

The
Life of
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo
by Jamgön Kongtrül

ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY MATTHEW AKESTER

The Life of
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo
by Jamgön Kongtrül



KHYENTSE
FOUNDATION

Buddha's wisdom is for everyone.

THE LIFE OF JAMYANG KHYENTSE WANGPO
by Jamgön Kongtrül

English translation by Matthew Akester

First published by Shechen Publications, Delhi in 2012.

A new online edition is published by Khyentse Foundation
in commemoration of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of
Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo.

Permission from Matthew Akester has been granted for
Khyentse Foundation to offer this book online for free
download at www.khyentsefoundation.org

2025 print edition published by the Khyentse Foundation
in association with Serindia Publications.

© 2025 Matthew Akester

All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced in whole or
in any part, in any form, without permission from the publishers
and copyright holders.

Digital Edition

Typeset by Maryann Lipaj and Umaporn Busabok for Serindia Studio.

Design by Maryann Lipaj

www.serindia.com



The Life of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo

by Jamgön Kongtrül

English translation by Matthew Akester

Foreword

by Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche

Many of us need much more than books and teachings, no matter how profound they are. We need to have the example of an actual person who truly embodies these books and teachings in all they do – even if that person is someone from the past.

It's like an engineer whose own life and work are inspired by knowing about the pioneers who created the first airplane, designed the Panama Canal, or sent the first man to the moon.

Likewise, for those of us who have had a little glimpse of emptiness, compassion and the wisdom of the Buddha, it is inspiring to learn what the great masters of the past have done and how they spent their time and energy. And among these masters, Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo shines like the Morning Star.

And who better than to record the life of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo than one who was both the great master's disciple and also his guru – a truly remarkable relationship that already tells us something special.

For all these reasons and more, Matthew Akester's translation of Jamgon Kongtrül's *Life of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo*, now offered by Khyentse Foundation to celebrate the master's 200th Anniversary, must really be treasured.

Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche

Bir, India

June, 2020

Foreword

by Shechen Rabjam Tulku and Konchog Tendzin (M. Ricard)

Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's heritage was central to Kyabjé Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché's very being, spiritual practice and enlightened activity. At a young age, Tashi Paljor (the name given him by Lama Mipam Rinpoché) had been recognized by several eminent masters, Jamyang Lotér Wangpo and Shechen Gyaltsap Gyurmé Pema Namgyal in particular, as an emanation of Khyentsé Wangpo.

Five incarnations were recognized altogether, who were respectively the emanations of Khyentsé Wangpo's body, speech, mind, qualities, and activity. Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché recounts how his root teacher, Shechen Gyaltsap Rinpoché, who was living in a hermitage above Shechen monastery, formally enthroned him as the "mind incarnation" of the great master:

On the morning of the enthronement I climbed up the path to the hermitage. Inside, a large throne had been set up. Shechen Kongtrül was holding incense, and Shechen Gyaltsap was dressed in his finest clothes. They told me to sit on the throne. Only a few people were present in the room. Gyaltsap Rinpoché performed the ceremony. As a symbol of the Buddha's body, he gave me images of Buddha Śākyamuni that had belonged to Mipam Rinpoché and Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo. As a symbol of speech, he gave me many volumes of their writings. As a symbol of mind, he gave me the Vajra and bell that Mipam Rinpoché had used throughout his life. As a symbol of qualities, he gave me all the implements needed for giving empowerments. Finally, as a symbol of activity, he gave me Mipam Rinpoché's seal. Then he presented me with a written document, which said: "Today I recognize the son of the Dilgo family as the reembodiment of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo. I name him Gyurmé Tekchok Tenpé Gyaltzen, Immutable Victory Banner of the Supreme Vehicle. I entrust him with the

teachings of the great masters of the past. Now, if I die I have no regret.

During this period, Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché received many teachings from Shechen Gyaltsap, together with Dzongsar Khyentsé Chöki Lodrö, who was the incarnation of Khyentsé Wangpo's activity and who was to become Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché's second main root teacher.

Throughout his life, Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché endeavoured to perpetuate the spiritual legacy of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo. On several occasions he gave the transmissions of the master's collected writings and bestowed the empowerments of his revealed treasures. He also wrote texts to complement some of Khyentsé Wangpo's writings, such as manuals for giving empowerments, lineage prayers, and meditation instructions.

Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché wrote for instance a two hundred-page instruction manual on the practice of the Vima Lhadrup (Bi ma lha sgrub), a Sādhana focussed on Vimalamitra, Śrīsiṃha and Guru Padmasambhava, which is a part of Khyentsé Wangpo's Chimé Pakmé Nyingtik mind treasure ('Chi med 'phags ma'i snying thig). Upon completing the composition of this commentary, Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché told us that this was his main Dzokchen (Great Perfection) teaching. He would also often give transmission and teachings upon the Chetsun Nyingtik (lCe btsun snying thig), and commented that the Vima Lhadrup represented the "vast" aspect and the Chetsun Nyingtik the "profound" aspect of Khyentsé Wangpo's Dzogchen teachings. Khyentsé Rinpoché also wrote several texts for the transmission of the Sādhana focussed on King Trisong Detsen (Chos rgyal tshangs pa lha'i me tog lha sgrub) and on Avalokiteśvara in the form of Semnyi Ngalso (Sems nyid ngal gso), two of Khyentsé Wangpo's treasures.

Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo was one of the "Five King-like Tertön-s", or treasure rediscoverers, the four others being Nyangré Nyima Öser, Guru Chöki Wangchuk, Dorjé Lingpa, and Padma Lingpa. But Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché often reminded his disciples that Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo was in fact the "seal of all Tertön-s", and said that Khyentsé Wangpo had once confided that he had had a vision in which he could see clearly the locations of all the Terma

hidden in Tibet and the Himalaya by Guru Padmasambhava for the sake of future generations.

Normally, only the Tertön who was meant to find the Terma is able to decipher the Ḍākinī script in which it is written. According to Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché, other Tertön-s may be able to get a general idea of the teaching from the script, such as whether it is a Guru Sādhana or a Dzokchen teaching, for instance. He added that Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, who was an emanation of King Trisong Detsen and had been entrusted with all of Guru Rinpoché's teachings, was able to understand all Ḍākinī scripts. Such great Tertöns are also the ultimate arbiters of the authenticity of Terma revealed by others. It is therefore customary for a Tertön to present his revelation to such an enlightened master and ask him to confirm whether his discovery is genuine and will benefit beings, or whether it should be discarded.

It may also happen that two or three Tertön-s have been entrusted with the same treasure by Guru Rinpoché and discover it either together or simultaneously in different places. This was sometimes the case, for instance, with Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, Jamgön Kongtrül and Chokgyur Lingpa. Once, Chokgyur Lingpa came to show Khyentsé Wangpo the treasure of the Sampa Lhundrup cycle (The Spontaneous Fulfillment of Aspirations) that he had just revealed. Khyentsé Wangpo not only confirmed its authenticity, but added that he had revealed exactly the same treasure, almost word for word, and that there was now no need for him to put it into writing, since Chokgyur Lingpa had already done so.

On a few occasions, these three masters revealed Terma in public. Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo once revealed a Terma from the cliff at Karmo Taksang hermitage, in front of a large crowd. A few months earlier, in November 1866, at the nearby Seng-ngu Yutso Lake, Chokgyur Lingpa revealed a treasure in the presence of Khyentsé Wangpo, the king of Dergé and some hundred followers. According to the account that was passed down, the lake was frozen except at its centre, where the ice opened like a window, around which the company

gathered in a circle. It was there that the Nāga, the guardian snake-spirit of the lake, presented to Chokgyur Lingpa a gold reliquary containing precious teachings as well as some gold powder of exceptional quality that was later used in the frescoes adorning the temple walls at Dzongsar monastery.

A few stories from the oral tradition

Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché used to tell many stories related to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's life. Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché's father, and grandfather Tashi Tsering, were direct disciples of Khyentsé Wangpo. Rinpoché recalled:

The main Lamas of our family, especially my grandfather, were Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo and Jamgön Kongtrül. In his youth my father hunted and killed a number of animals. My grandfather told him, "In our family no one hunts; if you kill animals, Jamyang Khyentsé will scold you." One day the whole family went to see Jamyang Khyentsé at Dzongsar, and when he called for my father to come to his room, he asked, "Have you killed any animals?" My father was very scared, but as he knew one should never lie to a master, he said, "Yes, a few."

"The Dilgo family is very wealthy, so you don't need to hunt," Jamyang Khyentsé told him. "Today you should take a vow to never go hunting again." He then took a statue and put it on my father's head, who was feeling very uncomfortable and ashamed. When he returned to his family's quarters, my grandfather asked him, "What did Khyentsé Rinpoché say to you?" My father did not answer, as he was so upset. "Did he say you shouldn't hunt animals?"

"Yes, he did," my father replied. My grandfather assured him that he had not told Jamyang Khyentsé anything about it, but that the Lama had great prescience. My father never hunted again. One day Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo said to my grandfather Tashi Tsering: "Your son should receive the empowerment of the Gyuluk Purba." So, the following year, the family went to Dzongsar, but at that time Khyentsé Wangpo was in strict retreat. Since Jamgön Kongtrül was also in Dzongsar, Tashi Tsering

requested him to bestow the empowerment. One evening, as Kongtrül Rinpoché was about to give the empowerment in his own room, Khyentsé Wangpo's attendant came to the door asking: "Is the Dilgo boy in here? Tulku Rinpoché is calling for him now." So, the family went to Khyentsé Wangpo's house. When they arrived at his quarters, the ritual master was standing outside the door with a vase of purification water, which seemed to indicate the beginning of an empowerment. As soon as they entered his room, Jamyang Khyentsé granted them the detailed Quintessential Kīlaya of the Hearing Lineage empowerment, reading transmission and instructions.

After the empowerment they went back to Jamgön Kongtrül's quarters where there was still a lamp burning in the window. Kongtrül asked, "What did Khyentsé Rinpoché want?" They said that he had given them the Vajrakīlaya empowerment. "Oh, very good, there is nothing greater than to receive that empowerment from Jamyang Khyentsé. Nevertheless, since I have already begun the preparations for the empowerment myself, I am going to go ahead and give it to you again!" So in one evening they received empowerment in the Oral Lineage of Vajrakīlaya from the two authors of that very practice - the treasure revealer himself (Jamyang Khyentsé) and the one who wrote it down (Jamgön Kongtrül). Kongtrül advised my father to do some Mantra recitations for this practice for three months in retreat.

At Senggé Dzong, the Snow Lion Citadel

During his many travels on foot to central Tibet, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo also visited Bhutan and went to Senggé Dzong, one of the five main places sacred to Guru Padmasambhava, related to his "enlightened activity" (Phrin las kyi gnas). There, he did retreat in the high altitude cave of Ne'uring, where the Ḍākinī Yeshé Tsogyal spent several years in meditation and achieved realization through the practice of Vajrakīlaya. Khyentsé Wangpo had a disciple with him, and the two of them spent a winter there, surrounded by snow.

One day, the master suddenly told his disciple, "Hide behind me and

don't move no matter what happens." Then he wrapped himself in his large brown cape and, sitting very straight, entered into a deep concentration, his eyes wide open, gazing into space. The disciple stayed right behind the master, practically hidden from view by his great cape. Soon after, there was a noise at the entrance of the cave, and as unlikely as it seemed there in the depth of winter, a tiger appeared. Entering the cave, he stopped in front of the Lama and looked him over, growling angrily and swinging his tail. Khyentsé Wangpo was imperturbable and continued to meditate. After a moment, the tiger, jaws wide open, made a loud roar, then turned tail and left.

"You can come out now," said Khyentsé Wangpo. "Nothing's going to happen now." Later, he told his disciple that this had been no ordinary tiger. It was the guardian deity of this sacred place, who had come to greet the great Lama, and at the same time put him to the test.

Khyentsé Wangpo used to wear the patchwork monastic skirt characteristic of fully ordained monks. But Bhutanese monks had not adopted this custom, and it is said that when Khyentsé Wangpo reached Wangdu Podrang, some monks were talking about the "strange monk from Tibet who was wearing a robe in tatters".

Meeting with Vimalamitra

At the age of thirty-seven, Khyentsé Wangpo decided to put into practice all the teachings he had received, and therefore vowed he would never again cross the threshold of his room. He never left his retreat place, staying there for the remaining thirty-five years of his life, practising many teachings, and composing (together with Jamgön Kongtrül) commentaries and instructions for practices for which the explanations had been lost. He had countless visions of deities and past masters, some of them blending with reality.

On one occasion, when Khyentsé Wangpo was in strict retreat, his attendant heard someone else talking in the innermost room. Wondering who could have penetrated unnoticed inside his master's retreat, he peeped through the door curtain and saw Khyentsé Wangpo in conversation with an elderly

Lama. After a while, when the attendant returned to take care of his master's needs, he asked him: "Who was that person who came into your retreat?" Rather surprised, Khyentsé Wangpo replied: "You saw him? That means you have quite a pure Karma. That was Vimalamitra."

Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo and Patrul Rinpoché

While roaming around eastern Tibet, Patrul once came in sight of Dzongsar Monastery. That day, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, who was in retreat, had told his attendant, "Someone will come today, whoever it might be, send him up to me." They all thought some important person was going to arrive. At noon, Patrul showed up at the door, dressed in his shabby nomad's sheepskin robe, saying, "I came to see Dilgo Ngedön." (He would not say "Khyentsé Rinpoché", but used Khyentsé Wangpo's family name, by which he was called in his youth.) Unfamiliar with this name, the cook who was standing around the doorway asked:

-Who is Dilgo Ngedön?

-An old Dharma friend of mine, he is here and I want to see him; I have a few words to say to him. Having finally understood whom Patrul was referring to, the cook said:

-Jamyang Khyentsé is in retreat and you can't just go in like that. Please wait for a while, when he concludes his practice session, I shall ask him about Khyentsé Ngedön.

-Well, it seems I can't meet him, doesn't it?

-You might be able to meet Jamyang Khyentsé, but I must wait and ask his permission; you can't go straight in just like that.

-Ya, Ya! He the field mouse has time to idle about, I the green blade of grass have no time to wait." With these words, Patrul left. The cook thought, "What a strange fellow." In a break, when the cook came before him,

Jamyang Khyentsé asked: “Hasn’t anyone come to meet me today?” The attendant replied, “No one special.” Jamyang Khyentsé insisted: “No one at all?” The cook conceded: “Well, there was a gruff nomad who said he wanted to meet Dilgo Ngedön and had no time to wait.” Jamyang Khyentsé scolded the cook, saying: “That must be him! Go and fetch him.” Someone was sent to chase after Patrul.

By then, Patrul was well on his way to Palpung, just about to cross the Horla pass, a few hours walk up from Dzongsar. When the messenger on horseback finally caught up with him and said, “Jamyang Khyentsé wants to see you, please come back,” Patrul just grumbled, “Oh, he has become a big shot now. Years ago, when Dilgo Ngedön and I were receiving teachings from Shechen Tutop Namgyal he was just a young chap wearing a yellow silk coat. Now, he is such an important person...” and he walked away.

After this episode, Jamyang Khyentsé wrote a prayer recounting Patrul Rinpoché’s life story in verse, as well as a short prayer that became widely used:

I pray to Jigmé Chöki Wangpo, Fearless Lord of Dharma, Who outwardly is the Bodhisattva Śāntideva, Who inwardly is the Mahāsiddha Śāvaripa, Who in his absolute nature is the Spontaneous Liberation of Suffering. (Jigmé Chöki Wangpo was Patrul Rinpoché’s name; Śāntideva is the great Bodhisattva mentioned above; Śāvaripa was a great Indian Siddha who manifested in the form of a hunter; and Spontaneous Liberation of Suffering (sDug sngal rang grol) is one of the names of Avalokiteśvara.)

Later, Patrul Rinpoché too composed a devotional prayer to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo.

Blessing the Maṇi wall from afar

When Patrul Rinpoché was enlarging the Maṇi wall (made of thousands of slates carved with Maṇi and other Mantras and scriptures) Patrul Rinpoché was requested by Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo to accept an offering made to him, which he usually never accepted. Patrul consented

and used all these offerings to commission carving of more Maṇi stones. When the work was about to be completed, Patrul Rinpoché sent a long silk ceremonial scarf and a silver ingot to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, requesting him to perform the consecration of the Maṇi wall. Jamyang Khyentsé answered that he would do so from Dzongsar, on the tenth day of the next lunar month. On that day, while Patrul Rinpoché and all those present were also conducting a ceremony, a rain of orange flowers fell all over the ‘hundred thousand stones’.

Patrul’s order not to die

Every year, for thirteen years, Patrul Rinpoché performed a longevity practice for the sake of Khyentsé Wangpo and sent him verses wishing him a long life together with a statue of Amitayus, some thirteen in total, some gilded, some in precious li alloy. Each time a new Amitayus statue was thus presented, Jamyang Khyentsé would say, “Here comes Patrul’s order that I mustn’t die,” and touched the statue to his head. Some of these requests to Khyentsé Wangpo to live long can be found in Patrul Rinpoché’s collected writings.

On another occasion, after seeing the text of the Chetsun Nyintik, Patrul said, “The Tulku of the Dilgo family is no different from an Indian Mahāsiddha.”

Doe Khyentsé’s “return” to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo

Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo was considered to be the ‘mind’ emanation of Rigzin Jigmé Lingpa, while Patrul Rinpoché was considered to be the “speech” emanation. The emanation of Jigmé Lingpa’s body was the great yogi Doe Khyentsé Yeshé Dorjé. Born in the wilds of Golok, Doe Khyentsé spent most of his life as a wandering yogi or Siddha, often in the guise of a bandit or a hunter. Like Khyentsé Wangpo, he was also a treasure revealer.

There are numerous stories of Doe Khyentsé’s unconventional yet enlightened activity. He used to go hunting, a custom that is not popular among Tibetans and certainly unexpected from a spiritual teacher. On one occasion, he is said to have killed a wild blue sheep, and asked his people to take the meat and roast it over the fire, but carefully keep the bones and skin intact.

One of his disciples could not help thinking that such behaviour was quite strange on the part of a great teacher. Sensing his student's doubt, at the end of the feast, Doe Khyentsé, asked him to bring the skins and bones. When these had been gathered in front of him, Doe Khyentsé entered into meditation and then snapped his fingers. At that very moment, the sheep got to his feet, shook himself a bit and walked away. He was, however, limping a bit: someone had forgotten to bring back a piece of bone from one of his legs. This event greatly boosted the faith of the disciples.

The two Khyentsé-s never met, but the day Doe Khyentsé passed away, Jamyang Khyentsé is said to have become more brilliant and resplendent. "That old beggar from Golok has come to me," he explained. Sometime later, they learned that Doe Khyentsé had passed away. So it was said that he dissolved back into Jamyang Khyentsé.

The publication of the life story

Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché once told us that rather than attempting to translate teachings that should really be transmitted directly from master to disciple, it would be a great service to Dharma practitioners to translate inspiring life stories of great masters from the past. We are therefore delighted and honoured that the biography of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo is now being presented to readers by Shechen Publications, thanks to the perseverant and skillful efforts of Matthew Akester. On this occasion, we would like to express our deep appreciation for his long-term commitment to Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's legacy and for the detailed and careful scholarship, as well as the dedicated work that he has pursued over many years spent researching Khyentsé Wangpo's life and translating this landmark biography.

Shechen Rabjam Tulku and Konchog Tendzin (M. Ricard)

*Shechen Monastery, Nepal, on the full moon of the first month of the Water Dragon,
March 8, 2012.*

Contents

Forewords

<i>Translator's introduction</i>	XVIII
<i>The autobiographical root verses</i>	37
<i>The condensed biography from Kongtrül's 'Lives of the Hundred Tértön-s'</i>	51
<i>The 'Fabulous grove of Uḍumbara flowers' biography</i>	67

The Outer Life

1) How his appearance in the world was foretold in authentic prophecies	79
2) How he took rebirth in accordance with his spiritual determination	87
and aspirations	
3) How he entered into the precious teachings of the enlightened ones	98
4) How he then accomplished the stages of listening to and reflecting	102
on the teachings in dependence on qualified spiritual teachers	
5) How, after absorbing their import, he attained realisation	157
6) How he consequently served the teachings and living beings	182
7) How in addition he accumulated merit in diverse ways	195
8) How after reaching the completion of his activities	207
he dissolved into the expanse of space	

The Inner Life

The Secret Life

1) Direct oral transmissions	231
2) Physical revelations	236
3) Revelation of reconcealed treasures	252
4) Profound mental revelations	281
5) Revelations through consequent recollection	284
6) Revelations in visions	284
7) Oral transmissions similarly received	285

<i>Notes</i>	302
--------------------	-----

<i>Bibliography</i>	372
---------------------------	-----

<i>Index of names</i>	376
-----------------------------	-----

List of Illustrations

Recent Tangka painting of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo *Between p.34 and p.35*
the centrepiece in a series of five depicting the previous incarnations by school (see end)
Photo by Matthieu Ricard

Khyentsé Wangpo's hand- and footprints (accompanied by two similar Tangka-s with the hand- and footprints of Jamgön Kongtrül and Chokgyur Lingpa) preserved at Dzongsar monastery..... *p.36*
Photo by Jeff Watt

Tangka portraying Khyentsé Wangpo and his previous incarnations, *Between p.50 and p.51*
Dzongsar monastery
Photo by Jeff Watt

Tangka portraying Khyentsé Wangpo and his previous incarnations, *Between p.66 and p.67*
Dzongsar monastery
Photo by Matthieu Ricard

Tangka depicting Khyentsé's 'Zikpa Nga-den' vision of the five masters, ... *Between p.182 and p.183*
Dzongsar monastery
Photo by Matthieu Ricard

Tangka portraying Khyentsé Wangpo with some of his *Between p.218 and p.219*
principal masters and disciples, Dzongsar monastery
Photo by Jeff Watt

Jamgön Kongtrül and the 100 Tértön-s, blockprint from Dégé Parkhang *p.232*

Cartoon depicting the revelations at Taktsang and *Between p.244 and p.245*
Seng-ngu Yumtso in 1866, presumably drawn soon after, and preserved at Dzongsar monastery
Photos by Jeff Watt

The remaining four of a series of five Tangka-s depicting *Between p.296 and p.303*
Khyentsé's antecedents and experiences in each of the four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism.
They were painted at Dzongsar monastery in 2010, based on a series of line drawings designed and commissioned by the late Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché in the 1980s
Photos by Matthieu Ricard

Chögyel Trisong Détsen and the Nyingma tradition *Between p.296 and p.297*
Jétsun Drakpa Gyeltsen and the Sakya tradition *Between p.298 and p.299*
Dakpo Gampopa and the Kagyü tradition *Between p.300 and p.301*
Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné and the Kadampa tradition *Between p.302 and p.303*

Introduction

Jamgön Kongtrül's biography of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo is the definitive account of a giant among spiritual masters, composed by his closest friend and colleague. It is one of the most informative sources there is on what has become known as the *Ri-mé* movement in 19th century eastern Tibet, and in its stylistic combination of artful organisation, scholastic acuity and earthy directness, could be considered as one of the literary manifestoes of that movement.

The name Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo (Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen, 1820-92) commands a degree of respect and awe almost unrivalled in the Tibetan world in his lifetime or since. He is generally described in superlatives: the greatest, the most accomplished, master of all branches of the teachings, omniscient, unsurpassed. A mere assessment of his contribution would be a formidable challenge, and the intention here is just to provide the reader with the most elementary signposts towards that end.

Khyentsé Wangpo is renowned in the first place as the guiding light and inspiration of the *Ri-mé* movement, a first-among-equals with two extraordinary contemporaries, Jamgön Kongtrül (1813-99) himself and the great treasure master Chokgyur Lingpa (1829-70), the trio that became synonymous with this movement and its most exalted achievements. What did *Ri-mé* (literally 'non-aligned') actually mean? There have been advocates of non-sectarianism and compilers of the teachings of neglected lineages ever since the appearance of sectarianism in Tibetan Buddhism (Trenpo Tértön Sherab Öser (1518-84) and Jétsun Tāranātha (1575-1635) were particularly admired by Khyentsé and Kongtrül), while encyclopaedic scholasticism and syncretic innovations in religious thought belonged more to the spirit of the age than to any particular school of practitioners. Nonetheless, the self-conscious preservation and revival of all authentic Vajrayāna traditions, and deliberate relocation of this activity

in formerly peripheral territories of eastern Tibet, amounted to an eclectic intellectual movement, which coalesced through the charismatic influence of these three masters within their lifetime. They did not use the term *Ri-mé* to mean absolute impartiality, much less trans-sectarian homogeneity: the impetus was rather a reaction to the perceived degeneration of Tibet's spiritual heritage under the impact of global events, which had taken shape within the turbulent political and cultural milieu of the 18th century.

That period saw devastating Mongol invasions and civil wars, the entrenchment of religious intolerance and supremacism, and eventual imposition of Manchu imperial control. The evolution of a xenophobic 'Lamaist' theocracy and corporatisation of the dominant Gélukpa school, formalised in the 1750s under imperial tutelage, had encouraged a rigid intellectual conformism, at least in central Tibet and the major constituencies of that school in the east of the country.

The kingdom of Dégé, which had emerged from the 17th century political reformation era as one of the strongest in eastern Tibet, was also among the more enlightened, and provided for many notable exponents of excellence and ecumenicalism in religion and the arts at that time. In view of their scrupulous literary compilations, reinvigorated of the 'mundane' disciplines such as Sanskrit, grammar, medicine and the arts, and championing of persecuted or neglected religious traditions, Shuchen Tsultrim Rinchen (1697-1774), Situ Pañchen Chöki Jungné (1700-74) and Katok Rikdzin Tséwang Norbu (1698-1755), leading representatives of (respectively) the Ngorpa (Sakyapa), Karma (Kagyüpa), and Nyingma schools that flourished in Dégé, are some of the more obvious forerunners of the *Ri-mé* movement. Intellectual currents and personalities within each of these schools can be identified as formative influences on Khyentsé Wangpo's life and times. First of all, Dégé had become a major field of activity for the Lama-s of Ngor (in central Tibet), which at that time was the academic powerhouse of the Sakya tradition, several of whom were non-sectarian scholars as well as masters of the *Lamdré* teachings. Perhaps the most celebrated of all was Khenchen Palden Chökyong (1702-60), and among his successors, the Tartsé Khenchen Champa

Namka Chimé (1765-1820), of whom Khyentsé was considered the immediate reincarnation. His main teacher had been the Sakya throneholder (Tri-chen) Kunga Lo-dro (1729-84), a noted Nyingmapa practitioner and advocate of the estranged Tsarpa branch of the Sakya tradition, to which Khyentsé Rinpoché was greatly devoted. The Tsarpa masters Morchen Kunga Lhundrup (1654-1726) and Nésar Kunga Lekpé Jungné (1704-60) were inspirational figures for all of the above.

Khyentsé Wangpo was less involved with the Karma Kagyü than either Kongtrül or Chokling, but certainly influenced by the three greatest masters of that school in his day, the successors of Situ Pañchen, all of whom were non-sectarian in outlook and had their roots in Dégé. They were the 9th Situ incarnation Pema Nyinché Wangpo (1774-1853) and his protégés, the 14th Karmapa Tekchok Dorjé (1798-1868) and the Dabsang Tulku Ngédön Tenpa Rabgyé (1808-67).

On the Nyingma side, it is Rikdzin Jikmé Lingpa (1730-98), the last grandmaster of the tradition to appear in central Tibet, who came to be regarded as Khyentsé Wangpo's most significant predecessor of all (although this is not directly acknowledged by the biography). The transmission of his *Longchen Nyingtik* teachings to eastern Tibet, and consequent Nyingmapa revival there, was the work of the greatest names of the previous generation, especially the Doe Drupchen Jikmé Trinlé Öser (1745-1821), Trama Drupchen Jikmé Gyelwé Nyugu (1765-1843) and the Katok Mahāpaṇḍita Gyurmé Tséwang Chokdrup (1761-1829), and of Khyentsé's contemporaries, Doe Khyentsé Yéshé Dorjé (1800-66) and Dza Paltrül Jikmé Chöki Wangpo (1808-87). In addition to the visionary reembodiment of the omniscient Longchenpa, Jikmé Lingpa's scholastic and antiquarian persuasions were clearly mirrored in Khyentsé Wangpo's career. In this connection, there was at least one other important intermediary figure, Gyelsé Shenpen Tayé of Gémang (1800-55), who travelled extensively in central Tibet seeking out the last traces, texts and transmissions of the Nyingma 'Ka-ma' teachings, a quest typical of the *Ri-mé* masters, pursued by no one more diligently than the young Khyentsé.

Progressive and syncretic trends within the contemporary Gélukpa tradition, mostly in the Domé region of north-east Tibet – the scholastic work of Tuken Losang Chöki Nyima (1737-1802), Kungtang Könchok Tenpé Drönmé (1762-1823) and Walmang Pandita Könchok Gyeltsen (1764-1853) for instance, and the reformism of Arik Géshé Jampel Gélek Gyeltsen (1726-1803) and his disciple Shabkar Tsokdruk Rangdröl (1781-1851) – could be considered another source of influence. Khyentsé Rinpoché studied with several representatives of this school, Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé (1801-66) in particular, Sokpo Lhatsün Yéshé Dondrup (1792-1855), and Géshé Champa Puntsok of Litang (b.1812).

The syncretist and reformist movement within the Bön tradition (sometimes referred to as ‘New Bön’) that emerged in eastern Tibet during the 18th century, also partly in response to sectarian persecution, was an allied phenomenon. Sanggyé Lingpa (1705-35) and Kundröl Drakpa (1700-66?) are acknowledged as the pioneers of this school, which was later upheld by such figures as Tértön Tsewang Drakpa (1833-93), Sang-ngak Lingpa (b.1864) and Shardza Tashi Gyeltsen (1859-1934), younger contemporaries of Khyentsé and Kongtrül, who gave it their explicit endorsement.

As Kongtrül emphasises, the activity of great spiritual masters is beyond the understanding of ordinary minds, and even among them, Khyentsé Wangpo was an uncommonly transcendent figure. For the pedestrian purposes of this introduction, his career can be considered in at least five aspects, broadly corresponding with its temporal progression: they are the poet and grammarian, the pilgrim scholar, the encyclopaedist, the statesman, and the treasure-revealer and visionary.

Poet & Grammarian

Khyentsé Wangpo was born into the Dégé aristocracy, recognised in infancy as the reincarnation of the Ngor Tartsé Khenchen, and as a teenager was tutored by the leading scholars in his native land. Even in these early years, he received numerous visions and prophecies echoing previous lives as the most illustrious

exponents of the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition. But the biography also informs us that his full potential brilliance was muted by serious obstacles in adolescence: in particular, at the age of seventeen he underwent a near-death experience, leaving him with ‘no more than a quarter of his former knowledge’, and making him what is known in Tibetan as a ‘Délök’, one who has returned from the afterlife. Nonetheless, he travelled to central Tibet at the age of twenty to pursue higher studies at Ngor as a budding prodigy, poised to swiftly master all that his teachers had to offer.

His mentors at Ngor were the Tartsé Khenchen’s nephews, Khenchen Champa Kunga Tendzin (1776-1862) and Khenchen Jampel Sangpo (1789-1864), and one of their most eminent colleagues, the non-sectarian Kālacakra master Losel Tenkyong of Shalu (1804-64), whom he described as his primary or ‘root’ Guru-s. Together with fellow student Pönlop Ngawang Lekdrup (b.1811), he helped establish an institute for the study of the ‘mundane sciences’ at Ngor, and it was for brilliance in grammar and poetics that he initially gained renown. In this, he was surely influenced by the revival of grammatical studies pioneered in his homeland by Situ Pañchen and Katok Pañchen, and the biography tells us that as a youth he excelled in Sanskrit and poetics under the tutelage of the Shéchen Paṇḍita Gyurmé Tutop Namgyel (1787-1855). Notably, his revered teacher Shalu Losel Tenkyong was a disciple of the greatest contemporary master of these disciplines, Ngulchu Dharmabhadra (1772-1851). The passion for Sanskrit and formal elegance in composition is evident from his minor writings (especially the letters, verses of praise and spiritual songs), but Kongtrül notes that he scorned such abilities in later life. Similarly, he is said to have acquired a thorough grasp of medical science in his youth, but neglected it in favour of purely religious studies.

Pilgrim Scholar

Soon after his arrival at Ngor in 1840, however, the young Khyentsé Rinpoché set off again, in the most informal manner, accompanied only by his manservant, having decided to take higher ordination in the Nyingma tradition instead,

at Mindrö-ling. That year he made the first of several journeys around central Tibet, travelling on foot like a simple pilgrim, visiting hundreds of holy places, monasteries, temples, caves and hermitages, collecting teachings and blessings wherever he went. Many of the original seats of the various schools and lineages in central Tibet, familiar to him both from his precocious learning and the memories of myriad past lives, were by that time forgotten ruins, but he made a point of seeking them out and requesting the teachings of their living representatives. In some cases, his encounters with the monuments and sanctuaries of the distant past were catalysts for important visions and revelations. Of course he returned to Ngor, and attended dutifully upon his mentors, but this initial departure seems to have been the decisive moment in which he rejected the institutional career awaiting him in favour of broader horizons. In 1843, Khyentsé returned to Dégé in the company of his teacher Khenchen Jampel Sangpo, on one of the tours by royal invitation which had become compulsory for retiring Ngor abbots, and continued his training in the Ngorpa Tantric curriculum at Dzongsar, his home monastery. They came back to central Tibet together in 1848, and over the next three years Khyentsé continued to travel widely, often as a humble pilgrim, and to study voraciously. Karmapa Tekchok Dorjé and Taklung Ma-trül Tenpé Nyima, Mindrö-ling Jétsunma Trinlé Chödrön and Droltön Jamyang Chöki Gyeltsen, Shalu Losel Tenkyong and Simwok Choktrül Tendzin Nyendrak, Samding Dorjé Pakmo Chöying Déchen Tsono and Chaksam Choktrül Tendzin Khyenrab Tutop were among the main teachers of all traditions whom he visited in those years. A brief and unadorned summary of the places visited, presumably dictated at the request of disciples in later life, was included in his collected works, and eventually became the standard guide for modern pilgrims.

Encyclopaedist

By the time he returned to Dégé at the age of thirty-two, ‘Jamyang Khyentsé Rinpoché’ was already acclaimed for the breadth of his learning and depth of realisation, a reputation that grew into a legend over the following decades. The biography offers no chronology for these years, when he was much in retreat,

at his residence in Dzongsar monastery and at several other monasteries and hermitages in the region, but the condensed version tells us in rather formulaic terms that he spent 13 years engaged in study (up to 1851), and 13 years thereafter perfecting the practices of all the empowerments and instructions he had received.

His preoccupation was nothing less than the reauthentication and codification of Tibet's disparate Vajrayāna heritage, the definition, study, elaboration and accomplishment of a vast array of Sādhana, ritual and profound instruction, strictly on the terms proper to each tradition, restoring rare or extinct lines of transmission wherever possible, in some cases through Khyentsé Rinpoché's visionary liaison with the original masters, with a view to their preservation and renewal. This enterprise was behind the production of the monumental *Ri-mé* literary canons, such as the *Compendium of Sādhana* and *Compendium of Tantra*, and Kongtrül's *Five Treasuries*, which have provided the structure and inspiration for the transmission of the teachings in much of the Tibetan Buddhist world ever since.

