vol.19, pp.593-741, vol.49, pp.731-736).
- 320 mNga’ ris paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487-1542, BDRC ID P1699) was born in the district Glo bo ma thang in mNga’ ris (the district Glo bo ma thang has been identified with today’s Mustang in Nepal). He was a master in the Byang gter tradition and one of his seven brothers was the 2nd rDo rje brag rig ‘dzin Legs ldan rdo rje (1452-1565, P1701), the reincarnation of the revealer of the northern treasures (Tib. *byang gter*) (BOORD 1993:28; DARGYAY 1998:225 n.278; DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:805). For a brief account of Padma dbang rgyal’s life see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:805-808 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Ngari Paṇchen Pema Wanggyel.
- 321 The teachings of the *Zhi khro dgongs grol* centre around the maṇḍala of the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities (Tib. *zhi khro*), which is likely based on the teachings of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* and the Māyājāla cycle. The treasure cycle, said to have been concealed by Padmasambhava, was revealed together with the smaller cycle *Bar do thos grol chen mo* (the well-known *Tibetan Book of the Dead*) from the mountain peak sGam po gdar in Dwags po. Together these are generally referred to as *Kar gling zhi khro* (CUEVAS 2000:22-23 and 107). For information on the *Kar gling zhi khro* and the *zhi khro* maṇḍala see BLEZER 1997. See also Cuevas’ doctoral dissertation (CUEVAS 2000) and his more recent work largely based on that (CUEVAS 2003) for more information on *Kar gling zhi khro*, its concealment and revelation, teachings, traditions and so forth. The *Zhi khro dgongs grol* comprises the three volumes of the *Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol gyi chos skor* (see BDRC ID W23454) and is partially contained in the RTZ with the title *Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol* (RTZ vol.3, pp.335-630, vol.67, pp.603-749 and 809-828).

[revealed] by Karma gling pa;³²² the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*³²³ [revealed] by Padma las 'brel rtsal;³²⁴ the peaceful and wrathful guru [cycles]³²⁵ [revealed] by Padma gling pa;³²⁶ the *Thugs chen*,³²⁷ *rDor sems*³²⁸ and the *sGrub thabs 'dod 'jo bum bzang*³²⁹ [by] sMin gling,³³⁰ the *'Ja' tshon pod drug*,³³¹ likewise

- 322 Karma gling pa (BDRC ID P5245) was born in 14th century in Khyer grub above Dwags po. For a brief account of his life and treasure revelations see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:800-1 and DARGYAY 1998:51-3.
- 323 According to tradition, Padmasambhava gave these rDzogs chen teachings to the eight-year-old resurrected princess Padma rtsal before she passed away again. Ye shes mtsho rgyal then concealed the teachings in lDang lung khra mo brag in Dwags po, later to be revealed by princess Padma rtsal's reincarnation, the twenty-three-year-old Padma las 'brel rtsal (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *Mkha' 'gro snying thig* and s.v. Padma las 'brel rtsal; *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Pema Ledrel Tsel). The *mKha' 'gro snying thig* comprises volumes 10 and 11 of the *sNying thig ya bzhi*. Klong chen rab 'byams' (1308-1364, BDRC ID P1583) extensive commentary on this treasure cycle, the *mKha' 'gro yang thig*, comprises volumes 7 to 9 of the same work (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *Mkha' 'gro snying thig*). Some texts of both the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* and the *mKha' 'gro yang thig* are also contained in the RTZ (vol.38, pp.449-472, vol.42, pp.323-341, vol.56, pp.405-589 and vol.61, pp.609-614).
- 324 Padma las 'brel rtsal (BDRC ID P7628) was born in gNyan rong 'bri thang. According to Garry (in *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Pema Ledrel Tsel), he lived from 1291 to 1315, BUSWELL&LOPEZ (2014, s.v. Padma las 'brel rtsal) however give the dates 1231/48 to 1259/1315. Klong chen rab 'byams (1308-1364) is regarded as his reincarnation (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Pema Ledrel Tsel).
- 325 Tib. *bla ma zhi drag*. Padma gling pa's three treasure cycles concerned with the wrathful aspect of Padmasambhava are the ones referred to as the 'three greater, middling and lesser wrathful [guru cycles]' (Tib. *drag po che 'bring chung gsum*). They are the *Bla ma drag po dmar chen me lce phreng ba*, the *Bla ma drag po 'gro ba kun 'dul* and the *Drag po me rlung 'khyil pa*, and make up volume three of the *Pad gling gter chos*. None of these are contained in the RTZ. The treasure cycle concerned with the peaceful aspect is called *Bla ma nor bu rgya mtsho* filling volumes one and two of the *Pad gling gter chos*. This cycle is also contained in the RTZ (vol.7, pp.573-618, vol.47, pp.371-384, vol.50, pp.975-1017, vol.51, pp.481-502, vol.60, pp.655-8, vol.67, pp.435-591 and 595-601) (HARDING 2003:163 n.79 and 142).
- 326 The great *gter ston* Padma gling pa (1450-1521, BDRC ID P1693) was born in the Bum thang district of Bhutan and is known as the fourth of the five kingly treasure revealers (Tib. *gter ston rgyal po lnga*) (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:796). For brief accounts of Padma gling pa's life and treasure revelations see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:796-9 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Pema Lingpa. For a more detailed account see HARDING 2003.
- 327 sMin gling gter chen 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714, BDRC ID P7) revealed the *gter ma Thugs chen*, in full *Thugs rje chen po bde gshegs kun 'dus*, in 1680 in public at Sha 'ug stag sgo in eastern Bhutan (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:828 and DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:476). The cycle is contained in the RTZ (vol.24, pp.233-555, vol.35, pp.721-775, vol.53, pp.175-240).
- 328 sMin gling gter chen 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714, BDRC ID P7) revealed the *gter ma rDor sems*, in full *dPal rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa*, in 1676 at O dkar brag in the lower Bying valley, south-east of lHasa (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:828 and DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:471). The cycle is contained in the RTZ (vol.3, pp.1-148 and 151-334, vol.42, pp.197-203).
- 329 The *sGrub thabs 'dod 'jo bum bzang* is a collection of various practices based on the treasure revelations of different *gter stons*, compiled by sMin gling gter chen 'Gyur med rdo rje (http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Sgrub_thabs_%27dod_%27jo%27i_bum_bzang, accessed 05.04.2019). It is contained in volume sixty-one of the RTZ.
- 330 The great treasure revealer of sMin grol gling, sMin gling gter chen 'Gyur med rdo rje (also known as gTer bdag gling pa, 1646-1714, BDRC ID P7), was the founder of sMin grol gling monastery in lHo kha, which is one of the main monasteries of the rNying ma school and the main centre of the lHo gter tradition (see BDRC ID G14 for the exact location of the monastery). Among his numerous students were his younger brother lHo chen Dharma śrī (1654-1718, BDRC ID P667) and the 5th Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682, BDRC ID P37) (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:288-9 and 650). For an account of 'Gyur med rdo rje's life and treasure revelations see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:825-34; see also POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:288-9.
- 331 The *'Ja' tshon pod drug*, the 'six books of 'Ja' tshon,' is a collection of treasure revelations of 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656, BDRC ID P882). The six-volume collection, the full title of which is *gTer chen rig 'dzin 'ja' tshon snying po'i zab gter chos mdzod rin po che*, is comprised of the *Yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus skor* (vol.1), *Tshe sgrub gnam lcags rdo rje'i skor* (vol.2), *rTa phag yid bzhin nor bu'i skor* (vol.3), *Zhi khro nges don snying po'i skor*

all kinds of treasure teachings [revealed] by guru Khyung drag rdo rje,³³² Chos rje gling pa,³³³ sTag sham rdo rje³³⁴ and Rol rdor;³³⁵ the *Padmavajra*,³³⁶ *Grol lod*³³⁷ and other [*gter mas* revealed] by Yongs

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- (vol.4), *Thugs rje chen po ngan song rang grol gyi skor* (vol.5), *dPal mgon ma ning nag po'i skor* (vol.6) (BDRC ID W1KG3655). This work has been made available by BDRC (see BDRC ID W1KG3655).
- 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656, BDRC ID P882), also known as Hūṃ nag me 'bar, was born in Wa ru gnam tshul in Kong po, south-western Khams (DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:809 and DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:464). As noted by SMITH (2001:330 n.818), the treasure revelations of 'Ja' tshon snying po are among the most widespread ritual texts. For a brief account of his life and treasure revelations see DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:809-12; see also *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jatson Nyingpo.
- 332 Khyung drag rdo rje (alt. Khyung grags rdo rje, cf. RTZ vol.1, p.644.6; BDRC ID P7742), also known as O rgyan phun tshogs and regarded as reincarnation of g.Yu sgra snying po (born in 8th century), was born in the 17th century in Sa ngan in south-eastern Tibet (in today's Sichuan province on the border to the Tibetan Autonomous Region; for the exact location see <http://places.thlib.org/features/16056> (accessed 05.04.2019)). He was enthroned and studied at the rNying ma monastery Kaḥ thog, south-east of sDe dge (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:348 and *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Khyungdrak Dorje). A brief biography of Khyung drag rdo rje is included in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.644-5), which has been translated in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:284-5. For a brief account of his life see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Khyungdrak Dorje.
- 333 Chos rje gling pa (1682-1720, BDRC ID P671) was born in Gru mkhar rdzong in Dwags po. He is also known as O rgyan rog rje gling pa, Chos rje 'dzam gling rdo rje, dBon rje gling pa and bDe ba'i rdo rje. Chos rje gling pa was the teacher of many eminent masters of the rNying ma and bKa' brgyud schools, such as the 12th Karma pa Byang chub rdo rje (1703-1732, BDRC ID P838) and 'Jigs med gling pa's main teacher, Rig 'dzin Thugs mchog rdo rje (18th century, BDRC ID P682). 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1785, BDRC ID P314) is considered Chos rje gling pa's immediate rebirth (GOODMAN 1992:137, 194 and 198 n.33; *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Jigme Lingpa). This *gter ston*'s treasure revelations are included in the RTZ and a biographical sketch is given The *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.468-72), of which there is a translation in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:132-5. For more information on this *gter ston* see GOODMAN 1992:198-9 n.33.
- 334 sTag sham rdo rje (BDRC ID P663), also known as and bSam gtan gling pa and Nus ldan rdo rje, was born in 1655 in Khams. He was the teacher of many eminent master of the time (GOODMAN 1992:198 n.33; <http://ntbc-us.org/taksham-tulku>, accessed 05.04.2019). His treasure revelations are included in the RTZ and a biography in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.627-31). A translation of this biography can be found in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:269-72. More information on this *gter ston*, his incarnation line and the current incarnation, the 8th sTag sham tulku, can be found on the weblink <http://ntbc-us.org/taksham-tulku> (accessed 05.04.2019).
- 335 Rol rdor is the abbreviation of Rol pa'i rdo rje (died in 1719, BDRC ID P6996). He is also known as Lalitavajra, which is the Sanskrit translation of his name, and dKon mchog lhun grub (http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Rol_pa%27i_rdo_rje, accessed 05.04.2019). His *gter mas* are included in the RTZ and a biographical account in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.635-40), which has been translated in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:276-80.
- 336 This treasure cycle concerned with Padmavajra, an emanation of Padmasambhava, is said to have been excavated from a rock (GYAMTSO 2006:5 and 85 n.6). See GYAMTSO 2006:26-8 for the story on how this treasure was revealed. The *gter ma* is not included in the RTZ.
- 337 *rDo rje grol lod* is a wrathful emanation of Padmasambhava. Yongs dge Mi 'gyur rdo (1628/1641-1708, BDRC ID P654) is said to have revealed this treasure in two parts that were hidden in lakes (GYAMTSO 2006:4-5 and GYATSO 2001:93). For the narrative on how this treasure was revealed see GYAMTSO 2006:22-26. Teachings of this *gter ma* are gathered in the *rDo rje gro lod rtsa gsum sgrub thabs skor* (BDRC ID W23997). The *gter ma* is not included in the RTZ.

dge,³³⁸ the *gNam chos thugs gter skor*³³⁹ [revealed] by Mi ‘gyur rdo rje,³⁴⁰ the [treasure] cycles *Dzam dkar*³⁴¹ and *Gu ru drag mthing*³⁴² [revealed] by Chos rgyal rdo rje;³⁴³ all kinds of profound teachings of the seven transmissions³⁴⁴ from the two [‘Jam dbyangs] mKhyen [brtse’i dbang po]³⁴⁵ and [‘Jam mgon] kong [sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas];³⁴⁶ the majority of the new treasure cycles³⁴⁷ [revealed] by

338 Yongs dge (alt. Yon/Yong dge) Mi ‘gyur rdo rje drag po nus ldan rtsal (1628/41-1708, BDRC ID P654) was born in western Zal mo sgang in Khams (GYAMTSO 2006:18; http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Yon_dge_mi_%27gyur_rdo_rje, accessed 05.04.2019). Some treasure revelations of Yongs dge Mi ‘gyur rdo rje are included in the RTZ. His biographical account in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.620-5), as well as a longer biography of this *gter ston*, have been translated in GYAMTSO 2006. For information on his incarnation lineage see the weblink <https://tergar.org/about/tergar-lineage/lineage-history/> (accessed 05.04.2019); for a biography of the current incarnation, the 7th Mi ‘gyur rdo rje, see the weblink <https://tergar.app.box.com/v/Rinpoche-bio> (accessed 05.04.2019).

339 This is Mi ‘gyur rdo rje’s (1645-1667, BDRC ID P659) major treasure revelation and like most of his *gter mas* it is a mind treasure (Tib. *dgongs gter*). It is often simply referred to as *gNam chos* (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Namcho Mingyur Dorje). Its revelation is described in SONAM TSEWANG&AMTZIS 2008:81-93. This treasure cycle is collected in the thirteen volumes of the *gNam chos thugs kyi gter kha snyan brgyud zab mo’i skor* (BDRC ID W21578). Numerous scriptures of this treasure cycle are also contained in the RTZ, spread throughout the collection (for their locations see the weblink http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Gnam_chos_thugs_kyi_gter_kha_snyan_brgyud_zab_mo%27i_skor, accessed 05.04.2019).