A lot of the scholastic and scribal work that went into these canons was performed by Kongtrül, and by younger colleagues, especially Mi-pam Namgyel Gyatso (1846-1912) and Jamyang Lotér Wangpo (1847-1914), but Khyentsé Wangpo provided the ultimate authority, visionary power and blessing guiding their composition. Similarly, most of the 'new revelations' which also emerged in this period came about through his extraordinary partnership with Tértön Chokgyur Lingpa (indeed there seem to have been no contemporary treasure revealers with whom he did not have significant contact). In these collaborative relationships, this web of delegated activity, we glimpse the sheer breadth of his endeavour, the preeminence of a master in whose presence even the consummately learned and accomplished Kongtrül was awestruck. In his autobiography, he recalled an occasion in 1878 when Khyentsé Rinpoché (who regarded Kongtrül as the fourth of his 'root' masters) presented his realisation, which (he wrote with typical modesty) far surpassed his own:

...on the basis of all that I have understood from studying many instruction manuals of both the old and new translation traditions, I would conclude that he had gained mastery over the three aspects of the subtle body [Nāḍi, Prāṇa and Bindu], and that he had largely purified his subtle energy within the central channel. In terms of the Mahāmudrā approach, he had realised the ‘one taste’ of all phenomena, and in terms of the Dzokchen teachings he had perfected the perception of all sensory phenomena without bias [as expressions of the nature of mind]. Seeing this, I became convinced that he was none other than the great Orgyen [Padma] and [Paṅchen] Vimalamitra themselves.¹

Dza Paltrül Rinpoché reportedly told his students:

“[Khyentsé] is actually the omniscient Longchenpa in person. He is the greatest among the living. Just to see his face once will make it meaningful to have eyes in your forehead”.²

Statesman

Given the extraordinary moral authority and charisma that Khyentsé Wangpo commanded, he could not avoid playing a political and diplomatic role, despite proper and doubtless heartfelt disdain for worldly affairs. The third quarter of the 19th century saw the rise of new political forces, in Tibet and elsewhere, in response to the steady decline of Manchu imperial hegemony. The national government in Lhasa, long reduced to a provincial authority stultified by vested interest and corruption, began to show signs of reassertion, as did various regional powers nearer the borders with mainland China, whether as nominal agents of imperial authority, or in outright defiance of it. The defining moment came in 1862, when Gönpö Namgyel, the ambitious chieftain of Nyarong, led his army on an annexationist surge through neighbouring states, chiefly Dégé, occupying the capital and abducting the royal family. The Lhasa government seized this opportunity to reassert its writ in Kham, without recourse to imperial mediation, quelling the uprising within three years and reestablishing an administrative presence east of the Dri-chu (Yangtse) river.

Through this bleak and war-torn period, Khyentsé Rinpoché effectively assumed the status of a regent, providing counsel to the politicians and generals, leadership and solace to the distressed population, and as the biographies show, performing ritual interventions to ensure victory. He retained the role of mentor and spiritual guardian to the reinstated King Chimé Takpé Dorjé thereafter, and led the reconstruction of religious institutions once hostilities had ceased. At this crucial juncture, Khyentsé was instrumental in renewing the alliance with the Ganden Po-trang government in Lhasa, one long honoured by the Dégé kings, while using his influence and wisdom to protect his people's interests from the excesses of all sides. His role as *de facto* ruler of Dégé, and some would say Dharmarāja of all Tibet, was seen as the secular manifestation of his royal persona, for the first Tibetan in Khyentsé Wangpo's long list of previous incarnations was the Lhasé Tsenpo Trisong Détsen, the 8th century Purgyal emperor who established Buddhism as the state religion and became the disciple of Guru Padmasambhava.

Treasure-revealer and Visionary

In the terms of the Nyingma tradition, this spiritual ancestry made Khyentsé Wangpo an unrivalled master of the *térma* or revealed teachings, the cumulative embodiment of most of the great *tértön-s* of the past, and the last great treasure revealer prophesied in that tradition. It is said that King Trisong Détsen's grandson and immediate reincarnation, Gyelsé Lhajé, reappeared over the following millennium, through the blessing of Guru Padmasambhava, as thirteen successive revealers of the Guru's concealed teachings, of whom Khyentsé was (according to the biography) the last. On top of that, the two greatest of the thirteen (Nyang Nyimé Öser and Guru Chöwang), and three later Nyingma masters of royal descent (Nga-ri Pañchen Pema Wangyel, Changdak Tashi Topgyé and the fifth Dalai Lama) were also successive emanations of Trisong Détsen, and Khyentsé was recognised as their final, collective personification.

Due to his appearance at an advanced stage of the Kaliyuga, beset with multiplying obstacles and rapid spiritual degeneration, the ultimate *tértön* of prophecy made few physical discoveries, although he guided the revelation of several ‘new treasures’ by his ‘spiritual son’ Chokgyur Lingpa (the avatar of Trisong Détsen’s son, Prince Murub Tsenpo) and others. But through his visions and memories of past lives he recovered a wealth of ‘mind treasures’, teachings for which the authentic transmissions had lapsed or disappeared altogether over time. The various channels and modalities through which they resurfaced in Khyentsé Wangpo’s awareness are classified as the ‘seven authorisations’, granted by Guru Padma in a vision he experienced at the age of sixteen. In particular, he was the destined recipient of a great many ‘re-concealed’ treasures (*Yangtér*), teachings revealed by *tértön-s* of the past but not transmitted for various reasons, and returned to the safekeeping of non-human guardians, which add considerable weight to Kongtrül’s *Precious Treasury of Revelations* collection. The famous ‘Heart-essence’ Sadhana cycles with which Khyentsé is most personally associated (the *Druptop Nyingtik* of the Mahāsiddha Tangtong Gyelpo, *Pakma Nyingtik* of the Cintāmaṇīcakra Tārā, *Tsokyé Nyingtik* of Guru Padma and *Chétsun Nyingtik* of Vimalamitra’s Dzokchen) also occurred to him in such visionary *séances* and recollections, mostly in his youth.

It is in this context that we can appreciate another of his awe-inspiring titles, ‘Omniscient master of the dark age’. As the prophesied reincarnations of Trisong Détsen/Vimalamitra, Murub Tsenpo/Guru Padma and Lo-chen Vairocana respectively, Khyentsé, Chokling and Kongtrül embodied the sum total of all previous *tértön-s*, and among their many teachers, disciples and colleagues were supposedly emanations of all twenty five of Guru Padma’s original Tibetan disciples, of whom Khyentsé Wangpo was the sovereign.

Within the Buddhist world-view of cyclical cosmic degeneration and renewal, they saw their simultaneous appearance in this world, presiding over a revival of the Buddhadharmā in a hitherto peripheral region of the land of snows, as a final, valiant flourish, before the teachings became engulfed altogether by the maelstrom of violence and destruction at the end of the present

dark age, an apocalyptic prescience borne out to a significant degree by the events of the 20th century.

After his last meeting with Khyentsé Rinpoché at Dzongsar in 1890, Khamtrül Tenpé Nyima wrote:

Of the reincarnations of the twenty five disciples of Guru Padmasambhava, there are none who are not at present gathered in the entourage of the two Jamgön Lama-s [Khyentsé and Kongtrül]. In the prophecies of Ratna Lingpa, it says 'At the time of what seems to be a funeral but is not, all will reassemble/ There will be no way to stop the *Turuška* [barbarian invaders] from assembling there too', which signifies the recent war between [central] Tibet and Nyarong, and for such a gathering of non-sectarian saints to have come together to exchange teachings at a time like this is [wonderful] beyond expression....³

The Biography

In his autobiography, Kongtrül wrote of being requested to compose the *Fabulous grove of Uḍumbara flowers* biography:

Interspersing the text with verse summaries and suchlike is only the artifice of a poet, and whether this was done or not made little difference, while the biography itself involved a master beyond limits and conceptions to whom someone like me could never do justice, yet it was of great importance to produce a somewhat detailed account, even though limited to my own observations. There was no year by year record of his activities and no one among his attendants with a clear recollection, so I used his autobiographical verse summary as the basis, supplementing it with what I had heard for myself, without exaggerating or understating anything.⁴

The verse summary referred to is the 'essential biography' composed at the request of Doe Drupchen Jikmé Tenpé Nyima (included here in translation).⁵ Khyentsé Rinpoché may not have left a diary for his successors to transcribe

into hagiography, as great Lama-s commonly did, and still do, but his autobiographical verses do not shrink from bold claims on posterity. The division of his life into ‘outer’, ‘inner’ and ‘secret’ aspects predicated there is an archetype in Tibetan literature, but rarely has it been enunciated with such encompassing grandeur as a catalogue of mastery in all branches and at all levels of the teachings.

The ‘outer’ biography that makes up two thirds of the whole deals of course with the more factual or observable aspects of his career, prefaced by a resumé of the dazzling mosaic of his previous lives and of the prophecies of his present incarnation. Despite the restraint from versified eulogy and other poetic conceit, it is rendered in the ornate and learned style in which the author was steeped, liberally adorned with scriptural quotation.

To address Khyentsé Rinpoché’s unimaginably vast education in Vajrayāna, his attendance upon a proverbial one hundred and fifty masters of all schools, Kongtrül devoted the fourth chapter to a summary of his ‘list of teachings received’ (in four volumes, now lost). This inventory of often obscure teachings from mostly unidentifiable Guru-s is the least readable passage of the biography, and the least translatable; the attempt made here is at best provisional.

The more formal material is quite movingly offset by the sixth chapter, simply titled ‘How he served the teachings and living beings’. There, after a preamble, the author shifts into a surprisingly direct and vernacular tone to discuss the master’s integrity in attitude and behaviour, in contrast with the hypocrisy and vanity of those around him. It provides rich insight into the world of the *Ri-mé* masters, expressed with the brutal frankness of Khampa idiom and wit, evoking Khyentsé Rinpoché’s presence through recollection of his informal utterances.

The brief ‘inner’ biography deals with Khyentsé Wangpo’s pursuit of the authentic transmissions of the ‘eight great chariots’ or systems of spiritual accomplishment introduced into Tibet from India during the golden age of Buddhist learning, with emphasis on his visionary transmissions of the vital

instructions and blessings of traditions that had become dormant or extinct by his time. This eightfold division, as opposed to the established division of Tibetan Buddhism into four institutional sects, was characteristic of the *Ri-mé* approach, and employed as the organisational principle of canonical works like the *Treasury of Instructions*. As many of these visionary transmissions took place at the original seats of the various traditions, this section brings to light incidents from Khyentsé Rinpoché's youthful travels in central Tibet.

The 'secret' biography, or catalogue of mystical experiences, is structured around the 'seven authorisations', the accomplishment for which Khyentsé Wangpo was most celebrated among the cognoscenti of his world, and which Kongtrül, his arch-collaborator, was uniquely qualified to compose. In this litany of dreams, visions and past-life recollections we find Khyentsé collecting, codifying and transmitting a wealth of hidden teachings reconcealed for future use over the centuries, and thus a compelling introduction to the *Precious Treasury of Revelations*, the collection in which they were stored for posterity.

The Translation

The style of the work offers little concession to popular readership, and the translation is unabridged, lists and all, but I hope this conveys something of the import and flavour of the original. It contains an abundance of proper names, and these are rendered phonetically (with transliteration in the notes and index), except for the insurmountable 'list of teachings received' in chapter 4.

I have the honour to express here humble gratitude to the noble teachers and scholars who kindly gave guidance and attention to this project, especially Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentsé Rinpoché, who initiated the enterprise and gave enduring support, the venerable Ringu Tulku, who clarified some difficult passages superbly, and Jigmé Khyentsé Rinpoché, who so patiently reviewed and corrected the translation.

Among those who answered difficult questions raised by the text and provided further information, I am most grateful to Dr. Lodrö Puntsok and Khenpo Puntsok Namgyel of Dzongsar, Orgyen Tobgyel Rinpoché, Pewar

Rinpoché, the late Khenchen Appé Rinpoché, the late Khenchen Kunga Wangchuk, Tulku Pema Wangyal, Tulku Pema Rikdzin, Khéwang Tashi Tséring and the late Kazur Juchen Tubten.

Very many thanks are due to Gélong Matthieu Ricard and Raphaele Demandre for enthusiastic support, to the late Lodrö Palmo and Jakob Leschly for sharing their earlier work on the text, to Cyrus Stearns for reviewing the first draft, to the late Hubert Decler and Isabelle Onians for reviewing the second draft, and to Jeff Watt and Matthieu Ricard for the photographs. Additional thanks are due to John Canti and Anne Benson for their corrections to the first edition. Production of the present edition was kindly supported by Khyentse Foundation.

Notes

1 *Phyogs med ris med kyi bstan pa la 'dun shing dge sbyong gi gzugs brnyan 'chang ba Blo gros mtha' yas pa'i sde'i byung ba brjod pa Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.281-2). There is an excellent English translation of this work: *The Autobiography of Jamgön Kongtrül: a gem of many colours*, by Richard Barron, Snow Lion 2003.

2 e.g., *O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po'i rtogs brjod phyogs tsam gleng ba bDud rtsi'i zil thigs* by Ra hor Chos kyi grags pa (f.10r).

3 *Dad gsum rgya mtsho 'phel ba'i zla ba gzhon nu* (p.232-3). Rag shu gter ston 'Bar ba'i rdo rje wrote of his first meeting with mKhyen brtse at rDzong sar in 1856-7: 'When I first beheld the golden countenance of sPrul sku 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse, I thought to myself that if one considers what it means to meet with such a noble Kalyāṇamitra in this final period of the age of five degenerations, it is something which renders one's life meaningful, and to have teachers such as this master and his disciples assembled here shows that the precious teachings of the Buddha do indeed endure, and I was filled with a great joy....' (*Yon tan rgya mtsho'i gter mdzod* p.35).

4 *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.340-41). The work, entitled *rje btsun bla ma thams cad mkhyen cing gzigs pa 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po Kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po' rnam thar mdor bsdus pa Ngo mtshar U dum ba ra'i dga' tshal*, was completed in 1893, and subsequently included in Kong sprul's *rGya chen bka' mdzod* (vol.15 of the 1976 Paro edition – in 118 folia). Kong sprul had already composed a 9 folia verse hagiography in association with Mi pham in 1877, entitled *Kun mkhyen bla ma rdo rje 'chang chen po 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po'i rnam thar nyung ngur bsdus pa*, included in the second volume of mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's collected works (Gangtok edition p.353-69). There is also the highly condensed version of the present biography in his 'Lives of the hundred treasure revealers' (*Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai durya'i phreng ba* p.659-78, included here in translation). There is one other full length biography, the 'Treasure of universal joy' by rDo grub chen 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma (*Bho ta'i yul gyi slob dpon chen po Mandznyu shri dharma mi tra'i zhabs kyi rtogs pa mdo tsam du brjod pa 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* in vol.4 of 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma's collected works, Gangtok 1975). Although heavily indebted to Kong sprul's work, it has little of the latter's artful structure or succinct clarity, but contains some additional information. It was written two years later, in 1895, in response to a request from the Bla brang for a biography enunciating the qualities of the spiritual master as prescribed in the scriptures. The printing colophon apologises for the work having been completed in haste.

5 The *rNam thar snying por dril ba* is in vol.22 (p.268-77) of the collected works (Gangtok 1977 edition).





Kuntu Sangpo/
Sangmo

Acārya
Mañjuśrimitra

Jétsun
Jampéyang

Pañchen
Vimalamitra

Pandita
Pratihāramati

Mahāsiddha
Vajraghaṅṭapāda

Khyentsé's vision
Jampéyang in
Sa-chen's cave

Transmission of the
'Seven Lamps'
Teaching from
Mañjuśrimitra

Jamyang
Khyentsé
Wangpo

Yarjé
Orgyen Lingpa

Terrön
Sanggyé Lama

Jamyang
Khyentsé
Chöki Lodrö

Gyalsé
Lhajé

Terrön
Chöjé Lingpa



The Essential Biography of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo

*Autobiographical Verses Composed at the Request of his Disciple
Doe Drupchen Jikmé Tenpé Nyima*



With reverend homage to the glorious Lama/
Master of the ocean of the three roots of spiritual guidance/
I shall relate without exaggeration or depreciation/
My own story in brief, and with the objectivity of the wise/

I was born in the east of the happy realm of Dé-gé/
In the area called Térlung/
By [the mountain known as] Khyungchen Drak/
To a family of the renowned Nyö clan lineage/
In the Iron Dragon year/
In the sixth month, the last of summer/
On a day in the waxing phase of the moon/
Close to the date of the Buddha's first teaching/
Accompanied by wonderful signs, so they say/
Since I first became consciously aware/
The six-armed Mahākāla and protectress Ekajaṭī/
Continually loved and cared for me/
And I had hazy recollections from past lives/
At a young age I entered monastic ordination/
And having reached the age of twenty-one/
I received full ordination into the noble ranks of the Vidyādhara-s/
From a replete assembly of qualified Kalyāṇamitra-s/
At the great monastery of Mindröl-ling /
From Tri-chen Sanggyé Kunga I received/
[Bodhi-]cittorpāda in the Mādhyamika tradition/
Empowerment in the Viśuddha of So [Yeshé Wangchuk]'s tradition and/
In the Heart drop of the Vidyādhara-s [revelation]/
And equipped myself with the triple vows/
For thirteen years I sought out teachings/
In the three provinces of Ü, Tsang and Kham/

Studying with one hundred and fifty crowned masters/
 Vajradhara-s and Kalyāṇamitra-s/
 Those versed in the classical scriptures and suchlike/
 I received education in the disciplines of art, medicine, grammar, logic and
 their branches/
 In Vinaya, Abhidharma and Mādhyamika/
 And received the empowerments, blessings, practical instructions and so on/
 Of the old and new [translation traditions of] Vajrayāna/
 [All] the instructions for ripening and maturin
 [phases of Vajrayāna practice]/
 Of the original traditions with intact transmission/
 The transmitted and revealed teachings [of the old school], the Kadampa
 and Sakyapa teachings/
 The Dri[-kung pa], Tak[-lungpa], Tsur[pu], Den[sa-til] and
 Druk[pa Kagyü traditions]/
 The trio of the Saṃvara, Hévajra and Guhyasamāja Tantra-s, and the
 Kālacakra-tantra/
 The Māyājāli-guhyagarbha and so on/
 Their supporting explanations/
 The transmissions of the canonical Sūtra-s and commentaries/
 More than seven hundred volumes of teaching in all/
 In short, I received virtually all that survives/
 Of the ten systems ['chariots'] of transmitted exegesis/
 Studied them partially and understood them somewhat/
 Gaining an extensive grasp of the teachings and/
 Doctrinal assertions of Buddhists and non-Buddhists/
 Most of what I studied/
 I then taught repeatedly/
 And there is not one I did not teach at least once/
 To [disciples from] the greatest of noble souls/

Down to common beggars/
Spreading the gift of Dharma as far as I was able, by day and night/
Out of heartfelt aspiration/
For the continuity of the teachings/
I commissioned around two thousand symbols of enlightened form [statues]/
In copper and gold/
And as for symbols of enlightened speech [scriptures]/
Around forty printed volumes/
The total of handwritten and printed volumes/
Amounting to around two thousand/
For temples in which to house them/ I created about thirteen, of fine design/
I commissioned over a hundred symbols of enlightened mind [Stūpa-s]/
In copper and gold, chiefly one great 'tower of worship'/
And arranged for as many offerings as I could/
As for founding new monasteries/
Since it is hard to find time to bring [such undertakings] to completion/
I did not actually engage in them, but/
Due to the fighting which erupted throughout this region/
Most of the monasteries suffered damage/
I urged lords and ministers/
Rulers of China and Tibet, including the Dharmarāja of Dé-gé/
To fund and oversee their restoration, and/
As a token from my own side, the size of a proverbial finger-tip/
I offered over three thousand parcels of tea/
With most of the restoration and new construction/
Thoroughly carried out/
I arranged for annual donations/
For each of the religious communities/
To support the performance of Mantra recitations, dedications and prayers/
A regular amount of four thousand parcels of tea/

Which did not decrease over time/
 With aspirations for the benefit of all concerned/
 I offered Dharma teaching/
 Obstacle-removing empowerments, blessings and the like/
 To great and noble upholders of the teaching and so on/
 Of the Sakya, Kagyü, Nyingma and Géluk schools/
 An unlimited assembly/
 Led by Kalyāṇamitra-s without distinction/
 And political leaders of Tibet and China/
 Fulfilling their various wishes/
 And arranged as many offering services as I could/
 To all the founders [of these various traditions]/
 By having faith and reverence/
 For all schools without exception/
 And not indulging in the heresy [of rejecting any of them] even slightly/
 I developed a vast and unbounded network of teacher-disciple relations/
 Including even the followers of Yungdrung Bön/
 Although it is not easy to remain strictly/
 Composed in the Samādhi of renunciation/
 Since childhood I have never engaged/
 In public religious performances and suchlike even in my dreams/
 And through abandoning worldly aims in this life/
 Have restricted myself to the activity of a renunciate/
 Decisively I did without face-saving flattery, hopes for gain or fears of loss/
 [In my encounters with people] whether of the highest rank or the lowest/
 For about thirteen years altogether/
 I undertook the ritual service of sublime deities/
 And the practice of a hundred-fold profound instructions in
 spiritual training/
 And although far from attaining accomplishment or realisation/

Having at least joined the ranks of the fortunate ones of this dark age/
 Through the partial achievement of these commitments/
 Has brought me absolute peace of mind/
 Of the three cycles [outer, inner and secret]/
 This concludes the abbreviated outer biography//
 The inner biography:
 With an attitude of great reverence and faith/
 In the eight great 'chariots' of spiritual accomplishment/
 I sought out and received/
 Through a hundred hardships/
 Undiminished transmissions of the original teachings of/
 The old translation [1], Kadampa [2] and Sakya [3] traditions/
 The Marpa [4] and Shangpa Kagyü [5], Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga [6]/
 Shiché and Chöyul [7], and [Orgyen] Nyendrup [8]/
 While listening, reflecting and meditating upon these/
 Whether in waking experience or in dreams/
 I beheld all manner of signs/
 Of the Lama-s, deities and Ḍākini-s/
 Conferring the direct instructions and blessings/
 Although the actual attainment of Siddhi-s is no easy matter/
 I mostly understood and mastered/
 The precise meaning of [the instructions for] practising them/
 However, as it is hard to render these [experiences] for the
 understanding of others/
 I fear that anything more detailed than a brief account/
 Is beyond the power of expression/
 Such is the inner biography/
 In mere seed form//

 As for the seven secret authorisations/

Often lauded in the prophecies of the great master of Oḍiyāna/
 At the age of eight/
 While suffering from severe illness/
 I received empowerment and blessing from Pema Tötrenḡ and his consort/
 In the Vajrakīlaya-maṇḍala/
 And was released from that obstruction/
 When I was fifteen, whether in delusion/
 Or actual experience, it is hard to tell/
 I had the vision of reaching/
 The nine-storey treasury/
 Of Vajrāsana in India/
 On ascending to the eighth floor/
 I encountered Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra/
 In the guise of a Paṇḍita/
 With stacks of scripture to either side/
 Having bowed and made supplications to him/
 He first [took] a volume from his left/
 Which seemed to be the Sanskrit text of the condensed Prajñāpāramitā/
 Placing it on my crown, he said/
 “That completes the blessing of the transmission of the philosophical
 teachings”/
 With a volume of Mahā-ati [teachings] from his right side/
 The Heart-mirror of Vajrasattva/
 He granted the blessing/
 Of the explanatory meaning of the three classes of Mahā-ati/
 And the blessings of the Mantrayāna teachings as a whole/
 After delivering some prophecies/
 He joyously melted into light and dissolved into me/
 And for a moment I was left in the non-conceptual state/
 On the descent, a great fire blazed in the doorway/

In which I was involuntarily consumed/
 My material body was burned up/
 And I emerged in a luminous form/
 Which seemed to be that of Vimalamitra/
 Furthermore, many masters such as the Mahāsiddha Tangtong [Gyelpo]/
 Guided and cared for me/
 I received their blessings, empowerments, and so on/
 Coalescence of the heart-essence of the Mahāsiddha-s/
 On the tenth day of the fourth month of my sixteenth year/
 I was transported at dawn to the ‘lotus light’
 [palace of Guru Padmasambhava]/
 There, in a cave on a magically formed rock mountain/
 Quite incommensurate with ordinary landscapes/
 Amidst white clouds most beautiful/
 I beheld Saroruhavajra [surrounded by] the Ḍākinī assembly/
 Who conferred his mental blessing and symbolic empowerment/
 And granted me authorisation for the seven transmissions/
 After that, fixing his eyes in a gaze, he declared/
 “Maintaining naked [presence in the union of] awareness and emptiness/
 Untainted by objects [falsely] perceived [as external]/
 Unaffected by the [false] viewpoint of the perceiver/
 This is the mind of all the Buddha-s”/
 And dissolved into me, whereupon/
 In the state of his mind mingling indistinguishably with my own/
 I just about gained recognition of the way things really are/
 Inspired thereby with joy/
 By supplicating him one-pointedly in faith/
 I received all the transmitted teachings of the old translation tradition [1]/
 The physical revelations [2] and revelations of reconcealed treasures [3]/
 The mental revelations [4], visionary revelations [5] and

oral transmissions [6]/
 And the revelations through recollection [of past lives] [7]/
 The seven currents of transmission thus received/
 Were mostly committed to writing/
 With most assiduous dedication/
 By Jamgön Lodrö Tayé/
 The great Lotsāva Vairocana in person/
 Munificent overlord of hundred-fold enlightened ones/
 And moreover, in a joyous feast of supreme offering/
 Compiled and printed/
 In the Precious treasury of revealed teachings/
 Along with supportive verses of superb eloquence/
 By practising and teaching them/
 The enterprise was rendered meaningful/
 And making the full variety [of these teachings] available/
 To great practitioners of all traditions brought much joy/
 Although there is a great deal of detail concerning/
 How these [teachings] were initially foretold/
 And the treasure lists discovered/
 How they were then put into writing/
 And how finally, when actually practised/
 The Ācārya, Deva and Ḍākinī-s/
 Granted the empowerments and blessings/
 And some of these are mentioned incidentally/
 In the presentations of individual teachings/
 I can hardly give a detailed account here/
 But I have at least established the auspices for one to be given in future/
 Such is the story of this present life/
 Condensed into a mere seed of the essential meaning/
 While the capacity to recall former [lives] is limited/

There are indications in the revealed prophecies and/
 To inspire and encourage ordinary beings /
 The saints, like the glorious Karma-pa and so on,/
 Formulate them as verses of supplication/
 Among my own hazy mental traces from former lives/
 Are those of Indian Siddha-s and Paṇḍita-s/
 Vajraghaṇṭapāda and Pratihāramati/
 Mahapaṇḍita Vanaratna and so on/
 And in Tibet, the great King Trisong [Détsen]/
 [Guru] Chöwang and Nga-ri Paṇḍita [Pema Wanggyé]/
 Tangtong [Gyelpo], Lhatsün Chenpo [Namka Jikmé] and so on/
 Which I recall sporadically but never with stable clarity/
 In future, on perfecting the Guru-yoga of Vimalamitra/
 May I dissolve into the heart of Vimalamitra/
 In the emanation field of the five-peaked mountain/
 As soon as I depart from this life/
 And through the power of aspiration for five reincarnations to appear/
 May there be benefit for all schools of Buddhism without distinction!

This account of my experience, past present and future/
 Has been composed in highly condensed seed form/
 By Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo/ In response to insistent requests/
 As well as gifts fit for the gods/ From Jikmé Tenpé Nyima/
 Reincarnation of the qualities of wisdom and conduct/
 Of Jikmé Trinlé Ösé/ Unrivalled Cakravartin and/
 Final rebirth of Prince Damdzin/
 By virtue of this may I never be separated/
 From spiritual guides of the supreme vehicle,
 until reaching full awakening, and/
 May I do so swiftly! Mangalam!





Lo-chen Vairocana

Jetsun Jampéyang

Guru Padmasambhava

Panchen Mañjuśrimitra

Panchen Vimalamitra

JAMYANG
KHYENTSE
WANGPO

Chögyel Trisong Detsen

Gyalsé Lhaje Chokdrup Gyalpo

Nyang-rel Nyima Öser

Gyalwa Longchen Rabjampa

Guru Chöki Wangchuk

The Condensed Biography of
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo
as a Treasure Revealer

From Jamgön Kongtrül's 'Lives of the hundred Tértön-s'

Outer

Now for the most excellent of the many wonderful life stories of the masters of the Kāliyuga, surpassing all those which have gone before, the biography of the Mahācakravartin of all learned and accomplished treasure-revealers Pema Ösel Do-ngak Lingpa, based on his personal testimony: This master was essentially the embodiment of the compassion of Ācārya Mañjuśrimitra and Mahāpaṇḍita Vimalamitra, whose emanations, as they appeared to individual disciples were, in the noble land of India, Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭapāda, Paṇḍita Pratihārāmati, Mahāpaṇḍita Vanaratna and so on, and in Tibet, the Dharmarāja Trisong Détsen, Guru Chöwang, Réchung Dorjé Drak, Sakya Jétsun Drakpa Gyeltsen, Drubchen Tangtong Gyelpo, Lhatsün Namka Jikmé and so on, of [whose life experiences] he had personal recollection. In particular, it is indicated in Vajra prophecies that he was the thirteenth of the incarnations of Gyelsé Chokdrup, who successively revealed the Dharmarāja's treasures, of whom Sanggyé Lama was the first and Chöjé Lingpa the twelfth. Of the 'five royal treasure-revealers [each] attended by one hundred minions', the fifth was supposed to have been Chokden Gönpö, but as the auspices were mismatched, he did not take possession of any treasure discoveries and his career was suddenly terminated, which confirms that the one truly qualified as the fifth royal treasure-revealer was none other than this master, as is evident from the fact that all the later *tértön*-s served as his minions.

Concerning the circumstances of his present incarnation: as it says in a treasure prophecy revealed by Nga-dak Nyang Rinpoché [Nyimé Ösé] 'At the foot of a mountain called Tségang, on top of the coiled Nāgeśvara boulder, one called "Nga-dak Jampéyang" will come forth, thirteenth exponent of the profound treasures', and in prophecies from many of the treasures revealed by Rinchen Lingpa, Dorjé Lingpa, Nga-ri Paṇchen, Dündül Dorjé and so on, he was born in a valley in the kingdom of Dégé in Doe-kham called Téralung [treasure valley], at the foot of a mountain called Tségang, in a village called

Dilgo, on top of a cliff shaped like a coiled serpent. His father Rinchen Wanggyé was of the Nyö clan, a secretary at court with exemplary proficiency in both religious and secular matters, and his mother was Sonam Tso, daughter of Gérard Nyérchen of the Sokmo clan. In the Iron Dragon year [1820], on the first day of the sixth month in which Buddha Śākyamuni first taught the Dharma, while they were in the vicinity of the summer encampment at Khyungchen Drak, he was born under a white cotton tent, with black hair [naturally un-tangled] in neat strands, and many miraculous signs were also seen at that time. This was highly consistent with a prophecy revealed by Guru Tséten Gyeltsen, ‘A tall child with a mop of hair [like] a Mönpa will appear at the foot of a hovering Garuda mountain.’ From the time he first became conscious, the six-armed Mahākāla and protectress Ekajaṭī always cared for and looked after him, and he had hazy memories of former lives.

From infancy he was innately predisposed towards the Mahāyāna and wanted only to be ordained as a monk. His learning and intellect were unmatched, he mastered reading and writing without effort, and he only had to look through a volume for its meaning to become clear to him. At the age of twenty-one he received higher ordination from the Mindröl-ling abbot Rikdzin Sangpo. From Jamgön Sakyapa Dorjé Rinchen, Minling Tri-chen Gyurmé Sanggyé Kunga and so on he received the explanations of the two great traditions [i.e., Mādhyamaka and Cittamātra] and their associated mental trainings. From Tartsé Khen Rinpoché and his brother [i.e., Neljor Jampel Sangpo] he received [instruction in] Cakrasaṃvara and Hévajra, So [Yeshé Wangchuk]’s teachings on Śrī-heruka and the *Heartdrop of the Vidyādhara-s* from Minling Tri-chen, and his empowerment in the Māyājāla[-guhyagarbha] Tantra by the all-seeing Gyurmé Tutop Namgyel of Shéchen constituted the first of his Tantric vows. Shattering the pride of those with the status of incarnate Lama-s and holders of great lineages, he automatically assumed the rank of fully accomplished scholar [Ka-chen]. By studying with some one hundred and fifty Vajradhara Lama-s, Kalyāṇamitra-s, and masters of various disciplines in the three provinces of Ü, Tsang and Kham, through assiduous effort, he became fully versed in the

scriptures concerning the so-called ten subsidiary sciences including craft, medicine, grammar and logic, as well as the philosophical studies comprised by Vinaya, Abhidharma, Mādhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā, and thoroughly accomplished the development and completion stages of all the early traditions that had been preserved intact, such as the transmitted and revealed teachings of the Nyingmapa, the old and new Kadampa schools, the three branches of the Sakya tradition [Sakyapa, Ngorpa and Tsarpa], the Kamtsang, Drikung, Taklung and Drukpa lineages of the Kagyü school, and the Jonang, Shalu and Bodong schools. He received the reading transmissions of all the Buddhist traditions in Tibet amounting to some seven hundred volumes, mainly whatever commentaries there are on the Guhyagarbha, Kālacakra, Saṃvara, Hévajra and Guhyasamāja Tantra-s, the [Kangyur] canon, the compendium of Nyingma Tantra-s and the canonical commentaries [Tengyur]. In short, he spent thirteen years solely engaged in study, and received most of the teachings of the early masters known as the ‘ten great pillars’ of the exegetical transmission. By merely looking at a volume of scripture, this noble one fully grasped its meaning through mastery of the Dhāraṇi of understanding and never forgetting whatever he read, and in order to scrupulously avoid minor infractions on the religious path, he was not content only to study but completed the disciplines of practice and meditation, examining the view, conduct and key affirmations of each position, its systematisation and tradition, without mixing them up, perceiving with an unclouded Dharma eye whether or not any were flawed, [an ability] that cannot be seen in even the greatest individuals alive today. Of the Sūtra-s, Tantra-s and commentaries he had studied, he had taught most of them many times over, and there were none he had not taught once, or mastered, or granted, without accepting payment, to all comers, from saints down to beggars, fulfilling the requests of each one.

Even from childhood he never indulged at all in the wrong livelihood of mendicant preachers who gather alms in the name of serving religion, but as the qualities of the ‘three blazing’ [realisations of body, speech and mind] and the ‘three gatherings’ [people by day, Dākinī-s by night, material offerings always]

became apparent, material offerings appeared without being sought. Without using even a small part of these for inappropriate purposes, he commissioned almost two thousand statues made of gilt copper, the printing of around forty volumes of scripture, or nearly two thousand volumes of manuscript and printed books together, more than one hundred Stūpa-s made of gilt copper, chiefly the great Stūpa at Lhundrup Teng, as well as thirteen temples great and small, of fine design, in which to keep them, together with the regular and annual offerings made to them. New premises cannot stay in perfect shape faced with the passage of time, but at least at the time of conflict, this master made donations to those monasteries severely affected by the fighting, according to their size, gifts [including] more than three thousand parcels of tea, had them restored to their former condition by easing the passage of suitable donations from the court of the Dégé Dharmarāja and other rulers of Tibet and China, and greatly contributed to their progress by sponsoring offerings and recitations according to their custom and present situation. He made annual donations to the related monasteries, great and small, as support for their [recitations of] Mantra and dedicatory prayers, equalling the basic amount of four thousand parcels of tea.

In general he achieved stability in the two kinds of precious Bodhicitta [Madhyamika and Cittamātra], and in particular he pursued sincere appreciation and devotion for all Buddhist schools, and because of his refusal to accept partisan positions and heretical criticisms [of other schools], he attracted innumerable disciples of all persuasions, from the famous and distinguished holders of the Sakya, Kagyü, Nyingma and Géluk schools, and the Kalyāṇamitra-s, solitary practitioners and ordinary followers of all schools, including Bön. He granted teachings requested by and appropriate for the ceaseless and immeasurable tide of supplicants who came to him daily, the lords of Tibet and China chief among them, so it seemed that every last request for an obstacle-clearing ritual, empowerment or blessing was granted. Being liberated from the eight worldly attachments, he thoroughly dispensed with the artifices of conventional behaviour towards both mighty and lowly, exemplified by pretence and hopes or fears [of any particular outcome], and lived as the king of those who have renounced

all worldly ambition. For thirteen years in all he performed the propitiation and realisation of the deities of the old and new Tantra-s, and put into practice each of the profound guiding instructions, principally those compiled by Jétsun [Kunga] Drölchok in the *Hundred Instructions*, and his success in the Samaya-s and accomplishments of these practices alone amounts to an unrivalled spiritual career. This concludes the condensed ‘outer biography’, comprising the ‘three spheres’ of studying, renunciation and application.

Inner

The eight great practice lineages in the land of snows, known as the ‘eight great chariots’ are the ‘old school of the early translations’ bequeathed by the Khenlop-chösum trio [Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Trisong Détsen]; the ‘seven deities and scriptures’ of the Kadampa teachings of Jowoje Palden Atiśa; the instructions on the ‘path together with its result’, heart-essence of Mahāsiddha Virūpa, from the glorious Sakyapa [Chenpo] and his descendants; the ‘four greater and eight lesser branches’ of the spoken transmission passed down by Marpa, Mila and Dakpo Lhajé; the Shangpa Kagyü, highly prized teachings of Khédруп Khyungpo Neljor; the six-branch Yoga, completion stage of the Kālacakra, king of all Tantra-s, revealed by Vajrayoginī; the ‘pacification of suffering’ teachings of Mahāsiddha Dampa Sanggyé, and their subsidiary, the teachings on ‘severance’; and the teachings on ‘familiarisation and accomplishment of the three indestructible realities’ granted to Mahāsiddha Orgyenpa by Vajrayoginī in person. With unbounded faith and reverence for what survived of the original tradition of each, he spared no effort to thoroughly learn the stages of advancement and accomplishment, unmistakably and in their entirety, from the masters associated with the sources [of transmission], eliminating doubts through reflection, and gaining experiential insight through meditation. Therein, whether in actual encounters, visions or dreams, the learned and accomplished masters of India and Tibet, the peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities and the assemblies

of Ḍākinī-s of the three realms blessed his three secret [centres i.e., body, speech and mind] and bestowed the instructions of the spoken transmissions on him. There were limitless pure visions related to each, but he never proclaimed himself as a clairvoyant Lama, beyond indicating the outlines, and his realisation grew simply by that virtue. Having absorbed the teachings of the ‘eight great chariots’ on both levels [study and application], his exposition, debate and composition were unobstructed by any limitation and unblemished by error, and served to guide the fortunate. This concludes the ‘inner biography’ in its mere seed form.

Secret

In particular, as stated in Tangtong Gyelpo’s Vajra prophecy, ‘A Yogi no different from myself/ One with five characteristics/ [Will be born] within seven hundred years from now/ In the land of Doe-kham, in a Dragon year/ A son of Ga, of the Nyö lineage/ Bearing the distinguishing marks of an iron-element warrior/ Blessed by Pema Gyelpo as the Do-ngak Ling[pa] [who will receive] the seven destined transmissions/ Blessed by Vimalamitra as a Vajra manifest from clear light/ Blessed by the royal emanation of Mañjuśrī [King Trisong], as Dharmamitra/ Such an emanation-like saint will appear’, and as repeatedly exhorted in Vajra prophecies, such as that quoted earlier from the list of prophecies in the Dzokchen désum, he actually manifested as the one who would gain mastery of the seven destined transmissions and greatly serve the teachings and living beings.

At the age of eight, when he became very ill and was in pain, Guru Rinpoché and [Yéshé] Tso-gyel, the father and mother, showed themselves and gave him initiation into the Vajrakīlaya-maṇḍala, and their blessing. Later on, they also bestowed the instructions on him, and he became triumphant in the struggle against obstacles. At the age of fifteen, while in the state of perceiving [outer phenomena] as pure, he travelled to the nine-storey treasury at Vajrāsana in India. He ascended one floor at a time until on the eighth he found Mahācārya

Mañjuśrīmitra in the guise of a Paṇḍita with many scriptures piled up on either side of him. He reverently bowed and made a prayer, [then the Paṇḍita] took a volume from his left hand side, showing it to be the Sanskrit text of the condensed *Prajñāpāramitā*, placed it on [Khyentsé's] head, focussed his concentration, and then said "That completes the verbal transmission of all the works on philosophy." He took a volume from his right hand side, showing it to be entitled *Great Perfection Tantra of the Heart Mirror of Vajrasattva*, placed it on [Khyentsé's] head, focussed his concentration, and then said "That completes the Vajrayāna side in general, and in particular, all the blessings, [both] word and meaning, of the three classes of Great Perfection precepts."

Finally, after making some prophetic declarations, he joyfully melted into light, which then dissolved into the master, and for a moment he was lost in the Samādhi of non-dualistic perception. After waking from that, on his way out, a great fire was blazing in the doorway and he found himself involuntarily drawn into the centre, where his physical body was burned away, leaving a vividly clear luminous body, which he thought he recognised as Vimalamitra.

Also at this time, the master Yogi Tangtong Gyelpo appeared in his dreams granting blessing, guidance and instruction, which he put into writing just as a Gurusādhana. Once the seal of secrecy was removed, he gradually arranged them as the cycles of the *Druptop tuktik*.

As Amitāyus and consort appeared to him and granted their blessing, he had exceptional Sādhana-s of theirs, of which the root [verses] were dictated by the consort Caṇḍālī. He had no end of visions of the entire assemblage of the 'three roots' [Guru, Deva, Ḍākinī], but as he was very scrupulous in maintaining secrecy, others did not realise it even slightly.

In particular, although he had been implicated in many prophecies at various times, [he said that] "It is as the spoken transmission says, 'Prophecies are the *tértön*'s downfall.' Once a prophecy is formulated there are things which must be engaged in and refrained from, but no one will do so, and by not doing so, the prophecy will not come to pass. Too much talk attracts demons", and

he never made prophecies and was even displeased with those made by others. This seems to be a very important point.

At dawn on the tenth day of the fourth month of his sixteenth year he travelled in a vision of [outer phenomena as] pure to the lotus light palace in Cāmara. There, in the midst of a very beautiful white cloud on a singular rock mountain, he beheld Guru Saroruha-vajra surrounded by Ḍākinī-s. He blessed [Khyentsé] mentally, gave a symbolic empowerment and fully confirmed that he would receive the seven destined transmissions. Then, with his eyes in a fixed gaze, he declared “Untarnished by the object of perception, unaffected by the perceiving consciousness, naked observance of the union of awareness and emptiness is the mind of all the Buddha-s”, whereupon he and his retinue dissolved into the master. He felt them blend indivisibly with his mind, and thenceforth naturally attained the stability of the state of primordial purity. Overjoyed, he prayed one-pointedly to Guru Rinpoché, and by virtue of this he effortlessly came across the entirety of the teachings of the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s old and new, the transmitted and revealed teachings, their methods of advancement and accomplishment and supporting instructions, and some extremely rare traditions, which he put into practice and popularised. This was the first transmission, the authorisation to revive the embers of the teaching.

Second, physical treasure revelations [sa-tér]: When he visited Drakmar Drinsang at the age of twenty, the Jñāna-ḍākinī personally handed him a treasure casket from which came the *Tukjé chenpo semnyi ngelso* cycle and relics of the twenty-one Brahmin-s. The *Lama kushi* Sādhana cycle and Śarīra produced from Guru Rinpoché’s tooth revealed by Nyenchen Tanglha were presented to him at Damshö Nyingdrung. [He recovered] the *Tsasm gyütrül drawa* cycle from the Seng-ngu yumtso lake. There are many more, including the *Tsasm chindü* cycle revealed by the Ḍākinī-s’ magic from the Pema Shéri treasure valley, which have not yet been redacted except for the root verses, and the *Tukdrup yishin norbu* cycle and the Ngödrup pelbar [Guru] statue which he encouraged Chokgyur Lingpa to reveal from Tsiké Norbu Pünsum and wrote down thoroughly. The *La-drup korshi*, *Vairo tuktik*, *Dzokchen désum*

etc. seem to have been the general works revealed by this master in concert with Chokgyur Lingpa.

Third, the revelation of reconcealed treasures [yangtér] proceeding from those: In an exceptional vision in the Earth Sheep year [1859], Guru Rinpoché himself appeared in the form of the treasure-revealer Sanggyé Lingpa, gave him a volume of scripture and granted blessing. The life-stories and revelations of the [past] *tértön-s* appeared in his mind and, in the manner of receiving their verbal authorisation, the Jñāna-ḍākinī revealed most of the treasure scrolls individually reconcealed by the past *tértön-s* and delivered them to him, translating them from symbolic script. Some of the symbolic scripts appeared [legible] to him, and as the meaning arose spontaneously in the expanse of his mind, he translated them himself. Meanwhile, Guru Rinpoché appeared in person, while the master himself took on the form of each successive *tértön*, as he granted each the ripening and completion stages of the relevant instructions all in one go, in perfectly miraculous style. Knowing that it was greatly fortunate to encounter and be able to practice such profound Dharma-s in a time and place of such advanced degeneration, and in amazement at [the rediscovery] of even elements of old *térma-s* whose transmission had been broken, I myself was moved to make repeated prayers, and once the *Tsasum drildrup* of Sanggyé Lama, *Lama tennyi korsum* of Gya Lotsāva, *Tukjé chenpo pema shi-tro* of Nyima Senggé, *Khandroma rikché tsel* of Rongzom Lotsāva, *Kadü chöki gyatso* of Orgyen Lingpa, *Khandro sangwa kundü* of Jomo Menmo, *Dorjé dütsi* of Ramo Shémen, *La-drup* and *Tukjé chenpo gyalwa gyatso* of Drimé Kunga, *Lama demchok khorlo* of Gyatön Pema Wangchuk, *Shiché kordün* of Lhatsün Ngönmo, *Yakṣa jambhala rinchen térpung* of Belpo Ā Hūṃ, *Pema śāvāri marmo* of Ngakchang Létro Lingpa, *Tamdriṅ namchak khorlo* of Nga-dak Molmikyil, *Dröljang jikpa kunkyop* of Yakchar Ngönmo, *Chakdor dorjé mébar* of Üru Tönshak, *Ka-gyé drekdül* of Samten Déchen Lingpa, *Nyenpo lha-nga* of Chokden Gönpö, *Pema tumpo* of Mingyur Létro Lingpa, *Pakar yéshé selché* of Garwang Létro Lingpa and so forth had been written down, I received the instructions on the ripening and completion stages in one go, with his blessing. And when

I requested the instructions on the ripening and completion stages of the old térma-s of interrupted transmission, such as the *Guru tsokyé dorjé* and the full *Tukchen drondül* empowerment of Nyang [Nyimé Ösé], *Mamo gangshar* empowerment of Rashak [Tértön], *Kunsang tuktér* of Changchub Lingpa Pelki Gyeltsen, *Tamdrin drekpa kundröl* of Drugu Yangwang, the threefold revelations [*la-dzok-tuksum*] of Dorjé Lingpa, *Dzokchen chikchö kundröl* of Rinchen Lingpa, *Tukjé chenpo dönsel drönmé* of Drondül Létro Lingpa [with protector], *Tsédrup yéshé soktik* of Pönsé Khyungtok and *Tsédrup sangwa méjung* of Rokjé Lingpa, he joyfully granted them. By now most of the teaching cycles written down from revelations of reconcealed treasures and verbal transmissions have been compiled [i.e., in the *Rinchen Térdzö*].

Fourth, mental treasure revelations [gongtér]: On the road to central Tibet in the Earth Monkey year [1848], when he was twenty-nine, when offering Gaṇacakra on the tenth day of the month at Gégyel in the northern pastures, Guru Rinpoché appeared in person and gave his blessing. At Samyé, while making offerings before the representative image of Tsokyé Dorjé revealed by Nyang [Nyimé Ösé], the statue turned into Tsokyé Dorjé in person, gave blessings and instruction, which became the *Sangdrup tsokyé nyingtik* cycle of the ‘three cycles of Guru Sādhana’.

In the last month of the Wood Tiger year [1854-5] when he was thirty-five, while performing the Sādhana of Amṛta-cintāmaṇicakra, he directly beheld the goddess ringing with the sound of the ten syllable Mantra and received her blessing, and having also received the blessings of the three Ācārya-s with mastery in the attainments of the Sādhana, this resulted in [his writing] the *Pakma nyingtik* cycle. These [compositions], as well as the *Drubtop tuktik* mentioned earlier, are ‘Vajra lines’ no different from the Tantra-s, which transcend ordinary understanding and are worthy of the name ‘mind treasures.’

Fifth, treasures revealed through consequent recollection [jédren]: While he was in [central] Tibet, at the mouth [sic for head] of the Uyük valley in

Tsang, he recalled the time and place of his attainment of luminous form in a previous life as the great Chétsün [Senggé Wangchuk], and wrote it down as the *Chétsün nyingtik*, as he did with the *Tsédrup vairo tuktik*, *Sengdong karmo chülen* etc. recalled from his previous life as Langdro Kön[chok] Jung[né].

Sixth, revelations in pure visions [daknang]: These are many, represented by the previously mentioned *Chimé tuktik* instructions of Caṇḍālī, the *Tiklé gyachen* Guru Sādhana manual from the *Longchen nyingtik* and *Kusum rikdü* Guru Sādhana of Chokgyur Lingpa, and while none have been ignored, I have not seen more than these in writing.

Seventh, oral transmissions similarly received [nyengyü]: While staying at the great holy place of Dzongshö Déshek Düpa, he travelled in a vision [of outer phenomena as] pure to the Uḍayanakuṭa Stūpa [in India]. In the eight cardinal and intermediate directions around it, nine including the centre, were the eight manifestations of the Guru arranged in order, together with Guru Rinpoché himself, and they bestowed on him the spoken transmission of the essence of instruction in the ripening and completion stages of the Ka-gyé [eight Mahāyoga precepts], Gyütrül [Māyājāla-tantra], Shi-tro [peaceful and wrathful deities] and so on. Of these, the teachings on Shinjé-shé [Yamāri], Yangdak [Śrī-heruka] and Purba [Kīlaya] were written down, for I received them myself through his kindness.

This is just a fraction of the secret biography. There is an extended account, including the prophecy [*lungten*], formal exhortation [*kulchang*] and list of contents [*kachang*] of each treasure, the actual revelations, the visions experienced during the deciphering of the treasure and instructions in the advanced stages of the practices thus transmitted, and how after a long period of sustained secrecy, when the time came as ordained, the teachings were propagated through the fortunate [disciples], and with the prayer that all this may in future be included in a comprehensive history of the *tértön-s*, I conclude.





Gyalwa Tsepakmé

Chenresi Chakshipa

Tamdrin Marpo

Dorjé Naljorma

Chakna Dorjé

Ācārya Mañjuśrimitra

Jétsun Jampéyang

Lo-chen Vairocana

Guru Padmasambhava

Panchen Vimalamitra

Naktso Lotsava

Chögyel Trisong Détsen

Dromtönpa

Jétsun Drakpa

Gyalsé Lhajé

Dakpo Gampopa

Réchung Dorje Drak

Orgyen Lingpa

Nyang-rel Nyima Öser

Guru Chöki Wangchuk

JAMYANG
KHYENTSE
WANGPO

Longchen Rabjampa

Panchen Gendun Drup

Panchen Vanaratna

Shalu Khyenrab Chöjé

Nésar Khyentsé Wangchuk

Changdak Tashi Topgyé

Rikdzin Jikmé Lingpa

Tartse Khenchen

Tangtong Gyalpo

Tertön Chöjé Lingpa

Fifth Dalai Lama

Nga-ri Panchen

Gönpo Dramzé

Gönpo Gur

Namtösé

*The Abbreviated Life Story of the Noble and Omniscient
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen*

A Fabulous Grove of Uḍumbara Flowers

Fair youthful body with the radiance of the rising sun, blazing with the splendour of the major and minor marks of perfection,
Supreme expresser beyond expression, lord of all speech, with its hundred thousand divisions

Mind, shining stainless mirror of primordial wisdom, on which the hundredfold reflected forms of sense objects appear distinctly
Although you are the father of all the Buddha-s, you still delight in manifesting as their sons [the Bodhisattva-s]
May the gentle lord Lama extend his protection!

In the inconceivable luminosity of the Dharmakāya sky
He arranges the Saṃbhogakāya clouds of the five certain attributes
And performs a Vajra dance of manifestations beyond imagining
Victory to Padmasambhava, transformer of the three times!

Although primordially awakened in the youthful vase body
His abundant compassion has the power of the sun to dry up the lake of cyclic existence
Perpetually manifest in the lucid forms of great transference
May Vimalamitra abide in the centre of my heart!

Excellent charioteer conveying the brilliance of the Buddhadharma
To the Preta-infested darkness of the land of snows
I faithfully prostrate to the varied emanational forms taken
By the primordial wisdom of King Trisong and his lineal successors!

I sincerely bow with astounded faith
To the one utterly beyond the limits of ordinary perception
Illusory dancer of perfect wisdom in whatever [form]
[Appropriate] for those to be taught, of any and all disposition
Being inconceivably [vast] like the limits of space

And unfathomable like the depth of the ocean
The lives of the noble ones are known to themselves alone
And even the little that common people can see, they can hardly express

Nonetheless, as [the nature of] space can be inferred from a patch of sky
seen through a hole in the wall
And an ocean from a drop of its water
So by seeing a fraction of the conduct of a saint
The seed of liberation can grow in the minds of the devoted

The saints who benefit all with whom they come in contact
Naturally close the door to meaningless existence and the lower realms
And plant the seed of awakening
Simply through the apprehension of their qualities

Moreover, since pleasing the Guru even once
Is held superior to respectfully serving the Buddha-s of the three times
through many aeons
The expression [of his qualities] to the best of one's ability
Can only be beneficial

Although nowhere near the conduct stemming from the discrimination of
the wise
To further my own progress in the great accumulation [of merit]
And since it is well to fulfill the requests of the faithful
I shall gladly set forth the story of the master's life with honesty and
sincerity

Therein, one has heard that 'This noble all-knowing and all-seeing one
endowed with a great fund of un-focussed compassion, being universally
renowned as having arisen from the play of original wisdom of Mañjughoṣa,
and as holder of the wisdom-treasure of all the Buddha-s, the emanations and

experience of that noble one are beyond the conception of even the masters of the ten Bhūmi-s.’ As is said in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*:¹

‘Having thoroughly attained the ocean of awakening/ For the spiritual ripening of the ocean of sentient beings/ [They] teach from the ocean of Bodhicittotpāda/ And exemplify the ocean of undiminishing conduct/ Such are the emanations of the Sugata-s.’

Just so, the one who directly attained awakening since beginningless time in the sphere of all manifest phenomena, while not stirring from the Dharmakāya of the perfection of wisdom, entirely void of [conceptual] elaboration, gazes upon the realm of sentient beings without end or limit and overpowered by illusory [appearances], and actually manifests the perfect Saṃbhogakāya forms and infinity of paradises through the inherent capacity of objectless compassion. Their emanations [projected] for the instruction of those requiring instruction are themselves not confined to any single aspect, and engaging in the infinite trajectory of illusory manifestation for the guidance of beings in their individual circumstances, their way of benefitting those in the cycle of existence continually revolving through the three times, remaining for many aeons in Saṃsāra simply to afford protection to one single being, without becoming even slightly discouraged, is beyond imagination.

As is said in the *Jewel lamp Sūtra*:²

‘Those [enlightened ones may] manifest as the kings among poets, producing [masterful] compositions/ As players, drummers, wrestlers and musicians Bearing splendid ornaments and giving performances/ As magicians displaying an endless variety of forms/ And as leaders and guides for ordinary people/ Likewise as captains, merchants and patrons/ As kings, ministers, chaplains and emissaries/ As physicians, experts and ritualists/ They may appear as monasteries and great wishing trees/ Inexhaustible reserves of medicines and riches/ Wish-fulfilling jewels and wish-granting trees, and guides for those who have lost their way’

and likewise, concerning the incarnation in [various] forms for the im-

mediate and ultimate benefit of living beings, [such as] the emanation of the supreme teacher [Buddha Śākyamuni] performing the twelve deeds simultaneously in the entirety of realms in the ten directions of mundane existence, emanations of Bodhisattva-s, Śrāvaka-s and Pratyekabuddha-s, Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s, Vidyādhara-s, Bhikṣu-s, Cakravartin-s, lesser rulers, ministers, Brahmins, householders, birds, wild animals etc., emanations of craftsmen who accomplish benefit through the eighteen types of craft, wish-fulfilling jewels, medicines, food and clothing, [jewel] mountains and wishing trees, and inanimate objects like boats and bridges, the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* in eight chapters³ says:

‘Through the blessing of their great compassion, the spontaneous activity of the Jina-s, in as many worlds as there are in the ten directions of space, is beyond imagination. With their [powers of] body, speech, mind, qualities and spontaneously accomplished activity, those in need of instruction will not be neglected. The purification of the lower realms, the [realisation of] awakening, the completion of the accumulation of perfect wisdom, are thoroughly demonstrated.’

Likewise, having temporarily applied himself to the outlook of those in each quarter with the potential to benefit from instruction, this noble Lama appeared in many emanations to spread the Buddhadharmā and deliver countless unguided beings to the state of liberation and great awakening, in Āryāvarta [India] and in Himāvat [Tibet], in a splendid succession of rebirths determined by Vajra prophecies and at times by this master himself by virtue of necessity.

To list the most important names from among the stories recollected from previous lives, both astonishing and convincing, accompanying the factual proofs such as times, places and deeds, which he told [only] occasionally: Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra, who had attained realisation of Mañjuśrī and reigned as regent of Ānandavajra, supreme incarnation and lord of the Ati teachings in Āryāvarta;⁴ Mahāpaṇḍita Vimalamitra, foremost among five hundred great Paṇḍita-s and renowned as the chief of the wise, who attained the ‘rainbow body of great transference’ from [completing] the path of the ‘effortless vehicle’;⁵

Vajraghaṅṭapāda, rebirth of Bhāvaviveka, the ‘chariot’ of the supreme Madhyamaka vehicle, with direct realisation of Cakrasaṃvara;⁶ Paṇḍita Pratihārāmati, who crossed over the ocean of doctrinal treatises after studying with the supreme scholar Vasubandhu and others;⁷ and Mahāpaṇḍita Vanaratna, who attained supreme Siddhi-s in the tutelage of Mahāsiddha Śāviri, and so on;⁸ in Tibet, the land of snows, Dharmarāja Trisong Détsen, great ‘chariot’ who first drew the sun of the Buddha’s teachings there, assembled one hundred and eight Lotsāva-s and Paṇḍita-s, chiefly the great Upādhyāya [Śāntarakṣita] and great Ācārya [Padmasambhava], and built a great temple as the foundation of the teachings, founded an ordained Saṅgha as the root of the teachings, and established the holy scriptures of the teachings by having the Tripiṭaka translated, expounded and put into practice;⁹ Gyelsé Lhajé Chokdrup Gyelpo, his immediate reincarnation, the son of Lhasé Mutik Tsenpo, seven times [nobly] reborn, and master of the *Dharma ocean of the collected precepts* [*Kadü chöki gyatso*];¹⁰ from these two, senior and junior, in the manner of many emanations proceeding from one, came five emanations, the body, speech, mind, qualities and activity of the great Dharmarāja; Gyelsé Lhajé himself had thirteen rebirths just as treasure-revealers [*tértön*], who will be accounted for below; during the later diffusion of Buddhism, Naktso Lotsāva Tsultrim Gyelwa, the heart-disciple of Jowoje Palden Atiśa, who was Amitābha in person;¹¹ the Bodhisattva and fountainhead of the Kadampa doctrine Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, who was indistinguishable from Avalokiteśvara;¹² the heart-disciple of Jétsun Milarepa, Réchung Dorjé Drak, indistinguishable from Vajrapāṇi, who departed for the Khecara realm in his physical body;¹³ the master of the Kagyü doctrine Dakpo Lhajé Dawö Shönu, the ‘Bhikṣu-physician’ prophesied by the Jina-s in all three classes of scripture;¹⁴ Jétsun Drakpa Gyeltsen, one of the seven Mañjuśrī incarnations of the Sakya tradition and crown-jewel of all Tibetan Vajradhara-s;¹⁵ the Dharmarāja of the triple world [Pakpa] Lo-drö Gyeltsen, who vividly demonstrated the spiritual career of a great sublime one born into this world;¹⁶ Longchen Rabjam Sangpo, incomparable innovator of the ‘Vajra-essential clarity’ teachings, which he independently elucidated from the

hidden treasury of Lord Samantabhadra's intent;¹⁷ Paṅchen Gendun Drup, the 'inner' heart-disciple of Jé Rinpoché Losang Drakpé Pel, master of the Kadampa teachings, whose enlightened activity was all-encompassing as space;¹⁸ Shalu Khyenrab Chöjé, who held the Dharma throne of the supremely learned Bütön Chenpo, origin of the ocean of Tantra-s;¹⁹ the self-arisen master of attainment and reincarnation of the omniscient Dolpopa, Drupchen Tangtong Gyelpo, who converted all those most difficult to convert, through the inconceivable display of miracles and [Mahāsiddha] conduct;²⁰ the universally acclaimed heart-disciple of Tsarchen Chöjé, Nésarwa Jamyang Khyentsé Wangchuk, most excellent of all holders of the secret 'exposition for the disciples';²¹ and the great master empowered with wisdom and love, Champa Namka Chimé, born into the glorious Drangti family line, who occupied the lion throne of Ngorchen Dorjé-chang.²²

He also recalled having appeared in the aspect of various other Yogi-s and Yoginī-s in the course of previous lives, Rikdzin Jikmé Lingpa, who spread the 'heart-essence clarity' teachings throughout Tibet by perfecting the self-apparent and impartial intent of the 'great perfection', and the power of meditative absorption in love and compassion,²³ as well as such saints as the master of attainment Padampa Sanggyé,²⁴ Chel Amoghavajra,²⁵ the heart-disciple of Khaché Paṅchen,²⁶ and Sonam Pel, the omniscient one of Nyemdo, the great luminary of the Shiché teachings,²⁷ also a 'Tokden' [Yogi] of the Drukpa [order] who became the father of the omniscient [3rd Karmapa] Rangjung Dorjé, a secret consort of the great Tértön Dorjé Lingpa from Lho-drak named Dorjé Tso, and so on.

In particular, concerning the reincarnations of the Dharmarāja and his successor, it is said that after thirteen rebirths in India, Tibet and the divine realms, the fourteenth was Nyang Répachen,²⁸ who [was reborn] in the western Buddhafield of Padma Chen [or] of the 'lotus of non-attachment',²⁹ whence appeared the incarnation of Buddha-speech Guru Chöki Wangchuk,³⁰ and successive [incarnations]. According to the *Tangyik* testament:³¹

‘The fivefold capacities of King Trisong Détsen, body, speech, mind, qualities, activity, will give rise to five emanations’ and this appears in many [authorities] besides. According to the historical [section] of the ‘*Wish fulfilling*’ *Guru Sādhana* [*Tukdrup yishin norbu*]:³²

‘In particular the king, emanation of Mañjuśrī/ The patriarch Trisong [Détsen] through thirteen rebirths/ With my blessing and having practised my instructions/ Will traverse all the paths and stages there are in secret Mantra/ And having actually realised awakening and the great original wisdom/ Further produce inconceivable emanations/ Of body, speech, mind, qualities and activity/ Both numbered and numberless, repeatedly, throughout the central and border regions of Tibet/ Twenty-five ‘profound essences’ and especially five ‘mind-treasures’/ Will be revealed by incarnations of pure aspiration/ Such as Nyima Ösé, Pangjé Tönpa³³ and so on/ Authorised by my empowerments, transmissions and instructions/ They shall uphold the vital root of the essential teachings/ The Guru, Ati and Mahākāruṅika Sādhana-s, the eight classes of precepts, and so on.’

Accordingly, the Dharmarāja’s five principal emanations, unanimously predicted in numerous revelations both old and new, are: the body emanation, the common ancestor of all revelators of profound treasure, Nga-dak Nyangré Nyimé Ösé; the speech emanation, the great subduer of living beings, Avalokiteśvara in person, Guru Chöki Wangchuk; the mind emanation, the chief of all learned and accomplished ones, Nga-ri Paṅḍita Chenpo Pema Wangi Gyelpo;³⁴ the qualities emanation, the lord of Chang Minyak, Tashi Topgyé Khandro Yongdrup Tsel;³⁵ the activity emanation, great lord of refuge for the land of snows in the age of dispute, Ngawang Losang Gyatso.³⁶ Each of the five emanations has five emanations of its own, and they in turn have their own emanations and sub-emanations, but being definitively of one and the same element, they are all manifestations of this noble Lama’s compassion.

Concerning Gyelsé Lhajé, the *Tangyik* testament says:

‘This noble son is the same one blessed by me from his earliest rebirths

up to the present, said [the Guru]. Since he is the owner of the *Lotus heart-essence of the Great Perfection* [Dzokchen pema nyingtik] teachings on the view, the *Dharma ocean of the combined precepts* [Kadü chöki gyatso] teachings on the deity, the *Three cycles of [contemplation on] the Lama in two levels* [Lama tennyi korsum] teachings on the Lama, and so on, and all the texts on medicine and astrology, the treasure concealed in Yarlung should be entrusted to him. Give him the secret name Ngakpa Chokdrup Gyelpo', and 'Thirteen rebirths, all of them treasure revealers, will come forth, guiding many beings to the Buddhafields, their fame will spread all over the earth'

and

'Therefore, to see, hear, touch or recollect Chokdrup throughout the thirteen rebirths is of great significance. Merely being touched by his shadow, or coming close to so much as a sesame seed [of his], those surely destined for the lower realms will be born in the higher realms, a seed of virtue as slight as a grain of mustard will be planted [in them].'

Thus, the first was Sanggyé Lama, who revealed the very first treasure, from the Lowo Gékar temple in Nga-ri, the '*Stable vision of Siddhi-s' accomplishment of the three roots combined* [Tsasum drildrup ngodrup tensik] and so on;³⁷ second was Gya Lotsāva Dorjé Sangpo, who revealed the *Lama tennyi korsum* from the Pūrṇa Dzari mountain on the frontier of Nepal and Tibet;³⁸ third was Nyima Senggé, the revealer of teachings from all three main classes and wrathful Mantra from the Champa Trin temple in Mang-yul;³⁹ fourth was Kusa Menpa Pema Kyap, or Kutsa Dawö, who revealed extensive cycles of Buddhist and Bon teaching on medicine and astrology from Chelki Drak in Mön Paro;⁴⁰ fifth was Do-ben Gyatso Ö, who revealed teachings of all three classes from Mutik Pama Gong in Yamdrok, and an emanation of his, Zur Pakshi Śākya Ö, who removed an Amṛta-kalaśa from Drak Dorjé Sa-ten;⁴¹ sixth was Dra-gom Chöki Dorjé, who revealed the Wrathful Guru and Mundane Praise cycles from the Ütsé Sérkhang [temple at Samyé],⁴² and an emanation

of his, Khyungnak Śākya Dar, who also revealed many cycles of teaching on Buddhadharmā, medicine and astrology; seventh was Yarjé Orgyen Lingpa, who revealed extensive hidden treasures including the *Kadü chöki gyatso* from the Pema-tsek cliff at Yarlung Shédrak;⁴³ eighth was Döl Ngakchang Léto Lingpa, who revealed the *Perfection of [contemplation on] the Lama [Lama yongdzok]* cycle from the cave of the Dākinī-s at Métsor in the Sapulung valley;⁴⁴ ninth was Nésar Khyentsé Wangchuk who, because of remaining in college to study philosophy, was unable to reveal many *térma*-s, but was renowned for having revealed a wondrous volume of instructions at the Drompa Gyang temple, and was certainly an emanation of Nga-ri Pañchen;⁴⁵ tenth was Garwang Léto Lingpa of Éh Péchok, who transported himself miraculously to the Pema-tsek cliff at Yarlung Shédrak and revealed many teachings, sacred symbols and substances there, including the *Seven cycles of profound commitment [Tukdam sapa kordün]*;⁴⁶ eleventh was Rashi Tértön Pema Rikdzin, or Pema Tséwang Tsel, of Powo, master of many profound *térmas*, such as the cycles of the peaceful and wrathful Guru [revealed at] the demonic Namchak Drak mountain [in Powo];⁴⁷ twelfth was Orgyen Chöjé Lingpa Déwé Dorjé Tsel, master of many hidden teachings, chiefly the *Immortal accomplishment of the three roots combined [Tsasum chimé drildrup]* revealed at the Sakmé Ja-tsön cave;⁴⁸ and the thirteenth was this precious Lama Pema Ösel Do-ngak Lingpa himself, the great chariot drawing the seven great destined transmissions, and crown ornament of all the learned and accomplished masters of the land of snows.⁴⁹

It is recounted like that, although some of those [figures mentioned] lived at the same time, or in some cases the earlier and later years of their lives overlapped. If this overall lack of progression from one to the next is hard to rationalise in mundane conceptions, [it is because] this is not a case of an ordinary consciousness leaving its former body and, blown by the wind of Karma, entering the womb of its subsequent rebirth in the normal manner of successive reincarnation in the three realms of existence. For those on the sublime plane manifest whatever forms are appropriate to those in need of instruction through the illusory play of original wisdom, transcending any

division between the singularity or plurality of activity, through the force of their aspiration and compassion, just as the reflection of the sun in the sky above appears [simultaneously] in any number of water containers on earth. As it says in the *Sublime continuum*:⁵⁰

‘In all the ‘water containers’/ Those to be instructed, and for the benefit of each/ The reflected ‘sun’ of the Sugata/ Appears simultaneously and without limit’, and in the *Ornament of the Sūtras*:⁵¹ ‘That one may appear simultaneously to some teaching Dharma in a hundred guises/ To some not apparent in human form, to others in a variety of human forms/ Demonstrate the [attainment of] full enlightenment to some, and to others the passage into Parinirvāṇa/ While that one himself performs all this without stirring from his place’

and just so, the unimaginable ways of [enlightened activity] should be grasped and given credence.

Then, concerning the present Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, the drumsound of whose name resounds through the triple world including the divine realm, a Mahāpuruṣa rare to find in any of the three times, single refuge and protector of all beings without exception, whose enlightened activity benefits all affected by it, universally triumphant Mahapaṇḍita unimpeded in all five fields of knowledge, great Kalyāṇamitra of the teachings in their entirety, without sectarian bias, both Sūtra and Tantra, old translations and new, great destroyer of illusion who thoroughly shattered the ties of the ‘eight Dharmas’ of apparent existence, king of renunciates without so much as a hair’s breadth of attachment to anything whatsoever, Mahāsattva masterfully tending the congregation of those in need of instruction with inconceivable mastery of awareness and liberation,⁵² great Vajrācārya whose learning and realisation are utterly unvitiated by conceit, and thus fearless; although the biographical account of one who has traversed the ten Bhūmi-s and all the paths and stages of the Vajrayāna to reach the level of great attainment is beyond conception and accessible only to those on the sublime plane, just in order to enhance the

reverence of fortunate disciples I will give a slender account of that which has fallen to my own understanding, in three parts: the outer biography composed of those matters conforming with his ordinary spiritual training; the inner biography composed of the unique aspects of this master's extraordinary spiritual experience; and the secret biography, the highly extraordinary aspects beyond mundane conceptions.

The Outer Life

The first of these has eight chapters: [1] how [his appearance in the world] was foretold in authentic prophecies; [2] how he took rebirth in accordance with his spiritual determination and aspirations; [3] how he entered into the precious teachings of the enlightened ones; [4] how he then accomplished the stages of listening to and reflecting on [the teachings] in dependence on qualified spiritual teachers; [5] how, after absorbing their import, he attained realisation; [6] how he consequently served the teachings and living beings; [7] how in addition he accumulated merit in diverse ways; [8] how after reaching the completion of his activities he dissolved into the expanse of space.

ONE: for instance, in accord with the five hundred great aspirations made with the spiritual resolve of our lord [Buddha Śākyamuni], more exceptional than that of any other teacher of the three times, to guide those in need of instruction during the age of dispute of the present world-system [Sahāloka], Bodhisattva-s of great fortitude emerged even in its darkest age to subdue the minds of beings hard to subdue. In the condensed *Perfection of wisdom*⁵³ it says:

‘For example, just as a water-carrying servant has no power [but] the master has power/ Likewise the movements of Bodhisattva-s are determined by all beings’, and as it has been said, ‘I myself take no delight either in full participation in the world or in release from it, but resolve to remain for limitless aeons wherever suffering occurs, working to relieve it.’

Following the intent expressed in the twenty-eight Tantric commitments, since many beings not subdued by Buddha-s and Bodhisattva-s in other realms have now taken birth in this realm due to the aspirations of the Buddha’s resolve, and in order to lodge the seed of liberation in all adverse mental continua and set limits on the continuity of Saṃsāra, those who have transcended the triple world nonetheless retain their worldly aspect, rather than becoming absorbed in the peace of total liberation. Concerning this, the condensed version says:

‘Neither does the activity of Bodhisattva-s, having perfected wisdom/ [Take place] in the [sphere of] total liberation completely beyond the three worldly realms/ Despite having cleansed the Kleśa-s, they manifest taking birth/ Despite being beyond aging, sickness and death, they manifest death and transmigration’

and just so, the projection of emanations appropriate to all those in need of instruction being infinite, the continual conferral of benefit upon living beings is the very nature of the sublime ones.