340 Mi ‘gyur rdo rje (1645-1667, BDRC ID P659), also known as *gNam chos* Mi ‘gyur rdo rje, was from Ngom in Nang chen, Khams (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Namcho Mingyur Dorje). For a translation of an extensive biography of Mi ‘gyur rdo rje see SONAM TSEWANG&AMTZIS 2008.

341 The *Dzam dkar*, a mind treasure (Tib. *dgongs gter*) concerned with the deity white Jambhala (Tib. *dzam dkar*), is contained in the RTZ with the title *O rgyan nor lha dzam dkar tshe g.yang kha sbyor* (RTZ vol.50, pp.335-400) (KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:312).

342 This mind treasure (Tib. *dgongs gter*) concerned with the wrathful guru (Tib. *gu ru drag po*), an emanation of Padmasambhava, is contained in the RTZ with the title *Gu ru drag po mthing ga* (RTZ vol.14, pp.3-139) (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:406 and KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:312).

343 The treasure revealer Chos rgyal rdo rje (1789-1859, BDRC ID P1711) was born in dGe rgyal in Khams (KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:311). The biographical sketch given in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (RTZ vol.1, pp.674-6) has been translated in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:311-2.

344 The seven transmissions (Tib. *bka’ babs bdun*) are the oral transmission (Tib. *bka’ ma*), earth treasures (Tib. *sa gter*), rediscovered treasures (Tib. *yang gter*), mind treasures (Tib. *dgongs gter*), recollected treasures (Tib. *rjes dran gter*), pure visions (Tib. *dag snang*) and the oral lineage (Tib. *snyan brgyud*).

This system of seven transmissions first emerged in this form with mChog gyur gling pa (1829-1870) and it goes back to a system of seven transmissions originally formulated by Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (1042-1136, BDRC ID P3816), which only dealt with the lineages of the oral transmission (Tib. *bka’ ma*) (DOCTOR 2013:85). As DOCTOR (2013:85) states: “In its classical formulation this system refers to seven transmissions of tantric material passing from India into Tibet during the latter half of the eighth century and first half of the ninth century.” See GERMANO 2002:225-255 for a detailed presentation of this classical formulation.

345 See note on mKhyen brtse’i dbang po.

346 See note on Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas.

347 After sMin gling gter chen ‘Gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714) there was a period of very low activity concerning treasure revelations and, apart from ‘Jigs med gling pa (1730-1785), no new treasure revealers appeared until mChog gyur gling pa (1829-1870). The treasures revealed before that time are referred to as the older treasures (Tib. *gter rnying*) in contrast to the new treasures (Tib. *gter gsar*) revealed after that period (DARGYAY 1998:70-1 and DOCTOR 2013:46).

mChog gyur bde chen gling pa³⁴⁸ and bDud ‘dul bar ba’i rdo rje³⁴⁹.

9.10.2. gSar ma

Likewise, regarding the cycles of the new [schools of] the later translations:

a. General

In general [he received] the *Vajrāvalīnāmamaṇḍalasādhana*³⁵⁰ by the master Abhayākara[gupta],³⁵¹ the *sGrub thabs rin ‘byung*³⁵² from the Jo nang [tradition],³⁵³ the *Mi tra brgya rtse*,³⁵⁴ the Seven

348 mChog gyur bde chen gling pa (1829-1870, BDRC ID P564), also known as mChog gyur bde chen zhig po gling pa, was an important person in the *ris med* movement. His treasure revelations, the majority of which are earth treasures, cover a number of genres. Concerning Atiyoga they are unique in that they cover all three sections (DOCTOR 2013:75, 94-5, 209 n.143). mChog gyur gling pa’s treasure revelations have been collected in the thirty-nine volumes of the *mChog gling gter gsar* (BDRC ID W22642). Many of these are also contained in the RTZ (for their locations see the weblink http://rtz.tsadra.org/index.php/Mchog_gyur_gling_pa, last access 06.04.2019). For information on mChog gyur gling pa’s life and treasure revelations see DOCTOR 2013:73-101 and DUDJOM, DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:841-8. For a more concise account of his life see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Chokgyur Lingpa.

349 Likely the 1st ‘Bar dor tulku ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje (1836-1918/20), mChog gyur gling pa’s disciple (*Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Chokgyur Lingpa). See also the note on *gter ston* ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje. His treasure revelations are collected in the *‘Bar ba’i rdo rje’i gter chos* (BDRC ID W4PD1389).

350 Tib. *dkyil* [‘*khor gyi*] *cho ga rdo rje phreng ba*. This text is contained in the *bsTan ‘gyur* (D. 3140, P. 3961).

351 Also Abhayākāragupta, an Indian *paṇḍit* born in the 11th century (BDRC ID P4004).

352 This collection of *sādhana*s by Tāranātha (1575-1634, BDRC ID P1428), also referred to as *Rin ‘byung brgya rtse*, can be found in Tāranātha’s collected works under the title *Yi dam rgya mtsho’i sgrub thabs rin chen ‘byung gnas* (*Tā ra nā tha’i gsung ‘bum*, vol.15, pp.1-631) (ENGLISH 2002:394-5 n.57).

353 The Jo nang tradition has its beginnings in the 13th century. The first monastery, Jo nang phun tshogs gling, was build northwest of gZhis ka rtse (Xigazê) and remained the primary seat for the Jo nang pas until the 17th century, when it was taken over by the dGe lugs tradition. The Jo nang pas are famous for their proponents of the *gzhan stong* view and their interest in the *Kālacakratantra*. Among the greatest masters of this tradition are Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361, BDRC ID P139) and Tāranātha (1575-1634) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Jo nang).

354 The *Mi tra brgya rtse* is a very popular set of teachings of the East Indian Mitrayogin (Tib. *Mi tra mdzo ki*, mid 12th to early 13th centuries, BDRC ID P7609). As May (in *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Mitrayogin) summarises: “[...] [It is] a collection of one hundred and eight separate maṇḍala and associated materials including *sādhana*, funeral rites, tantric techniques, and many other topics.” For more information on Mitrayogin see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Mitrayogin; for more information on Mitrayogin as well as the *Mi tra brgya rtse* see ROERICH 2007:1.030-43. For works related to the *Mi tra brgya rtse* see BDRC ID T1774.

Maṇḍalas of the rNgog [lineage];³⁵⁵ the *Zhi phreng*, *Drag phreng* and *Chos skyong glog phreng*³⁵⁶ of the Kaṃ tshang tradition³⁵⁷; the great *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod*³⁵⁸ and others;

b. bKa' brgyud Transmissions

In particular, concerning [the teachings of] the bKa' brgyud [order], [he received] instructions on the four pronouncements³⁵⁹ [and] the various Indian works on *mahāmudrā*,³⁶⁰ such as the cycles of

355 The *Seven Maṇḍalas* of the rNgog lineage (Tib. *rNgog dkyil bdun*) are cycles of tantric teachings that entered Tibet mainly through Mar pa Chos kyi bo gros and were then transmitted by rNgog Chos rdor (alt. Chos kyi rdo rje and Cho sku rdo rje, 1023–1090) (DUCHER 2017a:54–55 and 60). They are, as given in DUCHER (2017b:87): “The nine-deity maṇḍala of Hevajra (Tib. *dgyes rdor lha dgu*); the fifteen-deity maṇḍala of his consort Nairātmyā (Tib. *bdag med ma lha mo bco lnga*); the forty-nine-deity maṇḍala of *Vajrapañjara* (Tib. *rdo rje gur rigs bsdu lha zhe dgu*); the seventy-seven-deity maṇḍala of Yogāmbara, the male form of *Catuṣpīṭha* (Tib. *gdan bzhi'am rnal 'byor nam mkha' lha mang*); the thirteen-deity maṇḍala of Jñāneśvarī, the female form of *Catuṣpīṭha* (Tib. *ye shes dbang phyug ma lha bcu gsum*); the five-deity maṇḍala of *Mahāmāyā* (Tib. *sgyu ma chen mo lha lnga*); the fifty-three-deity maṇḍala of *Nāmasaṃgīti* of the gSang ldan Tradition (Tib. *'jam dpal mtshan brjod gsang ldan lugs*).” As pointed out by DUCHER (2017b:87), only the first six were transmitted by Mar pa. For a thorough study of the rNgog tradition see DUCHER 2017b (the *Seven Maṇḍalas* are explained on pages 86 to 120).

356 Not identified.

357 I.e. the Karma bKa' brgyud (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:349).

358 The *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod* (KONG SPRUL 1982) is one of the *Five Treasuries* (Tib. *mDzod lnga*) of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul filling eight volumes. It is comprised of tantric teachings, practices and empowerments of the bKa' brgyud tradition (POWERS&TEMPLEMAN 2012:337).

359 These are four sets of tantric instructions which Tilopa received through four distinct streams of transmission (Tib. *bka' babs*) and which he later passed on to Nāropa. The presentation of the lineages and instructions differs greatly among the Tibetan sources. Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, in his biography of Tilopa (TORRICELLI&NAGA 2011:34–35), lists the following sets of instructions, which were later incorporated into the six dharmas of Nāropa (see note below): the instructions on illusory body (Skt. *māyākāya*, Tib. *sgyu lus*), dream (Skt. *svapna*, Tib. *rmi lam*), clear light (Skt. *prabhāsvara*, Tib. *'od gsal*) and inner heat (Skt. *caṇḍālī*, Tib. *gtum mo*). Other sources state the four transmissions to be those of the *mahāmudrā*, the intermediate state (Skt. *antrābhava*, Tib. *'bar do*), mother tantra (Skt. *māṭṛtantra*, Tib. *ma rgyud*), father tantra (Skt. *pitṛtantra*, Tib. *pha rgyud*) and individual tantras (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *bka' babs bzhi*). TORRICELLI 1993 offers a presentation and comparison of different Tibetan sources with regard to the masters of the four streams.

360 These Indian works on *mahāmudrā* (Tib. *phyag chen rgya gzhung*) refer to the works of Indian masters such as Jñānakīrti (10th/11th century), Maitrīpa (986–1063) and Sahajavajra (11th century), that were brought together into one collection, the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (BDRC ID W23447), by the seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506, BDRC ID P821) (MATHES 2011:89–91 and MATHES 2015:1). For a brief discussion of the works contained in the first volume of this compilation see MATHES 2011:93–98.

dohās,³⁶¹ *Grub*³⁶² and *sNying*,³⁶³ passed down from glorious Nāro[pa],³⁶⁴ Maitrīpa³⁶⁵ and so forth; profound instructions on means and liberation of the bKa' [gdams]³⁶⁶ and [Mahā]mudrā lineages³⁶⁷ passed down from the unequalled Dwags po [lha rje],³⁶⁸ such as the *lam rim* teachings of Jo bo's bKa' gdams pa [tradition],³⁶⁹ various tantra sections, pith instructions, the *ḍākinī* oral lineage³⁷⁰

- 361 *Dohās* are songs composed in verses and are named after the metre they follow. The Tibetan equivalent to *dohā* is *nyams mgur*, 'songs of experience' (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *dohā*). RICARD (1994:345 n.39) describes *dohās* as "spontaneous spiritual songs of the Indian *mahāsiddhas* and other accomplished masters." The numerous *dohās* are spread throughout the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (MATHES 2011:97).
- 362 This refers to the *Grub pa sde bdun*, the "seven sections on accomplishment," a cycle of *mahāmudrā* works (MATHES 2011:93). As identified by MATHES (2011:93-4), this cycle is contained in the *bsTan 'gyur* (D. 2217-2223, P. 3061-3067) as well as in first volume of the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (pp.31-216) as seven individual texts. For a list of the individual texts see MATHES 2011:94 n.16.
- 363 This refers to the *sNying po skor drug*, the "six works on essential [meaning]," a cycle of *mahāmudrā* works (MATHES 2011:93). As identified by MATHES (2011:94-5), these six works are contained in the *bsTan 'gyur* (D. 2224-2228, P. 3068-3072 and D. 1804, P. 2669) as well as in the first volume of the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (pp.284-392). For a list of these works see MATHES 2011:94-5.
- 364 Nāropa (1016-1100, BDRC ID P3085), born in Bengal, India, is one of the main figures of the bKa' brgyud lineage. According to traditional accounts Nāropa was abbot and senior instructor at the famous monastic university Nālandā, where he was known by the name Abhayakīrti. After an encounter with a *ḍākinī* he left the monastery to become the disciple of Tilopa (988-1069, BDRC ID P4024). His most renowned teachings are the so-called 'six dharmas of Nāropa' (Tib. *nā ro chos drug*; on these see note on the six dharmas of Nāropa below) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Nāropa and GUENTHER 1963:xi). For a biography see GUENTHER 1963:2-109.
- 365 Maitrīpa (986-1063, BDRC ID P44) was born in Bengal, India. He was a Brahmanical scholar until he was converted by Nāropa. Then he studied at the monastic universities Nālandā and Vikramaśīla, where he was eventually thrown out on account of the tantric practices he secretly performed. Maitrīpa was one of the main teachers of Mar pa and is particularly associated with the transmission of *mahāmudrā* teachings (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Maitrīpa/Maitrīpāda and MATHES 2015:1).
- 366 The lineage going back to Atiśa (982-1054, BDRC ID P3379) and his disciple 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004-1063, BDRC ID TBRC P2557) (KAPSTEIN 1996:277). See note on old and new bKa' gdams tradition for more information.
- 367 The Mahāmudrā lineage is the lineage coming from Tilopa (988-1069, BDRC ID P4024), through Mi la ras pa to sGam po pa (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *mahāmudrā*).
- 368 This is another name for sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079-1153, BDRC ID P1844). sGam po pa was a central figure in the formation of the bKa' brgyud school. sGam po pa trained as a physician, hence the name Dwags po lha rje, 'the physician from Dwags po'. Later, having renounced the householder's life, he trained in the bKa' gdams tradition before he met his main teacher, Mi la ras pa. By unifying the two lineages he established the bKa' brgyud tradition as a monastic order, which later subdivided into different branches (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen). For the incarnation lineage going back to him see note on sGam po tulku. For a thorough study of sGam po pa's life and teachings, as well as a presentation of his collected works including a translation of one work contained therein see TRUNGRAM 2004.
- 369 The *lam rim* teachings, short for *byang chub lam gyi rim pa* ('the stages of the path to enlightenment') are based on Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Tib. *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*, D. 4465, P. 5378 and D. 3947, P. 5343), the main scriptural work of the bKa' gdams tradition. Jo bo refers to Atiśa (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Atiśa Dīpaṃ-karaśrījñāna and s.v. *lam rim*; VETTURINI 2007:48).
- 370 The oral lineage of the *ḍākinī* (Tib. *mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*) refers to the 'nine dharma cycles of the oral lineage of the bodyless *ḍākinī*' (Tib. *lus med mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud chos skor dgu*) and the associated transmissions. Tilopa purportedly received these nine cycles from a form of Vajrayoginī closely connected to the *dharmakāya*, the bodyless *ḍākinī*. They are usually presented as instructions comprised of nine lines, which are said to sum up the entire tantric path. The text considered to contain the original verses is attributed to Tilopa and preserved in the *bsTan 'gyur*; it is called *Śrīvajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā* (Tib. *dPal rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma lus med pa'i chos*, D. 1527). The instructions of the *ḍākinī* oral lineage are considered ancillary to the teachings of the *saṃvara*