Moreover, the repeated appearance of various emanations, out of the intense love felt for their Tibetan subjects by the Bodhisattva lords of the three types [wisdom, compassion and power], and especially the Dharmarāja emanation of Mañjuśrī [Trisong Détsen], is stated in the Vajra prophecies of the second Buddha, Guru Padma, and from among those, the ‘sealed prophecy’ in the *Sum of the Lama’s intent*⁵⁴ says: ‘This noble king, having developed great qualities, completed his life’s work and passed into total liberation/ Radiated his compassion and accomplished the spiritual aims/ Of all beings including his subjects and successors/ By manifesting emanations for their benefit/ Naturally demonstrated various means for their instruction/ His efforts to benefit beings throughout upper, middle and lower Tibet/ In each of the four districts [of middle Tibet] like Üru and so on, through the power of his aspiration/ And in the borders and extremities of the realm, were beyond imagining’

and

‘Thus [he] sent out emanations and further emanations/ Manifested forms appropriate for those to be instructed/ Who strove to benefit beings without tiring/ [Causing] all those with whom they came into contact to experience the [western Buddhafeld] of Padma-chen’

and other such general prophecies. Specifically, there is the [verse] from the revealed prophecies of Nga-dak Nyang:

‘Before the mountain called Tségang/ On a boulder [resembling] the coiled Nāgeśvara/ One known as ‘King Mañjuśrī’ will appear/ Exponent of the thirteen profound treasures’

clearly indicating his place of birth and so on, as will become clear in due course.

The entry in the *Tangyik* testament:

‘The treasure concealed in the Tsi-ki Lhakhang⁵⁵/ Will not remain hidden but will come forth when the sign is shown/ The *tértön* known as ‘Do-ngak Lingpa’ will come forth’

is of course taken to refer to Pema Tséwang Gyelpo,⁵⁶ [but] similarly there were about four Létro Lingpa-s at different times, and the *Ka-tang* prophecies acknowledge two or three of them separately at different times, confirming that all were valid and without contradiction. Not only that, but Tséwang Gyelpo is not known to have revealed any treasure at the place indicated in the prophecy, while the *Dharmacakra of the collected precepts of the three roots* [*Tsasum kadü chökor*], a profound treasure destined to be revealed by this noble Lama was hidden in a pillar capital in that temple. However, since he did not come in time, when the temple was later in danger of collapse, the treasure shifted location to a nearby rock, as he could clearly see [on arrival there], and the treasure-guardian actually handed him an exceptional Vajra from among the Samaya objects associated with those teachings, showing that this master was indeed the one referred to in the prophecy.

In the prophecies from the *Supreme wisdom radiance* treasure revealed by Orgyen Lingpa from [one of] the stone Stüpa-s at Zungkar,⁵⁷ it says: ‘In future another master of these teachings/ Will come from the east, in a Dragon year/ And with his own wealth rekindle the embers of the Dharma

which means that the treasure scrolls of the wonderful and exceptional teachings at the heart of the *Kadü chöki gyatso* series and the continuous Yoga-s of the *Kadü nyingpo* would come into his hands, and having transcribed them

he would disseminate them, so that the teachings of Orgyen Lingpa's *Kadü chöki gyatso*, which by then survived only in name, would be revived.

Also the prophecy from the *Sun essence* of Ratna Lingpa⁵⁸ that:

'The [treasure] concealed at Taktsang Rong/ Will be revealed by an emanation of Mañjuśrī/ One with intelligence, known as Jampel Shényen [Mañjuśrīmitra]/ In the thirteenth generation of the lineal descendants of Nga-dak Nyang/ Its field of dissemination will encompass the land of snows'

clearly indicated the time of revelation of the profound treasure, following the extinction of Nga-dak Nyang's family lineage after thirteen generations, and the place, which from among the thirteen places with the name "Taktsang", was the Rongmé Karmo Taktsang.⁵⁹

In accord with the prophecy in the sealed entrustment of Chögyel Rinchen Lingpa's *One cut releases all* teachings on the Great Perfection [*Dzokchen chikchö kundröl*]⁶⁰ that:

'If in future, at the close of the aeon, when the transmitted lineage has disappeared/ [Through] the blessing of Vimalamitra this teaching is practised/ Taught by three emanations of Vairocana,⁶¹ elder, youth and child/ It will be somewhat spread'

the transmission of the teaching having long since discontinued, this noble master himself sought out the textual transmission, and having received the spoken transmission from Guru Rinpoché and the *tértön* in [visions of] their wisdom embodiments, he transmitted them successively to the elder [emanation of Vairocana], being myself, the younger, being Pawo Choktrul,⁶² and the child, being the Bakha Tulku of Powo,⁶³ so that the intent of the prophecy came to pass.

In the list of prophecies from Nga-ri Pañchen's *Complete collection of the eight precepts* [*Ka-gyé yongdü*], it says:

'Through the aspirations made by myself and Namké Nyingpo/ [One born in] Kham in a Dragon, or in a Rat or Pig year/ Having combined all

classes of Sūtra and Tantra/ Will magnify the lineage of the four kinds of Vidyādhara-s/ And ultimately [become] indivisible from Viśuddha mind'

clearly indicating the region and year of his birth, and also the emanational source, not only the wisdom sphere of the twenty-five disciples in general, but specifically the lineage of [Nga-ri] Pañchen Rinpoché, making for strong certainty. Furthermore there are also clear indications in the prophecies of Dorjé Lingpa and Dündül Dorjé, and the verse in the revealed prophecy of Rolpé Dorjé Drak:

'A holder of the Kaṣāya robe with the name of Mañjuśrī'

and so on, to list those I myself have seen in the classical revelations.

As for the various and unmistakable signs and characteristics of prophesied saints, the great prophecy in the *Gongdü* says:

'Endowed with three immutable marks/ First, moles on the centre of the body, a fleshmark on the chest, or/ Moles [in the form of] red and white essential drops/ Second, a voice sweet and expressive of meaning/ And a fleshmark at the throat in the form of an essential drop, or/ A lotus, giving the name 'Padma'/ Third, a mind forcefully focussed in self-awareness/ Not engaged in anything besides/ The one comprising all three signs is supreme, and two is average/ One is the least, but having any of them is [sufficient] qualification

and this master was endowed with all of these three signs.

The prophecy from the *Seven cycles of profundities* [*Sapa kordün*] revealed by Chokgyur Lingpa⁶⁴ states:

'The emanations of Trisong carry on the unfinished work of the father and son'

and the famous kindness perpetuated by [successive] treasure revealers will be discussed further on. [The verse]

'Emanation of Trisong, a monk, [born in] a Dragon year, or/ In a Hare

year, of the Wood element/ Either with the name ‘Āyu’ [longevity] or ‘Mañjuśrī’/ Who has developed intellect to its furthest limit, overwhelming others’ perception/ This teaching should be passed on to him, in his thirty-seventh year’

specifies the owner of the essential teachings on Viśuddha, and as it says in the root text [*Shédam nyingchang*] of the *Clearing all obstacles* Guru Sādhana [*Tukdrup barché kunsel*]:

‘An emanation of the king, with the name “Wangpo”/ Will appear in the vicinity of Ka-tok [monastery]/ Open the door of the teaching and further its activity’

initially both [Khyentsé and Chokgyur Lingpa] transcribed [the treasure scrolls] in concert, and [jointly] oversaw its universal spread.

In particular, the *Heart Mirror* [*Nyingi melong*] list of prophecies of the ‘new treasures’ says:

‘Then, to explain properly/ If an army in the territory to the north/ Should reach the centre of this country, Tibet/ Tibet’s religion will face decline/ At that time, through the force of [Guru] Padma’s resolve/ An emanation of the great father Trisong will appear/ Final descendant of the king of Sahor/ Having assembled various Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s/ All the teachings presently being formulated/ Will be somewhat taught at that time/ Then, when most are near their end/ An emanation of Trisong in the guise of a Bhikṣu will appear/ Blessed by Vimalamitra/ One [born] in the Dragon year, Iron element/ A prodigy of intellectual prowess/ He will elucidate the essential teachings/ Propagate the wellbeing of Tibet through various means/ In particular, through the blessing of my appearing to him/ Directly and in the form of dreams/ That royal emanation of Mañjuśrī/ In the form of supreme attainment/ Will open some profound treasures/ The five ultimate jewels and so on/ As well as continuing the transmitted teachings/ And setting all who come to him on the path of maturation

and liberation/ By teaching and accomplishing/ Sūtra and Mantra in general/ And the systems of practical attainment at their core/ They will be spread throughout Ütsang [central Tibet] and Domé [the east], and in all the prophecies of the ‘new treasures’ he is repeatedly praised in the Vajra speech of Orgyen [Guru], knower of the three times, like a rain of Utpala flowers.

The prophecy in the *Mahākāraṇika [as] relaxation in the nature of mind [Tukjé chenpo semnyi ngelso]* profound treasure revealed by this master himself states:

‘Limitless successive emanations/ Of the body, speech, mind, qualities and activity/ Of the once emanated king/ Will guide the beings of the land of snows/ And repeatedly revive the teachings/ In particular, in the time [of degeneration] when human lifespan is reduced to thirty years/ The third of seven speech incarnations/ Pema Ösel Do-ngak Ling/ One overflowing with the talent of great wisdom/ [Qualified by] experience beyond imagining/ Overwhelming others’ perception/ Being stable in the cultivation of the secret [Yoga-s] and of [a Yogi’s] conduct/ Hardly measurable by anyone/ Will appear in the Dragon year of the Iron element/ Before a place bestowing blessings/ In the range [between] the Dri and Dza [rivers] in Doe-kham/ To the right of the flowing river/ On the ridge of a mountain like a rampant elephant/ On top of a mound like the coiled Nāgeśvara/ Accompanied by amazing signs/ At that time, through the power of this prayer/ [He will] revere the entire teaching of the Jina-s and/ Especially the essential meaning/ Acquire vast learning [but] without feeling satisfied [and]/ Finalise the meaning through practical experience/ Extending the continuity of many profound paths/ Like butter lamps on the verge of burning out/ Using his own capacities and others’/ To spread them in all directions.’

The *Eight precepts accomplished [Druptop ka-gyé]*⁶⁵ states:

‘There being no opportunity to transfer/ The heart-essence of this Yogi, myself/ The enrichment of the outcome of view, meditation and action/ As butter is [churned] from milk/ Melted and purified/ The main current

of attainment, along with its branches/To any other Tibetan Vidyādhara
 or Māntrika/ A jewel-like individual/ Singular, qualified by lineage, of
 lofty discipline/ Of self-contained capacity, uninfluenced by any other/ A
 Yogi inseparable from myself/ One with five qualifying characteristics, will
 appear/ Within seven hundred years from now/ In central Doe-kham, in
 a Dragon year/ A son of the Ga clan, of the Nyö family line/ Of the iron
 element, the sign of a warrior/ Through the blessing of Pema Gyelpo [he will
 be]/ Do-ngak Ling[pa], inheritor of seven destined transmissions/ Through
 the blessing of Vimalamitra [he will be]/ Ösel Trulpé Dorjé/ Through the
 blessing of the king, emanation of Mañjuśrī [he will be]/ [Jampel] Chöki
 Shényen/ A great being, apparent in the manner of an illusion.’

Thus, going through the revealed prophecies one by one there is a great
 deal of material, and as indications are to be found in the writings of each
 [revelation], I will not expand any further. Since he is praised in most of the
 revealed teachings as the body emanation of the king [Trisong], the speech
 emanation of [Guru] Padma, the mind emanation of Namké Nyingpo,⁶⁶ the
 qualities emanation of Vimalamitra and the activity emanation of Langdro
 Könchok,⁶⁷ it can be seen that he was a personage of uncircumscribable life
 experience.

TWO

How He Deliberately Took Rebirth

The lords among men, having reached the limits of renunciation and realisation, have cut off the causes for the perpetuation of worldly existence at the root, but in dependence on the needs of those to be instructed and the collected factors of compassion, nonetheless actually appear in worldly form. *The Sublime continuum* says:

‘As the corporeal forms of the Deva-s appear on the pure jewel ground [of the heavens], so the corporeal forms of the Buddha-s appear on the pure ground of the minds of living beings’

and accordingly, having generated even greater compassion for those beings most resistant to instruction, they deliberately take rebirth in the world

The great commentary to the *Perfection of wisdom in eight thousand lines* says:

‘Those who benefit others out of loving kindness will not lessen their efforts even for the sake of their own lives, the Mahāpuruṣa-s who assume this heavy burden will never lapse into despair’

and likewise, having a slight connection with the positive and negative Karma-s of the delinquent beings of the present time, and seeing [the opportunity] to guide them onwards to liberation, he took rebirth.

The place was in the Salmogang range, within the ‘four rivers and six ranges’⁶⁸ of Doe-kham, in the eastern part of the ‘kingdom of four divisions endowed with ten virtues’,⁶⁹ ruled by a Dharmarāja, in a valley known as ‘Térlung’,⁷⁰ for being filled with numerous sealed deposits [tér] of religious teachings and symbols. It is surrounded by many major and minor holy places such as Riwo Wangshu,⁷¹ which from among the ‘eight manifest places for the conversion of beings’ included in the activity category of the ‘twenty-five great holy places in Kham’ is known as the one which ‘converts through magnetising power’,⁷² the ‘palace of assembled Sugata-s’ at Dzongshö,⁷³ which combines all five places

in the ‘qualities’ category in one, and the Chöten Gütsek [mountain], which is [naturally] in the form of a Svasti.⁷⁴

As had been clearly stated in the prophecy revealed by Nga-dak Nyang, [the birthplace] was at the foot of a mountain called Tségang, and above a rock cliff in the form of a coiled serpent, on top of which was a mound [*de’u*], and hence was named “Delgo” [‘mound crest’].⁷⁵

His father being, as is well-known, of the bone lineage of the ‘heavenly’ Ga, and of the Nyö family lineage, he belonged to the descendants of the gods of the luminous realm [Abhāsvara-deva]. [His father] came at the end of the successive generations of the nephew lineage, replete in all forms of worldly and divine knowledge, of the great Siddha Changchub Lingpa,⁷⁶ one of the thirteen chief disciples of Drikung Jikten Sumgön⁷⁷ whom that master regarded as his equals, and original founder of Palpung monastery.⁷⁸ Being fully endowed with the qualities of noble birth, he became accomplished to the highest extent in worldly manners, in poetics, the ‘black’ and ‘white’ branches of astrology, the scribal arts and so on, and held the office of chief secretary to the great Dharmarāja [the king of Dégé]. Being also very strong in religious faith, he commissioned exceptional images and continually exerted himself in recitation, was declared by Sharchen Rinchen Mingyur Gyeltsen⁷⁹ to belong to the Bodhisattva family and named Rinchen Wanggyé. His mother was Sonam Tso, daughter of Gönpö Tséring, the Gérab steward, of a family lineage of renowned standing in that area.⁸⁰ Earlier on, his father had requested a divination on the outcome if he were to take monastic ordination from the great Siddha Jikmé Trinklé Ösé,⁸¹ who told him “It would be best for you not to take ordination, for as a householder, an exceptional incarnation will be born to your family who will greatly benefit the teachings and living beings”, an emphatic prophecy which apparently still exists now.

These parents had two sons and five daughters, shortly after whom this master appeared. At the time of his entering the womb, his parents witnessed exceptional portents and so on, and naturally many promising signs appeared

throughout [his time in the womb], although there is no actual record to back this up. Next day, on the morning after his conception, one servant woman saw a light like the rising sun fill the house, and hurriedly rose, thinking that the sun was up, [but] having kindled the fire and so forth, found that dawn was only just approaching. When fetching water the following day, she returned with a full pail which, on reaching the house, turned to milk, and this was clearly seen by all. As for the time of birth: it was in the Iron Dragon year of the fourteenth sexagenary cycle [1820], on the sixth day of the waxing phase of the sixth month, the month in which Buddha Śākyamuni first turned the wheel of Dharma, on a Monday, at midday, at the zenith of the [fifth] Pūrṇavasū constellation.

As for the place of birth: since his paternal estate belonged to the wealthy class, they were in the habit of passing autumn and winter together at the family house and spring and summer at their pastoral encampment. The spring camp was at the foot of the Khyungsang Drak rock, a place of concealed treasures where later on this master together with Tērchen Chokgyur Lingpa⁸² revealed the *Heartdrop of the entirety of Vidyādhara-s* [*Rikdzin yongdzok tuktik*],⁸³ and since no more than eight months had elapsed since he had entered his mother's womb, there had been no concern about leaving her there while everyone else left to prepare for the move up to the summer camp. As the signs of impending birth came on, a white canopy was pitched for her to lie under, and a little while later he was born easily and painlessly.

[His head] was covered with straight black hair down to his ears, and the placenta appeared to be wrapped around him like a monastic robe, bound at the top by sacred Kuśa grass. The prophecy revealed by Guru Jotse⁸⁴ says:

‘A tall Mönpa child with a mop of hair/ Will appear at the foot of a great hovering Garuḍa [Khyung] mountain’

and several other *tértön-s* including Ratna Lingpa have also made [similar] pronouncements. While it is a general prophecy that cannot be taken as definitive,

“Mön Pu” is an epithet for those born in the territories defined as peripheral in relation to central Tibet, and the simultaneous occurrence of the ‘mop of hair’ and the naming of the mountain at the birthplace are very clear indications. When Nésar Khyentsé⁸⁵ was born, the navel [umbilical cord] was wrapped around him like a monk’s robe, at which the great physician Rinchen declared “Judging from the way the umbilical cord is wrapped, he will surely serve the Dharma as a great Kalyāṇamitra.” In time he came to be just like the prophesied one who although living in worldly surroundings is out of the ordinary, the one “...so easy to raise, who brings about the best for family and prosperity” mentioned in the Tantra-s, [as] the purifying Kuśa [gem], the essence of virtue renowned in the Buddha’s teaching as well as in the compatible Veda-s, showing the signs of a mind unsullied by Karma and the defilements of birth from the womb.

Then, during his upbringing, he was cared for in accordance with the customs of that region. His father named him Tséring Döndrup. Since the time he could first remember, he beheld the six-armed Mahākāla and Ekajaṭī, guardianess of the Secret Mantra teachings, protecting him with intense love, and had hazy recollections of many past lives. When he awoke in his chamber in the morning and went out the back to the toilet, he said that he would always see a very clear image of Orgyen Rinpoché on the face of a white cliff called Kardzang Drak on the Riwo Wangshu mountain to his right, and at that time he thought that there [really] was such an image [in the rock], but later on when he examined the place, he found that an exceptional representative figure [of the Guru] had been concealed there [as treasure awaiting revelation].

When Khenchen Champa Kunga Tendzin⁸⁶ visited Térlung, having become the Guru of the Dégé ruler, he was invited to Dilgo. He first encountered this master as a three-year-old child in his mother’s lap, and by giving the instructions on the nine-deity Sādhana of Uṣṇīṣavijaya in his presence, established the auspicious conjunction for him to become a principal disciple.⁸⁷ He approached monastic ordination at the age of four or five with great joy, accompanied by the signs of awakening to the Mahāyāna family, as explained

in the *Sūtrāṅkāra*.⁸⁸

‘Innate compassion/ Inclination and patience/ Virtue and upright conduct/
These should be recognised as the marks of [belonging to a noble] family.’

Even his games involved playing the role of a Lama, conferring initiations and giving teachings and so forth. He fashioned many assemblages of Torma offerings from clay and so on, saying that he was performing the extensive Sādhana of the *Kadü chöki gyatso*, and went on to decorate them with pieces of red, yellow and white paper, intoned the liturgy and so on in a marvellous display of behaviour well beyond that of ordinary children, so that even common people gained certainty that he was a reincarnate [saint].

Pema Tashi, the tutor supervising his reading practice and study at that time, was a stern man, and although of course well-intentioned, was unconvinced that this master was an incarnate [Lama], and disciplined him like an ordinary child, not permitting him to go play out of the teacher’s sight. Once when he had gone off somewhere, [this master] recited many [parts of] the *Kadü Chöki Gyatso* [that occurred to him naturally] in his absence, and made an arrangement like that just mentioned. The teacher returned without him noticing, kicked over his arrangement [of mud offerings], scattering them, and gave him a beating too.

He continually had a great many visions, and used to wonder whether others could see them too. He spoke a little of his dreams, but when his words were not well received, he simply ignored them. It seems that this renunciation of his great powers was a condition for the confounding of some fundamental auspices. It is in the nature of things that great saints are beset with numerous obstacles before they mature and perfect their spiritual aptitude. As the condensed *Perfection of wisdom* says:

‘For example, a prince who wishes to dispense wealth will be beloved by all. Such a one will bring joy to many beings instantly, and having secured the means, it goes without saying that, having ascended the

throne, he will be a great king. Likewise, a Bodhisattva skilled in wise conduct dispenses the Amṛta of Dharma to the delight of gods and men. Such a one, labouring to benefit many beings right here and now, will of course attain the status of a Dharmarāja [i.e., Buddhahood]. [But] thereupon, the demons will be displeased, and whether through grief, weariness, suffering, mental disturbance or humility, the Bodhisattva's mind will be shaken. To inspire fear [they] will singe all quarters [of the earth] and send shooting stars'

and just so, his mental clarity and facility of speech having been polluted by the deficiencies of others, his learning of reading and recitation was slightly impeded after the age of five. At about the age of eight he studied a little calligraphy and the 'white' and 'black' types of astrology from his own father. Following the encouragement of the great physician Tséwang, one of his father's relatives, that he should study medicine, he learned the theory and practice of medical science in full from Chödrak Gyatso, chief physician to the ruler of Dégé, and other doctors. As a result of proving himself in that, his intelligence thenceforth became clearer and his speech more eloquent.

When he was about twelve years old, Tartsé Khenchen Rinpoché Champa Kunga Tendzin laid on a reception for his father the chief secretary and presented him with a fine ceremonial scarf and a measure of Chinese silver, saying "Since your youngest son is certainly the rebirth of Khenchen Champa Namka Chimé,⁸⁹ he must be redeemed by Tartsé [Labrang]." The chief secretary replied "My son is not for sale. If it is your intention that he should be of benefit to the teachings and living beings, he can be offered to you", and did not accept the money. At that time, Khenchen Champa Kunga Tendzin crowned him with the formal name "Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen", and from then on the title of Tartsé 'incarnation' or 'candidate' stuck.

The reason for this was that shortly before Tartsé Khenchen Champa Namka Chimé passed away in the Drupkhang Labrang at Lhundrup Teng [monastery],⁹⁰ the Dégé ruler insistently beseeched him to return in a new

incarnation. He did not give his assent directly, but told those in his close retinue, like his nephew Jé Jampel Sangpo,⁹¹ “His majesty may say that, but if the wind of Karma overpowers one’s consciousness in the intermediate state, can one withstand it through mere willpower? If one could do as one wished like that, I would gladly live on here for a few more years. In case I were really able to bring about my own rebirth in this very place, as the son of a man of good stock like either the secretary Rinchen Wanggyé [Khyentsé’s father] or Latsé Wanggyé, I wonder if that could benefit the teachings? Otherwise, being reborn either among the mighty or the low caste ultimately brings nothing but harm on oneself and others”, and left things to take their natural course. Then, as this master was born in the same year of Khenchen Rinpoché’s death, and his father was held in the highest esteem by the latter, who requested his help in assembling a volume listing all the teachings he had received and so on, it was in all respects certain that [Khenchen Rinpoché] had been reborn as his son, or so Jé Jampel Sangpo said.

However, given that no more than six months passed between Khenchen Rinpoché’s death and this master’s birth, and so on, this master was not reconciled with the idea, although some have many [explanations for] such things, and I have also heard it said that saints are those who renounce the Samskāra-s of material existence, and who can extend the life of their physical bodies for however many months or years in order to take rebirth wherever they see fit. In any case, all the saints have certainly given their unanimous blessing for [the appearance of] incarnations to benefit the non-sectarian [i.e., true] Dharma, the preordained nature of the reincarnation of most of the great scholars and adepts of India and Tibet is set out in the biographies of Nga-ri Pañchen and so on, and given that once they have attained the exalted stages, the incarnations of many saints may be united in one, or saints may be capable of the illusion-like Samādhi of projecting hundreds of incarnations simultaneously and [other such] inconceivable means of liberation, it seems to me that whichever way one looks at it, there is no contradiction, as has been briefly mentioned already.⁹²

At that time, he used to make summer excursions on his own, wandering here and there in the high pastures and mountains, and while doing so he experienced many visions and discovered some *térma*, without being noticed by anyone else. Once when he had sat down in the shelter of a rock overhang and was lightly dozing, a loud ‘Dhī’ sound in the sky caused him to lose consciousness slightly, and as soon as he came to, he directly beheld Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra, indivisible from Mañjuḥoṣa. Having received his blessing, the instructions of Mañjuśrīmitra on the ‘heart essence [of the great perfection], known as] the *Seven lamps* sparkled in his mind, and later on he set down the first part, the *Lamp of history* [in writing]. At the age of eight when, due to the obstacles set by malicious spirits, both his hands slipped into the furnace of a large stove and he was in great pain, Orgyen Rinpoché in union with his consort appeared to him directly, granted him empowerment in the Vajrakīlaya-maṇḍala, and blessing, and by conferring upon him the aural lineage of the teachings on Kīlaya and Viśuddha combined, healed his body instantly. As for his visions, there is no sign that he even mentioned them to others.

Having reached the age of ten, he followed his forefathers in becoming a monk at Dzongsar monastery,⁹³ and went on to establish his residence there. In his eleventh year he went to Ka-tok Dorjé-den [monastery],⁹⁴ where his paternal uncle Muktön Sangdak Chenpo⁹⁵ cared for him tenderly and gave him the name Jikmé Khyentsé Dokar [‘fearless play of wisdom and love’]. He [later] said that having been granted a longevity empowerment by Drupwang Changchub Chöki Nyima⁹⁶ [there], the auspices for reaching his full lifespan were very well founded. From the age of twelve onward he revealed an ability to compose, utterly untrained, poetic verses like praises, songs of mystic experience and suchlike, so well worded as to move even learned and accomplished men. Had he applied himself to study of the fields of knowledge at that time, it seems that he would surely have become a scholar virtually unrivalled in the land of snows, but due to the passing away of his father, the chief secretary, and other things, he did not keep up with his studies, and missed several years. In particular, since being blessed by Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra in a vision at the age

of sixteen, he developed intellectual powers of such unimaginable acuity that he could absorb the meaning of a book after having merely glanced through it, and after reading a work like the biography of a Lama just once he could give a full explanation of its meaning in correct sequence the following day, and unerringly point out the page on which a given passage occurred.

A prophecy [he received] around [that time] stated that by proceeding towards Kawa Karpo⁹⁷ and befriending a certain Ḍākinī, an incarnation of Yéshé Tsogyel [living] below Bamlha, he would reveal a series of thirteen treasures, a monastery established on the boundary between the [central] provinces of Ü and Tsang would serve as a fountainhead of the secret Vajrayāna teachings, invading armies would be repelled for the next one hundred years, he would acquire the powers of clairvoyance and miracle-working, and at the end of his life he would open the sanctuary of Yulung Kang-ra in lower Tibet, and there attain the ‘great transference’ of dissolving his body into rainbow light. However, such places were not widely known, and upon hearing just a little bit about these dreams, his mother, as well as his tutor and so on, ridiculed and dismissed them. Being of tender age, it seems that this master succumbed to such influences. He said [later on] that his father had been reborn as a Yakṣa in the presence of Vajrapāṇi in the Alakāvātī paradise, and his mother, who was of the flesh-eating Ḍākinī caste, was reborn as an itinerant flesh-eating Ḍākinī, and they occasionally gave him prophetic indications. At the age of seventeen he saw signs indicating that the Ḍākinī living below Bamlha too had passed away.

As a result of offending the Ḍākinī-s [by ignoring the prophecy], the signs in his dreams also ceased. At the end of that year, attending a feast at the invitation of Gangna Chöjé of Dzongsar,⁹⁸ he ate a piece of mutton which upset his health. That night, asleep in his chamber in the monastery, he lapsed into a state of troubled dreams, in which he saw a corpulent man and woman with many turquoises and corals braided in their hair appear at the window and sink down under his bed. From the next day, he was gripped by a serious illness resembling a contagion. For seven days he did not take food.

The movement of his breath stopped. His mother and others had to watch over him day and night, holding a feather over his nostrils [to detect movement of breath]. Meanwhile, entirely oblivious to the appearances of present reality, this master experienced a sort of purgatorial journey through all six realms of sentient existence without exception, from the heavens down to the hells. Put another way, he [later] said that after that, he could write a thick volume telling the story of one returned from the after-death state [*délok*].

Many rituals were performed [on his behalf] at that time. One day, about seven days after [the illness began], Gangna Chöjé performed the fire offering ritual to Bhairava, and upon casting the noose of flames, [this master] saw a reddish glow, whereupon the sight began to return to his eyes, and gradually he was able to take a little tea and speak again. Initially, he said, he could recognise no one but his mother. Then, day by day, he had to refamiliarise himself with everything, starting with his personal effects, giving a name to each, and thereafter, even when his health had completely recovered, he was like a person transferred from a previous existence into a new body who had to relearn everything, right down to reading and writing, and he said that he retained no more than a quarter of his former knowledge.

At the age of eighteen, with the patronage of the Dharmarāja of Dégé, he went to the Pema Öling hermitage at Shéchen monastery⁹⁹ to attend upon the glorious lotus feet of the Mahapaṇḍita thoroughly versed in the ten fields of learning, Gyurmé Tutop Namgyel,¹⁰⁰ one who had attained the realisation of the insubstantiality of grasping illusory appearance as real. There he studied the three great treatises on grammar,¹⁰¹ metrics, the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, and *Amarakośa* together with its commentary,¹⁰² [and] the ripening and completion phases of many Nyingma teachings, both transmitted and revealed, chiefly *Ascertaining the Three Vows* [*Domsum nam-ngé*] by Nga-ri Paṇchen,¹⁰³ empowerment in the *Santikhrodamayajala* and explanation of the basic Guhyagarbha-tantra, before returning.

In his nineteenth year, Jikmé Gyelwé Nyugu,¹⁰⁴ one of Rikdzin Jikmé

Lingpa's 'three heart-disciples from Kham', the Mahāsattva who gained mastery in the conduct of instruction, visited Têrlung, and while receiving his teachings on the fundamentals of the ripening and completion phases of *Longchenpa's Heart-essence of the Great Perfection* [*Longchen nyingtik*], excellent signs occurred during the Abhiṣeka rite, like a five-coloured rainbow tent enveloping the camp [where the teachings were being held]. And during the visit of Lingsé Rikdzin Pema Drondül,¹⁰⁵ he received the empowerment and reading transmission of that master's own mind-revelation, the *Yakṣa Blaze* [*Yaksha mépel*], and so on. Doe Drupchen's disciple Losang Norbu gave him the empowerment and reading transmission for the Drupchen's *Amitābha* mind-revelation, and the introduction to the nature of mind, and even later on he used to say that he had never encountered a more useful practice than that concerning the nature of mind. He was given some *térma* teachings by an emanation of Tértön Dündül Dorjé¹⁰⁶ called Sanggyé Döndrup who lived in that area as a 'hidden Yogi' and occasionally visited his paternal estate to perform rituals. That Lama had commended him as a saintly incarnation since he was a child, and also delivered some spontaneous prophecies [concerning him] later on, which seem to have been borne out.

THREE

How, having entered the teachings, he fulfilled the threefold vow

There being no single exponent of the conduct of the Jinaputra Bodhisattva-s or Kalyāṇamitra holder of the precious Buddha-dharma who does not train in the three aspects of superior morality or whose mind is not bound by vows, and in the sequential manner enunciated by Ācārya Vasubandhu, ‘Endowed with the disciplines of listening and reflection/ One fully engages in meditation’, it is prescribed that one initially perfects the precious instructions on moral conduct before crossing the ocean of manifold instruction. In fulfillment of the wish expressed by the relatives of Tartsé Khenchen Rinpoché, he departed from Dzongsar monastery at the age of twenty, in the Earth Pig year [1839], and gradually proceeded towards the pure land of central Tibet, making first for the monastery of Ngorg Éwam Chöden, where he took up residence in the Tartsé Labrang.¹⁰⁷

The *Sūtra of the wise and foolish*¹⁰⁸ says:

‘The merit accrued by one who takes monastic ordination being utmost manifold, whether my son, or my daughter, or indeed my servant take ordination, or I myself take ordination, the merit is unlimited. The merit accrued by one who performs generosity will cause him to be endowed with possessions for twelve successive rebirths and be reborn repeatedly among the Deva-s on the sixth level of heaven, [but] by contrast the merit of one who is ordained, or of I myself becoming ordained, is greatly superior. This is because the merits of generosity are finite, while the merits of ordination are limitless, are infinite. Furthermore, by the merit of observing moral discipline, one will be endowed with five-fold clairvoyance and enjoy the pleasures of the Ṛṣi-s and the Deva-s for as long as Saṃsāra endures, while the merit of taking ordination in the Buddha-dharma being beyond imagination, it will not be exhausted as long as Nirvāṇa endures’

and

‘The Dharma of monastic ordination eliminates the host of demons and gives rise to the inheritors of the enlightened ones. It eliminates non-virtue and produces virtue. It eliminates moral defilement and produces the Karma of unexcelled merit. That being so, the merit of the Bhagavān’s ordination is higher than even the Sumeru mountain, deeper than the ocean, vaster than the sky’

and so on, and the [*Bodhicarya*]-*āvatāra*¹⁰⁹ says:

As for what causes that which is most exalted, the self-deliverance of ordinary beings, Śrāvaka-s and Pratyekabuddha-s, and the real liberation of Bodhisattva-s, it is none other than moral discipline.’

Thus, in his twenty-first year, the Iron Rat [1840], while wishing to study the Pratimokṣa vows in accord with such explanations given extensively in the Sūtra-s and commentaries, but apparently because he [also] felt the need to receive vows in the early translation tradition, and there was no custom of conferring such instruction there, he proceeded in a carefree manner, accompanied [only] by his attendant Tsultrim Gyatso, to Orgyen Mindröl-ling monastery in the Dra-chi valley in Ü district.¹¹⁰ There, in the chapel overlooking the [main statue of the] Buddha, he received the Śrāmaṇera and Bhikṣu vows, surrounded by a quorum of faithful Saṅgha, with Khenpo Gyurmé Rikdzin Sangpo serving as Upādhyāya, a descendant of the lineage of Drupchen Melong Dorjé of Lho-drak¹¹¹ and one eminently qualified through excellence in the aspects pertinent to the requisite discipline and learning, the throneholder Gyurmé Döndrup serving as Karmācārya, Nga-rab Gyurmé Garwang serving as secret preceptor, senior chantmaster Gyurmé Kunden serving as timekeeper and senior disciplinarian Nga-rab Gyurmé Pelsang serving as assistant, and he thus completed the Pratimokṣa vows of a Bhikṣu. He pleased the Khenpo and other officiants by presenting them with gifts of thanks.