and the union of the key-points of merging and transference³⁷¹ of the master and disciple, venerable Mar [pa]³⁷² and Mi [la ras pa]³⁷³. [He also received] the cycles of the supreme path which is

oral lineage (Tib. *bde mchog snyan brgyud*), also collectively known as *bde mchog mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud. Tilopa is said to have received the teachings contained in the root text of the *saṃvara* oral lineage from the primordial buddha Vajradhara. This root text by an anonymous author and only extant in its Tibetan version has also been preserved in the *bsTan 'gyur*, it is called **Karṇatantravajrapada* (Tib. *sNyan brgyud rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, D. 2338, P. 4632, *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* vol.2, pp.406-11). These oral lineages have been further transmitted in the following way: Tilopa passed these teachings on to Nāropa, he in turn to Mar pa, yet only four of the nine bodless *ḍākinī* teachings, and in full to Pārāvatapāda (also known as Ti phu pa, ca. 12th century, BDRC ID P4CZ15227). Mi la ras pa, who had received the partial transmission from Mar pa, sent his disciple Ras chung pa rDo rje grags (1085-1161, BDRC ID P4278) to India to see Ti phu pa in order to complete the set. Having now received the transmission of all nine cycles, Mi la ras pa entrusted them to at least two more disciples, Ngan rdzong ras pa (ca. 11th century, BDRC ID P1PD116110) and sGam po pa. Although there is some disagreement about whether only Ras chung pa or everyone of these held the full transmission of the *ḍākinī* oral lineage. The lineages stemming from Ras chung pa, Ngan rdzong ras pa and sGam po pa are respectively known as Ras chung snyan brgyud, Ngan rdzong snyan brgyud and Dwags po snyan brgyud. Later they were unified by gTsang smyon Heruka (1452-1507, TRC ID P442) and ceased to exist as individual lineages. Considering this and the fact that the designations *bde mchog mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud, *bde mchog snyan brgyud* and *mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud are sometimes used synonymously, it is possible that the author refers to both sets of teachings, those of the *bde mchog snyan brgyud* and the *mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud, as one cycle (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *lus med mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud chos skor dgu and s.v. *snyan brgyud skor gsum*; DUFF 2010:viii and xv; SMITH 2001:41 and 66; QUINTMAN 2014:41). The nine one-line instructions are given in BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *lus med mkha'* 'gro snyan brgyud chos skor dgu, and, embedded in a translation of Tilopa's biography by Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, in TORRICELLI&NAGA 2011:44-45. The root text of the *ḍākinī* oral lineage, the *Śrīvajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā*, has been translated in DUFF 2010:1-7.

- 371 Tib. *bsre 'pho gnad kyi mtshams sbyor*. In general, the terms merging and transference (Tib. *bsre 'pho*) refer to Mar pa's pith instructions for the completion phase practices known as the six dharmas (Tib. *chos drug*). In particular, merging and transference refers to the set of six dharmas particularly associated with the Hevajra cycle that came through Mar pa to rNgog Chos rdor (1023-1090) and was then transmitted within the rNgog tradition of the bKa' brgyud school. Hence, it is also referred to as the six dharmas of rNgog (Tib. *rngog pa'i chos drug*; compare with note on the six dharmas of Nāropa below). The practice of merging and transference as transmitted in the rNgog tradition is set forth in a manual written by Tāranātha entitled *dGyes rdor mar lugs kyi khrid yig 'khrul med nges gsang* (KONG SPRUL 1982, vol. 2, pp.109-71). A partial translation of the relevant passages is presented in summarised form in KONGTRUL, GUARISCO&McLEOD 2008:343-50 n.49-56 (DUCHER 2017b:82 and 95, 97; KONGTRUL, GUARISCO&McLEOD 2008:343 n.48). For further reading, in particular with regard to the practice of merging, see KEMP 2015.
- 372 The translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (1002/12-1097/1100, BDRC ID P2636) was born lHo brag (BDRC ID G2134), an area in southern Tibet. Mar pa is regarded as the Tibetan founder of the bKa' brgyud tradition and is thus one of the main figures of the bKa' brgyud lineage. His main teacher was Nāropa, but he also studied under other great Indian masters of the time such as Maitrīpa (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. lHo brag and s.v. Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros). For information on Mar pa and a study of the various extant biographies see DUCHER 2017a. For a brief biography of Mar pa see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Marpa Chokyi Lodro. One of the most famous biographies of Mar pa, attributed to gTsang smyon Heruka, has been translated in TSANG&NĀLANDĀ 1982.
- 373 The famous yogin and poet Mi la ras pa (1028/40-1111/23, BDRC ID P1853) was born in the region Gung thang in south-western Tibet. Having been the student of Mar pa and teacher of sGam po pa, he is one of the main figures of the early bKa' brgyud lineage (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Mi la ras pa). For a brief biography see *Treasury of Lives*, s.v. Milarepa; for an extensive study of Mi la ras pa's life and life-stories see QUINTMAN 2014; for an annotated translation of the famous collection of Mi la ras pa's songs of realisation, the *Mi la ras pa'i mgur 'bum*, see CHANG 1999.

the essence of both these [lineages] combined: the **sahajayoga*,³⁷⁴ fivefold *mahāmudrā*³⁷⁵ [and] the six dharmas of Nāro[pa],³⁷⁶ various profound teachings³⁷⁷ of lord sKyob pa,³⁷⁸ such as the teachings

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- 374 **Sahajayoga* (Tib. *lhan cig skyes sbyor*), which is translated as the “Yoga of the Simultaneous Arising” in SOBISCH 2018, is one of the main teachings of the meditation tradition of *mahāmudrā*. Its fundamental teaching is that mind (Tib. *sems nyid*), thoughts (Tib. *rnam rtog*), appearances (Tib. *snang ba*) and the *dharmakāya* are arisen together (Tib. *lhan cig skyes*) in the sense of existing simultaneously. Therefore, emphasis is laid on the “involvement of thoughts and appearances in the practice of the path, as it is only through them that the *dharmakāya* can be seen” (SOBISCH 2018). The teaching of **sahajayoga* is said to go back to the Indian master Kambalapāda (ca. 10th-11th century) and was gradually passed down through the bKa’ brgyud and bKa’ gdams lineages. sGam po pa received the transmission through both lineages and passed them on to his disciple Phag mo gru pa (1110-1170, BDRC ID P127), who then wrote the oral instructions down (SCHILLER 2014:98, 225-6 and 235). For a brief introduction to **sahajayoga* see SOBISCH 2018, for a presentation **sahajayoga* as in the works of sGam po pa see SCHILLER 2014:128 and 146-8. For the early transmission lineage of **sahajayoga* in the bKa’ brgyud and bKa’ gdams traditions, and an outline of the two basic texts of both traditions see SCHILLER 2014:224-31.
- 375 The fivefold *mahāmudrā* (Tib. *phyag chen lnga ldan*) is a practice that allegedly goes back to Tilopa, was formed into a practice cycle by sGam po pa and received its name, *zab lam lnga ldan gyi phyag rgya chen po*, by his disciple Phag mo gru pa. Later, this cycle won particular importance within the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition but it also spread widely throughout other traditions. The basic fivefold path is comprised of engendering the resolve for awakening (Skt. *bodhicitta*, Tib. *byang chub sems*); deity yoga, which includes the visualisation of oneself as the deity and mantra recitation; a special guru yoga, which involves seeing the guru as *nirmāṇakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, *dharmakāya* and *svābhāvikakāya* buddha; the practice of *mahāmudrā* and the dedication of merit (Skt. *pariṇāma*, Tib. *bsngo ba*) (SOBISCH 2003:142 and 2008:75, 78). For more information on this practice in the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud see KHENPO KÖNCHOG GYALTSEN 2002 and SOBISCH 2003.
- 376 The six dharmas of Nāropa (Tib. *nā ro chos drug*), a major set of completion phase practices, are primarily practised within the bKa’ brgyud tradition. Tilopa received the instructions on these practices, which are based on the teachings of various highest yoga tantras, from different teachers. He codified the instructions and passed them on to Nāropa as a set of teachings. Nāropa transmitted the set to Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros and he transmitted it to Mi la ras pa. It is through Mi la ras pa’s focus on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and its related practices, that the six dharmas of Nāropa are primarily associated with the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle. The six dharmas of Nāropa generally comprise the practices of inner heat (Skt. *caṇḍālī*, Tib. *gtum mo*), illusory body (Skt. *māyakāya*, Tib. *sgyu lus*), lucid dreaming (Skt. *svapna*, Tib. *rmi lam*), luminosity (Skt. *prabhāsvara*, Tib. ‘*od gsal*), intermediate state (Skt. *antarābhava*, Tib. *bar do*) and transference of consciousness (Skt. *saṃkrānti*, Tib. ‘*pho ba*) (DUCHER 2017b:82 and 95-6; KRAGH 2011:132-3). These are briefly described in POWERS 2007:405-15. For more information on this set of teaching in general, in particular with regard to its textual sources, see KRAGH 2011.
- 377 The profound teachings (Tib. *zab chos*), ‘Jig rten gsum mgon’s esoteric teachings, are gathered in the BKCZ (vols.26-32) and the ‘Jig rten mgon po’i bka’ ‘bum (vols.7-8) (KEMP 2015:38).
- 378 sKyob pa ‘Jig rten gsum mgon (1143-1217, BDRC ID P16), the founder of ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition (see the chapter “The ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud tradition”). ‘Jig rten gsum mgon’s works are collected in the ‘Jig rten mgon po’i bka’ ‘bum and in the BKCZ in two sections: the sKyob pa ‘jig rten gsum mgon gyi bka’ ‘bum (vols.20-25) and the rje ‘jig rten mgon po’i zab chos (vols.26-32).

on ten [points],³⁷⁹ teachings on three [points],³⁸⁰ mountain teachings,³⁸¹ public teachings³⁸² and special teachings;³⁸³ supplementary teachings to those; [and] various authoritative commentaries on the *Theg chen bstan pa'i snying po*³⁸⁴ and the *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa*³⁸⁵. [Further, he received] various collections of teachings of venerable Rin chen [phun] tshogs,³⁸⁶ Chos kyi grags pa,³⁸⁷ the two rGyal mtshan³⁸⁸ and so forth; cycles of guru practices – the profound path, such as the *Mos*

379 The teachings on ten [points] (Tib. *bcu chos*) are teachings on inner heat (Tib. *gtum mo*), luminosity (Tib. 'od gsal), *rmi lam*, devotion (Tib. *mos gus*) and Tilopa's *mahāmudrā* key instructions known as the six dharmas of Tilopa (Tib. *tai lo pa'i chos drug*) or the *Six Nails of the Key Points* (Tib. *gNad kyi gzer drug*). These are: *mi mno*, *mi bsam*, *mi sems*, *mi dpyad*, *mi sgom* and *yid la mi byed pa*. Alternatively, *bcu chos* is thought of as 'teachings for ten,' that is, teachings given only to ten people (Khenpo Konchog Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019; OSTENSEN 2018:26). The BKCZ contains the following *bcu chos* texts within the section of profound teachings (Tib. *zab chos*): the *bCu chos kyi rtsa tshig* (BKCZ vol.26, pp.307-311), the supplementary teaching *Yid bzhin nor bu rin po che dbang gi rgyal po lta bu'i gdams pa bcu chos kyi rgyab chos* (BKCZ vol.27, pp.186-200) and the *bCu chos* (BKCZ vol.30, pp.305-322).

380 The teachings on three [points] (Tib. *sum chos*) are teachings on the integration of the three vows – the *pratimokṣa*-, *bodhisatva*- and tantric vows – in one's practice. Alternatively, *sum chos* is thought of as 'teachings for three,' that is, teachings given only to three people (Khenpo Konchog Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019). The BKCZ contains the following texts marked as *sum chos* within the profound dharma (Tib. *zab chos*) section: the *Sum chos* (BKCZ vol.30, p.323-332), the *Sum chos 'khor lo ma* (BKCZ vol.30, pp.381-390) and the *Sum chos kyi gzhal gdams* (BKCZ vol.30, pp.391-416).

381 Mountain teachings (Tib. *ri chos*) are concerned with practical instructions for being in retreat in secluded places (RIEGE 2017:14). Various mountain teachings taught by 'Jig rten gsum mgon are contained in the section of profound teachings (Tib. *zab chos*) in the BKCZ (vol.26 *passim*) and 'Jig rten gsum mgon's collected works (*Jig rten mgon po'i bka' 'bum* vol.7, pp.36-144). For a translation of such a text, which is compiled of sections drawn from various *ri chos* texts contained in these collections, see RIEGE 2017.

382 The various texts contained in the section of profound teachings (Tib. *zab chos*) in the BKCZ and marked as public teachings (Tib. *tshogs chos*) are the following: *dBon rin po che'i tshogs chos chung ba* (BKCZ vol.27, p.136-140), and the *Tshogs chos kyi rim pa legs par bshad pa yid bzhin nor bu* (BKCZ vol.31, p.279-487). The *tshogs chos* texts in the 'Jig rten mgon po'i bka' 'bum are contained in volume 7 (pp.182-193 and pp.317-617). For a translation of one of these texts, the *Tshogs chos dbon shes rab 'byung gnas kyi zin bris* ('Jig rten mgon po'i bka' 'bum vol.7, pp.428-510) see KARMA CHÖKYI ZANGMO 2017.

383 Special teachings (Tib. *khyad chos*) are privately given teachings. The *dGongs gcig* (see note on *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa* below), for example, is considered such a special teaching (SOBISCH 2012b).