In general, by his nature he had abided in pure and correct conduct since childhood, and from then on, for the rest of his life, he ‘maintained the outer conduct of a Śrāvaka, and inwardly delighted in the condensed meaning [of

the three vehicles], never exceeding the use of articles suited to a Bhikṣu, from [outer] symbols and clothing onwards, constantly practicing pure conduct and an unblemished discipline of celibacy. In accordance with Śāntideva's statement:

‘Who would conquer the hundredfold sufferings of existence/
Relieve the miseries of embodied creatures/
Or enjoy the hundred-fold joys/
Should never abandon Bodhicitta’

and despite having thoroughly cultivated since beginningless time the brilliant seed of two-fold Bodhicitta, admitting nothing incompatible with the striving for the state of perfect Buddhahood, for the sake of those in need of instruction he engaged in the study of each of the Bodhicittot-pāda-s originating from the two great traditions of the teaching: he received the Madhyamaka tradition transmitted by Nāgārjuna from the great Jamgön Dorjé Rinchen of Sakya,¹¹² Jamgön Tendzin Nyendrak¹¹³ and the Mindröl-ling throneholder Gyurmé Sanggyé Kunga,¹¹⁴ and the Cittamātra tradition transmitted by Asaṅga from the great Jamgön of Sakya, the Bodhisattva Losel Tenkyong¹¹⁵ and Lowo Lo-drö Tayé.¹¹⁶ He made extensive offerings in each tradition on the appropriate occasions, offering whatever he could in abundance as a support for the development of Bodhicitta and the rejection by all means of self-cherishing and hypocrisy, and making correct application of the Bodhisattva path the object of his entire conduct. Unconcerned by the hardships incurred through the perfection of the six Pāramitā-s in the course of three incalculable aeons, and by following the swift path of profound Upāya and Prajñā [combined], he was [assured] of attaining the unified state of Vajradhara in one lifetime, or within [at most] sixteen lifetimes.

The manner in which he received instruction on the ripening and completion phases of the Vajrayāna teaching, originated solely from the particular aspiration and resolve of the present Buddha [Śākyamuni], is recounted in detail further on: chiefly, according to this master's own list of his unlimited Tantric empowerments, he received the three main classes of Kriyā-tantra from Khenchen Dorjé-chang Champa Kunga Tendzin, the main Caryā-tantra,

the Vairocana-abhisambodhi, from Mahapaṇḍita Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé,¹¹⁷ the main Yoga-tantra, the Vajradhātu, from the master Losel Tenkyong, the ‘paternal’ aspect of Highest Yoga Tantra, the two traditions of Guhyasamāja, and the ‘maternal’ aspect, Saṃvara in the traditions of Lūipa and Kṛṣṇacārin, from Dorjé-chang [Champa] Kunga Tendzin, the body, speech and mind aspects of the Kālacakra-tantra in their entirety from the master of Shalu [Losel Tenkyong] and Kālacakra ritual assistant ‘Jampéyang’ Lo-drö Tayé, the empowerment of the eightfold realisation of Hevajra, the ultimate Tantra, from the two Khenchen Vajradhara-s [of Ngor Tartsé i.e., Champa Kunga Tendzin and Jampel Sangpo], and the empowerments of the Mahāyoga and Anuyoga-tantra-s in the early translation tradition from Jamgön [i.e., Önrul] Tutop Namgyel. He approached the [Vajrayāna] teachings having undergone the maturation and completion phases of mental training in the Tantric vows, and took his place there as a thoroughly accomplished holder of the threefold vows.

FOUR

How he attended upon spiritual teachers and crossed the ocean of manifold studies by listening and reflection

As is said in the *Perfection of wisdom in eight thousand lines*:¹¹⁸

‘The Bodhisattva thoroughly guided by a Kalyāṇamitra will attain the unsurpassed and utterly perfected [state of] awakening’

and in the condensed version:

‘The Dharma-s of the enlightened ones are learned in dependence upon the Kalyāṇamitra/ So say the Jina-s, those with mastery of the most supreme of qualities’

and so on, ever since his childhood this noble master delighted only in attending upon spiritual teachers and Lama-s of all schools, and seeking the holy Dharma from them seems to have been his main occupation. Now those who take pride in the splendour of noble descent, high rank, wealth and prestige may not deign to attend upon Lama-s who, despite having religious learning, are of lower status, out of concern for their own [social] superiority, concern for the flaws of others, and their own self-centred pride. Conceited by the merest knowledge of a certain discipline or theoretical grasp of the scriptures, they become bloated with arrogance, thinking “I am learned! I am a great teacher!”, and bow to no one. For the most part they favour only one quarter, thinking “I belong to such and such a monastery and religious order”, regarding the Lama-s of that order like enlightened Buddha-s simply through blind adherence, whether they are learned or not. They take the allowance afforded by religious offerings as their entitlement, [but] those who really strive after the vast and profound goals of religion are rare indeed. [This master’s] manifestation of an unaffected spiritual career like a flash of lightning in the forbidding darkness of this degenerate age having resulted from the strength of his determination in previous lives, he evinced no pride whatsoever in his family lineage, rank, status and so on, and no matter how much learning he acquired, he did not flaunt it

in even the slightest degree, while expressing wonderment over even the most modest achievements of others. Although this master was basically a senior lineage holder of the Ngor tradition of the Sakya school, by his own inclination he was utterly without partiality and had reverence for the representatives of all branches of the Buddha's teachings in the land of snows. Again and again he undertook study and reflection upon each of the Buddhist traditions of authentic origin, with no bias or sense of contentment at the extent of his learning, never sparing any effort or wearying even slightly. While there may be many teachers who expound extensive learning, one as learned as he in the entirety of the Buddhadharma is a great rarity.

The benefits of extensive learning are set forth at length in the Sūtra-s. In the 'Bodhisattva- piṭaka' [i.e., Mahāyāna Sūtra-s?] it is stated:

'Through study one comes to know the Dharma/ Through study negative action is reversed/ Through study improper aims are abandoned/ Through study the state beyond sorrow is attained'

for by learning the meaning behind the teachings of the scriptures and commentaries, one gives up all the negative and meaningless pursuits which are the work of Māra, and takes on all the attributes of the noble ones, and as such becomes worthy of the praise of all worldly beings including the Deva-s. As is said in the *Garland of rebirths [Jātakamālā]*:¹¹⁹

'With the [qualities acquired through] learning one will reach the level of kings/ And the highest states of existence/ Divine power is splendid, but with respect to learning/ The learned one will be pleasing to others/ Renown too proceeds from just such qualities/ Great personality also arises from the possession of such qualities/ Even more than moonlight, the quality of [mental] clarity/ Even [in the face of] fierce and rampant opponents untamed/ Old feuds and great rivalries/ Will render the mind quite calm and content.'

There are two aspects to his undertakings in study and reflection: common learning in the general disciplines of knowledge, and uncommon learning in Buddhist doctrine.

First, in accord with the Buddha's great injunction in the Sūtra-s, put into verse by his regent Maitreya:

‘Without acquiring skill in the five branches of [mundane] knowledge/
Even the noble and supreme ones would not become omniscient/ Rather,
in order to take up the challenges [posed by] others/ And to complete
one's own knowledge, the effort must be made’

and the words of the great Sakya Paṇḍita:

‘Without training one's mind in the disciplines of [ordinary] knowledge/
Omniscience is more distant than the sky/ Thus have the Buddha-s and
Bodhisattva-s eloquently declared/ [The necessity of] studying the [mun-
dane] sciences’

he initially studied the [mundane] sciences.

In the presence of the Shéchen Paṇḍita Jamyang Gyépé Lo-drö¹²⁰ he was tested, using Ka-tok Paṇḍita's commentary, in tracing the letters from the Sārasvata grammar on the ground from memory, for a condensed period of one month and four days.¹²¹ He also studied the Kalāpa grammar treatise, using Sazang [Paṇ chen]'s commentary [entitled *Brilliance of perfect consonance*]¹²² and so on, all the diagrams of the ‘Si’ and ‘Ti’ series, and of the root paradigms with its commentary, Candragomin's [grammatical] treatise using the great commentary by Jamgön Situ Rinpoché,¹²³ all the diagrams of the Subanta, Tinānta, Uṇādi and so on,¹²⁴ as well as an elaborate composition test on the meaning of all three sections of the *Mirror of poetics* [*Kāvyaḍarśa*], using the great commentary by Situ Rinpoché,¹²⁵ in a condensed period of twenty days, and having completed [Śantipa's] *Precious source* [*Ratnākara*] treatise on metrical composition and its diagrams, using the commentary by Minling Lo-chen,¹²⁶ within six days, the Ācārya commended his intellectual prowess and encouraged him in an unprecedented manner to attempt Sanskrit composition using techniques such as the matching of consonants in verse, and a composition on the drawing of the diagrams from the metrical treatise, and when he did so

and presented them, [the Ācārya] awarded him the title ‘Kunshé’ [‘fully versed’]. He also composed verses of praise concerning ‘...a fair youth with six faces, of intellect delightful to the sons of Brahma.’¹²⁷ Having studied the greater part of the science of grammar, the texts which inform it and so on, with great assiduity, this master had the ability to arrange an ornamental trefoil [sufficient to] impress others virtually without consulting the glossaries, making up many Śloka-s in his head. “But”, he said, “such things will get you nowhere. For those able to translate Sanskrit texts, just being able to establish the meaning is an extraordinary achievement, and given the dissimilarity between the Indian and Tibetan languages, getting the precise equivalent is extremely difficult, how much more so the ability to translate. That being so, the grammarian these days seems to be a largely superfluous figure.”

He took great delight in Logic [Pramāṇa], and while he did not study it extensively, he did receive the explanatory transmission of the gist of the [Pramāṇa]-*samuccaya*¹²⁸ and of the [Pramāṇa]-*vārtika* based on Gyeltsap-Jé’s commentary¹²⁹ from Losang Gélek of Tashi-lhunpo and others, and the explanatory transmission of the approximate meaning of the Sūtra and commentary combined from Drakgön Paṇḍita and others. Having reviewed these teachings, when he delivered a mere discourse upon them even those among his listeners who prided themselves as exponents praised his skill in penetrating to the underlying meaning.

Although he did not turn his hand to the manufacturing arts [Śilpavidyā], he had detailed knowledge of the canonical proportions, styles and so on of sacred images [statues, texts and Stūpa-s] from others.

He received detailed guidance in the explanation and application of the four medical Tantra-s from the master Chödrak Gyatso, official physician of the Dégé ruler. He [also] received the transmissions of the *Millionfold multiplication* [Chéwa ringsel] of Surkarwa,¹³⁰ the selected [medical] instructions of the Drikung tradition [including] the *Essence of benefit and happiness* [Pendé nyingpo], *Rain of benefit and happiness* [Pendé charyun], *Treatment of the five*

sudden illnesses [Lobur né-nga chö] and *Profound essential sap* spoken instructions [Shalshé nyingi kuwa gambhira],¹³¹ the selected instructions of Lhalungpa and successive writings,¹³² and the *Rosary of immortal jewels* [Chimé nortreng] selected instructions of Karma Ratna.¹³³ From La-menpa Karma Tséwang he received the visual demonstration of the practical methods for purification of mercury [Ngülchu tsotru chenmo] and preparation of [omnipotent] black precious pills [Rinchen rilnak chenmo], and the transmission of the Sādhana and prayers for the Sambhogakāya form of Bhaiṣajyaguru. From Shalu Choktrul Rinpoché he received the transmissions of the *Hundred applications* by Nāgārjuna¹³⁴ and the *Sealed instructions* of Darmo Menrampa.¹³⁵ From Drakgön Shabdrung Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé he received explanatory transmissions of the main *Supplement to the transmitted oral instructions* [Méngak yönten gyüki lhentap] and the *Introduction to the identification of medicinal substances* [Menming ngotrö] by Dési Sanggyé Gyatso,¹³⁶ and of the successive *Great seal of the Dakinī-s entrustment*.¹³⁷ Having also received teaching on all of these texts, on the notes to [the Dési's] *One to one secret medical transmission* [Sangmen chikgyü], 'Heart Quintessence' spoken elucidation [Lhentap shalshé nyingi yangchü], oral instructions of Darmo Menrampa and so on from Chödrak Gyatso and, in several years of practical experience in medical treatment, memorised the *Gyüshi* [Four medical Tantra-s],¹³⁸ he had constant familiarity with, not to mention grasp of [the healing science], and his mastery of pulse and urine diagnosis and of the beneficial properties of medicines excelled those of any doctor.¹³⁹

Second, the explanatory transmission of the causal vehicle of Buddhist philosophy: in the presence of the Simwok Choktrul of Nalendra, Champa Ngawang Tendzin Nyendrak, he received a detailed explanation of the *Ornament of direct realisation* combining the commentarial tradition of Rongtön Chenpo¹⁴⁰ with the commentary composed by the Choktrul himself, and the explanatory transmission of the Vinaya-sūtra.¹⁴¹ From the great Rabjampa of Litang Champa-ling, Géshé Champa Puntsok,¹⁴² he received the explanation of *Entering the middle way* together with the commentary entitled *Clarifying the intent* by Jé Rinpoché [Tsongkapa],¹⁴³ the

explanation of the *Treasury of Abhidharma* together with the commentary by Chim [Namka Drak],¹⁴⁴ and of the *Perfection of wisdom in eight thousand lines*, clarified by his own notes.

In the explanatory transmission of the resultant path teachings of the Secret Mantra vehicle: from the ‘old school of the early translations’, in the presence of Shéchen Önrul Rinpoché he heard the Guhyagarbhatantra explained thoroughly with both the general *Testament of the lord of secrets* and the detailed *Ornament of the lord of secrets’ intent* [commentaries] by Minling Lo-chen Dharmasī. ¹⁴⁵ In addition, the *Precious Garland* overview by Rabjampa Orgyen Chödrak,¹⁴⁶ the commentary by Gyurmé Tséwang Chokdrup of Ka-tok,¹⁴⁷ the commentary by Lalitavajra,¹⁴⁸ the commentaries by Rongzompa¹⁴⁹ and Yungtönpa,¹⁵⁰ all the writings included in the major and minor branches of the teaching and the transmissions of the Sādhana-s and Maṇḍala-s were also taught.

In the presence of Shalu Choktrul Losel Tenkyong he studied the most important Tantra of the new translation school, the Kālacakra, based on Butön Rinpoché’s notes to both the Tantra and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary, and the further notes by Kyor[mo]lungpa Donyö Pelsang. The explanatory literature required for this included the *Precious key* [Rinchen chépe démik] explanatory outline by the great Butön, the *Ornament of the Vimalaprabhā* [Drimé öki gyen] abridgement and the *Illuminating the essence* [Nyingpo Nangwé Ösé] summary, as well as the supplementary *Mouth ornament of the grammarian* [Dra-rik khépe ka-gyen], *Flower garland holder* treatise on metrical composition [Depjor metok trengdzin] and *The collection of five plus Rāhula* [Ngadü drachen dangché] treatise on calendrical calculation, [then] the five planets and their ready reckoning methods, the *Exposition of the movement of the planets* [Golé namshak], the great astrological *Sāstra Delightful to the wise* [Khépa ga-ché], replies to questions on astrological conjunction [entitled] *Avoiding error on the difficult points* [Ka-né gépong], and the explanatory work *Grain cluster of definitive meaning* [Ngédön nyéma], the *Great collection of lecture notes* [Sungdrö sintri chenmo] by [Butön’s chief disciple] Tuksé Lotsāva, and the means of determining ‘friend and foe’ of

Mantrayāna practice, [thus] the entirety of explanatory transmissions related to the ‘Tantra of the Ādibuddha’ [Kālacakra], all presented on the appropriate occasion.¹⁵¹

In the presence of the supreme Vajrācārya Ngawang Lekdrup¹⁵² he received detailed explanatory transmissions of the *Three ways* [commentary] by Lopön Sonam Tsémo and *Wishing tree* [commentary] by Jétsün Drakpa on the Hevajra-tantra,¹⁵³ and of the two ‘beautiful ornament’ [commentaries] by Könchok Lhundrup combined,¹⁵⁴ as well as reading transmissions of the seven essential treatises and so on.¹⁵⁵

From Géshé Champa Puntsok he received the explanatory transmission of the ‘fourfold’ commentary on the Guhyasamāja-tantra, vast as the sky, as practised by Jé Rinpoché [Tsongkapa] Losang Drakpa,¹⁵⁶ the explanation of the Saṃvara-tantra in fifty chapters with the commentary entitled *Clarification of the hidden meaning* by Jé Rinpoché,¹⁵⁷ and of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, king of Tantra-s, through the commentary by Jé Gendun Gyatso.¹⁵⁸ These teachings are about all the transmitted exegeses of the Tantra-s that exist in Tibet these days. With the philosophical teachings equally, the explanations [he received] of the Indian treatises, mainly the six classics of Madhyamika [by Nāgārjuna], the five treatises of Maitreya [by Asaṅga] and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* [by Śāntideva], were indeed many, [but] of those, with the possible exception of the *Uttaratantra*, the explanatory transmissions could scarcely continue unbroken without being sought directly from qualified masters.

Concerning the manner in which he received the endless collection of ripening empowerments, guiding instructions for liberation and supporting reading transmissions of the entirety of the old and new translation Tantra-s, the condensed autobiography says:

‘For thirteen full years I sought the teachings/ At various times, in the three provinces of Kham, Ü and Tsang/ Attending upon precious teachers/ Vajradhara-s and Kalyāṇamitra-s/ Those versed in the classical treatises and so on, one hundred and fifty in all/ And I received the transmission of

teaching on Vinaya, Abhidharma and Madhyamika/ Along with the lesser disciplines of craft, medicine, grammar and logic/ The empowerments, blessings, practical instructions and so on/ Of the old and new [translation traditions of] Vajrayāna/ The original teaching styles, unimpaired/ Of the transmitted and revealed [teachings of the old school], the Kadampa and the Sakyapa/ the Drikung, Taklung, Tsurpu, Den[sa-til] and Drukpa [Kagyü schools]/ Those instructions for the maturation and liberation [phases of Vajrayāna practice] still in existence/ The trio of the Saṃvara, Hevajra and Guhyasamāja Tantra-s, and the Kālacakra-tantra/ The Māyājāli-guhyagarbha and so on/ Their supporting explanations/ The transmissions of the canonical Sūtra-s and commentaries/ More than seven hundred volumes of teaching in all/ In brief, I received virtually all that survives/ Of the ten systems [or ‘chariots’] of transmitted exegesis/ Studied them partially and understood them somewhat/ Gaining an extensive grasp of the teachings and/ Doctrinal assertions of Buddhists and non-Buddhists.’

Thus, having listened to and reflected upon teachings insatiably, starting in Doe-kham and throughout his two journeys to Ütsang and subsequent return to Doe-kham, his learning was extremely, elusively vast, and although it cannot be recounted [in full], the main points should be set forth here, following his own list.¹⁵⁹

Teachings of the Sa skya Tradition

From the Sa skya throneholder **Khri chen Kun dga' bkra shis [rin chen]**¹⁶⁰ he received the nine-deity Amitāyus empowerment, the transmission and guidance through its oral instructions, the transmission of the prayer to the holders of the esoteric Lam 'bras lineage, the entirety of transmissions and instructions on Mahākāla-caturmukha passed down by sNgags 'chang Kun dga' rin chen, explanations of the Lam 'bras lineage prayer, the corpus of printed biographies [of Sa skya pa masters] and the [commentary on the] 'Fifty verses of Guru devotion' by Tshar chen [Blo gsal rgya mtsho], transmission and instruction in Guru-yoga, the planetary deities [gZa' yum], white Mahāpratisarā, Ucārya[-vajrapāṇi], the coloured and black [forms of] Garuḍa, black Mañjuśrī and Hayagrīva in the tradition of Zla ba rgyal mtshan, instruction and secret guidance in the seventeen expressions of [mGon po] Zhal and the two styles of [propitiating] Bektse, the entire transmissions of the 'two volumes' of [collated teachings on mGon po] Zhal and most of the Bektse manual cycles, all the empowerments of the 'higher' and 'lower' Vajrakīlaya rituals, transmissions of the instructions for [the Kīlaya protectors] dKar mo nyi zla and bDud rgyal, the peaceful Vajrakīlaya fire offering of A mes zhabs and the *Nges don thig le* [book of] daily practices [by Sa skya khri chen Kun dga' blo gros], the extensive empowerment of Guru drag po in Nyang [ral pa can]'s tradition and its instructions, the transmissions of the propitiations [Phrin gzhung] [of the wrathful Guru, entitled] *Dregs pa zil gnon*, the [empowerment ritual entitled] *mThong ba rang grol* and explanation of the four classes of relevant rituals [entitled] *dGra bgegs tshar gcod*, transmissions of the multi-deity *lCags sdong ma* longevity rite, the *lHa gcig bum gcig* longevity empowerment and their written instructions, and transmissions of the 'Chi med 'dod 'jo empowerment rite of Sa skya [Theg chen chos rje]

Kun [dga'] bkra [shis] and *bDud rtsi bum bzang* [collection of] daily Sādhana practices.

From **'Jam mgon rDo rje rin chen** he received the two traditions of Bodhicittotpāda, all the transmissions of the Amitābha sleep meditation [by Sa skya paṇḍita], the empowerments of Vajrabhairava in Sa skya pa style and Saṃvara in Ghaṇṭapāda's style, the blessings of the Khecarī [practices] of Indra[bodhi] and Maitrī[pa], their means of explanation, the particular instructions for the complete practices of the three red deities, the three [forms of] Jambhala combined, and Gaṇapati, the development and completion stages of the non-elaborate [form of] red Yamāntaka, its daily practice and so on, the seven-day longevity rite, wisdom empowerment of the *Gang blo ma* [Mañjuśrī prayer], instructions on Avalokiteśvara-amoghapāśa, transmission of the Sādhana, and instructions for eleven-faced Mahākāruṇika surrounded by the Buddha-s of the four families and Uṣṇīṣa-jwala, transmission and instructions on white Tārā as Bhaṭṭārikā-cintāmaṇicakra, symbolic transmission, all the Shangs pa [bKa' brgyud] teachings that he had to give, instructions on white Mahākāla and transmission of the text, instructions on Śmaśānapati and transmissions of all the texts, instructions on eight-deity Pañjara-mahākāla, the empowerment of Mahākāruṇika dredging the depths of Saṃsāra revealed by [Guru] Chos dbang, the *Phrin las kun khyab* explanation of the [uses of] Vajra and Ghaṇṭā, Kalaśa, Patri and Shruva by A mes zhabs, the empowerment ritual of the arrow-lengthening longevity rite, instructions on white Jambhala and transmission of the Khams gsum dbang sdud, instructions on the coloured Garuḍa of the Kālacakra teachings, instructions and transmission of Khroda Bhūrkuṃkūṭa and transmission of the practice manual for Kurukulle. From **Theg chen bKra shis rin chen** he received the transmissions of the expanded volume on the three Khecarī cycles, practice manual for Kurukulle and so on.

At Ngor, while receiving his first empowerment in the presence of **mKhan chen rdo rje 'chang Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin**, Saṃvara in the style of Kṛṣṇacārin, from taking hold of the ritual vase until the completion of the water empowerment, he beheld him in the actual form of the deity, with four faces and twelve arms. He had a clear recognition of the thought “Mus chen is Cakrasaṃvara!”, and from then on was certain of his identity with Mus chen dKon mchog rgyal mtshan.¹⁶¹ At various times, he received many kinds of empowerments and instructions [from the mKhan chen],¹⁶² including Saṃvara in the style of Lūipa, Hevajra in three different styles, the esoteric exposition of the Lam 'bras teachings, Guhyasamāja in three different styles, nine-deity and thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava in Rva lo tsā ba's style, instruction in five-deity Yamāntaka [and] the non-elaborate form, the entirety of transmissions and instructions on Nāropa's Khecarī, the fifty-one protections, twenty-seven deity Sitātapatrā, nine-deity Akṣobhya, nine-deity Amitāyus, Sarvavid[-vairocana], Vajrapāṇi as destroyer of death, the three red deities and the three minor red deities of Sa skya tradition, the wealth deities and protectors, the hundred Sādhana-s and hundred [Sādhana-s] of the sNar thang tradition, and many [other] empowerments, guiding instructions and transmissions chiefly [taken from] the collected writings of Mus chen sems dpa' chen po [dKon mchog rgyal mtshan], Go rams bSod nams seng ge and dPal ldan don grub.

While **mKhan chen rdo rje 'chang byams pa rnal 'byor 'Jam dpal bzang po** was serving as abbot of Ngor [i.e., 1836-43], he received from him many empowerments, instructions and transmissions, chiefly the uncommon Cittotpāda, the Hevajra empowerment in the oral instruction style, its subsidiary empowerments, and the complete instructions for the exoteric exposition of the Lam 'bras teachings. While receiving his blessing as the ‘Guru of

the profound path' [during the Lam 'bras teachings], he saw [the mKhan chen] as Virūpa in person, and from then on gained deep certainty that he was the reincarnation of Virūpa's emanation rGyal tshab Kun dga' dbang phyug.¹⁶³ Later on, at the time of his death, his wisdom-form appeared to [this master] in the manner of gracious acceptance.

From [Ngor] **mKhan chen dPal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan** he received Virūpa's protective blessing, instructions on Mañjuśrī-siṃhanāda, the six-branch Tārā practice and Avalokiteśvara-ekādaśamukha, and many transmissions such as the Mahāyāna Posadha vow, the white Tārā teachings from Blo gros bzang po of Mang mkhar, and his own Bhaiṣajyaguru liturgy. From [Ngor mkhan chen] **Byams pa dpal ldan bzang po** he received two [sets of] instructions on dPal ldan lha mo [as] Dhūmāvātī and the practice manuals in their entirety. From **Byams pa 'jam dpal grags pa** he received the nine-deity Amitāyus empowerment. From **Chos rje Ngag dbang tshul khrims** he received the Sarvavid [-vairocana] empowerment, and instructions on the union of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva, black Mañjuśrī, black Garuḍa, Parṇaśabarī [Ri khrod ma], [Vajrapāṇi as] subduer of elemental forces, [Avalokiteśvara-] Siṃhanāda, [Vajra-] Vidāraṇa, orange Mañjuśrī and Tārā.

In the presence of the lion of speech and Mahāvajrācārya [Ngor dpon slob] **'Jam pa'i dbyangs ngag dbang legs grub** he received many teachings, including the extensive empowerments of the combined forms of Pañjara-mahākāla, Sampuṭa, the ocean of Ḍākinī-s and so on, instructions for Pañjara and Caturmukha with their attendants, instructions for Śmaśānapati and transmission of the practice manual, the Samaya-vajra wisdom empowerment, and transmission and empowerment of Vajrapāṇi as subduer of fierce spirits revealed by [gTer ston Padma] Las 'brel [rtsal].

In particular, the signs seen in dreams while receiving the empowerments of Ācārya Abhayākara's *Vajrāvalī* on his later journey to [central] Tibet¹⁶⁴ were referred to by this master in his own list as follows: 'Homage to the Guru Vajrasattva! Central citadel within the sun of primordial wisdom/ Whose radiance, establishing the great bliss [of liberation] in the moment of its arising/ Causes the lotus of the supreme immutable to unfold/ May the all-pervading master Vajrasattva make it auspicious!' Concerning this, the manner in which definitive mental phantasmagoria gradually appeared while the Utpala flower of my mind was being opened up by the Amṛta scattered and poured [during the empowerments of the] great Maṇḍala-s of the Śrī-Vajrāvalī will be accounted here:

First, before dawn on the morning of the Adhitiṣṭha empowerment, [I saw] a great crowd of men led by a splendid, shiny-looking individual twice the size of the others and dressed in flowing black silk come and bow before me, [I saw] a sun rise in the east and merge into my heart, and from that many small suns like stars again shone forth, and I saved the life of a sparrow being chased by a hawk.

Second, at dawn on the morning of the Mañjuvajra empowerment, [I dreamt of] coming to a beautiful garden which I seemed to have visited before, and moving delightedly through an area quite filled by fruit trees blooming with white, bowl-sized flowers, came upon Mahā-upādhyā-nanda in the guise of a Ṛṣi, seated in the shade of a tree with yellow flowers in bloom and, overcome by devotion, circumambulated [the master].

Likewise, and third, I was on the path climbing up to Gangs ri O rgyan rdzong,¹⁶⁵ with thick juniper forest and blooming flowers all around. Along the way, from the top of a hardly reachable ridge, someone I did not recognise threw out a shawl-like garment, and by grasping the end I went on and easily got to the top. There, in

the sanctum of a fine little old chapel, I vividly beheld many butter lamps burning before a painting of the three red deities with a lacquered finish.

Fourth, [I dreamt of] going up from the entrance of a valley I thought to be gZho stod gTer sgrom¹⁶⁶ in the company of the Vajradhara Maitri-ānanda. At one point the river was difficult to cross, but the Vajradhara went ahead [and crossed] unhindered. On the earlier of my two attempts I did not make it, [but] on the later attempt I got across easily, and there on the far bank the meditation master Vajraghaṅṅapa was sitting on a boulder. Nearby, another figure in the guise of a mendicant ascetic [Parivrājaka] touched on an orange leaf which seemed to be of real vermilion and produced orange colour with which he marked [my] forehead. He gave me a yellow fruit, saying “This is real Dūrva”, which I found to have an exceptional flavour. “The supreme Rasāyana”, [the mendicant] said. A little later [I came upon] a derelict temple with an amazing Maitreya statue inside which was about to disintegrate due to the leaking roof. Nearby were many people who called upon me to repair it, and as I made to do so, the statue was nicely restored in an instant, all the way up to the face, and they said “Consecrate it!” The Mahāsandhi practitioner Anyahita was also present. He performed a rite [though what it was] I forgot, and once the Gaṇacakra offering was over, [the master] gave me a yellow [liquid] resembling fruit juice, saying that it was Amṛta, and after drinking it I became intoxicated. “Sing a song about it!”, said the master, and I saw myself responding as follows:

“Om Śrī A la la ho! Endowed with the seven attributes of union
[of the Saṃbhogakāya]/ Having perfected the wisdom of great
bliss/ With heartfelt devotion I recall the noble Lama/ The ex-
alted Mahāvajradhara in human form/ With all the Skandha-s,
Dhātu-s and Āyatana-s/ Arisen in union as the Maṅḍala of the

three seats [of Buddha-s, Bodhisattva-s and Dharmapāla-s]/ From within the realm of emptiness and appearance [inseparable], I supplicate/ The noble Lama of Vajra body/ With the melody of the Nāḍi-s unagitated by Prāṇa/ Produced by mastery of the Avadhūti channel/ From within the realm of emptiness and sound [inseparable], I supplicate/ The noble Lama of Vajra speech/ With the natural expression of compassion perfected in emptiness/ Through the Upāya of great bliss/ From within the realm of awareness and emptiness [inseparable], I supplicate/ The noble Lama of Vajra mind/ Subtle constitution of Prāṇa, Nāḍi-s and Bhindu-s/ Transparently pure body of primordial unity/ From within the realm of undifferentiated meaning, I supplicate/ The noble Lama of Vajra wisdom/ My heart cooled by the water of renunciation/ Body and speech purified by the discipline of ethical conduct/ Mind tamed by the action of Samādhi/ May I attain the eye of wisdom/ At that time and in this [body]/ May I attain the state of primordial integration in which the four joys reach their perfect expression/ Voidness replete with blissful method/ Where all appearances arise in divine rainbow form”, or something similar, with the possible exception of a few words.

Fifth, on the far side was a valley lush with medicinal plants, an orchard and a delightful pavilion, on the near side myself, and in between a great flowing river. As soon as I conceived the wish to reach the other side, I realised [the scenario] to be an imaginary one, but waded in nonetheless. Reaching the main current, I turned back without crossing. [I thought that] if I tried again without clothes on, I could easily make it. Then someone in the form of a Brahmin handed me the Sanskrit text of the *Kāvyādarśa* and said with a rather stern manner “You have no sensitivity. You will not be able to cross the river in this life. But in your next life you will easily get across.”

Sixth, walking away from what I took to be the reliquary Stūpa of Kun mkhyen Dri med 'od zer at bSam yas mChims phu,¹⁶⁷ I discovered a scroll written by the reverend Lama Dhikasha¹⁶⁸ in the midst of a flowering rose bush. In the first part there were a few words written which I do not remember. Below that was an orally transmitted teaching called 'Rasāyana of immortality' written out word for word. In a state of delight I read it through a few times and it became clear in my mind. At that point, I encountered Lama Dhikasha. "It is thus", he declared, and then said nothing for a while. Suddenly he remarked "This is one of the most profound instructions in the oral transmissions of 'Ba' ra ba."¹⁶⁹ I wrote it out while I was at Tsa ri." A little later, he stated "[You] will meet the Vajradhara Vāgindra [and receive] the remainder [of the instruction]", and with a joyful expression handed me a jewelled rosary, saying "The Samaya-s are complete." "This Samaya is not easily broken", he added, "Cherish it like your own life."

Seventh, I came to the great temple at lHa sa, and was walking around the inner Parikrama. I had a jewelled casket filled with rice in my hand, and scattered it as I went, and as the grains fell to the ground they each grew into dazzling white flowers. In a joyous state, I came before [the statue of] Jo bo rin po che. There were a hundred butter lamps ready to be lit, and nearby, someone I did not recognise told me "Sir, your signs of accomplishment are most excellent. Now if you make a prayer for these butter lamps, they will light by themselves, and if they do, whatever prayer you make will be swiftly fulfilled." Casting a spell over the lamps, I threw flowers, and they lit by themselves. Thereupon, I made prayers for the arising of benefit and happiness, for peace in the world and so on, when the former speaker said "Pray for some personal objective too", and so, I prayed: "Having no master to look up to nor servant to look down on/ No enemy to defeat nor

friend to protect/ May I tame my own mind in solitary retreat and/ Perfect the blessed conduct of the Bodhisattva-s”, at which he seemed pleased.

Eighth, an elderly monk handed me a large volume, saying that it was the Mahāsiddha Mitrayogi’s commentary on the ‘three garland cycles’.¹⁷⁰ Opening the cover, I saw there were first of all *Srid spel*, followed by the *Entrance for the training of children* and some medical texts, and finally the Rasāyana teachings and so on from the Kālacakra-tantra, many textbooks, and a sort of summary of Bo dong [Paṅ chen]’s *Great compendium of suchness*.¹⁷¹ As soon as the idea arose of checking whether or not there were transmissions for what was there, I encountered the noble Lama Vagindra. “There are transmissions”, he said, “but the lineage cannot be ascertained.” A little [later] Slob dpon rin po che and another figure, I couldn’t be sure if it was Mahāsiddha Mitra[yogi], appeared in the sky before me in the manner of conferring blessing, during which I awoke.

Ninth, someone presented me with a large sash, saying that he had brought it from bSam yas. I opened it to find an extraordinary Vajra made of meteoric metal of fine quality. Thereupon the man said “There was a smaller one which I offered to the Mahāsandhi practitioner, and he was well pleased. I’ve long had the idea of offering this one to you, sir, but I kept it aside wondering whether you would accept it. Now that it seems you will accept, I respectfully offer it”, he said, breaking into uncontrolled laughter.

Tenth, I came to a beautifully lush valley which I took to be my own birthplace, and having set out to collect the medicinal herbs needed to prepare Amṛta pills, I had found most of them. On the way back I came upon a sparse forest of Arura bushes, where there was an old Bhikṣu with white hair and beard who called himself a Ṛṣi medicine master. He pointed out many kinds of herbs and de-

scribed a few medical recipes. From that, it seemed that the valley was somewhere in India or Nepal, and enquired about this. “It is a special holy place of Saṃvara, and there is a self-manifest image of the deity”, [said the Bhikṣu], “Come and see.” He opened the door of a somewhat decrepit temple, and inside was an unimaginably large figure of Saṃvara in the middle of a jet black pool. Such was its amazing brilliance, I felt myself faint for a moment.

Eleventh, I reached at Khra ’brug at dusk, and when I came before the statue of Mahapaṇḍita Vanaratna, it came somewhat to life.¹⁷² It touched me with its hand and asked “How many empowerments have you received?” When I had told roughly what I had received, [the Paṇḍita] said “You have accumulated a lot of both good fortune and damaged Samaya-s.” I replied that while Tantric Samaya-s are in general very hard to keep, I had basically not transgressed any of the root [Samaya-s], and [the Paṇḍita] said “Missing the main point is a serious flaw. Merely going through the wording of the empowerment while having attachment to ordinary appearances is to have transgressions fall like rain.”

“Then wouldn’t it be better not to receive empowerments at all?” I suggested. “How could that be right? Obviously, true and mistaken identifications have to be distinguished.” At that, I experienced the arising of an exceptional understanding of the [varying] dimensions of Tantric practice in Tibet in earlier and later times, of Jo bo rje [Atiśa]’s statement that [Tantric practice] was not at all tarnished by transgressions of the Pratimokṣa [vows], and of ’Jam dbyangs bla ma’s statement ‘Concerning the Vajrayāna teachings...’ and so on.¹⁷³ Then I requested [the Paṇḍita] to confer his *Padma tshé khrid* [instruction].¹⁷⁴

“I don’t have the text, it is lost.”