384 An important text of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud composed by Ngo rje ras pa (also known as Zhe sdang rdo rje, 1090-1166, BDRC ID P133) (<https://milareparetreat.org/index.php/en/component/content/article?id=112>, accessed 22.03.2019). The root text is contained in the BKCZ (vol.41, p.319-327).

385 The *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa*, often referred to in its abbreviated form *dGongs gcig*, comprises teachings 'Jig rten gsum mgon gave informally, in private and on various occasions to his nephew and disciple Shes rab 'byung gnas (1187-1241, BDRC ID P131), who set the teachings down in writing in form of 150 (or 152) brief statements. While there is a whole collection of *dGongs gcig* texts comprised of two volumes, the *dGongs gcig yig cha* (BDRC ID W1648), these 150 statements make up the root text called *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i rtsa tshig rdo rje'i gsung brgya lnga bcu pa*, which is contained in the BKCZ (vol.38, p.189-219) (MARTIN 1997:265 and SOBISCH 2012a). For a translation of the root text of the *dGongs gcig* and a commentary by Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa see VIEHBECK 2009.

386 A collection of Rin chen phun tshogs works is contained in volumes 66 to 69 of the BKCZ; a partial collection of his treasure teachings (Tib. *gter chos*) is contained in volume 94 of the BKCZ.

387 The 24th throne holder of 'Bri gung mthil and 1st Chung tshang Rinpoche (1595-1659, BDRC ID P2666) (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/list-of-lineage-holders>, accessed 19.03.2019). His collected teachings comprise volumes 98 to 114 of the BKCZ.

388 The two rGyal mtshan are bsTan 'dzin pad ma'i rgyal mtshan (1770-1826, BDRC ID P845), the 4th Che tshang tulku and 29th 'Bri gung hierarch, and bsTan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1793-1826, BDRC ID P2233), the 4th Chung tshang tulku and 30th 'Bri gung hierarch (<http://www.drikung.org/drikung-kagyu-lineage/>

gus srog 'khor³⁸⁹ and the guru practice *bDe ba'i rdo rje*,³⁹⁰ ripening [empowerments] and liberating [instructions] for many *yi dam*-deity-accomplishment-maṇḍalas of the higher and the lower tantra sections,³⁹¹ such as the father [aspect] teachings and the mother [aspect] teachings of the Cakrasaṃvara [cycle],³⁹² the *Bla med lhan skyes rnam bzhi*,³⁹³ the *rDo rje theg pa'i dkyil 'khor bdun*,³⁹⁴ the *sGrub thabs nor phreng*³⁹⁵ and [of] Kriyā-, Caryā- and Yogatantra; *ḍākinī* practice cycles such as

list-of-lineage-holders, accessed 19.03.2019). The 4th Che tshang tulku's collection of works is contained in volumes 118 to 121 of the BKCZ, that of the 4th Chung tshang tulku in volumes 122 to 124.

389 This text is contained in the BKCZ (vol.26, pp.56-85) among the profound teachings (Tib. *zab chos*) of 'Jig rten gsum mgon.

390 This practice, focused on Cakrasaṃvara in the form of *bDe ba'i rdo rje* (in red colour and embracing his consort) is part of the *Lam zab bla ma sgrub pa* cycle based on a pure vision received by the 1st Chung tshang Chos kyi grags pa (Khenpo Konchog Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019; <https://www.ddcv.com/current-events.html>, accessed 14.02.2019). The cycle is contained in Chos kyi grags pa's collected works in the BKCZ (vol.111, pp.33-249).

391 The gSar ma schools differentiate four tantra sections: the first three, Kriyātantra (Tib. *bya ba'i rgyud*, D. 502-808), Caryātantra (Tib. *spyod pa'i rgyud*, D. 494-501) and Yogatantra (Tib. *rnal 'byor rgyud* or *yo ga'i rgyud*, D. 479-493), are the lower tantras, while the fourth tantra section, Yoganiruttaratantra or Highest Yogatantra (Tib. *bla na med pa'i rgyud*, D. 360-478) comprises the highest tantras. The tantras of this latter section are generally further divided into tantras emphasising skilfull means, the father tantras (Skt. *pitṛtantra*, Tib. *pha'i rgyud*, D. 442-478), and those emphasising wisdom, the mother tantras (Skt. *māṛtantra*, Tib. *ma'i rgyud*, D. 366-441) or yoginītantras (Tib. *rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud*), in order of profundity. A third and even more profound division is often applied, which comprises the tantras that unify means and wisdom, the non-dual tantras (Tib. *gnyis med kyi rgyud*, D. 360-365). Again, further subdivisions might be applied to those (KONG SPRUL 2005:215; <http://read.84000.co/section/O1JC114941JC21412.html>, accessed 20.03.2019).

392 Cakrasaṃvara, also known as Heruka or Śriheruka, is the main deity of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, which also known as *Śriherukābhidāna* or *Cakrasaṃvaralaghutantra* (full title: *Tantrarājaśrīlaghusambara*, Tib. *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal bde mchog nyung ngu*, D. 368, P. 16). He constitutes the father aspect and his consort Vajravārāhī, a form of Vajrayoginī (see note below), the mother aspect. The tantra was composed in the 8th century and belongs to the mother tantras (Skt. *māṛtantra*) of Highest Yogatantra. Among the practices associated with this tantra are *māyādeha* (T. *sgyu lus*) and *caṇḍālī* (Tib. *gtum mo*). Further, the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* is the root tantra of the *Śaṃvaratantras* comprised in the *bKa' 'gyur* (D. 368-415). The *bsTan 'gyur* comprises commentarial literature associated with this cycle (D. 1401-1424), ritual texts focused on Cakrasaṃvara (D. 1425-1540) and ritual texts focused on Vajrayoginī or Vajravārāhī (D. 1541-1606) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*; <http://read.84000.co/section/O1JC76301JC21619.html>, accessed 20.03.2019). For information on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and a translation see GRAY 2007.

393 This practice cycle composed by Chos kyi grags pa is found in the BKCZ (vol.105, pp.1-108).

394 This concise sādhana, the full title of which is *Bla med rdo rje theg pa'i dkyil 'khor bdun gyi sgrub thabs mdor bsdus*, was composed by Chos kyi grags pa and is contained in the BKCZ (vol.105, pp.108-129).

395 This is a collection of empowerments and related sādhanas of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition. The full title is *sGrub thabs nor bu'i phreng ba'i rjes gnang lnga bcu pa*. BDRC holds scans of the Bir edition of this work (see BDRC ID W23837).

[those of] Vajrayoginī,³⁹⁶ various sādhanas of *yakṣa* wealth gods,³⁹⁷ such as aspects of Vaiśravaṇa³⁹⁸ and aspects of Jambhala;³⁹⁹ all possible daily practices of the three roots⁴⁰⁰ together with wealth gods and dharma-protectors of his own tradition, such as cycles of sādhana-practices of the ocean of oath-bound protectors of the teaching, headed by the three: A [phyi], Mahākāla and Dharma[pāla]⁴⁰¹.

9.10.3. rNying ma Transmissions within the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud Tradition

From the cycle of orally transmitted teachings and revealed treasure teachings of the early translation [school] that were transmitted and practised (Tib. *thugs dam nyams bzhes su bstar ba*) in the succession of lineage holders beginning with the elder and younger, venerable (Tib. *zhabs*) rGyal dbang Ratna⁴⁰² and His Eminence (Tib. *‘jam mgon*) Chos kyi grags pa,⁴⁰³ [he received] the three: bKa’

396 Having the status of a buddha, Vajrayoginī (Tib. *rDo rje rnal ‘byor ma*) is the foremost of all *ḍākinīs*. Vajrayoginī literature, generally without its own tantras, is based on the *Śaṃvaratantras* (D. 368-415), which belong to the mother tantras (Skt. *māṭṛtantra*) of Highest Yogatantra. Vajrayoginī is common among all Tibetan traditions and involved in various practices, such as *gcod* and *caṇḍālī* (Tib. *gtum mo*). One of most common forms of Vajrayoginī is Vajravārāhī (Tib. *rDo rje phag mo*) (BUSWELL&LOPEZ 2014, s.v. Vajrayoginī.; ENGLISH 2002:1 and 6-7). For more information this deity, its Indic origins, different forms, meditations and rituals see ENGLISH 2002.

397 The *yakṣas* (Tib. *gnod sbyin*) and wealth gods (Tib. *nor lha*) Vaiśravaṇa, Jambhala and Kubera are considered supramundane deities that guard the dharma and bestow wealth and treasures on those who worship them (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:68). For different forms of these deities and their retinue see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:68-81. On the origins and iconography of Vaiśravaṇa and Jambhala see TUCCI 1949:571-8.

398 In addition to guarding the dharma and bestowing wealth and treasures, Vaiśravaṇa (Tib. *rNam thos sras*) is one of the four world guardians (Skt. *lokapāla*, Tib. *‘jig rten skyong ba*) and the king of *yakṣas* who commands their armies (TUCCI 1949:572).

399 Tib. *Dzaṃ [bha] la*. See note on *yakṣa* wealth gods.

400 See note on the three roots above.

401 Tib. *a mgon chos gsum*. These are the three main protectors of the ‘Bri gung tradition. The dharma protectress A phyi has already been discussed in a note above. Many works associated with A phyi Chos kyi sgrol ma are contained in the BKCZ, the ones found among ‘Jig rten gsum mgon’s collected works are comprised in volume 23 (BKCZ pp.310-81 and pp.384-6). Mahākāla (Tib. *Nag po chen po*) or mGon po, in general, belongs to the class of transcendent guardians (Tib. *‘jig rten las ‘das pa’i srung ma*) and *yi dams*. Further, this deity is considered one of the most important dharma-protectors existing in over seventy different forms. Dharma-pāla refers to the *yakṣa* dharma-protector Tse’u dmar already discussed in a note above (Khenpo Konchog Tamphel, Vienna 13.03.2019; NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996:23 and 38).

402 This refers to Rin chen phun tshogs (1509-1557): many of the teaching listed in the following entered the ‘Bri gung bka’ brgyud through him and two of the *gter mas* mentioned are his revelations. Further, Rin chen phun tshogs is referred to in the same way in the introduction to his *gter ma Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab* (see BURGHART 2017:221 ff.) and in JACKSON (2015:169) rGyal dbang Ratna has also been identified as Rin chen phun tshogs.

403 The 1st Chung tshang tulku (1595-1659, BDRC ID P2666).

[*brgyad*],⁴⁰⁴ [*Bla ma*] *dgongs* [*‘dus*]⁴⁰⁵ and [*Vajra*] *kīla*;⁴⁰⁶ various Yamāntaka cycles, such as *Yamāntaka Āyuspati*⁴⁰⁷ and [*Yamāntaka*] *Rasa*;⁴⁰⁸ cycles of the peaceful and wrathful guru;⁴⁰⁹ of peaceful and wrathful *ṛṣi Loktri*[*pāla*],⁴¹⁰ of Nyang,⁴¹¹ Pad gling,⁴¹² mNga’ paṇ,⁴¹³ ‘Ja’ tshon⁴¹⁴ and others; the

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- 404 Regarding teaching cycles related to this *gter ma*, the *bKa’ brgyad bde gshegs ‘dus pa* revealed by Nyang ral nyi ma ‘od zer (1124/36–1192/1204) (see note on mNga’ bdag Nyang ral), the BKCZ contains the *bKa’ brgyad bde gshegs ‘dus pa’i chos skor* (vol.107, pp.1–475) included in the collected works of Chos kyi grags pa.
- 405 Regarding teaching cycles related to the *gter ma Bla ma dgongs ‘dus* revealed by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396) (see note on *Bla ma dgongs ‘dus*), the BKCZ contains the *Bla ma dgongs ‘dus kyi chos skor* (vol.107, pp.475–531) included in the collected works of Chos kyi grags pa.
- 406 The BKCZ contains a practice cycle based on the *gter ma Phur pa yang gsang bla med* (revealed by Ratna gling pa, 1403–1479) (see note on *Phur pa yang gsang bla med*) among the collected works of the 3rd lHo chen dKon mchog ‘phrin las rnam rgyal (born 1624, BDRC ID P2236), the *Phur pa yang gsang bla med kyi sgrub skor* (BKCZ vol.115, pp.109–33).
- 407 Tib. *gShin rje tshe bdag*. The BKCZ contains two texts among Rin chen phun tshogs’s collected works concerned with ‘Jam dpal gshin rje gshed yang zlog me’i spu gri: the sādhanā ‘*Jam dpal gshin rje tshe bdag gi sgrub thabs* (BKCZ vol.69, pp.303–5) and the praise ‘*Jam dpal gshin rje tshe bdag zhal gzigs dus bstod pa* (BKCZ vol.66, pp.394–6). Chos kyi grags pa’s collected works contain the practice cycle *Yang zlog me’i spu gri’i sgrub skor* concerned with this deity (BKCZ vol.110, pp.1–544). Also works concerned with other forms of Yamāntaka Āyuspati are contained in the BKCZ, such as ‘Jam dpal tshe bdag lcags sdig: Chos kyi grags pa’s collected works contain the practice cycle ‘*Jam dpal tshe bdag lcags sdig nag po’i sgrub skor* (BKCZ vol.109, pp.1–267). See also the note on Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka Āyuspati above.
- 408 Tib. [*gShin rje’i gshed*] *khro chu* [*dug sdong nag po*]. This *gter ma* cycle (contained in RTZ vol.18, pp.655–801) was revealed by rGya Zhang khrom (9th century). The BKCZ contains a cycle concerned with this *gter ma* among Chos kyi grags pa’s collected works (BKCZ vol.109, pp.268–364). Note that the Sanskrit *rasa* is a back-translation of the Tibetan *khro chu* that is not attested in the dictionary by NEGI, nor were occurrences of it found in text titles in the *bsTan ‘gyur* and the NGB.
- 409 The peaceful and wrathful guru (Tib. *bla ma zhi drag*) are aspects or emanations of Padmasambhava (DORJE&KAPSTEIN 1991:406–7).
- 410 Tib. *drang srong loktri zhi drag*. According to BDRC, Loktripāla is “the name of a ṛṣi invoked as protector” (BDRC ID T488).
- 411 Nyang ral nyi ma ‘od zer (1124–1192, BDRC ID P364) (see note above).
- 412 Padma gling pa (1450–1521, BDRC ID P1693) (see note above).
- 413 mNga’ ri paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542, BDRC ID P1699) (see note above).
- 414 ‘Ja’ tshon snying po (1585–1656, BDRC ID P882) (see note above).

dGongs pa yang zab;⁴¹⁵ *Yid bzhin nor mchog*;⁴¹⁶ *Dza bir lung khrid*;⁴¹⁷ *Thugs chen yang snying nor bu*;⁴¹⁸ *g.Yang sgrub nor bu mchog rgyal*⁴¹⁹ [based on] the northern treasures;⁴²⁰ *Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma*⁴²¹ [revealed] by *gter ston* Nyi zla sangs rgyas;⁴²² and so forth.