“Would it not suffice to confer it mentally?” I persisted.

“If you require the instruction then naturally you [will also] require the empowerment”, the Paṇḍita said, reverting to the state of a statue. At dawn [the Paṇḍita] delivered many discourses on the [Vajra-] Āvalī cycle which, however, I [mostly] forgot. In one of those I recall, [the Paṇḍita] spoke in a reasoned way, saying “Abhaya[ākara] is said not to have differentiated the classes of Tantra, but that is untrue. The classes are divided into outer and inner, and there are also reasons not to mix up the particulars in explaining the inner division: the distinction between the path and the result, together with the opposition between naming and actuality, and for the conferral of the empowerment for the completion of the three trainings. Further, the practice is done in two ways: for those of undetermined faculties, and for those exclusively qualified for the Highest Yoga class. That notwithstanding, the present practice is necessarily conducted for those with qualification in the Highest Yoga class, who from the outset are bound by vow [to observe] the great [union of] bliss and void merely by receiving the empowerment”, and so forth. Such are the amazing things he heard in these extraordinary dreams and visions, as he related them.

From **Phan bde bzang po** he also received most of the Vajrāvalī empowerments, and instructions for black Mañjuśrī, the planetary deities and red Yamāntaka. From **Ngag dbang lhun grub** he received the Sarvavid [-vairocana] empowerment, instructions for Siṃhavaktrā, the wrathful Guru [Padmasambhava] and Siṃhanāda [Avalokiteśvara], and the empowerment of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva combined. From **Tshul khrims dpal bzang** he received instructions for Siṃhanada, red Yamāntaka and so on. From **Kun dga' bsam 'grub**, instructions for Vidāraṇa and for Amitāyus and Hayagrīva combined. From **Chos grags**, instructions for Vidāraṇa. From **Ngag dbang bkra shis**, the empowerment of Amitāyus in the style of

Grub rgyal ma [Niguma]. From **rNam 'dren dam pa dGe 'dun rgya mtsho**,¹⁷⁵ the nine-deity Amitāyus empowerment together with the death ransom ritual, Parṇaśabarī, Amitāyus and Hayagrīva combined, and so on. From **dPal ldan phrin las**¹⁷⁶ he received instructions for Hevajra, the hundred Sādhana-s of Ba ri [lotsāva], the hundred Sādhana-s of sNar thang, Tārā the remover of all obstacles and so on, and the instructions and reading transmissions for Amitāyus and Hayagrīva combined and for orange Mañjuśrī. From **Byams pa bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal**, the Ekādaśamukha after-death ritual of Zhu chen [Tshul khrims rin chen]. From **Bla ma Ngag dbang grags pa**, the transmission of the *dPal 'byor rgya mtsho* consecration rite. From **Ngag gi dbang po**, instructions for and transmission of Mañjuśrī [Shes rab 'khor lo] and Uṣṇīṣa-jvala. From **rDo rje slob dpon bSod nams phun tshogs**, the complete Kālacakra empowerments of Bu [ston]'s tradition, the supplications to the lineage masters, reading transmission of the Sādhana-s and Maṇḍala-s, instructions for the protector [rDo rje shugs], the consort [sNa tshogs yum] and Vajra-garuḍa, and for nine-deity yellow Vaiśravaṇa. From **Chos rje dGe legs rgyal mtshan**, the twelve Caryā [-tantra] Maṇḍala-s, [Vajrapāṇi as] 'destroyer of the lord of death', the twenty-one Tārā-s of Sūryagupta, white Amitāyus, Khroda Bhūrkumkūṭa, Ekādaśamukha, Akṣobhya and so on. From **rDo rje 'dzin pa Ngag dbang bzang po**,¹⁷⁷ Mahākāruṇika [Phyag chen zung 'jug], Amitāyus in Nirmāṇakāya form, Saṃvara in donkey-faced form, Kṛṣṇa-yamāri [dGra nag], the general empowerments of the three families [of Caryā-tantra] and so on. From **dPal ldan don grub**, Ekādaśamukha, Mahākāruṇika in sKyer sgang pa's tradition, Bhairava-ekavīra and Virūpa [Bir srung]. From **Phrin las rab rgyas**, the Amitāyus empowerment of Thang stong rgyal po and reading transmission of its texts. From **Zhabs drung Byams pa kun dga' dpal bzang**, the ripening and liberation phases of the

entire gCod cycle in Sarūpa's tradition. From **'Jam dbyangs blo gsal**,¹⁷⁸ the 'immortal drumsound' Amitāyus empowerment, 'secret assembly' Avalokiteśvara empowerment, thirteen-deity Bhairava empowerment and reading transmission of Rva [lotsāval]'s volume on Bhairava, and the reading transmissions of four volumes of Ngor chen's writings, eight volumes of Zhu chen's writings, and so on.

In the presence of the **gZim 'og mchog sprul rin po che** of [Phan po] Nalendra, **Byams pa ngag dbang bstan 'dzin snyan grags**, he received the Cittotpāda in the Madhyamika tradition and the transmission of the supplication to the lineage holders, the mind training called 'parting from the four attachments' and the commentaries on it by Grags pa [rgyal mtshan], Sa [skya] paṅ [ḍita], Nub pa Rig 'dzin grags and Kun dga' legs rin, Mitra[yogil]'s instructions for white Amitāyus and transmissions of its lineage prayer, Sādhana-s and instructions, transmission and instruction in white Tārā [Od zer drug sbrags] and transmission of the Sādhana, and many reading transmissions and instructions for Sarasvatī, including white Sarasvatī, and the white Sarasvatī of the Bo dong tradition, her obstacle-removing ritual, fire offering, Stotra-s and so on. [He also] received many profound teachings including the nine-deity Amitāyus empowerment, transmission and instruction in the three-deity Mahākāruṇika cycle of the Sa skya tradition, the guiding instructions for Mahākāruṇika in group [practice] style and reading transmissions of many of the texts, the blessing of the secret Hayagrīva Sādhana, reading transmission of Hayagrīva with lotus staff, instruction in Hayagrīva in [Byang sems] Zla [ba] rgyal [mtshan]'s tradition and the transmission and instruction in black Garuḍa 'who swoops down on the Bhūta-s', reading transmissions of the Guru Pūjā ritual based on O rgyan rin po che, with common and supreme attainments, [called] 'fulfillment of all wishes', the praises of O rgyan [rin po che] and the Nāro-Khecarī practice in

simplified sequence, instruction in the trio of [Mahākāla] with consort and deity, and transmissions of his own Guru Pūjā for Mahākāla, supplications to the Nāro-Khecarī lineage holders, the Sādhana-s and prayers.

In the presence of the learned and accomplished Mahāvajrācārya, the noble **Zhva lu ri sbug mchog sprul rin po che Rin chen blo gsal bstan skyong**, an actual acolyte of Vajrayoginī, he received an ocean of teachings at various times, but to mention just a few droplets, the Cittotpāda in the Cittamātra tradition, instruction in the common outer Kurukulla Sādhana, transmission and instruction in red Jambhala, and in red Danda-mahākāla, transmission of the gTor ma [offering] ritual, transmission and instruction in the [form of] Vajrapāṇi, subduer of the Bhūta-s [known as] *Sems dpa' gsum brtsegs*, empowerment in the seven-deity *Thub dbang 'od zer dri med* Maṇḍala, five-deity Vimaloṣṇīṣā empowerment, multi-deity Amoghapāśa empowerment, transmission of the Maṇḍala rituals, great empowerment in the basic version of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala including preparatory, main and subsequent phases, together with transmission of the Maṇḍala ritual and so on, empowerment in the Maṇḍala of the combined forms of Śrī Vajraśekhara in all ten parts, the great empowerment of secret Mañjuśrī [being the] *Nāmasaṃgīti* in its Yoga-tantra exegesis, the nine-Uṣṇīṣa empowerment of Śākyasiṃha, empowerment of nineteen-deity white [Vajra-] Vidāraṇa, great empowerment of Vajrapāṇi in the style of 'Gro bzang ma, the extended blessing of Vajrayoginī according to the Tshar pa tradition, the transmissions of his own versions of the Vajrayoginī blessing and obstacle-clearing rites, reading transmissions of Śrī Vajrasattva, thirteen-deity Akṣobhya and Bhairava-ekavīra, empowerments and blessings of his own ritual arrangement of the Niguma cycle and transmission and guidance in the blessing of Sukha[siddhi], the basic instruction, the practice in one sitting and

supplements, Sukha[siddhi]'s guiding instructions, the blessing and guidance of the 'amulet box' Mahāmudrā practice [*Phyag chen gva'u ma*] and transmission of the texts, the Saṃvara empowerment of Ghaṅṭapāda, the thirteen-fold Saṃvara empowerment of Maitripa, the Saṃvarodaya Saṃvara empowerment, the Avalokiteśvara 'lotus net' Saṃvara empowerment, the thirteen-fold Saṃvara empowerment of Kambalapāda, Mahāmāyā empowerment, the Buddha-samāyoga Saṃvara empowerment, the 'paternal' empowerment of the Bhagavān Vajra-catuḥpīṭha [Tantra], the Mañjuvajra Guhyasamāja empowerment, Maheśvara Guhyasamāja empowerment, six-faced Yamāri empowerment, the great Kālacakra empowerment in Bu ston's tradition including preparatory, main and subsequent phases, empowerment of the Siddha's longevity Sādhana, verbal instruction, book blessing and reading transmission of the 'Hundred instructions of Jo nang', full explanation of the practical guidance to the group Mahākāruṇika practice from the preliminaries right through, profound guiding instructions for the development and completion stages of Ghaṅṭapāda's Saṃvara, direct verbal instruction in Ti phu pa's longevity Sādhana, instruction in the Guhyasamāja-pañcakrama, blessing of the four-syllable Mahākāruṇika in Mitra[yogi]'s tradition, guidance in the *Sems nyid ngal gso* completion stage practice, reading transmissions for the seven-day profound experiential instruction from the Amitāyus teachings of Niguma's tradition and *Rin chen gter mdzod* longevity instructions of 'Ba' ra ba [rGyal mtshan dpal bzang], the blessings given in four empowerments, transmission and instruction in Bu ston's longevity Sādhana, and the reading transmissions of the eight subsequent 'path' treatises [Lam skor i.e., subsequent to Lam 'bras], Bu ston's history of Yoga[-tantra] entitled 'Ship to sail the ocean of Yoga-tantra' (*rNal 'byor rgyud gyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings*), Bu ston rin po che's Vajradhātu offering verses, his own *Rig pa'i 'phrul 'byed* empowerment vows,

the ‘black volume’ of Lam ’bras teachings, his own Guru Pūjā for Vajrayoginī, notes on pointing out Dharmata and so on, the volume recording the Zhva lu abbatial succession,¹⁷⁹ the texts for the twelve Maṇḍala-s of the purification [Tantra] by Thar [pa] Paṅ [ḍita Nyi ma rgyal mtshan], the biographies of the Tshar pa lineage masters [bDag chen rdo rje ’chang, rJe btsun rDo ring pa, rDo rje ’chang sGo rum pa, Tshar chen rje, mKhyen brtse [dbang phyug], Mang thos Klu grub [rgya mtsho], Bod mkhar Maitri don grub rgyal mtshan, mKhan chen bSlab gsum rgyal mtshan, rTa ra ba bSod nams chos ’phel, mKhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags, dBang phyug rab brtan, mGon po bsod nams mchog ldan and Zhva lu mkhan chen bSod nams mchog grub], his own biography of Sa skya pa Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, among a multitude of reading transmissions of Sādhana-s, instructions, practices and so on.

From the **Gong dkar mkhan chen rin po che bŕTan ’dzin tshul khrims** of the Potala he received the empowerments through the construction of the sand Maṇḍala-s of the fourteen transcendental and mundane Maṇḍala-s of the Paramādi-tantra, with all the preparatory, main and subsequent phases, and the nine-deity Viśuddha empowerment in the Sa skya tradition.

Teachings of the dGe lugs tradition

Among the many teachings he received in the presence of **Brag dgon zhabs drung mahāpaṇḍita dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas** were the blessings of the collected Mantra-s of the Guhyasamāja-Saṃvara-Bhairava trio, transmission of the collected Saṃvara Mantra-s, transmission and instructions for red Sarasvatī, transmissions of the recitations for white Mañjuśrī, orange Mañjuśrī, white Vārāhī and Sitāpatrā, and the vase ritual for Vidāraṇa from the Sādhana cycle of the second ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, transmissions of the

Vimalaprabhā [commentary], *Vajragarbha* [Hevajra] commentary, the *Abhisamayālaṅkara* and its ‘clear meaning’ commentary, the complete Zhva lu liturgy except for the water gTor ma [offerings], the ‘Great [collected] mind trainings’ and notes on the Lam rim [teachings]. [He also] received teaching on rJe rin po che [Tsong kha pa]’s *Yon tan gzhir gyur ma*, the *Rin chen gsum gyi gtam*, the commentary on the generation and completion stages of meditation on Vajrapāṇi, the six treatises of Kṛṣṇacārin, three cycles of Ghaṇṭapāda and the extensive Saṃvara Sādhana of Mahāsiddha Lūipa, [Abhayākara]’s *Phreng ba skor gsum*, *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, the ‘bright lamp’ [commentary on Guhyasamāja], [Nāgārjuna]’s ‘abridgement’ and ‘combination’, and [Nāgabodhi]’s ‘gradual exposition’ and twenty Maṇḍala rituals [from the Guhyasamāja cycle], [Nāgārjuna]’s *Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa*, the *Pañcakrama* and *Yuganaddha* [instructions on Guhyasamāja], the collected verses in praise of Nāgārjuna, [Kṣemendra]’s *Avadānakalpalatā*, [Śāntideva]’s *Sūtrasamuccaya*, the *Ornamental garland of the Bhadrakalpa-sūtra*, [Aśvaghōṣa]’s *Jātakamālā* in thirty-four chapters, [Śāntideva]’s *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, [Asaṅga]’s commentary on the Bodhisattvabhūmi-s, [Arhat Dharmatrāta]’s *Udānavarga*, the later four of Maitreya’s five treatises [by Asaṅga], [Nāgārjuna]’s six treatises, [Dignāga]’s *Pramāṇa-sūtra*, the *Pramāṇavartika* and the rest of [Dharmakīrti]’s seven treatises, the Pratimokṣa and Vinaya Sūtra-s, [Śākyaprabha]’s three hundred verses [on Śramaṇa ordination], [Vaiśākhyadeva]’s *Puṣpāvalī*, the *Jyotimati* [autocommentary on the three hundred verses], [Vasubandhu]’s *Abhidharmakosa*, [Asaṅga]’s *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, [Āryadeva]’s *Catuḥśataka*, the autocommentary on the [Bodhicaryā-?] *Avatāra*, the ‘hundred minor teachings’ of Jo bo [Atiśa], the hundred [Sādhana-s] of the sNar thang tradition, the three ‘precious heap’ cycles [of the bKa’ gdams pa], the ‘Hundred mind trainings’ collection, the collected writings of [rGyal sras] Thogs med, [including his] *sNyan brgyud chen mo* compilation on

mind training, [Aśvaghōṣa's] *Gurupañcāśikā*, [and his teaching on] the fundamental and gross transgressions, sPyan snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan's Vinaya summary, means for restoring the Śramaṇa, Bhikṣu, Bodhisattva and Tantric vows, and the Guhyasamāja root Tantra with its sequel. Furthermore, he received a vast amount of empowerments, instructions, reading transmissions and guidances, including the reading transmission of rJe rin po che's 'Three fundamentals of the path' [*Lam gyi gtso bo rnam gsum*], the empowerments of the Sixteen spheres [bKa' gdams pa'i thig le bcu drug], the Vairocana-abhisambodhi empowerment and transmissions of the Sādhana-s and Maṇḍala-s, the thirteen-deity red Yamāntaka empowerment, the five-deity [Saṃvara] empowerment of Ghaṅṭapāda and transmission of its Sādhana-s and Maṇḍala-s, the empowerment of Ghaṅṭapāda's body-Maṇḍala and transmissions of its Sādhana-s and so on, the empowerment of Vajrapāṇi with great retinue, instructions on the Ucārya and *Sems dpa' gsum brtsegs* [forms of Vajrapāṇi], the empowerment of the nine Bhairava-s, and the transmissions of the instructions for Avalokiteśvara and Tāra from rGyal ba dGe 'dun rgya mtsho's Sādhana cycle, and of [Atiśa's] 'Bodhisattva jewel rosary', the reading transmissions of the entire *bKa' gdams legs bam* [teachings of Atiśa], *bKa' gdams thor bu* [assorted teachings], the *Chig lab ring mo* ['long soliloquy'] of Po to ba, the testament of [lHa btsun] Byang chub 'od, [Dam pa sangs rgyas'] 'Eighty verses for the Ding ri people', [Kha rag sgom chung's] 'Seventy verses of admonition', the 'Six marker stones' [?], Nag 'tsho [lotsāval's] 'Praise of Jo bo [Atiśa] in eighty stanzas', the 'Supplements to the Upadeśa-s' [of Atiśa], the Saṃvara Mūlatantra, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Ngag dbang brtson 'grus' trio of Sādhana-s for white Mañjuśrī, white Sarasvatī and for Parṇaśabarī in the Srad rgyud tradition, along with the accompanying rituals for each, the reading transmissions of sTag phu ba's extensive work on the development and completion

stages of the Vajrayoginī practice [entitled] *Baidurya shun ma'i them skas*, Thu'u bkvan pa's profound work on the visualisation process for the development and completion stages of the Vajrayoginī practice [entitled] *bDe chen bcud kyi snying po*, and Khri Gung thang pa's great *rDo rje gsum gyi snang ba* commentary on the *Srid gsum 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu* praise [of Vajrayoginī] by Pañchen dPal ldan ye shes, instruction in the 'Sun rays' mind training [by Hor ston Nam mkha' dpal], the 'Seven point' [mind training] of Yongs 'dzin rin po che [Ye shes rgyal mtshan], the 'Eight verse' mind training [by dGe bshes Glang thang pa] and the *Tshem bu dmar khrid* [practical instructions of Tshem bu pa Dar ma 'od zer on Mahākāruṇika], along with the transmission of the 'great history of the bKa' gdams tradition' [by Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan], and reading transmissions of the four Medical Tantra-s, Sa skya Paṇḍita's 'Compendium of words', [Ācārya Śāntipa's] *Ratnākara* classic on literary composition, *Puṣpadvala* [on metrics], [Dandin's] *Kāvyaḍarśa*, the *Kalāpa* [Sanskrit] grammar, and root text and commentary of the Sarasvatī Sanskrit Sūtra.

From the **dGa' ldan khri rin po che 'Jam dpal tshul khrims**¹⁸⁰ he received the transmission and instruction for the 'Hundred deities of Tuṣita' Guru-yoga. [He received] the transmission of [Tsong kha pa's] *Dul ba rgya mtsho'i snying po* from **Shar rtse Grags pa bstan dar**, and of [his] *Yon tan gzhir gyur ma* and so on from **Byang rtse Blo bzang mkhas grub**. From **Rva sgreng khri rin po che**¹⁸¹ he received the transmission of the *Lam gtso rnam gsum*. From **mChog sprul Blo bzang mthu stobs**, the transmissions of Niguma's longevity empowerment and the common rituals of the Kriyā and Caryā [classes of Tantra], and a verbal explanation of the 'Instruction in the various philosophical views of Madhyamika'. From **Ka chen Nor bu don grub**, transmissions of Pañ chen dPal ldan ye shes' 'Means for empowering poison', the praises of Kurukulla and the Sanskrit text of the Hundred Sādhana-s.

In the presence of **lHa btsun 'Jam pa'i rdo rje ye shes don grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan**¹⁸² he received the great empowerments of the five-deity Trisamayavyūha, the forty-seven deity Bhaiṣajyaguru, multi-deity Sitātapatrā, fifteen-deity blue Vajravidaraṇa, the thirty-four planetary deities, Trailokyavijayā, the forty-nine-deity Bhairava in sKyo [ston]'s tradition, Bhairava-ekavīra of the dGe lugs tradition, the inner Sādhana of Amitāyus in the 'Brug pa tradition, in peaceful form with many deities, the secret Sādhana in wrathful form with many deities, the Saṃvara body-Maṇḍala in Ngam rdzong [ras pal]'s tradition, the Jñāna-style Hevajra of the sTag lung pa-s, the four Samādhi empowerments of Hevajra and the five-deity wrathful Vārāhī, the transmission of the intermediate version of Khro phu lo tsa ba's Hundred Instructions, transmission and direct instruction in the seven-day inner heat practice, the three-day practice, and the Rasāyana-s of wind, water, flowers and rocks, instruction in the 'Ha' exclamation of Paṇḍaka-mahākāla [Ma ning], the transmissions of whatever he had not previously received of the 'Eighty verses for the Ding ri people' and the trio of white, black and variegated medical teachings of Dam pa [sangs rgyas], the poison prevention of the black Bhairava [cycle], the longevity instruction of Niguma, the complete writings of 'Ba' ra ba, the Eight songs of Khyung po [rnal 'byor], Sita-tārā, Mañjuśrī-siṃhanāda, black Mañjuśrī, the blue Siṃhavaktrā of the Gong dkar tradition and white Sarasvatī.

He received the *dPe chos rin chen spungs pa* [dGe bshes Po to ba's analogies of the graduated path], *gTam rgyud rin chen phreng mdzes* [collected fables] and *Man ngag rin chen spungs pa* [collected instructions] from **Ngag dbang legs grub**, and several instructions and transmissions, chiefly the regular practice of the Sixteen spheres, from **mChog sprul Ye shes thub bstan rgya mtsho**.¹⁸³

From **Se ra byes rab 'byams pa dge bshes Ye shes gong 'phel**¹⁸⁴ he received the reading transmissions of Nag 'tsho [lotsāva]’s Praise of Jo bo [Atiśa] in eighty stanzas, 'Brom [ston pa]’s Praise of Jo bo in thirty stanzas, the testament of lHa btsun Byang chub 'od, the Seventy-seven root verses of 'Chad ka ba, the single-session mind training, the *Chos gsum dri len* [answers to questions on the Three Natures theory of Yogācāra] and *rGyal sras lag len* [Thirty-seven Bodhisattva practices by rGyal sras thogs med], the mind training Guru-yoga of rGya ma spyang snga ba [Blo gros rgyal mtshan?] and the Thirteen intimate discourses of 'Jam dbyangs kha che [Śākyas-ri?], and teachings on the ‘Stream of Bodhicitta’ mind training by Byang sems Rva sgren pa, the *Be bum sngon po* instructions of Po to ba and the ‘History of the old and new bKa’ gdams pa’ [by Paṅ chen bSod nams grags pa]. From **dGe bshes rab 'byams pa Grags pa lhun grub** [he received teaching on] the ‘Opening the Dharma door’ mind training by sPyang snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan. From **'Jam mgon Byams pa phun tshogs** he received the instruction and Bodhicitta generation for the *'Jam dpal zhal lung* Lam rim teaching [by the fifth Ta la'i bla ma], and transmission and instruction in [Tsong kha pa’s] abbreviated *Lam rim*.

From **Ka chen rNam rgyal rgyal mtshan** of bKra shis lhun po he received the reading transmission of the entire Sanskrit text of Ba ri [lotsāva]’s Hundred Sādhanas, and from **Ka chen rin po che Blo bzang dge legs kun khyab**, the transmission of Paṅ chen Na bza’ pa’s *Be bum dGos 'dod kun 'byung*, which concludes the present summary of teachings received [in that tradition].

Teachings of the rNying ma Tradition

In the presence of **Khri chen rin po che 'Gyur med sangs rgyas kun dga'** of O rgyan sMin grol gling he received the empowerment of

nine-deity Viśuddha from the bKa' ma teachings in So [Ye shes dbang phyug]'s tradition, the transmission of his own fire offering ritual for 'dredging the depths' [of the lower realms], the [Guru] *Drag dmar* volume from Nyang [ral pa can]'s revelations in summary, and the [teachings on] Mahākāruṅika 'subduer of beings' virtually in their entirety, the complete empowerments of [Guru] Chos dbang's *Bla ma gsang 'dus* [revelation], the transmissions in summary, the *Thugs chen yang snying 'dus pa* empowerment, some of the transmissions, the complete empowerments and transmissions of the *Phur pa spu gri*, transmissions of some of the wrathful Vajrapāṇi cycles [revealed by] Las 'brel [rtsal] and some of the *rDo rje phreng ba* longevity cycles [revealed by] Padma gling pa, the empowerment of the *Rig 'dzin thugs thig* [teaching revealed by gTer bdag gling pa], the long-life empowerment, the transmission and instruction in the Guru-yoga known as 'rain of blessings', the Vajrasattva empowerment and explanation of the root text.

Among the many empowerments, transmissions and instructions he received at various times from **rJe btsun rin po che 'Gyur med phrin las chos sgron**¹⁸⁵ [of sMin grol gling], the most important were the complete empowerments, transmissions and instructions of the 'wish fulfilling' *Bla ma yang thig*, the transmissions and instruction in the 'king [Srong btsan]'s tradition of Mahākāruṅika, the empowerments, instructions and associated transmissions of the seven-day inner heat practice revealed by Nyang [ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer], some of the instruction testaments of [Guru] Chos dbang rin po che, the ten mDos rituals of Ra shag [gter ston] including both parts and the extras, transmissions and instructions in the combined Amitāyus and Hayagrīva of Thang [stong rgyal pol]'s tradition, the cycle of three black protectors [revealed by] Padma gling pa, [his] instructions and minor revelations, the *'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma* of Nyi zla sangs rgyas, and their oral lineages, the basic

empowerment of [‘Ja’ tshon snying po’s] *dKon mchog spyi ’dus*, the longevity empowerment and step-by-step instructions, the basic empowerment, longevity empowerment and basic instructions of the [Rig ’dzin] *Thugs thig*, and transmissions of Lo chen rin po che [Dharmaśrī]’s basic guiding instruction and notes on the empowerments, the Vajrasattva empowerment, basic instructions, instructions in the dream and transference Yoga-s, transmissions of Lo chen rin po che [Dharmaśrī]’s entire writings and the *lHan thabs mdzes rgyan* supplements of Rin [chen] rnam [rgyal], the Ati [yoga] awareness empowerment, instruction and transmission, the three empowerments of [Guru] *Drag dmar* and life-force empowerment of the Dregs pa [spirits], transmissions of Rin [chen] rnam [rgyal]’s recitation manual, peaceful fire Pūjā and longevity rite, [sMin gling rje btsun ma] Mi ’gyur dpal sgron’s explanations of deity Yoga and the stages of the practice, transmission of the [gShin rje] *Dregs joms* [revealed by gTer bdag gling pa], the basic Mahākāruṇika empowerment, the highest empowerment and the gTor ma empowerment, as well as those of Amitāyus [Gar tshe], Guhyajñāna and Maheśvara, the basic instructions, the extra instructions on inner heat, and most of the contents of that volume, transmissions of some parts of the general liturgy by Lo chen, the inner liturgy, the six sessions, sMyung gnas ritual, Nāga ritual, all the Zhi byed teaching cycles, the gCod empowerment and instructions, and elucidation of the treatment of epilepsy [gZa’] in the gYa’ bzang tradition, her own supplications and related outline of the explanatory lineage of the Guhyagarbha, transmissions of the presentation of the seven transmissions of Anu-yoga, the regular practice of wrathful Vārāhī revealed by Nyang [ral pa can], the recitation manual, the instruction manual for the preliminary practices of *Thugs chen bder ’dus*, notes on the common preliminaries, supplications to the [masters of] inner heat Yoga, instructions for the Vajrasattva transference practice, suppli-

cations to the lineage holders of the ‘new treasures’, the *sNang srid rang grol* list of experiential songs from the gCod tradition by lHa btsun [Nam mkha’ ’jigs med], Lo chen rin po che’s Tantric rituals and notes on the explanation of Tantra by Padma dbang rgyal.

He said that having gained the satisfaction of hearing the lucid, eloquent and melodious exposition of the entire bKa’ ’gyur [canon] in the presence of **dGe slong dge ba’i bshes gnyen ’Gyur med phun tshogs**, he felt that his attainment of a human body had been made somewhat meaningful, and this was something he remembered always.¹⁸⁶

From **dGe slong sngags rab slob dpon ’Gyur med don grub**¹⁸⁷ he received the Pratimokṣa [ordination] liturgy, the Three Grounds [of Vinaya observance], the *sDom gsum rnam nges* [‘Ascertainment of the three vows’ by mNga’ ris paṅ chen], the *gSang bdag dgongs rgyan* [‘Ornament of Guhyapati’s thought’ explanation of Guhyagarbha by Lo chen Dharmasrī] and the complete liturgy. From **dGe slong dge ba’i bshes gnyen sngags rab ’Gyur med bstan ’phel** he received the entire reading transmissions of the canon of revelations, the thirteen volumes of gTer chen rin po che’s writings, and the ‘new treasure’ cycles.

From **rGyal sras gZhan phan mtha’ yas**¹⁸⁸ he received the transmissions of the Hundred Hayagriva-s revealed by Guru Tshen brtan rgyal mtshan and his own supplications to [the masters of] all schools, empowerment, transmission and instruction in the *rDo rje zam pa* aural transmission of the ‘spatial class’ [of Ati-yoga] and the Eighteen emptinesses [A don] of the ‘mental class’, instruction in the meaning of the *Kun byed* [*rgyal po*], the ten scrolls of gNubs [Sangs rgyas ye shes], the ‘black book of Yama’ which ’Bri gung Chos grags called ‘gNubs’ hundred instructions to be kept in a purse’, the basic empowerment and longevity empowerment of ultra-wrathful

Hayagrīva and the entrustments of the protectors, and a multitude of exceptional teachings on all but a few of the texts.

In the presence of **rDzogs chen mkhan rin po che Padma dam chos 'od zer**, or Padma badzra,¹⁸⁹ he received vast and profound teaching and instruction, and extensive empowerments and transmissions including the complete transmissions of the nine volumes of collected Sādhana-s of the bKa' ma tradition, the complete transmissions of mKhyen brtse [i.e., 'Jigs med gling pa]'s collected works, empowerments and transmissions of the seventeen Ati Tantra-s, the life-force empowerment of the fierce [Vārahī], the complete empowerments and transmissions of the Māyājālī and Anuyoga ['Dus pa mdo] Tantra-s, the cycles of the Klong chen snying thig, the red Yamāntaka empowerment, the black [Kha thun] empowerment, Rong [zom paṇḍita]'s Kīlaya empowerment, Rog [Shes rab 'od]'s Kīlaya empowerment, the empowerments of the 'Gro ba kun sgröl and Padma brgya ldan practices of the condensed peaceful and wrathful deities for churning the depths of hell, empowerment of the rDzong 'phrang teaching of the Eight transmitted precepts, the Cittotpāda rite in the Madhyamika tradition, reading transmission of the text of Rong [zom]'s Kīlaya teachings, transmission of the Hundred thousand word Kīlaya commentary [*Phur 'grel 'bum nag*], transmission of the rDzong 'phrang text, the complete empowerments and transmission of the 'royal' or 'Tantric' Kīlaya tradition, the empowerment of the 'unruly assembly of peaceful and wrathful deities' for the purification of the lower realms and transmission of the *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol* [revelation] of 'Phreng ba rin po che [Shes rab 'od zer].

From **Gling sprul Thub bstan rgyal mtshan**¹⁹⁰ he received the complete transmissions and empowerments of [Guru] Chos dbang's quintessence teachings on the Sarvabuddha-samayoga, the four volumes of rDo rje gling pa's *lTa ba klong yangs* [revelation] and the

Amṛtakuṇḍalin longevity Sādhana of [Rig 'dzin] Legs ldan, and many transmissions and empowerments of various Sanskrit treatises and various revealed teachings.

From **sGrol ston 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan**¹⁹¹ he received the complete cycles of the wrathful Guru [*Bla ma drag po dmar chen*] revealed by mNga' bdag Nyang, the entire empowerments, transmissions and instructions of the wrathful Vārāhī, the empowerments of [Guru] Chos dbang's *Bla ma gsang 'dus* cycle of teachings, the transmissions in brief, the transmissions of all of sMan lung pa's writings, the *Thugs sgrub dregs pa tshar gcod* [revealed Sādhana], the five-chapter Sādhana-s of [Ye shes] mTsho rgyal, the *mKha' 'gro grib sel* cycle, the Sarvabuddha-samayoga [Tantra] of Ati-yoga, the preliminary recitations, the revealed text of the root and path empowerments of Mahākāruṇika 'dredging the depths of Saṃsāra', and the *Lam zab* of mKhyen brtse [dbang phyug], the complete empowerments and transmissions of wrathful Vajrapāṇi, [Cags zam bsTan 'dzin] Ye shes lhun grub's lineage supplications and the method for reciting them, the *bsTan pa'i snying po* instructions on generating Bodhicitta, the text of [rGya] Zhang khrom's *King [kang] dmar [po] rlung sgrub* and the ritual arrangement by [Byang bdag] bKra shis stobs [rgyal], the subsidiaries of rDor 'bum [chos grags]'s *Bum chen* revelation, vase water transmission for the immaculate empowerment, protective vows, instructions and practices, and *'Khor lo khyung gsum* [Mantra diagram], the *Bum chung*, the root text of bZang po grags pa's *'Khor lo 'bar ba*, the guiding instructions for [Rig 'dzin rGod ldem's] *brDa don lam zab* and poison Mantra-s, the gTor ma empowerment for black Garuḍa, Rin [chen] gling [pa]'s Nāgarakṣa medical cycle, complete but for the ninth practice series, Grva pa [mNgon shes]'s Red Jambhala, and Lo chen [Dharmaśrī]'s fire ritual, [Padma gling pa's] *Yid bzhin nor bu* Rasāyana practice with its subdivisions, from Pad [ma] gling [pa]'s *Bla ma Nor [bu] rgya*

[*mtsho*] revelation, the *Rin chen spungs pa* fifty-four practice series, and the *rGya nag chu 'khor* rain inducement cycle, the *Nor bu bang mdzod* collection of edible letters by Dri med rdo rje, mNga' ris paṅ chen's *Yon tan gter mdzod*, Legs ldan rdo rje's *Bla ma sku gsum* and *Nam mkha' zas za*, Byang bdag [bKra shis stobs rgyal]'s *sKu gsum rigs 'dus* longevity rite, and the empowerment, transmission and ritual arrangement of his *Drag po karma gu ru* in their entirety, the visionary *sNang srid spyi skong* ransom ritual, Ba mkhal [smug po]'s *Bar chad kun sel* supplication, the transmission of the instructions for Nyi zla sangs rgyas' *'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma* and *Ka dag ma*, both of rGya phur bu's *Dug khrag* and *Bum lcags* perimeter protections, sKal ldan byis pa's ritual wheel for protection against smallpox, with diagrams, Gu ru Jo tshe's *Sha brgya zan brgya* revelation, the hundred ransom rituals of sNa nam Thub rgyal, Zur mkhar A jo bal po's *bSod nams glang po stobs skyed* [Mantra diagram], the elimination spells [gTad hrul] of Zangs gling dbang phyug, the *Yang zlog* aversion ritual and elimination spells of Ratna gling pa, A tsara dmar po's hail prevention rite, all the empowerments and transmissions of gTer ston Tshe ring rdo rje's sPyi ti cycle [of rDzogs chen teachings], the empowerments and transmissions of gTer ston Dri med lhun po's *Don tig* and Zla ba rgyal mtshan's *Zab tig*, the confluence of the two streams of the *Chos dbyings rang gsal* transmission, with emphasis on the latter, the empowerment, transmission and specific guiding instructions for Grub chen Nyi zla klong gsal's visionary 'spoken transmission of Jahavīr', the twenty-two wind wheels of Bram ze sdom bzang, the text of the goat horn rites for snaring bandits complete with verbal instructions, and the verbal instructions on protection against thunder and lightning.