415 A *gter ma* revealed by Rin chen phun tshogs (see note above).

416 Rin chen phun tshogs received the *Yid bzhin nor mchog* at the age of twelve in a pure vision (Tib. *dag snang*) of white Tāra in the form of *Yid bzhin 'khor lo* (Rin chen Phun tshogs in BURGHART 2017:40 and mGar rnam rol in BURGHART 2017:207). Three texts of the treasure cycle, the full name of which is *rje btsun sgrol ma dkar mo yid bzhin nor mchog*, are contained in the RTZ (vol.4, pp.797-862). The cycle is also contained in the *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab* (vol.7, pp.1-184).

417 The *Dza bir lung khrid*, 'Jābir's instructions on vital wind' (*dza bir* is one of the Tibetan renderings of the Arabic name Jābir), are teachings on the 'essence-extraction of wind' (Tib. *rlung gi bcud len*), which is "one of a group of yogic/alchemical techniques aimed at allowing the yogin to live on the essence of the elements (air, fire, water, ether and earth) or of rocks, flowers, etc. [...] The purpose being to lengthen life, enabling practitioners to continue and expand their bodhisattva careers" (WALTER 1992:426). Jābir has been identified as the Indian Islamic alchemist and *mahāsiddha* Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (ca. 721-815), but most of all he was a Nātha Siddha, known for their great practitioners of *haṭhayoga*. It is precisely this Nāthist tradition that these teachings were transmitted from (for information on the Nātha Siddhas see WHITE 1996, in particular pages 1 to 10, and DASGUPTA 1946:219-294). This lineage entered the 'Bri gung tradition through Rin chen phun tshogs: it is said that Vajranātha, who received these teachings from Jābir, visited the twenty-year-old Rin chen phun tshogs during a meditation retreat at 'Bri gung and gave him "the outer, inner and secret teachings on *rlung* of Jābir, as well as teachings on sky travel and attaining the rainbow body in this life" (WALTER 1992:437 n.31). This and another transmission lineage is given in WALTER 1992:434 n.10 (note that the mentioning of Padmasambhava in these lineages is problematic, cf. WALTER 1992:427) (WALTER 1992:425-7, 434 n.10 and 437 n.31). This cycle is contained in the *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab* (vol.7, pp.185-319). For a discussion of Jābir's life and the teachings related to him see WALTER 1992; for further reading on this topic see WALTER 1996 and 2003.

418 The 1st 'Bri gung Che tshang dKon mchog rin chen received this cycle of teachings focusing on Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *sPyan ras gzigs*) in a pure vision (BKCZ vol.97, p.348.3). It is comprised in the BKCZ as *'Phags pa yang snying nor bu'i chos skor* (BKCZ vol.97 pp.345-462).

419 The *g.Yang sgrub nor bu mchog rgyal* (BDRC ID W00EGS1016770) is a one-volume collection of wealth rituals (BDRC ID W00EGS1016770).

420 The northern treasures (Tib. *byang gter*) are treasure revelations of *gTer ston* Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can (see note on the northern treasures revealed by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can).

421 According to the tradition, Padmasambhava received these teachings on consciousness transference (Tib. *'pho ba*) from buddha Amitābha in his pure realm Sukhāvati. Padmasambhava transmitted these teachings to Nyi zla sangs rgyas in a pure vision (Tib. *dag snang*) and by means of concealment as a treasure at Black Maṇḍala Lake (Tib. *mTsho maṇḍala nag po*) in Dwags po, south-east of Lhasa. These teachings are known as the oral lineage of *'pho ba* (Tib. *'pho ba snyan brgyud*). As for the name of the treasure, Kaptsein explains: "The title *Planting the Stalk* (Tib. *'jag zug ma*) refers to a widespread test for the efficacy of the powa [Tib. *'pho ba*] practice: after the adept has received the teaching and cultivated it in seclusion for several days, the opening of the fontanel grows sufficiently so that one is able to place a stalk of grass upright within it" (KAPSTEIN 1998:100).

This treasure cycle lies at the heart of the *'Pho ba chen mo*, the great *'pho ba* festival of the 'Bri gung pas, which was first established by Rin chen phun tshogs. According to CUEVAS (2003:95), Rin chen phun tshogs played a significant role in spreading the teachings of Nyi zla sangs rgyas (CUEVAS 2003:91-2, 238 n.4 and 239 n.15; KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:208). The *gter ma* is contained in the RTZ (*Zab lam 'pho ba gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma*, RTZ vol.21, pp.353-404).

422 Nyi zla sangs rgyas (born in 14th century, BDRC ID P5246) was the father of the famous Karma gling pa (see note on Karma gling pa above). Little is known about this *gter ston*. For the small amount of information given in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa* see RTZ vol.1, pp.555-6; a translation thereof can be found in KONGTRUL&GYAMTSO 2011:208.

9.10.4. Summary

In brief, [he received] the orally transmitted teachings and the revealed treasure teachings of the of the gSar ma and rNying ma [schools], which come from the stream of his own tradition, including the explanation of the tantras, ripening [empowerments], liberating [instructions], sādhana-practices of countless principal deities of the upper and lower tantra classes, the three: dance, [maṇḍala] drawing and chants; pith instructions, [practices for] gathering the activities and [their] application.

Likewise, [he studied] the instructions on and profound explanations of the special teachings of *mahāmudrā* and the six dharmas of each bKa' brgyud [tradition]; and furthermore, the various traditions of canonical treatises of sūtra and mantra; the treatises and oral instructions of the healing science; white and black astrology and so forth.

In short, he studied the sciences⁴²³ in their entirety and [it] was characterised by his impartially increasing knowledge. He did not simply set aside the wheel of reading, learning and contemplation, everything he had received and the teachings he had obtained but put them into practice (Tib. *thugs nyams su bzhes*).

He perfected the four branches of approach and accomplishment⁴²⁴ of countless principal deities of the new and old [tantras]. These too, were not merely intellectual activities but they were not without perfecting the signs and characteristics explained in the treatises of each [practice].

423 See note on the sciences above.

424 Tib. *bsnyen sgrub yan lag rnam bzhi*. These four branches or aspects are: approach (Tib. *bsnyen pa*), i.e. approaching the deity by becoming familiarised with the practice; close approach (Tib. *nye bsnyen*), i.e. further approaching through mantra recitation, visualisation and so forth; accomplishment (Tib. *sgrub*), i.e. accomplishing the deity through mastery over the practice; and great accomplishment (Tib. *sgrub chen*), i.e. becoming one with the nature of the deity. These branches are part of the development stage (Tib. *bskyed rim*) (SHABKAR&RICARD 1994:598).

10. The Tibetan Edition

10.1. Birthplace and Family Line

གང་དུ་བསམ་བཞིན་གཟུགས་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་འབྲུལ་ཉེ་བར་བསྟན་པའི་ཡུལ་ནི། བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྗོངས་ལ་⁴²⁵ མདོ་ཁམས་
སྐང་བྲག་ཏུ་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་ཆོན་འབྲི་ཆེན་མོ་སྐང་ངམ། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་དབྱེ་བས་ལྷོ་ཆེན་ངང་མའི་སྐང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཆ།
དེགས་པའི་སྟེ་ [A20] དཔོན་སུམ་ཅུའི་ནང་ནས་མ་སངས་ལཱ་འ་སྐྱེས་གཅིག་གམ། རྗེ་ཡི་མགུར་ལྷ་བཙུག་སུམ་
གྱི་གས་དགེ་ལྷ་བྱང་ཅེ་འམ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བུལ་ཞེས་ཆེན་ཀྱུ་འོ་རྗེ་དབང་བྲག་གནས་ཡུལ་གྱི་བདག་པོས་⁴²⁶ དབང་
བསྐྱུར་བ་དགེ་ཀྱུ་ཆེན་ཀྱུ་དེ་ཅས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལྗོངས།

ཆེ་ཁྱེད་སྟོན་མོ་དལ་གྱིས་འབབ་པའི་གཡོན་རོགས་ཆེན་ཉིན་འོམ་ཆེན་ལུང་པ་སྟེ། ཀྱུ་འོ་དབང་པ་ལྷ་ཐོད་ཐེང་ཙམ་གྱི་
ལུང་གིས་བསྐྱུགས་པ་སྐས་ཡུལ་ཨ་ཏ་རོད་དུ་གྲགས་པ་གངས་རི་རྩམ་གསུམ་སོགས་ས་སྟོད་གསུང་གི་འཁོར་
ལོའི་གནས་དང་ཞིང་གི་བཀོད་པ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་རྫོང་ཆེན་བཞེར་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་ནས་འོམ་ཆེན་
ཐོག་བྲག་གི་རྫོང་ཕུ།

རིགས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཆོགས་པ། སྐུལ་པའི་གཏེར་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱུ་འོ་རྩེད་པའི་དཔོན་ཀྱུ་འོ་ལས་བྱང་བ་གཤོ་ཐང་
སྐགས་ཀྱུ་དྲུག་⁴²⁷ ཅས་དགེ་ [A21] ཀྱུ་འོ་དུ་འཕོས་པ། བྱུང་པའི་དབང་ཕུག་གཤོ་ཐང་པ་ལྷ་དབང་ཆེན། [B14] སྐགས་
འཆང་རྩྱུ་ནག་བྲག་ཙམ་ལམ་གཤོ་ཐང་ཆོས་སྟོང་། འདས་སྟོན་འདན་མ་སངས་ཀྱུ་སོགས་རིགས་ཆོས་ལྷ་
གསུམ་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་འཛིན་ཅིང་བྲག་དམར་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་རྟ་རྒྱུག་པ། བྲག་ལ་ཕུར་བུ་དེག་པ། རྩལ་མེ་བུས་པ།
གདོན་འབྲེན་དེ་བདག་བཏུལ་བ། འཁོར་འདས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེད་ཚུལ་གསལ་བར་གཟིགས་པ། གཤེགས་ཆོ་གདུང་རིང་
བསྐེལ་ལྷན་པ་ཤ་སྟག་བྱོན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཆོན་གྲུབ་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཟམ་མ་ཆད་པར་བྱོན་པའི་སྐགས་རིགས་
ལས།

དགེ་ཀྱུ་ནག་ཆང་དཔོན་ཆོ་དབང་རྣམ་ཀྱུ་འོ་དུས་སུ་གཤོ་ཐང་བྱ་གིས་རྣམ་ཀྱུལ། འདས་ལོག་འདན་མ་

425 A and B read: ལས་

426 A and B read: པོར་

427 B reads: བརྒྱུད་

སངས་རྒྱུ་ལ། ཀམ་ལྷ་མཆོག་ ཀམ་ བདུད་འདུལ་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་མཆེད་བཞི་བྱུང་བ། ཡབ་རིག་ [A22] འཛིན་དེདག་དང་།

ཡུམ་ལྷ་སྲས་སུ་ཏིག་བཅད་པོའི་ལྷུ་མ་ངང་བཅུན་དཔལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བསམ་བཞིན་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་དེར་བོན་པོ་བཟར་
སྒྲིབ་བཞེས་པ། འབུམ་སྡེ་ལྷ་མོ་ཞེས་ངང་རྒྱུད་རིང་ཞིང་པན་སེམས་ཆེལ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཁོ་ནར་བཙོན་པ་སོགས་
བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་སྒྲོན་མཐའ་དག་དང་བུལ་ཞིང་མཁའ་འགོའི་མཆོན་རྟགས་ལྷན་པ་སྟེ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དེདག་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་
བྱུང་བའི་འབྲིང་འོག་ཇེ་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་དང་། ཆེབ་འབྲོག་བན་ཁྱེའུ་ [B15] རྒྱུང་ལོ་ཚུའི་རྣམ་སྤྱུལ་དབོན་ཀྱན་
བཟང་འགོ་འདུལ། རྒྱུང་བ་གྲུ་ཅུའི་བྱགས་སྲས་ཨྲ་ཙར་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུལ་པ་གཙུང་སྤྱུབ་བརྒྱུད་བསྟན་འཛིན་
ཡིན་ལ།

10.2. Mother's Dream upon Conception

དེའང་ཇེ་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷུ་མས་སུ་ཞུགས་སྐྱབས། ཡུམ་གྱི་མནལ་ལམ་དུ་མ་སང་གཡའ་སྤང་སྒྲེས་གཅིག་
ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་མི་སྤྱུག་དར་ནག་གི་བེར་ [A23] དང་གོ་ཁབ་གསོལ་བའི་བར་མཆོམས་རྣམས་སུ་མ་བྱའི་སྒྲོ་
མ་དོངས་ཀྱིས་⁴²⁸ བརྒྱན་ཅིང་རྟ་ནག་ལ་ཞོན་པ་སོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་འཛིགས་པའི་ཆབྱད་ཅན་ཞིག་སྤྲེམས།

ཞོན་པ་སྤྱེ་ཆོན་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲོ་⁴²⁹ ལ་བཏགས་ནས་ནང་དུ་ཐལ་གྱིས་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོམས་འཇུག་ལོལ་ཞིང་། གྲུ་ཅུ་
པ་སྤྱེའི་གསེར་སྤྱུག་བཞི་བཟིང་རབ་ཏུ་འབར་བ་ཞིག་བྱིན་ནས། འདི་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཉར་ཆོགས་གྱིས་དང་། བསྟན་དང་འགོ་
བའི་དཔལ་མགོན་གྲུ་ཅུ་པ་སྤྱེའི་གསེར་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱུ་འཕུལ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་སྤྱུལ་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཁྱད་འཕགས་ཤིག་འབྱུང་
བ་ཡིན་ནོ་གསུངས་ནས་ངང་གནས་སུ་གཤེགས།

ཡུམ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགྱེས་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་འབྲེད་སྐྱེམ་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བཅུག་པར་མིས། ཕྱིར་ནང་⁴³⁰ ཁ་བ་བབས་པའི་སྤྲེང་དུ་ཀང་ཇེས་ཁྱུ་
གང་ཅམ་བར་ཐག་ཇེ་རིང་དུ་སྒྲ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཟུག་པ་བཅས། གོང་གི་ [A24] ལུང་དོན་བཞིན་མ་སང་སྒྲ་རྒྱལ་
[B16] ཀྱི་རྩམ་བྱར་ཡང་གྲགས་ཤིང་།

428 སྒྲོ་མ་དོངས་ཀྱིས་: A and B read: མ་དོངས་སྒྲོས་

429 སྤྱེ་ཆོན་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲོ་: A and B read: ཕྱི་སྒྲོའི་སྤྱེ་ཆོན་

430 A and B read: ནངས་

10.3. Birth

མི་དང་མི་མིན་ཚོ་⁴³¹ འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དེདག་ལས། གྱི་⁴³² ལོ་ ༡༥༥ ལྷོ་བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ས་མོ་
བྱའི་ལོ་ཐ་སྐར་རྒྱ་བའི་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཆེས་བཅུ་གསུམ་[པ་]ཡན་ལག་ལྔ་འཁྲུ་བྱ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དག་བའི་ཉིན་དབུ་
མཐུག་མ་ལྷོག་པར་ཆེས་བཅུ་ཚུགས་ཀྱིས་ཡུམ་ལ་གཞོན་པ་མེད་པར་སྐྱབ་བལྟམས།

དེའི་ཆེ་ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་འཇའ་འོད་དང་མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཆར་བབས། སྤྱན་ཆད་ཚོར་མ་སྦྱང་བའི་བྱི་བཟང་པོས་ལུང་པ་
ཁྱབ། རྒྱབ་མདུན་གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་རི་མན་ཚུན་བར་འཇའ་ཚོན་གྱི་བྱ་བས་འབྲེལ། ཕྱོགས་ཀྱན་ཏུ་དབྱར་པའི་སྒྲ་
ལྷང་ལྷང་བསྒྲགས། དུད་འགྲོ་སྒོ་ཕྱགས་འདབ་ཆགས་བྱ་རིགས་མང་པོས་སྐད་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་འདོན་ཞིང་སྒྲ་ལ་གཡས་
བསྐྱོར་བྱས་པ་སོགས་དག་མཚན་ [A25] མཐའ་ཡས།

ལྷོ་ཐག་བྲག་ཆེ་དེར་ཡོད་ཀྱན་གྱིས་ཐོས་པར་སྒྲ་མ་མཁུན་ཞེས་གསུང་བྱོན་ཞིང་། ཁྱུ་བཞིན་བཟང་ལྷ་ན་སྤྱག་ཅིང་
དབུ་ཡི་ལྷང་ལོས་སྤྱན་མ་ཁེབས་པ་དང་། རྒྱན་བྱག་སྤྱག་ཤམ་སྒོ་གཤོག་གི་རྒྱུ་རིས། སྤྱོད་ཐོད་པའི་གཤམ་ལྷ་
བྱ་སོགས་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱན་ཏྲགས་རྣམས་སྐྱུ་ལུས་ལ་རང་གྲུབ་ཏུ་བཞུགས།

འབྲུངས་ནས་ཞག་གསུམ་ཐོག་ཡི་དམ་ [B17] འཇམ་དཔལ་གཞིན་རྗེ་ཆེ་བདག་ཞལ་གཟིགས་པས། ཀྱན་
གྱིས་ཐོས་པར་བསྐྱེན་སྤྱགས་ལན་གསུམ་གསུངས་པ་སོགས་དེན་ས་བཟུང་། ཅུ་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱགས་དང་སྤྱིང་
པོ་ཅི་རིགས། ལྷ་ལི་ཀྷ་ལི་སོགས་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་གསུངས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་དང་སྒྲ་མའི་ཞལ་གཟིགས་ལུང་བསྐྱར་དང་།
ཕྱོགས་བཅུ་འཛིན་ལམས་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་རྟག་ཏུ་གཟིགས་པ་སོགས་དག་པའི་སྤྱང་བ་ [A26] ཁོ་ནས་འབྲུམས་སུ་
ལྷས། བསྐྱར་སྤྱང་ཨ་ཕྱི་དང་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོས་མ་བུ་ལྷར་འབྲལ་མེད་དུ་⁴³³ སྤྱང་ཞིང་སྦྱོང་།

མཚན་མོའང་ཞལ་ངོ་སྤྱག་གིས་མི་སྤྱིབ་པར་སྤྱན་རྒྱུ་ལྷར་དཀར་བ་དང་། དབུ་ཡི་ཐད་ཀར་རྒྱ་བེར་ཐོག་པ་ལྷ་བྱའི་
འོད་དཀར་འཁྲིལ་བ་སྟེ། དེའང་དཔལ་ཀྱམ་པ་ལྷ་པ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པས་གཤེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱིང་པོ་ལ་གནད་བའི་
ལུང་བྱང་ལས། མདོ་ལམས་ཟལ་མོའི་སྒྲ་སྟོད་དུ། ལམ་ཅན་སྐྱེས་བུ་སྤྱན་རྒྱའི་མདངས། ཁྱོད་དབྱིངས་འབྱུར་
མེད་གཤིས་ལ་རྫོགས། འབྲེལ་ཚད་པར་འོད་དུ་འབྲེན། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་རྗེ་འདི་འབྲུང་འབྱུར་ཕྱི་མཐའ་གཟིགས་

431 A and B read: ཚོ

432 B reads: སྤྱི

433 Omitted in B.

པའི་ལུང་བསྟན་དུ་མཛོེན།

སྐྱོན་ཅུང་ཟད་སྒྲིན་སྐབས་གཞོན་ལྟའི་རོལ་ཅིང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཡང་དབང་བསྐྱར་ཆོས་འཆད། འཆམ་གཏོར་རྒྱག་
སོགས་ཆོས་ [B18] སྦྱོང་གི་ [A27] མཛོད་པ་ཁོ་ནར་སྟོན་ཅིང་།

10.4. Age 5: Prophecies, Memories, Mind Treasures and the Like

དགྲུང་གངས་རྩལ་པའི་ཐོག་དུས་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་འབྱུང་འབྱུར་གི་ལུང་བསྟན་དང་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་གོང་མའི་དགོན་གནས།
ཟླ་སྟོབ། སྒྲིན་བདག་ཆིབས་རྟ་དང་བཅས་པ་གསལ་བར་གསུངས་པ་སོགས་སྟོག་གྲུང་གི་མཁུན་པ་ཡངས་ཤིང་
རན་འགོའི་སྒྲིན་གནས་དང་། བདེ་འགོ་ཞིང་ཁམས་གི་བཀོད་པ་རྣམས་ས་ལེར་གཟིགས།

སེམས་ཅན་ལ་སྒྲིང་རྗེ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་རྒྱུད་དུ་ནས་རང་ཤུགས་གིས་ཤ་གཏན་ནས་མི་གསོལ། དུད་འགོ་ཆེ་ཕྱ་ཤི་བའི་
རོལ་མ་བསྐྱབ་པར་འཕོ་བ་རྟགས་ལྟན་གནད། ཆོས་སྒྲོར་མང་པོ་ཐུགས་གྲོལ་ནས་རང་བབ་ཏུ་བཤོལ་ཞིང་ཕལ་ཆེར་
སྟོམ་བཞུས་ཁོ་ནར་བཅོལ། ཡི་གེ་འབྲི་གྲོག་བདེ་བསྟན་པ་ཅོམ་གིས་མཁུན་ཅིང་།

10.5. Age 6: Recognition

དགྲུང་གངས་བདུན་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཤུགས་འབྱུང་གི་ལྷགས་རྩོམ་ཅི་རིགས་ [A28] གནད་བ་སོགས་ཕལ་པའི་སྒྲོས་
མི་འབྱུང་པའི་མཛོད་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་ལ། མཁུན་ལྟན་རྣམས་གིས་དམ་པའི་སྒྲིས་བྱ་ཆེན་པོར་ལུང་བསྟན་དང་། སྒྲི་བོ་
རྣམས་གིས་སྟན་པ་སྟོག་པ་སོགས་གྲགས་པས་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར་རོ་⁴³⁴།

སྐབས་དེར་སྟོ་ལུང་དཀར་དགོན་གི་⁴³⁵ རྗེ་གོང་མའི་ཡང་སྲིད་གར་འབྱུངས་གི་བརྟག་ཞུས་བཞིན། འབྲི་གུང་སྐབས་
[B19] མགོན་ཆོས་ཉིད་ནོར་བུ་དང་། འབྲུག་པ་ཆོས་མགོན་མཆོག་ལུང་ནས། ས་གནས། ལོ་ཁམས་ཡབ་ཡུམ་
མིང་རྟགས་སོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ་བའི་ལུང་བྱང་སྔ་རྗེས་གཅིག་མཐུན་དུ་ཐེབས་པ་བཞིན་

434 B: ཏོ་

435 A and B read: གིས་

ཙན་གཙན་དུ་འབྱོར་བའི་ཉིན། སྤྱུལ་སྤྱུལ་མདང་ཅུབ་⁴³⁶ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གིང་ཆེན་དང་། ཆོས་སྦྱོང་གཞོན་སྦྱིན་ཅེ་ཅུ་དམར་
བསྟ་བ་ལ་སྤྱེབས་བྱང་བས། དེ་རིང་ང་ཡི་བདག་པོ་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ཇི་བཞིན་མཛོན་དུ་ [A29] བྱར་
ཅིང་མི་ངོ་ཤེས་འཕྲད་པ་ལྟར་ལྟོ་རྗེ་བྱང་སྦྱོང་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱུལ་སྤྱུར་ངེས་ཤེས་ཚད་མེད་འདྲོངས་ཏེ་ན་བཟའ་མཚན་
གསོལ་ཕུལ།

10.6. Age 8: Enthronement and Lay Practitioner Vows

དགྲང་གངས་དགྲུ་པ་རབ་བྱང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་མེ་སྤྱུལ་ཏེ་སྦྱི་ལོ་༡༨༥༥ ལེ་ར་ལྷ་སྤེལ་མི་སྤེལ་གཟབ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟ་བའི་
བཀོད་པ་དུ་མ་དང་བཅས་སྦྱན་བྱངས་ཏེ། གདན་ས་ལྷོ་ལུང་དཀར་འོག་མིན་བྱབ་བསྟན་བཤད་སྦྱབ་སྤྱིང་དུ་ཐེག་ཆེན་
ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་འཕང་མཐོན་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ།

དེའི་ཆེ་ཙམ་སྦྱིའི་རྟེན་འབག་བཞད་པ་དང་གནས་བདག་ལྷ་སྦྱན་རྗེ་རྗེ་འོད་ལྡན་མས་རང་གཟུགས་བསྟན་ཏེ་ཐ་ཆོག་
ཕུལ་བ་སོགས་དག་མཚན་མཛོན་སྤྱུལ་དུ་འབར།

དཔལ་ཀུམ་པ་ཐེག་མཚོག་རྗེ་རྗེ་དང་། ལྷོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཆོས་དབང་སློ་གོས་ལས་སུ་ཕྱིར་སྤྱབས་གསུམ་འཛོན་པའི་
[B20] དག་བསྟེན་གྱི་སྤྲོམ་པ་བཞེས་ཤིང་ཆོས་ [A30] དང་རིག་གནས་ཁག་གསུམ་བཞེས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ཚུགས།

10.7. Age 18: Full Ordination

དགྲང་གངས་བཅུ་དགྲུ་པ་རབ་བྱང་བཅུ་ལྔ་ཐོག་མར་ཤར་བའི་མེ་ཡོས་ལོར། འབྲི་གུང་རྩ་བའི་སྤྱུལ་བསྟན་རྗེ་རྗེ་པོ་
བྱང་དུ་མཁན་ཆེན་བོ་རྟོ་ས་དྲ་དངོས་སྤྱང་ གསྦྱབས་མགོན་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ཉིམ་ངེས་ལེགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འོད་ཟེར་དཔལ་
བཟང་པོ་ལས་སྤྱུ་རབ་དུ་བྱང་ཞིང་བསྟེན་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་མཚན། དཀོན་མཚོག་བསྟན་འཛོན་སྦྱིན་ལས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་
མི་འགྱུར་མཚོག་གི་སྤྱང་བ་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཚོག་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔལ་བཟང་སྤེལ་ཞེས་བསྟུལ།

436 B: omitted.

10.8. Age 21: Bodhisatva Vows

དགྲུང་གངས་ཉེར་གཉིས་པ་ལྷགས་སྟག་ལོར། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐབ་བསྟན་བཤད་སྦྱབ་སྒྲིབ་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་
འཕགས་ཡུལ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཨུཌ་⁴³⁷འདེམ་མཁོ་རྣམ་པོ་དོན་གྱི་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་མགར་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཀོན་
མཆོག་དག་དབང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་ [A31] དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ལས། རྗེ་སློབ་པའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཆེན་མོའི་ཐོག་
ནས་སློན་འཇུག་དོན་དམ་གྱི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་བསྟན་སྡོམ་ཡང་དག་པར་བཞེས་པའི་མཆོན་དཀོན་མཆོག་
ངེས་དོན་སྦྱབ་བརྒྱད་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིམར་གསོལ།

10.9. Age 24: Mantric Vows

དགྲུང་གངས་ཉེར་ལྔ་པ་རྒྱ་སྤེལ་ལོར། མི་དབང་ནང་ [B21] ཆེན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ས་དཔལ་གྱི་གཡང་
འབྲིལ་དུ། རྗེ་རྗེ་སློབ་དཔོན་ལང་འགོ་དཀོན་མཆོག་འབྱུང་གནས་གྱི་སྦྱ་འཕྲུལ་གསང་ཆེན་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཐུག་
དག་དབང་ཆོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱན་བཟང་པདྨ་འོད་ཟེར་ལས། གྲྭ་མའི་ཐུགས་སྦྱབ་ཡང་སྤྱིང་འདུས་པའི་དབང་ཆེན་སྤྲིན་
གྲོལ་ཟབ་རྒྱས་གྱི་སློན་ནས་རིག་འཛིན་སྤྲུགས་གྱི་སྡོམ་པ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྗེ་གསུམ་པ[ར]འོད་དེ་སྦྱུམ་ལྷན་རྗེ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་
ཆེན་པོའི་མཆོན་དོན་བདག་གིར་བཞེས། ལྷ་དང་མཁའ་འགྲོས་ [A32] མགྲིན་གཅིག་ཏུ་གསོལ་བ་སྤྲུགས་སྡོམ་
དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་མཆོན། ཡུལ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་མཆོག་ཅུས་ལྷན་རོལ་པའི་རྗེ་རྗེས་ཡོངས་སུ་བྲགས།