From **Rig 'dzin Kun bzang gsang sngags bstan 'dzin**¹⁹² he received the empowerment and transmission of rDor 'bum Chos grags' *bDud rtsi bum pa* revelation, reading transmissions of all the

Bum chen [medical treatises], the empowerments and transmission of [Guru] Chos dbang's *Yang dag snying po*, the empowerment and transmission of the 'Chi med *Mandārava* from the profound visionary [lineage], the transmissions of [Rig 'dzin] Padma phrin las' exposition of Sarvavid [-vairocana], the recitation manual of the *Bla ma gsang 'dus*, the [guide to] practice [entitled] 'illuminating the profound path', his notes on the *Yon tan gter mdzod* empowerments, on the lineage prayer, practice manual and taking the supplications [to the lineage masters] as the path, and the recitation manual, the recitations, visualisations and direct guiding instructions for [Rig 'dzin] Legs ldan rje's *Bla ma sku gsum ma*, the transmissions of the daily practice, recitations and peaceful fire Pūjā for *rTa mgrin gsang sgrub*, and of the Sādhana-s and Maṇḍala-s of Viśuddha in the 'Khon tradition, from the writings of the fifth [Ta la'i bla ma], the *Bla ma gsang 'dus* practice manual and four-part cycle for preventing the Lama's departure to other realms, the history of the *rTa mgrin yang gsang* teachings, longer and shorter practice manuals, recitations and so forth, the 'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma in Ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po's tradition, the practice manual for black Garuḍa, the fire offering for [Vajra-] Vārāhī, the section on ceremonies for [the Guru's] longevity, the practice manual for Mahākāruṇika in the king [Srong btsan]'s tradition, Gaṇapūjā-s and so on, notes on the guiding instructions for the *Dvang ma bcud 'dren* Amitāyus Sādhana from the writings of gNas brtan 'Jam dbyangs grags pa, the *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang sdud* empowerment, and the *bsTan pa'i snying po* instructions on generating Bodhicitta revealed by [Guru] Chos dbang, among others.

In the presence of **mChog sprul mKhyen brtse'i dbang phyug**¹⁹³ he received the peaceful and longevity empowerments of the *dKon mchog spyi 'dus*, the empowerments of the 'wrathful Lama' [Guru] and Bhaiṣajyaguru from the *rGya can* [revelations of the fifth Ta

la'i bla ma], the common and uncommon guiding instructions for the preliminary practices of the *Klong chen snying thig*, and transmissions of the recitations from the preliminaries up to the final invocations, the Guru-yoga for [Lo chen] Vairocana and so on, the supplications to the [lineage masters of] 'inner heat' Yoga, to the lineage masters of dPal chen [Viśuddha] and Siṃhavaktrā, to Ārya -[lokeśvara], the practices of the outer, inner, secret and ultra-secret [*sNying thig* cycles], the detailed guiding instructions for Mahākāruṇika, and reading transmissions for the *bDud rts'i'i bum bcud* longevity Sādhana, the *Rig 'dzin thugs sgrub dpal chen zhal lung*, Vajrakīlaya, the root, inner and secret Ḍākinī Sādhana-s, their protection and aversion [Mantra-s], the wrathful Guru [Padma], Mahākāla and Mahākālī, conflict resolution rituals [Khrugs skong], [the planetary deity] Rāhula, [the territorial deity] Tsering ma, the *rNam mkhyen grong 'jug* transference of consciousness prayer, the *Rig 'dzin srog 'khor*, and the *Kun bzang klong rgyud* and subsequent Tantra-s.

In the presence of **Sems dpa' chen po 'Jigs med rgyal ba'i myu gu** he received many teachings, including the extensive empowerments for Mahākāruṇika as embodiment of all [Tathāgata] families and Amitābha, lord of the [Padma] family, the Ḍākinī blessing for the *Klong chen snying thig*, along with the introduction to the substance of the instructions for the two [styles of] preliminary practices, most of the recitations for the above, and the transmissions of Viśuddha, the Avalokiteśvara fasting ritual, the Ḍākinī fire Pūjā, Mahākāruṇika feast offering and ['Jigs med gling pa's] *Rig 'dzin rtsa rgyud*.

In the presence of **mChog sprul Chos kyi rgyal mtshan**, [he received] the transmissions of the thirteenth part of the *Guṇakośa* and of the Ḍākinī-s' blessing. From **rJe btsun bSod nams mchog ldan** he received the blessing of Mi la [ras pa] and its reading transmission, Siṃhavaktrā empowerment, and a great many transmis-

sions, including the dPal chen [Viśuddha] empowerment, the ritual arrangement for Amitāyus [in the form] embodying the Trikāya, the Vajrasattva Guru-yoga up to the tea-offering section, prayers of the Sūtra and Tantra [traditions], the *Yang rdzong thugs sgrub* [Sādhana] for concentration on the letter Hūṃ, liturgy of all Buddhist traditions, the homage to the [sixteen] Arhat-s, the propitiations and invocations for Caturmukha, gYu sgron ma, rNam sras and [the] Ma sang, and the secret Sādhana, daily practice, consciousness-transference instructions, purification rite and so on of the *Dam chos bde chen lam mchog* from [rDo] Grub chen rin po che [’Jigs med ’phrin las ’od zer]’s collected writings. From **rJe btsun bla ma Chos nyid rang grol**, the *Rig ’dzin [’dus pa* practice, from the *Klong chen snying thig*] together with the longevity empowerment, and transmission of the recitations. From **sGrub brtson Karma dpal ldan**, the empowerment of ‘blazing’ Hayagrīva and Garuḍa [combined], the transmission of the Guru-yoga, and so on. From **Grub chen dGe ba ’phel rgyas**, the Guru-yoga transmission. From **Bla ma Padma rgyal mtshan** too he received the transmission of the *Rig ’dzin [’dus pa]* and other recitations. From **’Jigs med gzhan phan dbang phyug**, the *Rig ’dzin [’dus pa]* longevity empowerment and transmission of his notes on the instruction text and the preliminary recitations. From **Mahapaṇḍita ’Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub** he received the empowerments of Klong gsal [snying po]’s *sKu gsum zhi khro* and *Yang gsang bla med* longevity Sādhana. From **’Jigs med rig ’dzin mgon po**,¹⁹⁴ the extensive *Ye shes rab ’bar* empowerment of the wrathful Guru [Padma], and *’Chi med rnga sgra* longevity empowerment.

From **’Jigs bral chos dbyings rdo rje**¹⁹⁵ he received the complete collection of [teachings on] the eight transmissions, the extensive and abbreviated empowerments of the wrathful Guru, the *Yang gsang bla med* longevity Sādhana, the

Zhi khro 'phrad tshad rang grol, 'Gro drug rang grol and *sKu gsum zhi khro* [teachings on the] peaceful and wrathful deities, the 'Vajra speech' of Dam pa [sangs rgyas?], bDud 'dul [rdo rje]'s 'Vajrapāṇi, subduer of the Dregs pa', and from the *rTsa gsum rdo rje'i snying po*, the empowerments of the trio of Hayagriva, Vajrapāṇi and Garuḍa, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Parṇaśabarī, Vidāraṇa and 'ultra-secret unsurpassed' Mahākāruṇika together with their collective rituals, the *bSam pa lhun grub* empowerment, the empowerments of Nāgarakṣa and the 'wrathful Guru' of the *sNying thig*, and demon-pacification rite, the curse-alleviating empowerment of Siṃhavaktrā and 'demon-severance' transmission.

From **O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu**¹⁹⁶ he received the *sKu gsum rdo rje snying po* empowerment as part of the collective ritual [sGrub chen], the Vajrasattva, two types of Mahākāruṇika, and Mandāraḥa from the *rDo rje snying po*, and the complete empowerments and transmissions of the 'three roots', *Bi ma [snying tig]* aural lineage and Vajrasattva in the sMin grol gling tradition.

From **Grub dbang Byang chub chos kyi nyi ma** he received the empowerment for the *lCags sdong ma* longevity rite, and from **sPrul sku 'Jigs med chos dbyings 'od gsal**, the empowerments of the peaceful and wrathful [deities of] the *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* cycle and of the *dGongs pa rang grol*.

From **Mahāpaṇḍita 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal** he received a vast amount of teachings, including the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities [from the Guhyagarbha-tantra] and reading transmissions of many related writings, the complete empowerments, transmissions and guiding instructions for the wrathful Vārāhī [cycle revealed by Nyang ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer] and the sMin grol gling *bDe gshegs kun 'dus* [Mahākāruṇika cycle revealed by gTer bdag gling pa], the empowerments of the 'Chi med yang snying

longevity *Sādhana* and *gShin rje dregs ’joms* Yamāntaka *Sādhana*, the complete empowerments and transmissions of the *rGya can* [revelations of the fifth Ta la’i bla ma], empowerments and transmissions of Vimaloṣṇīṣā, the blessings of the *Grub brgya* [‘Hundred *Sādhana*-s’ of Ba ri lotsāva?], empowerments of the Eight transmitted precepts from Nyang [ral]’s revelation, reading transmissions of the *rDo rje pha lam* instructions on poison, *Bhadrakalpa-Sūtra* and mNga’ ris paṅ chen’s *sDom gsum* [*rnam nges*], of the instructions for the ‘king’s tradition’ of Mahākāruṇika, and of the ‘gold key for alleviating curses’, together with its oral instructions.

From **Gar dbang Chos kyi rgyal mtshan**,¹⁹⁷ he received the empowerment of the *’Chi med yang snying* longevity *Sādhana* in conjunction with the collective ritual. From **O rgyan rang byung rdo rje**,¹⁹⁸ the *Bla ma gsang ’dus* empowerment. From **Rig ’dzin Thugs kyi rdo rje**, the longevity empowerment from the *dKon mchog spyi ’dus*, the Mahākāruṇika-jinasāgara empowerment, the Bhaiṣajyaguru empowerment from the *rGya can*, the transmissions for the *Bla ma chos longs sprul gsum*, *Yakṣa me dpal*, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Vajrasattva and Kīlaya, the entrustments and instructions for all, as well as the reading transmission of the Guhyagarbha[-tantra].

From **Gar dbang Thugs mchog rdo rje**, he received the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities. From **Kun bzang theg mchog rdo rje**,¹⁹⁹ the Vidyādhara empowerment for Vajrapāṇi and the peaceful and wrathful deities. From **Bla ma rin po che Padma dar rgyas**, transmissions of some of the *sNying thig* recitations. From **’Jigs med gzhan phan**, the longevity empowerment, and transmission of the *sNying thig* instructions and preliminaries. From **O rgyan bstan ’dzin nyi ma**, the empowerments of two types of longevity *Sādhana*. From **Bla ma Rin chen bzang po**, the Tshe gur [longevity] empowerment.

From **'Dzar ka mchog sprul Kun bzang rnam rgyal**²⁰⁰ he received the empowerment for Klong gsal snying po's *Gur drag ye shes rab 'bar* revelation, guiding instructions on the path and its result, Klong gsal [snying po]'s *rDo rje snying po* empowerment with the full instructions and practical aspects in their entirety, and the complete empowerments and transmissions of the *rTsa gsum rdo rje snying po*, the *bDe gshegs yongs 'dus* [teachings on] the Eight transmitted precepts, the *Yang gsang bla med* cycle, the aural lineages of Vimalamitra and [King] Srong btsan, the *Yang snying kun zab* rDzogs chen teaching and the Māyājālī [-tantra] teachings of [Ka thog] Dam pa bde gshegs, the reading transmissions of one volume of his collected writings and of two volumes of mChog sprul's own arrangements of empowerments for the revelations of bDud 'dul [rdo rje] and Klong gsal [snying po], the complete revelations of bDud 'dul rdo rje in five volumes and one volume of collected writings.

From **dPal yul rGya sprul Karma kun bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma**²⁰¹ he received the reading transmission of the four volumes of rTse le sNa tshogs rang grol's collected writings, all the empowerments and transmissions for the eleven volumes of the *gNam chos* ['sky teachings' of gTer ston Mi 'gyur rdo rje], the Caṇḍālī [inner heat] practice of Khro bo ro za [wrathful Lokeśvara], the 'Buddha in the palm of the hand' rDzogs chen instructions and transmission of the [relevant] literature, empowerment and transmission of one volume of mind-revelations, two volumes of collected writings, reading transmission of all the biographical material on [Karma] chags med and Mi 'gyur rdo rje, all the empowerments of the *Dam chos dgongs pa yongs 'dus* revealed by bDud 'dul [rdo rje], the *sPrul sku snying thig*, the *Zab don gsang ba snying thig*, the *Rig 'dzin 'dus pa* [Guru-yoga], the complete collection of the Eight transmitted precepts and peaceful and wrathful deities of Mahāyoga, the trio of Amitāyus, Viśuddha and Kīlaya, the Mañjuśrī cycle and the oral

lineage cycle, as well as the life-entrustments of the Dharmapāla-s and Kṣetrapāla-s, all of those still in currency.

From **sGrub brtson bla ma 'Jigs med dge legs** he received the wrathful Guru, red and black Hayagrīva, *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* and [Vajra-]vidāraṇa empowerments, the transmission of the *Kun bzang klong rgyud*, and empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities. From **Guru Dharma ba ti**, the longevity empowerment from the *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* and transmission of the *'Chi med thugs thig*. From **Nam mkha'i zhabs**, [he received] a Mahākāruṇika empowerment. From **Bla ma dam pa 'Gyur med bstan 'dzin**, the transmissions of the triple exposition of Mahāmudrā, Mahā-ati and Madhyamika, and a few sections of [his own] counsels and supplications, and extensive ripening-stage [teachings] such as profound empowerments, counsels and initiatory instructions.

From **sGrub brtson 'Gyur med bstan 'phel**, he received the reading transmission of [Candragomin's] *Siṣyalekha* and so on. From **Bla ma dPal ldan chos rgyal**, the empowerment of [Karma gling pa's] *Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol*, and the empowerments of Amitābha, [Ka thog rig 'dzin's?] *bSam pa lhun grub*, and black Hayagrīva. From **Chos mdzad Ratnaśaraṇa** [Rin chen skyabs] he received the transmissions of Klong gsal [snying po]'s teaching on the Eight transmitted precepts, the wrathful Guru, Gaṇapati the treasury of Siddhi-s, the *Secret Razor Mantra-s*, the *gNam chos 'od chog cycle* [revealed by sPrul sku Mi 'gyur rdo rje], the *Vajracchedikā* [Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra], Amitābha-sūtra, the *Stainless Confession Tantra*, the Kīlaya [revelations] of bDud 'dul [rdo rje], the complete corpus of protectors of Klong gsal [snying po]'s teachings, and the testament of bDud 'dul and Klong gsal's revelations. From **Bla ma Blo gros dpal bzang**, the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities, and some of the empowerments and transmissions of the [*Klong chen*] *snying thig* cycle. From **Bla ma Bi shuddha** [Yang dag],

the empowerments of Hayagrīva, Vajrapāṇi and Garuḍa [combined] from the *gNam chos* cycle and [Mi 'gyur rdo rje's] *Gur drag phur 'jug* [Kīlaya practice]. From **E wam bla ma**, [he received] the *Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol* empowerment. From **bsTan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma**,²⁰² the reading transmission of the complete works of Kun gzigs 'Phreng po rin po che [Shes rab 'od zer], and transmissions of the practice manual of the middle and abbreviated paths, recitations for the wrathful Guru and Hayagrīva practices, treasure vase Sādhana-s, fire Pūjā from the dominating class of ritual and ritual arrangements for the *sKu gsum 'dus pa* longevity rite, from the supplements to the *Grol thig [dgongs pa rang grol* revelations of 'Phreng po gter ston]. From **Kun bzang padma bstan 'dzin**,²⁰³ he received the empowerment of Padma gling pa's *rDo rje phreng ba* longevity rite.

Teachings of the bKa' brgyud Tradition

In the presence of **Si tu rin po che Padma nyin byed dbang po**,²⁰⁴ he received the general empowerment of the *Nor bu bstan pa* oral instruction of the bKa' gdams pa, the entrustment for all the collected writings of [Si tu] bsTan pa'i nyin byed, transmissions of the guiding instructions for the *Ma rig mun sel* Mahāmudrā teaching and *bDud rtsi'i nying khu* teaching on the Six Yoga-s [of Nāropa], transmission of the recitations for the preliminary practices of Śaḍaṅga-yoga, the empowerments of Chos [rje] gling [pa]'s *rDo rje'i srog sgrub* and bDe [chen] gling [pa]'s *rDo rje'i rgya mdud* longevity Sādhana-s, the transmissions of the A ro tradition of rDzogs chen, the 'indivisibility of mind and Prāṇa', 'pointing out the three Kāya-s', and 'breaking the flow of Saṃsāra' [instructions on] Mahāmudrā, complete summary of the 'equal taste' [Mahāmudrā teachings], the 'pacification of suffering' teachings in So [chung ba dGe 'dun 'bar]'s

tradition, the ‘disembodied Ḍakinī’ cycle of Ras chung pa and condensed instructions for the graduated path of awakening [all] from the collected works of Zhva dmar mKha’ spyod dbang po, as well as the transmission of his own commentary to the [union of] Tārā and Vajrayoginī empowerment.

In the presence of the 14th **Karma pa, Khyab bdag Theg mchog rdo rje**,²⁰⁵ he received all the empowerments and transmissions of the single-deity outer Amitāyus Sādhana of the ’Brug pa tradition, nine-deity ultra-secret [Amitāyus] to be kept in a purse, the five-deity [form], Amitāyus in conjunction with Hayagrīva, the nine-deity white [Amitāyus] and *Yang dag bde chen snying po* [Viśuddha-sādhana] of Chos [rje] gling [pa], the empowerments of Amitābha, Mahākāruṇika-jinasāgara, and five-deity Hayagrīva from the *gNam chos* cycle, the reading transmission of all O rgyan pa’s ‘familiarisation and accomplishment in the Three Vajra-s’ teachings, [Karma] chags med’s [Mañjuśrī-] Simhanāda Sādhana, partial transmissions of Yang dgon pa’s *Ri chos* [retreat instructions], transmissions of [Ka thog] Tshe dbang nor bu’s guiding instructions on Mahākāruṇika and the gCod yul chapter, [Karma pa] Rang byung [rdo rje]’s ‘singular intimate advice’ on Mahāmudrā, and his own various writings, rTse le rin po che’s counsel on the union of Mahāmudrā and Mahā-ati, and the counsels of [Karma pa] bDud ’dul rdo rje.

In the presence of **sTag lung pa Ngag dbang bstan pa’i nyi ma**²⁰⁶ he received a detailed explanation of Dvags po [sGam po pa]’s *Ornament of liberation*, and the empowerments and transmissions of the white Saṃvara, the longevity Sādhana [focussed on] the Saṃbhogakāya form of Amitāyus, and the profound ‘Uttarakuru’ longevity Sādhana of ’Bri gung pa [Rig ’dzin Chos grags]’s visions from the forty-three instructions of sTag lung [pa tradition].

From **dGe'u mchog sprul rin po che bKa' brgyud phrin las dbang phyug** he received the complete empowerments, transmissions and instructions of the Ras chung pa aural lineage teachings on Saṃvara. From **rTse pa [phags] mchog sprul Ngag dbang grags pa yongs khyab**,²⁰⁷ the abbreviated reading transmission of sTag lung thang pa's collected works. In the presence of **Zla sprul rin po che Karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas**²⁰⁸ he received many teachings, including the complete empowerments of the hundred [teachings] of Mitra[yogi], and transmissions of [Zhva dmar pa] dKon mchog 'bangs's liturgies, [Zhva dmar pa] Chos kyi dbang phyug's *bsTan pa rgya mtsho*, the *Ri chos kun bzang* and *Bai durya'i phreng ba* [retreat instructions] of the Zur mang tradition.

In the presence of **mChog sprul Karma nges don dbang po**²⁰⁹ he received many reading transmissions, including the Sanskrit Mahāmudrā scripture, the definitive volume on black Vārāhī, Lokeśvara-jinasāgara and Vajravārāhī arranged by Zhva dmar dKon mchog 'bangs, the empowerment and transmission of the five-deity 'fierce one' [Vajrapāṇi] of Ras chung pa's tradition, the 'small primer' on the Six Yoga-s [of Nāropa], minor treatise on 'inner heat' [Caṇḍālī], Mi la [ras pa]'s *Ye shes gsal byed* [exposition of] Mahāmudrā, the 'upper body' [practice of the] Six Yoga-s and 'mental composure in the intermediate state' from the Ras chung snyan brgyud [aural lineage], the *Thar lam rab gsal* recitations valid for the preparatory phases of all types of instruction, [Karma] chags med's thirteen teachings on 'A' [sūnyatā], the *bDe chen myuster* instructions on Tārā and Vajrayoginī, the *Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba* [counsels] of Dvags po [sGam po pa], the instructions on purification as preparation for the pure realms, on Mahākāruṅika, methods of reciting the 'Vajraguru' [Mantra] and preliminary recitations for the Shangs pa [bKa' brgyud] teachings by [Ka thog] Rig 'dzin chen po, and the complete empowerments and transmission

of [Ka thog rig 'dzin's] *dGongs gter bsam pa lhun grub* revelation. He received many other teachings, including the 'five sets of five' from [Karma pa] Dus gsum mkhyen pa's collected writings, the *dGongs gcig* of the 'Bri gung pa-s, all the empowerments and transmissions of [Karma] chags med's *Siṃhavaktrā*, along with the spoken instructions for the [Mantra-]wheel, the *Ri chos* [retreat instructions] of Chags med rin po che, the supporting instructions, the *Ri chos* of Yang dgon pa, the black Hayagrīva cycle revealed by Nyang [ral pa can], Chags med's 'volume of aversion rituals' cycle, Dvags po [sGam po pa]'s *Thar pa'i rgyan*, Padma dkar po's Kīlaya empowerment and transmission, and the empowerment and transmission of Vimalamitra's white Tārā.

In the presence of **Ri pa mchog sprul Karma mkhas mchog grub pa'i dbang po**²¹⁰ he received the transmissions of the visualisation of the development stage Maṇḍala of five-deity Saṃvara, the completion stage Maṇḍala of five-deity Vārāhī, visualisation of the Jinasāgara Maṇḍala and so on, the *Yon tan kun 'byung* from the collected [writings on] gCod, with its accompanying notes and the daily practice of 'donating one's body', the root verse summary of the co-emergent realisation of Mahāmudrā, the extensive [Mahāmudrā] instruction [by Karma pa dBang phyug rdo rje] entitled *Nges don rgya mtsho* ['ocean of definitive meaning'], the middle-length instruction called 'dispelling the darkness of ignorance', and the brief version called 'putting one's finger on the Dharmakāya', the 'essential nectar' instruction on the Six Yoga-s, the *Sras mkhar ma* instruction [revealed from Mi la ras pa's tower] on the Six Yoga-s from the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*, the 'armour fixing' instruction for the Six Yoga-s, the 'molten gold' instruction, [Karma] chags med's abbreviated practical instructions on Mahākāruṇika in verse, and so on.

From **sPang phug bla ma mKhas dbang Karma nges don**²¹¹ he received the reading transmission of the nine volumes of sTag

sham bSam gtan gling pa's revelations. From **sPo ru rtogs ldan dKon mchog rgyal mtshan** he received the reading transmission of the majority of [Karma] Chags med rin po che's collected works, and the transmissions of the ritual volumes, chiefly the Kṣetrapāla cycle and rite of the three classes of spirits [mGo gsum].

Teachings of all Traditions

Furthermore, there are the huge variety of miscellaneous teachings received from noble masters outside the main traditions:

In the presence of **bSam sdings rdo rje phag mo Chos dbyings bde chen 'tsho mo**²¹² he received the outer, inner and secret instructions on the Yakṣa Aparājita [wealth Sādhana], as well as the *sPog chog* from the inner instructions making four, instruction in the secret Sādhana of monkey-faced Gaṇapati, two [sets of] spoken instructions, reparation ritual, and reading transmission, the complete ripening [empowerments] of the common and uncommon Siṃhavaktrā cycle from the oral transmission of Grub chen Padma gar dbang, the experiential instructions for the seven-day Caṇḍālī practice of Ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po, together with Vārāhī's 'single [letter] Hri' fire empowerment, the [Caṇḍālī] practice [wearing] only a cotton shroud, some of the empowerment authorisations from the 'ocean of quotidien gTor ma offerings', the complete empowerments, transmissions and instructions for this master's *dPa' mo snying thig*, the essential condensation of the more than sixty teaching traditions of Vajra-[vārāhī] she had received, and the instructions for [Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje's] *Phyag chen zab gsal* [Mahāmudrā] and *Thub pa mdo gcod* [gCod] instructions.

From **'Dar ston Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma** he received the gTum po [Vajrapāṇi] empowerment of [Guru] Chos dbang, the transmissions

in brief, the secret Hayagrīva Sādhana, secret Maheśvara [Hayagrīva] Sādhana, ultra-wrathful Hayagrīva empowerment, and so on. From the eighth **lCags zam mchog sprul bsTan 'dzin mkhyen rabs mthu stobs**²¹³ he received the complete reading transmission of [Guru] Chos dbang's *Bla ma gsang 'dus*, the transmissions of white and red Jambhala, *lHa bu btson 'dzin* protective charm [from the gSang 'dus cycle], Karma gu ru with black silk cape, the secret practice cycle of the Ḍākinī-s' spoken transmission which Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po heard directly from Vajravārāhī, the divisions of Grub chen [Thang stong rgyal po]'s *'Chi med dpal ster* revelation concerning the conjunction of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva, the Sādhana, longevity-summoning rite, empowerment ritual and longer and shorter recitations composed by the seventh lineage holder [i.e., his predecessor], the third chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from the Arhat Angajā, all the biographies of the lineage masters of the six Yoga-s of Niguma, the 'five in one' biographies of Grub chen rin po che, and so on.

From **sPrul sku Nyi ma chos 'phel**²¹⁴ he received the transmission of Kun mkhyen Dol po pa's *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho*, together with its topical outline, Tāranātha's gCod instructions, and so on. From **sPrul sku Kun dga' phyogs las rnam rgyal**, the seventeen-deity Sitātapatrā empowerment, the wisdom-entrustment of the five protector deities, and transmissions of the Amitābha sleep-meditation, the texts of [r]Je btsun Kun dga'] grol mchog's 'hundred instructions', the lists of the 'hundred empowerments' and 'hundred Mahākāla-s', two concluding prayers, and the auspicious invocation for Saṃvara. From **Ka thog Si tu mchog sprul Chos kyi blo gros**,²¹⁵ [he received] the reading transmission of Ka thog paṇḍita's great commentary on the *gSang sngags lam rim*.

From **gTer chen mChog gyur bde chen gling pa** he received most of the empowerments and transmissions for the *dGongs pa yang zab* [revelation] of the 'Bri gung pa tradition, some reading

transmissions including the *Yang zlog* [aversion rites] of Chos kyi grags pa and, directly and indirectly, most of mChog gling's own revelations, from the *Thugs rje chen po padma gtsug tor* to the final *bDe mchog sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*.

In summary, under conditions of great hardship he sought the teachings of more than one hundred and fifty holy masters, learned and noble Mahāpuruṣa-s, accomplished holders of the Sa skya, dGe lugs, bKa' brgyud and rNying ma traditions residing in the three provinces of dBus, gTsang and Khams. Having done so, he received whatever empowerments, transmissions and instructions there are in the three branches of the Sa skya pa teachings [Sa ngor tshar gsum] and the empowerments and instructions of the great Tantric teaching traditions of Zhva lu and Gong dkar; whatever currently remains of the transmitted teachings [bKa' ma] of the old school of the early translations, and most of the revealed teachings [gTer ma] of noble origin, the revelations of 'the elder' [mNga' bdag Nyang] and 'the younger' [Guru Chos dbang], the earlier and later teachings of the 'Northern treasure' [Byang gter], the revelations of the thirteen Gling pa-s, the 'two stainless ones' [Vimalamitra and Longchenpa], and so on; whatever is still taught of the mainstream and instruction traditions of the old bKa' gdams pa school; most of the teachings of the four divisions of the bKa' brgyud school; many empowerments, explanations, instructions and transmission from the dGe lugs or 'new bKa' gdams pa' tradition; in addition, the empowerments, instructions and Tantric expositions of noble origin, credible and unadulterated, which are independent of the main traditions, including the Shangs [pa bka' brgyud] teachings, the 'pacification of suffering' [Zhi byed], 'severance' [gCod yul], the Bo dong pa and so on; and whatever transmission currents there are of the precious canonical teachings and their commentaries which underlie all these traditions, down to the smallest details,

and by virtue of having sought them, he crossed over the ocean of the multitude of teachings of the renowned traditions of Sūtra and Mantra extant in the land of snows, of which it was as if there was not one he had not studied.

Now the last to be mentioned among the ranks of these noble preceptors is the foolish one who thinks only of three things [eating, sleeping and defecating], the undistinguished one whose several names include **Karma ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho**, Blo gros mtha' yas and Padma gar dbang phrin las 'gro 'dul rtsal,²¹⁶ for although I myself am far from rivalling even a single hair of this master, it is the nature of things for the noble saints to have greater affection for the lowly, and having perceived a deep Karmic connection from previous lives, he nurtured a great affection for me since the time of our first meeting when he was nineteen years old. While he subsequently placed himself in the ranks of Lama-s worthy of the two [Ngor] mKhan chen rdo rje 'chang brothers and Zhva lu mchog sprul rin po che and received many teachings of the ripening and liberation stages at various times, he also offered the Maṇḍala for requesting teachings from myself, in the exaggerated perception that I was endowed with the fortune to grant them, and to summarise the principal ones: the acceptance of disciples, preparations, the 'child's introduction' [empowerment], the highest empowerments, common and uncommon, and the Vajrācārya's mastery and great mastery empowerments in their entirety from all the body, speech and mind Maṇḍala-s of the Kālacakra-tantra as presented in the writings of Jo nang rje btsun rin po che Tāranātha, the 'ripening' instructions of the *mThong ba don ldan* instruction manual for [Kālacakra] Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga combined with the 'Od brgya 'bar ba supplements, as well as the blessings, transmission of the *Zung 'jug rab gsal* presentation of the completion stage, the subsidiary texts, Sādhana-s, Maṇḍala-s and so on, the Saṃvara empowerment according to the

sTod 'grel [Kālacakra commentary], the Saṃvara empowerments of Lūipa, Kṛṣṇacārin and Ghaṇṭapāda, guiding instructions for Lūipa's completion stage Mahāyoga, guiding instructions for Ghaṇṭapāda's five stages and Kṛṣṇacārin's four stages and 'spring joy' instructions on the Bindu-s, [the empowerments of] the sixty-two deities in 'Khrul spangs[?] tradition, the thirteen deities of Maitripa, the 'thirteen garment' series of learned attributes [?], thirteen [-deity] Saṃvarodaya, the six Cakravartin-s, twenty-five deity Mañjuvajra, the short version of Ghaṇṭapāda's five-deity [Saṃvara] practice, the new translation version of the fierce form with one hundred thousand arms, the donkey-faced form, fierce Vajrasattva, Vajradākinī, Ḍākinī-samudra, thirty-seven [-deity] Vārāhī, Nāro-khecārī, the two-faced form [of Saṃvara] from the dPyal tradition, [the consort] Don grub ma, the new translation version of Śāvarīpa's Vārāhī, practical guidance in his *rNgon pa'i gdams ngag* ['hunter's instructions'], twenty-one-deity Vārāhī, thirty-seven-deity Vajrasattva of the Samputa [-tantra], Hevajra in Śāntiguṇḍa's tradition, instruction in the completion stage practices of the four Mudra-s, Guhyasamāja in Nāgārjuna's tradition, instructions for the five stages in 'Gos [lo tsa ba]'s tradition, Mañjuvajra, instruction in the *Grol ba'i thig le* [Guhyasamāja commentary?], five-deity and thirteen-deity red Yamāntaka, instruction in the unelaborated completion stage and four-stage Yoga [of Yamāntaka], thirteen-deity black Yamāntaka in Zhang's [?] tradition, Bhairava with retinue of eight wrathful goddesses in sKyo [ston]'s tradition, the nine-deity [form] of Mal [lotsāva]'s tradition, nine-deity Acala, and the new translation version of *sGrol ma rnal 'byor ma* [Tārāyoginī], explanation of the Tantra with its annotations, the *Ye shes myur ster* instructions [for the Tārāyoginī practice], the complete reading transmission of the seventeen printed volumes of rJe btsun Tāranātha's collected writings, instruction in the six-fold transmission of Śāntiguṇḍa's

tradition, and the teachings passed down by mNga' bdag Mar pa once renowned as the 'Seven Maṇḍala-s of the rNgog tradition', from the writings of [Karma] chags med, which I presented to him [all] on one occasion.

Subsequently, I presented him with the instructions for white Tārā in Jo bo [Atiśa]'s tradition based on my own rearrangement, and the instructions for the longevity rite, the instructions for Vajrasattva, Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā and green Tārā in Mar [pa]'s tradition, the empowerment of the *Lam zab* Guru-yoga, the empowerments of nine-deity Hevajra from Ācārya Saroruha, fifteen-deity Nairatmā and the condensed form of Pañjara-mahākāla, the instructions on 'blending and transference' [Six Yoga-s] in Mar [pa]'s tradition, the Mahāmāyā empowerment, instructions on the threefold 'visualisation, recitation and luminosity' Yoga for the completion stage, the empowerments of the multi-deity male form and thirteen-deity female form of the Catuḥpīṭha-tantra, instructions for the completion stage, the empowerment of the twenty-five deity Buddha-kapāla, instructions for the completion stage, empowerment of Guhyasamāja in Nāgārjuna's tradition, the empowerments of the five stages in Mar [pa]'s tradition, 'Jam dpal gsang ldan in the Highest Yoga Tantra style, and five-deity Vajrapāṇi in Ras chung pa's tradition, the empowerments of the five-deity Saṃvara, five-deity Vārāhī, nine-deity and five-deity Jinasāgara in the Kam tshang bka' brgyud tradition, all the empowerments and blessings of the 'great spoken lineage' Saṃvara teachings from the Zur mang bka' brgyud tradition, transmissions of all the treatises on the five Cakra-s [concerning internal winds and channels], the great empowerment of Mahākāla and consort in union, greater and lesser empowerments of Caturbhujā [-mahākāla], instruction in Mahākāla with consort and retinue of five, Tshe ring ma, and so on, instruction in the *Rin 'byung [brgya rtsa]* of the Jo nang pa and the *Zhi phreng drag*

phreng and *Chos skyong glog phreng* of the ninth [Karma pa] dBang phyug rdo rje, explanatory transmissions of the *Zab mo nang don*, *rNam shes ye shes* and *sNying po bstan pa* by [third Karma pa] Rang byung [rdo rje], the blessing of the Mar pa, Mi la and Dvags po triad, transmissions of the expositions of the extensive, middling and abbreviated Mahāmudrā, Six Yoga-s and other guiding instructions, the great empowerment of the five Tantra-s of the Shangs pa tradition, empowerment and instructions for the five-deity Saṃvara, the blessings and instructions for the Six Yoga-s of Niguma in Jo nang pa tradition, the gCod empowerments and instructions from the Zur mang and gNas mdo traditions, the blessings of the eighty Mahāsiddha-s from the Jo nang transmission, and a great number of reading transmissions, mainly the texts of the above mentioned instructions and the various writings of [Karma] chags med.

Of the *rNying ma* teachings, the reading transmission of the twenty-five printed volumes of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, and from the bKa' ma teachings, the empowerments of the wrathful Guru in the 'O bran tradition, the *rDzong 'phrang* exposition of the Eight transmitted precepts, the Kīlaya teachings of the Rong tradition, the 'black deity' Kīlaya of Rog [Shes rab 'od], the *gSang rdzogs thugs sgrub* [Sādhana] of black six-faced [wrathful Mañjuśrī], the Yamāntaka of the 'black division' and red Yamāntaka of the red banner, the transmissions of their scriptures, and the *Khrom dkrugs* and *Padma brgya ldan* empowerments of the peaceful and wrathful deities cycle.