སློན་ཡབ་གཞིས་སུ་བཞུགས་སྐབས་དབུའི་ལྷང་ལོ་འབྲེག་པར་བརྩམས་པ་ན། མཆོན་གྱིས་མཆོད་པར་མེ་སྟག་
འཕྲོ་བའི་མཐུན་སྒྲུང་དང་། མཁའ་འགྲོ་འབྲུགས་པའི་ལྷས་དང་བཅས་སྐྱ་སྦྱུན་གྱིས་ཐེབས་པར། མཁུན་ལྷན་དམ་
པ་དུ་མས་དབུ་སྐྱ་ལ་མཆོན་འཛིན་མི་རུང་བར་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་བཞིན་རང་སོར་བཞག་པས། ཕྱིས་རྗེ་བཙུན་ལྷང་ལོ་མེ་
འབར་རམ་སྟོ་དབུ་རལ་ཅན་ཞེས་སྦྱང་ལྷར་བྲགས་ཏེ།

དེའང་རྒྱ་སྤེལ་པའི་གནད་ཡིག་ལས། ལོ་ནི་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ལ་རལ་དུས་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྐྱ་ཡི་ལུ་བ་ [B22] ཅན་། བོད་ཡུལ་
མཐའ་དབུས་ཀྱན་ཁབ་པར་། ང་ཡི་བསྟན་པ་གསལ་བྱེད་འབྱུང་། ཞེས་དང་།

437 A and B read: ཨུཌ་

གུ་རུ་ཐོ་ཙཱི་ [A33] གཏེར་ལུང་ལས། མོན་བུ་སྤྱི་རིང་སྒྲ་ཡི་ལ་བ་ཅན་ཅུང་། བྲག་རི་བྱང་ཆེན་ལྷིང་འབྲུའི་ཞོལ་དུ་འབྱུང་ཅུང་།
ཞེས་པའི་ལུང་དོན་མཛོན་གྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་བབ།

10.10. The Transmitted Teachings

སྤྱི་ཐེས་གོ་རིམ་མ་དེས་པར། ཡསྐྱབས་མགོན་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་ཉིམ་དང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་གོས་ཉི་ཟླ་བུད། གོང་སྤྱོད་སྒོ་
མཁར་གཉིས། འཇམ་མགོན་མཆོད་ཀོང་རྣམ་གཉིས། དཔལ་ཀམ་པ་ཐེག་མཆོག་རྗེ་རྗེ་དང་མཁའ་བྱུང་རྗེ་རྗེ།
སྐམ་པོ་སྤྱལ་སྤྱ། འབྲུག་པ་ཆོས་མགོན། སྤྱག་ལུང་མ་སྤྱལ་དག་ལེགས་རབ་འབྱམས་དང་ཅེ་སྤྱལ་དག་དབང་
གྲགས་པ་ཡོངས་བྱུང། དཔལ་ཐོ་དབྱུ་པ་གཙུག་ལག་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་སོགས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡབ་སྲས་
རྣམས་དང་། རི་པའི་མཁས་མཆོག་གྲུབ་དབང་། ཉང་ཆེན་དག་དབང་ཆོགས་གཉིས། གྲུབ་དབང་མཆོན་མཆོག་
རིན་པོ་ཆེ། མགོན་ [A34] སྤྱལ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྲགས་པ། བྱམས་མེ་ལྷ་མཆོག་ཆེ་དབང་དཔལ་བཟང་། མཆོག་
སྤྱིང་སྤྱི་སྲས་འཛིན་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་ལོར་བུ། ལམས་སྤྱལ་གསང་སྤྱགས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིམ། གཏེར་སྟོན་འབར་བའི་
རྗེ་རྗེ། སྟོ་ཀུན་བཟང་ཕྱིན་ལས་རབ་རྒྱས། [B23] མཁར་རྣམ་རོལ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་འཛིན་གཞན་པན་དབང་པོ།
སྟོ་ཆགས་མེད་བཞི་པ། ལམས་སྟོ་རྩོད་སྤྱལ་ཕྱིན་ལས་ཉིམ། གཡུ་སྒྲ་མཆོག་སྤྱལ། རི་སྟོད་ཆོས་འཛིན་དབང་པོ།
(འདི་སོགས་འོག་གི་སྒྲ་མ་འགའ་ཞིག་བསྐྱབས་ལུང་ལ་ཤས་གསན་པ་ཅི་མ་མོ།) རི་སྤྱད་སྤྱལ་སྤྱི་ཀུན་བཟང་དེས་དོན། ཀམ་ལི་
མཁན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས། རྩོགས་ཆེན་སྒྲ་མ་བྱབ་བསྟན་གྲགས་པ། སྤྱབ་སྐར་མཁན་པོ་བདེ་ལྷན། འབྲི་གུང་
སྒྲ་མ་དུང་དཀར། འབྲོང་དུའི་སྒྲ་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་བཟང་པོ། གྲུབ་དབང་ཉི་མེ་ [A35] བཟང་པོ་དང་གྲུབ་དབང་ཆེ་བརྟན་
རིན་པོ་ཆེ། གྲུབ་དབང་བརྟན་འབྱུས་སོགས་རིས་སྤྱུ་མ་ཆད་པའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་དག་གི་བཤེས་གཉེན་དུ་མ་ལས།
རྩིང་མ་བཀའ་གཏེར། བཀའ་གདམས་གསར་རྩིང་། གསུང་དག་ལམ་འབྲས། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱི་བྱེད་⁴³⁸ བྲག་ཞི་བྱེད་
གཙུག་ཡུལ། སྤྱིར་དུག་བསྟེན་སྤྱབ་སོགས་སྤྱབ་བརྒྱུད་ཤིང་རྟ་བརྒྱུད་ཡན་ལག་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་པལ་མོ་
ཆེ་⁴³⁹ གསན་བཞེས་མཛད་པ།

10.10.1. rNying ma

སྤྱི་འབྱུར་གཅིག་ལུང་ཆམ་ཆོན་ན།

438 According to LKCB 197.5. A and B read: བྱེ་

439 མོ་ཆེ་: B and LKCB 197.7 read: ཆེར་

a. The Long Oral Transmission Lineage

རིང་བརྒྱད་བཀའ་མའི་སྐྱོར་ལ། བྱ་སྦྱོར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཅི་མེད་ནམ་གཉིས།

a.1. Mahāyoga

རྒྱུད་མ་རྩ་ཡོ་ག་དོ་རྩེ་སེམས་དཔའ་⁴⁴⁰ སྦྱ་འབྲུལ་བླ་བ་ཞི་བ་དོར་དབྱིངས་དང་ཁོ་བོ་ཚོགས་ཆེན་འདུས་པ། ཞི་ཁོ་ན་
རཀ་དོར་ [B24] སྦྱགས་པ་སྒྲ་བརྒྱ་ལྟན། སངས་རྒྱལ་མཉམ་སྦྱོར། གཞུགས་ལུགས་གཤིན་རྩེ་ཁ་ཐུན་ནག་ [A36]
པོ་དང་རུ་མཚོན་དམར་པོ། སྦྱབ་སྡེ་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་རྩོད་ཐེང་། སོ་ལུགས་ཡང་དག་དོ་རྩེ་ཕུར་པ་རོག་ལུགས་ལྟ་ནག་
དང་རོང་ཐོས་ལུགས། བྱ་བྲག་བཀའ་མ་འོ་བཅན་ལུགས་བཅས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཆེན། རྒྱུད་མ་གོན་ལེགས་ལྟན་སོགས་རྒྱུད་
སྦྱང་ནམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་གཏན་དང་བཅས་པ་སོགས་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་དང་སྦྱབ་སྡེ་འོ་སྐྱོར།

a.2. Anuyoga

ལུང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཡོ་ག་འི་དགོངས་པ་འདུས་པ་[འི]་མ་དོ་དབང་ཆེན་མོ་ཐེག་⁴⁴¹ རིམ་དགུ་འི་དབང་ཆེན།

a.3. Atiyoga

མན་ངག་ཨ་ཏི་ཡོ་ག་ཕྱི་སེམས་སྡེ་འོ་སྐྱོར་གཏོགས་པ། རྒྱ་བོད་མཁས་པ་[འི]་མི་བཞི་འི་དགོངས་ཉམས་གཅིག་ཏུ་
དེལ་བ་སེམས་སྡེ་མ་བུ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་བཅོན་ཐབས་སུ་རོ་སྦྱོར་པ་རིག་པ་[འི]་རྩལ་གྱི་དབང་བཅོ་བརྒྱད།
ཁྲོད་སྡེ་དོ་རྩེ་ཐམ་པ་ལོ་ཆེན་བེ་རོ་འི་ཐུགས་བཅུད་སྦྱན་རྒྱུད་ཟབ་མོ་འི་དབང་བསྐྱར། རྩོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མན་ངག་སྡེ་འི་
[A37] རྒྱུད་བཅུ་བདུན་སོགས་མདོ་སྦྱ་སེམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྦྱིན་གྲོལ་རྒྱབ་བརྟེན་རྒྱུད་བཤད་དང་བཅས་པ་ནམས་
དང་།

b. The Short Treasure Lineage

ཉེ་བརྒྱད་གཏེར་མའི་སྐྱོར་ལ། མངའ་བདག་ཉང་རལ། བྱ་རུ་ཚོས་དབང་སྟེ་གཏེར་ཁ་གོང་འོག་གཉིས། བྱང་གཏེར་
རིག་འཛིན་གློད་ལྷེམ་ [B25] ཅན་བཅས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་ནམ་གསུམ་གཅི་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་ཐབ་གཏེར་ཁག་ རྒྱ་ཞང་
ཁོམ་གྱི་གཤེད་སྐྱོར་ཚང་མ། སངས་སྤིང་སྒྲ་མ་དགོངས་འདུས་ཀྱིས་གཅོས་པའི་གསེར་ཆོས་ཡོངས་རྩོགས། རྟ་
སྤིང་འདུས་པ་སྐྱོར་བཞི་དང་ཕུར་པ་ཡང་གསང་སྤྱོད་མེད་སོགས། དུང་མཚོ་རས་པའི་རྩོགས་ཆེན་ཡང་ཏིན་ག་པོ། རིན་

440 Reading according to LKCB 195.12. A and B read: དཔའ་

441 Reading according to LKCB 196.5. A and B read: ཐེག་

ཆེན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་ཡང་ཟབ་སྐོར། འཕྲང་⁴⁴² གཏེར་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་གྲོལ་ཏིག་མངའ་རིས་པཎ་
 ཆེན་སྐུ་མཆེད་ཀྱི་རིག་འཛིན་ཡོངས་འདུས་སོགས། [A38] ཀམ་སྤྱིང་པའི་ཞི་ཁོ་དགོངས་གྲོལ། བསྐྱེད་པ་ལས་འབྲེལ་
 ཕྱལ་གྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་སྤྱིང་ཐིག་པད་སྤྱིང་སྤྱིང་མ་ཞི་དག་སྤྱིན་སྤྱིང་ཐུགས་ཆེན་དང་དོར་སེམས། སྐྱུ་བ་ཐབས་འདོད་
 འཛུགས་བཟང་། འཇའ་ཆོན་པོད་དུག་དེབ་ཞིན་གུ་རུ་བྱུང་དག་དོ་ཨེ། ཆོས་མེས་སྤྱིང་པ། སྤྱག་ཤམ་དོ་ཨེ་⁴⁴³ རོལ་དོར་
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཏེར་ཆོས་ཅི་རིགས། ཡོངས་དགའི་པདྨ་བཟོ་དང་གྲོ་ལོད་སོགས། མི་འགྱུར་དོ་ཨེ་འི་གནམ་ཆོས་ཐུགས་
 གཏེར་སྐོར། ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དོ་ཨེ་འི་དྲུག་དང་གུ་རུ་དག་མཐིང་སྐོར། མཁུན་ཀོང་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བབས་བདུན་
 གྱི་ཟབ་ཆོས་ཅི་རིགས། མཆོག་གྱུར་བདེ་ཆེན་སྤྱིང་པ་དང་། བདུད་འདུལ་འབར་ [B26] བའི་དོ་ཨེ་འི་གཏེར་གསར་
 སྐོར་པལ་ཆེར་སོགས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་དང་མ་གྲགས་པའི་གཏེར་ཆེན་གཏེར་ཕུན་ཅི་སྤྱིང་པའི་ཟབ་གཏེར་
 [A39] ཁག་འབད་པ་དུ་མས་གསན་བཞེས་དང་།

10.10.2. gSar ma

དེབ་ཞིན་ཕྱི་འགྱུར་གསར་མའི་སྐོར་ལའང་།

a. General

སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཨ་བླ་ཡུ་⁴⁴⁴ ཀ་རའི་དཀྱིལ་ཆོག་དོ་ཨེ་ཕྱིང་བ། རོ་ནང་སྐྱུ་བ་ཐབས་རིན་འབྱུང་། མི་ཏ་བརྒྱ་མ་ རོག་
 དཀྱིལ་བདུན། ཀེ་ཆང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཞི་ཕྱིང་དག་ཕྱིང་། ཆོས་སྐྱོང་སྒོག་ཕྱིང་། བཀའ་བརྒྱད་སྤྱགས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་
 སོགས་སྤྱི་དང་།

b. bKa' brgyud Transmissions

བྱི་བྲག་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་སྐོར་ལ་དཔལ་རྣམ་དང་མི་ཏྲི་⁴⁴⁵ པ་སོགས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་བཀའ་བཞུགས་གདམས་པ་དོ་ཏ་
 དང་གྲུབ་སྤྱིང་སྐོར་སོགས་ཕྱག་ཆེན་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ཁག་མཉམ་མེད་དུགས་པོ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་རོ་བོ་བཀའ་གདམས་
 པའི་ལམ་རིམ་དང་། རྗེ་མར་མི་ཡབ་སྤྱུང་གྱི་རྒྱུད་སྤྱི་ཁག་དང་མན་དག་མཁའ་འགྲོ་སྤྱིན་བརྒྱུད། བསྐྱེད་པོ་གནད་

442 A and B read འཕྲང་

443 དོ་ཨེ་: omitted in B.

444 A and B read: ཡུ་

445 A and B read: ཏྲི་

གྱི་མཚམས་སྒྱུར་སོགས་བཀའ་ཕྱག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཐབས་གོལ་གྱི་ [A40] གདམས་ཟབ་རྣམས་དང་། དེད་ག་ཟུང་དུ་
འབྲེལ་བའི་སྒྲིང་པོའི་ལམ་མཚོག་སྟོར། ལྷན་ཅིག་སྒྲིམ་སྒྱུར། ཕྱག་ཆེན་ལུ་ལུན། རྒྱ་རོ་ཆོས་རྩལ་བཅུ་ཆོས་དང་
སྤུལ་ཆོས། རི་ཆོས། ཆོགས་ཆོས། བྱད་ཆོས་སོགས་རྗེ་སྒྲོབ་པའི་ཟབ་ཆོས་ཁག་ [B27] དེད་ག་གི་རྒྱབ་ཆོས་ཐེག་
ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲིང་པོ། དམ་ཆོས་དགོངས་པ་གཅིག་པའི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ཁག་

རྗེ་རིན་ཆེན་ཆོགས་དང་ཆོས་གྱི་གྲགས་པ། རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྣམ་གཉིས་སོགས་གྱི་བཀའ་འབུམ་ཁག་ མོས་གྲུས་
སོག་འཁོར་དང་། སྒྲ་སྒྱབ་བདེ་བའི་རྗེ་རིན་ཆོས་ཟབ་ལམ་སྒྲ་སྒྱབ་སྟོར། འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་ཡབ་བཀའ་ཡུམ་
བཀའ། སྒྲ་མེད་ལྷན་སྒྲིམ་རྣམ་བཞི། རྗེ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་བདུན། སྒྱབ་ཐབས་ལོར་ཐེང་། བྱ་སྒྱུད་དང་ཡོ་
ག་སོགས་རྒྱད་སྟེ་གོང་འོག་གི་ཡི་དམ་ལྟའི་སྒྱབ་ [A41] དགྱིལ་མང་པོའི་སྒྲིན་གོལ། རྗེ་རྗེ་ལ་འབྱོར་མ་སོགས་
མཁའ་འགོའི་སྒྱབ་སྟོར། རྣམ་ཐོས་སྤྲུལ་དང་རྗེ་ལའི་རིགས་སོགས་གཞོད་སྒྲིན་ལོར་ལྟའི་སྒྱབ་ཐབས་ཁག་ ཨ་
མགོན་ཆོས་གསུམ་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་བསྟན་སྒྱུང་དམ་ཅན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྒྱབ་མིན་སྟོར་སོགས་རང་ལུགས་གྱི་རྩ་
གསུམ་ལོར་ལྟ་ཆོས་སྒྱུར་བཅས་པའི་སྒྱབ་རྒྱུན་རྗེ་སྟེད་རྣམས་དང་།

10.10.3. rNying ma Transmissions within the ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud Tradition

རྒྱལ་དབང་རཏྣའི་ཞབས་དང་། འཇམ་མགོན་ཆོས་གྱི་གྲགས་པ་གོང་འོག་ནས་བཟུང་། ཡ་སྒྱབས་མགོན་གདན་
རབས་རིམ་བྱོན་ལ་བཀའ་བབས་ཤིང་ཐུགས་དམ་ཉམས་བཞེས་སུ་བསྟར་བ་སྲ་འབྱུར་བཀའ་གཏེར་སྟོར་ལས།

བཀའ་དགོངས་ཕུར་གསུམ། [B28] གཤེན་རྗེ་ཆོ་བདག་དང་ཁོ་ཚུ་སོགས་གཤེད་སྟོར་ཁག་ དང་སྤོང་ལོ་གྱི་ཞི་བླ་
ཉང་དང་པད་མྱིང་། མངའ་པཎ། འཇའ་ [A42] ཆོན་སོགས་གྱི་སྒྲ་མ་ཞི་བླ་སྟོར། དགོངས་པ་ཡང་ཟབ། ཡིད་
བཞིན་ལོར་མཚོག་ རྗེ་བེར་⁴⁴⁶ རྒྱུང་ཁྱིང་། ཐུགས་ཆེན་ཡང་སྒྲིང་ལོར་བུ། བྱང་གཏེར་གཡང་སྒྱབ་ལོར་བུ་མཚོག་རྒྱལ།
གཏེར་སྟོན་ཉི་ཟླ་སངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་འཕོ་བ་འཇག་ཚུགས་མ་སོགས་

446 Cf. WALTER 1992:425. A and B read: བེར་

10.10.4. Summary

མདོར་ན་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་⁴⁴⁷གསར་ཤིང་བཀའ་གཏེར་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་གོང་འོག་ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ་རབ་
འབྱམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་བཤད་སྤྲིན་གྲོལ་སྦྱབ་ཤིན། གར་ཐིག་དབྱངས་གསུམ་མན་ངག་ལས་ཚོགས་ཕྱག་བཞེས་དང་
བཅས་པ།

དེ་བཞིན་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་སོ་སོའི་ཕྱག་ཆེན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གི་བྱེད་ཆོས་གདམས་ངག་ཟབ་ཁྲིད་རྣམས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་
མདོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཁག གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་དང་མན་ངག ཕྱིས་དཀར་ནག་སོགས་མདོར་ན་རིག་
པའི་གནས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་གསལ་ན། [A43] བཞེས་མཛད་དེ་མཁུན་པ་ཕྱོགས་མེད་དུ་རྒྱས་པས་མཚོན་གྲོག་པ་ཐོས་
བསམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་། གསལ་གྱུར་ཐོབ་ཆོས་ཅམ་དུ་མ་བཞག་པར་བྱགས་ཉམས་སུ་བཞེས་ཏེ།

གསར་ཤིང་ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ་རབ་འབྱམས་ཀྱི་བསྟེན་སྦྱབ་ [B29] ཡན་ལག་རྣམ་བཞི་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ཀྱང་བྱས་
སྟོ་ཅམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་སོ་སོའི་གཞུང་ནས་བཤད་པའི་རྟགས་མཚན་མ་རྗེས་པ་མེད་པ་[...]

447 A and B read: མའི་

11. Conclusion

Concludingly one can say, the biography follows the format of a traditional Tibetan *rnam thar*, in that it narrates about Nus ldan rdo rje's previous lives and his spiritual life from birth to death filled with numerous miraculous events, prophesies and visions. Among these are the masters he emanated from and prophesies about his incarnation in this life as Nus ldan rdo rje. Also, as for what is part of the translated section, the biography narrates about his family line that includes many accomplished masters and the events surrounding his birth, how he was recognised as a reincarnated master, his enthronement, the three vows he took, the teachers he received transmissions from as well as the transmissions themselves. Then, not part of the translation anymore, the biography tells of Nus ldan rdo rje's signs of accomplishment and experiences with regard to the practices he performed, practices he established at his monastery, treasure revelations and related prophesies from the treasure revelations of other masters and the events surrounding his death – all testifying to the greatness of the protagonist and positioning him as an extraordinary being.

That Nus ldan rdo rje was well-studied in most traditions, in particular in the eight chariots of practice lineages, is a strong indication for him being a *ris med* master. Him establishing and thus preserving great practices (Tib. *sgrub chen*) of the rNying ma tradition may also be seen as an indication for that.

The author applied a very honorific language in composing the biography that is at times difficult to read and to translate into English, which often lacks the complexity in expression that would do justice to the author's writing. A lot of research and basic knowledge about Buddhism and Tibetan culture was required for a good interpretation of the Tibetan text often written in very long sentences, and still, a few uncertainties have remained and some place names and personal names could not be identified.

In analysing the *rnam thar* in terms of three levels of outer, inner and secret, the predominant outer *rnam thar* forms the basic structure of the biography. The transmitted teachings constitute an element of the inner *rnam thar*. Elements of the secret *rnam thar* do not appear so much in the translated section of the biography but later with the account of the signs of accomplishment and experiences Nus ldan rdo rje had during the performance of practices.

Possibly the most interesting aspects of the biography, from a historical point of view, are the teachers he obtained teachings from and the transmitted teachings, of which predominantly

teachings of the rNying ma tradition are listed, some of which entered the 'Bri gung tradition early on. A more profound study of his career as treasure revealer and his acts as a throne holder of the monastery, such as the establishment of great practices (Tib. *sgrub chen*) would be interesting. Unfortunately, the sections treating these topics have not been translated so far.

List of Abbreviations

A	see lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma
alt.	alternative spelling or name
B	see lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma
BDRC	Buddhist Digital Resource Center (formerly Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center)
BGCB	‘Bri gung chos ‘byung: see ‘Bri gung dKon mchog rgya mtsho
BKCZ	‘Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod: see A mgon Rinpoche
D.	Tōhoku number of the sDe dge edition of the bKa’ ‘gyur and bsTan ‘gyur: see Hakuju et al.
GBLG	dGe ‘brong lo rgyus: see lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma
LKCB	Lung dkar chos ‘byung: see lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma
NDSB	Nus ldan rdo rje’i gsung ‘bum: see lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma
NGB	rNying ma rgyud ‘bum (gTing skyes edition)
P.	Ōtani number of the Peking edition of the bKa’ ‘gyur and bsTan ‘gyur: see Peking Tripitaka Online Search
Chin.	Chinese (Pinyin)
RTZ	Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo (Shechen edition): see Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas
Skt.	Sanskrit
THL	Tibetan and Himalayan Library
THL dict.	THL Tibetan to English Translation Tool
Tib.	Tibetan

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lHo bsTan 'dzin nyi ma

— A

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— B

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Tergar – The Meditation Community of Yongey Mingyur Rinpoche

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The Rubin Museum of Art

<http://rubinmuseum.org/>

THL – Tibetan and Himalayan Library

<http://www.thlib.org/>

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84.000: Translating the Words of the Buddha

<http://read.84000.co/>

Abstract

This thesis offers a glimpse into the life and a partial translation of the biography or liberation story (Tib. *nam thar*) of one of the greatly accomplished Buddhist masters of the nineteenth century: the treasure revealer and *ris med* master lHo O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje, throne holder of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud monastery lHo lung dkar dgon 'og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling situated among alpine meadows along the lCi river in Nang chen, Qinghai.

The thesis begins with an introduction to the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition, treasure revelations and the eastern Tibetan ethnic region Khams in the nineteenth century. This follows a brief outline of Nus ldan rdo rje's life, his works and incarnation line. Further, a presentation of the monastery lHo lung dkar dgon is provided together with the incarnation lines connected to it. In discussing the biography partially translated for this thesis, a brief biography of the author lHo bstan 'dzin nyi ma, an outline of the biography as well as available sources on Nus ldan rdo rje's life are included. The translation itself includes the sections of the biography that tell about his birth place, family line, his birth, youth and early adulthood, as well as the transmission of teachings and further studies and practice. The thesis concludes with the critical edition of the Tibetan.

The study of Nus ldan rdo rje's life and biography proves valuable in several aspects: Nus ldan rdo rje was from an area that is still fairly unstudied by Western scholarship and it thus provides further information about the nineteenth century Nang chen area of eastern Tibet. The biography, albeit composed by a contemporary Khams pa author, has the make-up of a traditional Tibetan biography. Not only does it shed light on the so far unstudied life of Nus ldan rdo rje, also the life, in particular the early years, of a reincarnated master can be witnessed and insights gained into the Tibetan-Buddhist world-view.

Kurzfassung

Diese Masterarbeit bietet einen Einblick in das Leben sowie eine Teilübersetzung der Biografie beziehungsweise Befreiungsgeschichte (Tib. *rnam thar*) eines der hoch-verwirklichten buddhistischen Meister des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: des Schatzentdeckers und *ris med* Meisters lHo O rgyan nus ldan rdo rje, Thronhalter des ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud Klosters lHo lung dkar dgon ‘og min thub bstan bshad sgrub gling am lCi Fluss im Hochland von Nang chen, Qinghai.

Die Masterarbeit beginnt mit einer Einleitung zur ‘Bri gung bKa’ brgyud-Tradition, den Schatzentdeckungen und die osttibetische ethnische Region Khams im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Darauf folgt ein kurzer Überblick über Nus ldan rdo rje’s Leben, seine Werke und Inkarnationslinie. Des Weiteren wird eine Beschreibung des Klosters lHo lung dkar dgon, zusammen mit den damit verknüpften Inkarnationslinien, geboten. In Zusammenhang mit der Teilübersetzung folgt eine kurze Biografie des Autors, lHo bsTan ‘dzin nyi ma, eine Zusammenfassung der Biografie von Nus ldan rdo rje und den verfügbaren Quellen über sein Leben. Die Übersetzung selbst beinhaltet jene Abschnitte aus der Biografie, welche vom Geburtsort, der Abstammungslinie, Geburt, Jugend und vom frühen Erwachsenenalter handeln sowie von den Lehrübertragungen und weiteren Studien und Dharma-Praxis. Die Arbeit schließt mit einer kritischen Edition des Tibetischen ab.

Das Studium von Nus ldan rdo rje’s Leben und Biografie erweist sich als wertvoll in mehreren Aspekten: Nus ldan rdo rje kam aus einer Gegend, welche von der westlichen Wissenschaft bisher relativ wenig erforscht wurde. Diese Arbeit bietet diesbezüglich zusätzliche Informationen über das Nang chen-Gebiet Osttibets im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Obwohl die Biografie von einem zeitgenössischen Autor aus Khams verfasst wurde, ist sie in Form einer traditionellen tibetischen Biografie aufgebaut. Diese Studie wirft nicht nur Licht auf das bisher unerforschte Leben von Nus ldan rdo rje, sie gewährt auch Einblick in das Leben, vor allem die jungen Jahre, eines reinkarnierten Meisters und bietet Einsicht in die tibetisch-buddhistische Weltanschauung.

Curriculum Vitae

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