From the gTer ma teachings, [I offered] a great many major and minor revelations from all quarters, such as the transmission of the nine volumes of Nyang [ral]'s *bDe gshegs 'dus pa* revelation of the Eight transmitted precepts, the great empowerment of Guru Chos dbang's *gSang rdzogs* [revelation of the Eight transmitted precepts], the essential empowerment, and transmission of the four

volumes, the complete empowerments of the *Rang shar* [revelation of the Eight transmitted precepts], *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* [Sādhana of the eight Vidyādhara-s], *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* [wrathful Guru Sādhanal], Mahākāruṇika, the *dGongs pa zang thal* rDzogs chen teachings, the *Che mchog* and *sPu gri Kīlaya* teachings and all the Dharmapāla-s, lHa chen and so forth, from the Byang gter tradition, empowerments and transmissions of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* and *mKha' 'gro yang thig* [rDzogs chen teachings], transmissions of Kun mkhyen Klong chen pa's *mDzod bdun* and *Ngal gso skor gsum* with their sequels, the complete empowerments and transmissions of [rGya ston] Zhang khrom's *Tshe bdag lcags 'dra* and *lCags sdig*, scriptural transmission of Ra shag [gter ston]'s *Ma mo sgang shar*, the complete empowerments and transmissions of the thirteen volumes of Sangs rgyas gling pa's *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, the three volumes of 'outer' Mahākāruṇika in the king [Srong btsan]'s tradition, 'inner' Mahākāruṇika in the 'Nor bu' tradition [of gTer ston Sangs rgyas gling pa], and 'secret' in the 'unsurpassed' tradition of Mitra[-yogī], the *Thugs kyi snying khu* [Kīlaya revelation by Sangs rgyas gling pa], white, red and black Mañjuśrī-s, *gSang ba yang khol* Garuḍa [-sādhanal], and so on, the *Kar gling zhi khro* empowerment and scriptural transmission, the complete empowerments of Zhig [po] gling [pa]'s revelations and the famous 'six volumes' of 'Ja' tshon snying po's revelations, the empowerments of most of sTag sham [bSam gtan gling pa]'s revelations, chiefly the *Yi dam dgongs 'dus*, the revelations of Chos [rje] gling [pa], the five greater and lesser revelations of Yongs dge mi 'gyur rdo rje, and [gTer ston] Rol pa'i rdo rje's two *mTsho brag* cycles. He would listen to transmissions of most of my own compositions, such as an explanatory reading of my *Shes bya kun khyab* ['Compendium of knowledge'] treatise, and as soon as he gave his leave I would reverently deliver them so as to delight him.

This is only a quick summary of what is there in his list of teachings received, for to include everything in that list would make for a weighty document, and since most of the teaching lists are missing anyway, I have not undertaken a detailed presentation.

Thus, just as a great ocean formed by no matter how many billions of rivers never diminishes or overflows, the example of this Dharma ocean never reaching satisfaction in his absorption of rivers of holy Dharma is in itself something that no one today could match even partially.

FIVE

How after putting all he had studied into practice, he was ennobled by the qualities of realisation

These days, at the end of the degenerate age, in this unfortunate period when everyone from the best to the worst engages in pursuits of little consequence, setting their hearts on the merest of wealth, fame and material possessions rather than even one aspect of the teachings of the Buddha, chasing after meaningless rumours, some people who think much and understand little may clamour for teachings and attainments but reproduce not even a single page of the texts or put even one objective [of the teachings] into practice, most are not prepared to personally undertake any hardship, to make any offering for the Dharma [they wish to receive], or then to accept the commitments [of practice], like wanting to make a great lake into a small puddle.

In these times, when people only pretend to respect the teacher and expect his gratitude for their requesting and receiving of teachings, this noble master attended correctly on his teachers from a young age, never influenced by bad examples, like mercury which falls to the ground but does not mix with the dust, and having within him the quest for the holy Dharma by proper means, he set out to visit the sacred places and images throughout central Tibet as far as the southern land of Mön [i.e., Bhutan], and to seek the teachings from spiritual masters, accompanied only by his worthy attendant Tsultrim Gyatso, in the manner of an itinerant renunciate.²¹⁷ That he underwent many hardships can be seen from the fact that at times he even had no shoes and went barefoot, while paying homage and making offerings, Pūjā-s and prayers to the fullest extent before the sacred places and images. To each of his Lama-s he made whatever gifts he could along with his request for teachings which, although not vast in quantity were pure in quality, and studied their teachings and instructions with an unsated appetite, regardless of the length of time involved or whether he had provisions to sustain himself. Later on, when material offerings came spontaneously, for which he even had no wish, he would make a daily Maṇḍala

offering of excellent substance, and when conducting empowerments and teachings he would make a substantial and imposing offering of the finest materials along with a prayer service, and so on.

In short, whatever he did was carried out sincerely and exclusively in accord with the manner prescribed in the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s. As is said in the *Precious Treasury* [Rinchen bangdzö]:

‘The faultless Guru replete in qualities/ Is in degenerate times the equal of the Buddha himself/ Respect him with the utmost purity of devotion’

and it was in such manner that he attended upon Vajradhara holders of the triple vow. The *Kṣitigarbha-sūtra*²¹⁸ says:

‘[Those who] listen to the Dharma solely with faith and devotion/ Should not deride or slander this/ Teachers of Dharma are to be worshipped/ And regarded as of a kind with the Buddha-s’

and he likewise revered all altruistic exponents of Dharma in that way. Taking to heart the statement in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*²¹⁹ that:

‘Mañjuśrī, wherever there are exponents of the Dharma, to see them is to purify the five irremediable sins. Such teachers are also to be worshipped, and even if they should commit the five irremediable sins one should not be disturbed by it’

he showed respect even to those who appeared very ordinary, and accepted their teaching, however meagre. Rather than downplay any of the different teachings he received whatsoever, he would ask after the relevant texts, have scroll paintings made of the relevant Maṇḍala-s [in the case of] old or new translation Tantra, or illustrations [*tsakli*] [in the case of] revealed teachings and so on, unstintingly give whatever materials he possessed for the empowerments or offerings, and arrange things in an absolutely exemplary way, having enthusiasm only for pleasing the noble Lama-s and serving the teachings, making his consequent completion of the attributes of the stages and paths [of the teachings] the main concern, and [considering] the ephemeral

acquisition of fame and enrichment, which grew year by year, like the chaff that comes with a good harvest.

The *Jñānasāgara* [-sūtra]²²⁰ says:

‘For whoever has the fortune/ Of skill in [accomplishing] the Guru’s will/
This is of greater import than worship/ Of all the Buddha-s of the three
times/ In six hundred thousand times ten million aeons/ To accomplish
the Guru’s command/ Is to fulfill all wishes/ And to accumulate unlimited
merit/ Whoever pleases his Guru/ With his own means and possessions/
Will gain respite from the three realms of cyclic existence/ In the sphere
of *Nirmāṇakāya*, and/ Pass beyond sorrow’

which this master actually did. He was not one to receive all these teachings in name only, but clearly understood the specific classifications of each tradition, their philosophical views and meditative systems, the key points of their development and completion stages, their rituals and oral instructions, down to the finest details, without mixing up their particular ways of doing things, and put them into practice. For it is said:

‘The noble ones will not make so many undertakings/ But having gone to
the trouble of making one/ Like lines inscribed in stone/ They will sooner
die than stray from it’

and

‘The [ways of the] foolish are like patterns drawn on water/ Whatever they
are, they soon vanish/ The [ways of the] wise are like patterns drawn on
stone/ Even if they are faint, they remain’

and thus with the understanding of studying and reflecting on the ordinary sciences and the *Sūtra*-s and *Tantra*-s, he cultivated students through propagating the teachings while young, and later on published the root texts and commentaries in writing, to open wider the door of his unceasing gift of Dharma. At this point, his absorption of the main treatises of the *Sūtra*-s and *Tantra*-s [should] be related in detail.

He continually applied himself principally to the practice of the profound generation and completion phases of secret Mantra: for about four years starting at the age of twenty-four, in the Water Hare year [1843], when he travelled [back] to Doe-kham with Khen Rinpoché Jampel Sangpo and took up residence in his quarters at the Dzongsar Tashi Lhatsé monastery, he performed all the preparatory, main and subsequent phases of the basic Hevajra recitations as practised in the Ngor tradition, completing them within eight months, the recitations of the three families of Kriyā-tantra in general, the Vairocana-abhisambodhi of Caryā-tantra and Vajradhātu of Yoga-tantra to a workable level, and the extensive recitations of the compatible Sarvavid[-vairocana] within six months, as well as many lesser recitations such as Vidāraṇa and Sitātapatrā.

He travelled [back] to [central] Tibet with Khen Rinpoché in the Earth Monkey year [1848] when he was twenty-nine, and stayed there for about three years. After his return in Iron Pig year [1851] at the age of thirty-three, he engaged in the successive stages of the Yoga-s, performing the recitations for the major and minor sections of the Kālacakra, the Tantra on which he focussed from among the new translations, the Ḍākinī practices like Khecarī and so on, the Dharmapāla-s Caturmukha and Pañjaranātha, as well as many Sādhana-s. From the Nyingma tradition he performed the recitations of the Guru Sādhana-s [*tukdrup*] from the old and new revelations, peaceful and wrathful, major and minor, the Mahākāruṇika practices, the Mahāyoga- [*Gyü-trul shi-tro*] and Anuyoga- [*Tsokchen düpa*] Tantra-s, about nineteen different versions of the Eight transmitted precepts and about the same number of Kīlaya traditions, and a few of the hundreds of longevity Sādhana-s from the old and new translation traditions. [Meanwhile] he continually observed the feast offerings and confession services, and made vast ritual offerings on the tenth day of the waxing and waning phases of each month, and constantly arranged for the most splendid sets of offerings of many kinds, chiefly butter lamp offerings, a successive accumulation, purification and multiplication of merit hard for the ordinary mind to comprehend.

In particular, he took to heart the import of statements such as this one from the *Sūtra of the meeting of father and son*²²¹ which says:

‘O Śāriputra! The merit accruing to one who composes himself in the Samādhi of concentration on suchness for the moment it takes to snap one’s fingers is greater than accrues to one who studies [Dharma] for an entire aeon. That being so, O Śāriputra, this Samādhi of concentration on suchness should emphatically be taught to others’

and the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, which says:

‘In this way, any meditation with the [discipline of] Yoga is not without meaning. Likewise, any teaching of the Sugata-s whatsoever is also not without meaning. However, if one can see the meaning merely through hearing the teaching, meditation upon it is rendered meaningless, and if one can enter the meditation even without hearing, the teaching is rendered meaningless’

for in general, from a young age, with his innate capacities, he had accomplished the Yoga of the subtle body [Nāḍi, Prāṇa and Bindu] with little effort, the ten signs of [success in practice by] day and night and the [union of] form and emptiness composing the three realms of existence arose for him at the slightest occasion, experiences of the clear luminosity [of reality] arose through [visionary] figures and spheres of all kinds, and having unerring sight of the truth of Dharmatā, it was unnecessary to follow the gradual path [of habituation] through the practice of awareness retention, tracing where thoughts come from, go to, and abide in the meanwhile, and suchlike, for it came to him spontaneously, and the view and practice of the natural state [of relaxation in meditation] were inborn.

However, in order to guide students with differing levels of achievement and intelligence, and because once one has deeply studied the ripening and completion stages, if the Ācārya instructs the student to do a particular practice one has to do so, but also so that his learning and accomplishment would

not go to waste, [he practised] the [entire] ‘Path with its result’ (Lamdré), the visualisation texts and so on for the completion stage of the Khecārī practice, missing none, and devoted one three-year retreat to the hundred and eight profound instructions arranged by Jonang Jétsun Kunga Drölchok.²²² Added to these were the meditation manuals proper to each tradition, and the preparatories for Tantric practice such as the Vajrasamaya recitation and meditation.

Starting with Lama Sakya-pa’s ‘Parting from the four attachments’ [*Shenpa shi-tral*] up to the ‘Jewel which liberates on sight’ instruction on the union of the Great Seal and Great Perfection [*Chakdzok norbu tongdröl*] of Trampa Kunga Sangpo,²²³ he fully completed the practices of the *Shenpa shi-tral*, the *Gradual path* [*Lamrim*] of the Kadampa, the *Seven-point mind training* [*Lojong döndünma*] and *Three classes of direct instruction* [*Martri riksum*] among those consistent with the Sūtra-s, the [Kālacakra] Śaḍaṅga-yoga, Hevajra and three styles of Saṃvara [*lu-dril-naksum*] among the completion stage practices of the different classes of Tantra, and the Six Yoga-s of Nāropa and Niguma, and the Mahāmudrā of the Dakpo tradition among the completion stage practices common to all classes of Tantra, as well as all the others, without a single omission.

On the Nyingma side [he studied] such profound instructions as the three styles of the ‘mental class’ [*semdé*], the *Vajra bridge* spoken transmission of the ‘spatial class’ [*longdé*], the ‘heart essence’ [teachings on the Great Perfection] of Vimalamitra and of the Ḍākinī-s and, from the revealed teachings, principally the ‘heart essence’ of Longchenpa, as well as the Lokeśvara [*semnyi ngelso*] and other instructions from the Troepu tradition, and the ‘seven-day’ [practice] and so on from the Bodong tradition. In brief, since there was not a single instruction among those he received on which he did not at least perform the preliminary meditation, his grasp and realisation increased daily.

In summary, having exerted himself in the practices of the development and completion stages alone over a period of thirteen years, he evidently manifested all manner of signs of accomplishment at various times. Those which [this author] saw or heard about are as follows: while performing the

meditation and recitations for the union of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva in the Tséchu cave on the Chaksam Chuwori mountain, a cup full of the water of longevity [*tséchu*] suddenly poured down.²²⁴ The same thing happened when he made prostrations and offerings at the Tséchu Bumpa [Stūpa] in Yarlung,²²⁵ and when he made prostrations and offerings before the Jowo²²⁶ [statue and] Rangjön Nga-den [statue of Mahākāraṇika] in Lhasa,²²⁷ a few Śarīra relics came into his possession.

When he granted the empowerment of the wrathful Vārāhī from the revelations of Nyang [-rel] to a group of us from Palpung Lingtö, the skull cup being used for the ceremony became too hot to touch. On being requested by Dzokchen Paltrul²²⁸ to consecrate a monument of prayer stones [*doebum*] on the Mamo Tang pasture in the northern region of Dza-gyü, he gave instructions for an offering ceremony to be prepared on a full moon day, and by focussing his attention, flowers of consecration [cast] from his residence at Dzongsar fell on that heap of stones some seven or eight days distant, which became a support for the faith of most of the inhabitants of that area.²²⁹ Later on, when he performed longevity Sādhana for three years without interruption, the longevity beer offering [*tséchang*] that stood there constantly neither mouldered in summer nor froze in winter, and became a marvel, of dark yellow colour and very thick consistency, overflowing from the centre upwards, with a scent and flavour quite unlike anything else. When those endowed with faith met him for the first time, they saw him in a variety of physical forms, like [the Mahāsiddha] Tangtong Gyelpo and so on, and while he was granting the *Pakma nyingtik* empowerment to one fortunate individual, [the disciple] saw him as having seven brilliant eyes and lost consciousness in the intensity of faith, and there were many more such incidents.

Pure perceptions of deities appeared constantly in his conscious awareness and in dreams, but he never spoke of them except incidentally to those few with sufficient faith and mental capacity. When others asked him about their own visionary experiences, he would always break their pride by saying that everyone was subject to perceptions arisen from the workings of Prāṇa and

such things were not to be taken seriously. Occasionally he hinted at having received teaching [directly] from Buddha-s and Bodhisattva-s, and assemblies of Vidyādhara-s and Ḍākinī-s, wherein his doubts with respect to the meaning of certain words were eliminated. He heard many Vajrayāna texts recited and Vajra songs sung and received their profound meanings, as his amazing experiences of meditative stability in the continuity of Dharma transmission were limitless. He also saw many signs of non-believers and vicious demons being terminated.

The varieties of his pure visions will be elaborated somewhat further on, but to say a little more in the present context: during his visit to Tsang, he spent seven days preparing sacramental pills of orange Mañjuśrī in Sa-chen's cave at the Sakya monastery,²³⁰ and at dawn on the final day a large globe of orange light appeared above the ground in front of him and inside it was a just-opened blue Utpala flower. Having appeared clearly for an instant it dissolved into his heart-centre, and he said that ever since, his intellectual confidence increased so much that he could explain anything to anyone without difficulty.²³¹

Later, on the fifth day of the third month of the Fire Hare year [1867], while staying with a certain householder in Alo Shéga,²³² he dreamt of sitting on a high throne together with Khen Rinpoché Champa Kunga Tendzin. After casting [ritual] grains, Khen Rinpoché sang hundreds of auspicious verses, both worldly and transcendent. As soon as he had uttered the first, which went:

‘The Deva-s’ might is made splendid by the great luxurious wealth of the Deva-s/ Human might is heightened by the great material wealth of humans/ The Nāga-s’ might is enriched by the great precious wealth of the Nāga-s/ May it be auspicious in the three great realms of conditioned existence!/ The unrivalled miraculous clairvoyance of Gésar/ The unrivalled heroic bravery of Zhallu/ The unrivalled sorcery and brilliance of Tro-tung/ I invoke the auspiciousness of the three unrivalled men!²³³/ The Chinese bride brought the supreme object of worship of the Chinese [to Tibet] through her skill/ The Nepali bride won Nepal’s chief object of worship as her dowry/ Drukmo

set forth a tale of thunderous renown/ I invoke the auspiciousness of the three marvellous women!²³⁴

this master wrote it down, and put it up [on the wall] in that house. Thereafter, wherever he went in that area, he composed many auspicious verses most wondrous. He also [composed] many in such places as my own hermitage, associated with the eight auspicious symbols and substances, the [seven emblems of] royalty and so on, which was evidently a special approach to [the arising of] auspicious conjunction.

While staying with another sponsor in that area, the Sanda-tsang household, he had a dream in which a voice said “Here’s the lasso of the barbarians”, whereupon something like a ball of twine vividly appeared, bound him up, and carried him into the sky. As soon as he began to feel a little scared, four-armed Mahākāla appeared and cut [the rope] with his Vajra chopper, and on the ground below was Vajrasadhu [Dorjé Lekpa], who pulled him onto his lap, saying “Hé hé! Like the saying ‘When the head is strung up high, it will break at the thinnest point, the neck’, it’s fine for Mahākāla to cut the cursed rope, but without me you might come to grief when you hit the ground!”, at which he awoke. Around that [time] he saw the mountains as transparent wherever he went, and saw whatever assemblies of the deities of the ‘three roots’ were there in holy mountains, and precious deposits, without any obscuration.

As is also briefly related further on in the ‘secret biography’, one night while staying at [Alo] Penjor-gang²³⁵ he beheld the array of sacred places from Drémojong in the west, through Pema-kö in the middle, down to Yulung Kang-ra in the east, and whatever treasures were hidden there, as clearly and distinctly as a reflection in a mirror.²³⁶ At that time Chokgyur Lingpa had gone to [central] Tibet, and had thought to take along the combined inner, essential and vital indexes of [treasures hidden at] Karmo Drak in Mönyul,²³⁷ which he had written out by the light of a butter lamp. However, as it was not even mentioned in the subsequent prophecy from [Yéshé] Tsogyel, he did not

bestow what he had written, apparently considering the auspices in that area to be not entirely governed by the collective merit of Tibet as a whole.

While he was staying in conference with Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa at Dokhoma, near the Dégé capital,²³⁸ when no one had even heard that this master had a treasure [*térka*], and when the *Pakma Nyingtik* was disseminated for the first time and so on, his own mother appeared in a dream one night, her hair tied back with a red ribbon, wearing a brocade robe and carrying a casket sealed with pins. “My woman friend, the one called ‘gold ear-rings’, was terminated by the Ḍakinī-s for the crime of revealing what should be kept secret to those not bound by oath”, she said, “and they performed a Gaṇacakra with her flesh and blood. This is the heart.” She opened the casket, and there was a fresh pulsating heart, and trembling with fear and repulsion at the sight, he awoke. Subsequently, whenever he recalled this, even in daytime, his heartbeat would quicken, and he declared that revealing secret teachings before their time has come was highly dangerous.

Again, once while he was performing the Vajrasattva ritual from the revelations of Mindröl [i.e., Térdak] Lingpa, he dreamed of beholding the actual form of Vajrasattva, and seeing masses of Śarīra pellets stuck to the lower body. He asked someone else what these were, and was told “Those are from your Vajrasattva empowerments and rituals for the dead.” This seems to be a sign presaging that those endowed with such connections [to the deity] will attain total liberation on the spiritual level of Vajrasattva. While intermittently practising the ripening and completion instructions for the Mahākāruṇika ‘dredging the depths of Saṃsāra’ teachings revealed by [Guru] Chōwang, which he received from Droltön Jamyang Chöki Gyeltsen and others, he dreamt of seeing a Śarīra relic of the Tathāgata-s in the palm of his hand, and he said that having recited the long Dhāraṇī of ‘dredging Saṃsāra’ and blowing on it, the relic multiplied innumerable in an instant, which brought him great joy. This was an apparition of innumerable descendants of Mahākāruṇika coming forth.

On the occasion of conferring the empowerment, reading transmission and guiding instructions for [Longchenpa's] *Inner heartdrop of the Dākinī-s* [*Khandro yangtik*] on the Dégé queen mother Chöying Sangmo and others,²³⁹ he had exceptional visions of the *Yangtik* [deities], but the details are unclear. He visited Samyé Chimpu in a vision, where he met the omniscient Longchen Rabjam and received from him the *Heart-essence of the Great Perfection in four parts* [*Nyingtik yabshi*] [directly] in the manner of an oral transmission. He received the blessings and counsels of Vajrayoginī and the Lama-s of her lineage, and also saw those who took the teachings from him receive the blessings. The signs of accomplishment in [Vajra-]yoginī are, generally speaking, the 'three blazing's' of physical wellbeing, effective speech and mental realisation, and the 'three gatherings' of people by day, spirits by night, and food and wealth both morning and evening, and these are common to all.

At one time he could clearly perceive the presence of the three channels and four Cakra-s [of the subtle body] in his own body, unobscured by materiality, and once he spoke of seeing the lower Cakra-s dry up, the throat Cakra only indistinctly and the crown Cakra in its natural state. This seems to signify reaching a high level of realisation on the path.

When he was performing the feast offering for the *Tukdrup yishin norbu* [Guru Sādhana] of the new revelations at Dzamnang Pema Shépuk²⁴⁰ a great crowd gathered, and as he was considering giving a public initiation inside the cave, Damchen [Dorjé Lekpa] actually appeared and appealed to him "You really ought not include more than twenty people [i.e., recipients] here", and so the public initiation was postponed.

One afternoon while staying at Térlung Pema Shéri²⁴¹ with Chokgyur Lingpa and myself, he lay down in repose for a while as if tired, and then said that Dorjé Lekpa had appeared by the side of the boulder just below, and since he had indicated the upper cliff with the Vajra in his right [hand] and looked down at this cave out of the corner of his eye, that meant that there were treasures hidden in both places. Thus, the next day Chok-ling and the master together

revealed treasures from each, upper and lower. In general, [the protectors] Damchen, Yudrönma and Shasa Khamoché accompanied him like a shadow, foresaw favourable and unfavourable outcomes and accomplished whatever activity he charged them with. Following my request that the exquisite statue of Vajrasattva made of Aśmagarbha [emerald], the object of King Ja's personal devotion,²⁴² which he charged Dorjé Yudrönma to retrieve once while staying at the Dagam Wangpuk cave,²⁴³ be placed inside a statue of Vajrasattva I commissioned for the Yangtrö hermitage²⁴⁴ in the Iron Monkey year [1860], he kindly bestowed it for that purpose, and it currently rests in the heart of that statue as its 'wisdom-presence'. On the auspicious first of the eleventh month of the first year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle, Fire Hare [1867-8], he kindly performed consecration of the statue, and on the eve of that event visions were seen continuously.

At one time there were symbolic indications from Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s and many Dākinī-s of a great Stūpa like a mountain, with four doors in the four directions, and inside, five treasuries each filled with concealed teachings.²⁴⁵ This master also saw it, and mentally ascertained the significance of these [components], and that there were four Dharmapāla-s in particular among its guardians. Gyalchen Péhar also addressed him indignantly, saying "Long ago Lopön Padma entrusted whatever temples there are in Tibet to me, but you people made me no offerings and regarded me as a demon [*dré*], though I have the power to reduce anyone who harms them to dust, even if they are mighty as Mount Meru. Nonetheless, since you all are the followers of Lopön Padma I have kept my pledge. Those sudden unfortunate occurrences recently were signs shown by me."

On the significance of the Stūpa, [he instructed me that] "Your *Five Treasuries* are to be one collection, with all that is included in the 'Compendium of knowledge' forming one 'Treasury of common knowledge', the old and new Tantra-s [forming] an 'Uncommon treasury of Mantra', the ritual arrangements of the old and new revelations forming a 'Precious treasury of revelations', the maturing and completion instructions of the eight 'chariot' practice lineages forming a 'Profound treasury of instructions', and whatever [teachings] there

are in the physical and mental revelations forming a ‘Secret treasury of the uncommon’, and in the light of those indications, the completion of work already started and the necessity of thus arranging those materials not included earlier on is a most important point, as is the supplication of Pêhar without fail.”

Accordingly, I had a round of supplications to the ‘five forms’ [of Pêhar] recited [regularly] in the protector chapel, and from that time until the present I concentrated on instituting the observance of those empowerments and transmissions specified in the Lama’s pronouncement for [inclusion in] the four [extra] treasuries, labouring for the arrangement of those to be added even to the extent of disrupting my regular observances, and assembling and printing the texts. It was for that reason [i.e., the task of composing the *Five Treasuries*] that I undertook the repeated propagation of the empowerments, transmissions and guiding instructions.

On the morning of the twelfth day, as he sat in the darkness feeling disturbed by a great restlessness, he beheld on his north-east side the ‘queen of conditioned existence’ Ekajaṭī, who remained for as long as it takes to boil tea. In the colour and attributes typical of the Mantra-guardians, wearing a green garment like padded armour with a turquoise glow, she had a fearsome splendour. He said that as the sky lightened the apparition became clearer, and bestowed on him the praise offering ‘Primordial vortex of Dharmakāya...etc’, which he wrote down, and after one recitation she vanished like a rainbow.

On the night of the twenty-second of the same [month] this master was transported in a state of luminosity to the Barkor market street in Lhasa, where he encountered a woman of superhuman splendour and beauty, perfect in ornaments and attire, holding a vase filled with large-stemmed red flowers resembling *gya-men* [a medicinal flower]. After exchanging a few words with the delight of mother and son reunited, they went together into the presence of the Jowo Rinpoché [statue in the main temple] and made many prayers in unison for the wellbeing of Tibet. “Who are you?”, he asked the woman, and she replied “I am the one you people always refer to as Yéshé Tsogyel.”

“What then is the best way to promote Tibet’s wellbeing?”, he enquired, and she uttered many prophecies. “If no internal conflict breaks out in Tibet, all will be well for a while”, she declared, “but if there is such a conflict within the next three years, it will be the cause of great danger from [foreign] heathens. There is nothing particular you all can do [to prevent this], but at the least, in your case, there is the Kīlaya Sādhana I gave you when you were eight, which you would do well not to neglect”, and making the sky resound with the beat of her Ḍamaru, she took off into space. Next day, the text of the Sādhana of Kīlaya and Viśuddha combined conferred on him by Khandro Tsogyel at the age of eight was written out by myself, and [the master] clarified points of doubt and put it in order, and [added] a repulsion ritual [*tordok*] as well.²⁴⁶

In a dream on the night of the fifth of the second eleventh month, the Palpung chant master Rabdrup brought in a most extraordinary scroll painting of Kīlaya with a newly made look, and requested a consecration, as it was especially sacred. This master enquired “It doesn’t look that old, what’s the big deal?”

“This is the sacred image which has spoken to thirteen generations of the Pang [family] lineage”, came the reply. I was present but remained silent, and as soon as this was said, he changed into the form of Dzokchen Khenpo Pema Dorjé and in a thunderous voice pronounced “Om Vajra Kīli Kīla” and so on with an earth-shaking resonance, and simultaneously the Kīlaya image came forth as Vajrakumāra in person and placed the Kīla in his lowest hand on all three of our heads in blessing, whereupon the dream ended. He said that for a long time after, all appearances were in the form of Vajrakumāra and the Mantra resounded vividly.

Also, in a vision one night around that time, this master was seated on a high throne in a great hall. After hearing a bell-like sound for some time, a large and splendid woman dressed like a noblewoman appeared, offered two sets of brocade robes, two sets of woollen robes, soft woollen cloth and suchlike, and a roll of forty-three squares of fine blue silk, and requested his blessing.

With great respect, she said “For a long time, simply hearing your voice has given me unbearable joy. I had the idea of coming before you, but I have not come just at my leisure. This time, I came on here after visiting Litang expressly to present myself before you.”

He asked her who she was, and she replied “I am Mentsün Dorjé Yarmo Sil” [the Vajra queen ‘cool summer lady’].

“So why did you visit Litang?”, he enquired.

“To meet a girlfriend of mine there”, she replied.

“Now where are you going?”

“To Ziltrom.”²⁴⁷

“What kind of place is Ziltrom?”

“It is the home of the treasurer Norbu Sangpo”, she said.

At that point, someone resembling his friend Déchen Chödrön offered him a wild ox horn full of yoghurt, and [Mentsün] told him “She will later become unwell, and she needs a blessing to help her at that time.”

“How so, unwell?”, he asked, and the lady showed her back, with each vertebra twisted into kind of dark, gnarly protrusions. After drinking the yoghurt, a feeling of limitless bliss arose in him, and at the same time, the lady deftly slipped herself around him. As he thought how shameful it would be if anyone were to see a Bhikṣu embracing a woman, and started to feel uncomfortable, their genitals met, and on touching the silky centre of her secret lotus it opened up, and in a state of bliss all other awareness ceased, his body became like a great mountain, the outer world appeared as the orchards and forests of the *Ḍāka-s* and *Ḍākinī-s* where Vajra-tantra and Mantra are spoken continuously, and in that state, the vision ceased.

In a dream on the night of the eleventh of the twelfth month, the day of preparation for a longevity rite which I offered in his honour, the *Dégé* prince *Chimé Takpé Dorjé* was seated near this master in the loving attitude of a

young child.²⁴⁸ After a while he stood up, and with three full prostrations, handed over a small statue and a scroll, saying that he had found the statue in a cliffside in upper Tro-kok²⁴⁹ and was offering it, and the text was the composer's offering of a longevity prayer. Upon inspection, the base of the statue was of medicinal wood [*nyingshoshā*] and the upper part was a quite distinct figure of Vajradhara from the waist up that seemed to be made of clay from the Nāga realm. Opening the scroll, he saw the words:

‘Mahāvajradhara, Vajravidyādhara, Mañjukumāra, Mañjughoṣa, treasure of wisdom and love [Khyentsé]/ Great regent of the lotus born/ May he prosper for a hundred aeons.’

Then this master asked him “Is this statue something you revealed, and was this scroll with it?” “There was a small scroll”, he said, “but I couldn’t read it.” “Show it to me and I’ll see if I can”, the master said, and he was shown a small transparent parchment like a fly’s wing bearing some symbolic script. As he set about reading, he saw the following with visionary perception: “The Tantra entitled Śrī Vajrapāṇi’s flame for the violent age. Homage to Śrī Samantabhadra! Then, in that cosmic vulva, the great origin of all phenomena, explanation of which must be in secret, the triangular, the beautiful, supreme locus, the seat of the lord of secrets’ and so on, and the Mantra “*Oṃ Vajrasattva-caṇḍa-mahāroṣana-rajnāpaya-tirangapaya...*” and so on. From the title, he said, it belonged to the new translations, and resembled the Mantra forms of the lower Tantric classes, while the eulogy corresponded with the old translations and the subject to the Highest Yoga Tantra class. The next day, the longevity prayer I had composed was preceded by that visionary verse, in a most excellent conjunction of auspices.

On the twentieth day of the first month of the Fire Ox year [1877] I conferred the *Unimpeded realisation* [*Gongpa sangtal*] empowerment of the Changtér tradition on this master, the Dorjé Drak Khenpo and so on, and that night in this noble Lama’s vision [he saw] a northern [i.e., plateau] landscape with great mountains all around which he took to be Sangsang Lha-drak.²⁵⁰ Among them,

at the foot of a mountain with a sheer cliff face was a figure in monks' robes with a staff, a splendid Māntrika said to be Rikdzin Gödem,²⁵¹ with triangular eyes and hair bound in a large topknot, carrying a skull rosary. On approach, he spoke, saying "The *Gongpa sangtal* empowerment is not conferred like that. It has to be accompanied by the instructions."

"In Kham we only have the transmission of the empowerment and reading transmission", he offered, "and there is no transmission for the instructions."

"I have made the entrustment", he said, "the transmission of the instructions can be done. You will also get the word transmission within three years." [This master then] queried that in the past, the instructions accompanying the *Sangtal* empowerment involved very detailed study, traditionally requiring three years. "That's no problem", he said. "Just like the progression of the Dharma as a whole, the revealed teachings also have their period of fruition, period of practice, period of dissemination and period of merely symbolic existence. Up to the time of Nga-ri Pañchen and his brother, of those who entered this teaching and practised it correctly, there was not a single one who did not attain the result. Then it was the period of practice, and a few qualified ones also attained the result. As it is the period of dissemination at present, one can practice according to general rules. Moreover, you have a strong connection with this Changtér teaching from the Karmic impressions of past lives."

"Personally, I feel an exceptional faith in these Changtér teachings", this master rejoined, "and even now I have scattered insights like impressions from past lives."

"There you are", he affirmed.

"Now the time has come to teach the *Precious lamp of the innermost essence* [*Yangtik chédrön*],²⁵² but on the earlier occasion at Lhari Simpu I received only an abbreviated transmission of the instructions. Will that do?", this master enquired. "I gave the entrustment for that too", he said, "so it will suffice as the actual instruction", and the vision ceased with those words.

At the time of his first meeting with T'érchen Chokgyur Lingpa,²⁵³ he conferred the 'razor Kilaya' empowerment of [Guru] Chöwang to create the auspices for clearing obstacles, and ever since, their treasure revelations suffered no obstacles and were accomplished just as they wished. On one subsequent occasion, while he was giving the empowerment of Yangdak Heruka in order to confer its blessings, the T'érchen saw this noble Lama as Śrī-heruka in person, and through the force of his devotion, a sphere of dark blue radiance marked with the letter 'Hūṃ' emerged from [the Lama's] chest and dissolved into him through the crown of his head, giving an unbearably intense sensation of absorption of the blessing. This untied the knots in the channels of his subtle body, and thereafter he deciphered treasure scrolls unobstructedly, and his grasp of the word meaning became finer and deeper.

At one time while he was in this area, in the summer as he was beginning to establish monasteries at Tro-kok and so on, he was afflicted by many illnesses, and one night in the course of performing protective rituals, he dreamt of a great mountain on an open plain said to be the 'life-power mountain' of [Tibet's] Buddhist kings blazing with a fire which illuminated the whole of space.²⁵⁴ Meanwhile a great wind got up which he said made the mountain and the fire disappear without trace, apparently an indication of things to come. In a subsequent dream, he held in his hand an extremely fine [revealed] statue of the Guru which turned to dust, and thinking that now there would be no way to bring such things into being, he said he felt deep regret, and not very long after that the T'érchen [Chok-ling] passed away.

On another occasion, in a state of luminous clarity, he saw a white tent pitched in the middle of the Yargyap plain at Pel Chuwo-ri, and approached thinking that he should find out who was inside. It was Nga-ri Rikdzin Lekden Dorjé himself, dressed in the robes of a Māntrika, and after bowing respectfully, [this master] enquired as to why he had come.²⁵⁵

"I have come to give you the transmissions [of the teachings] concealed by Guru Chöwang in the walls of the portico of the Guru Lhakang temple

in Layak,²⁵⁶ most of which were revealed by Nga-ri Paṅchen”, he replied. He gave the reading transmission of the peaceful *Stainless Ṛṣi* [*Drangsong drimé*] Sādhana, along with all the ritual applications, in an instant, and then placed the text in [this master’s] hand. After that, [this master] requested the peaceful Loktri Sādhana from Chimé Tulku.²⁵⁷ For the sake of auspicious connection, he [also] granted the empowerment of the *Drangsong drimé* Sādhana and ritual applications. At that time, he made no mention that these teachings were revelations, and since no one realised then that this master had visited the source of revelation, the colophons were written as if they were new compositions, but in fact it seems that these too belong among the revelations of reconcealed teachings [*yangtér*].

The food poisoning which this master suffered in the past did not actually impair his internal energy circulation [Prāṇa], but he had occasional bouts of intense pain, when I would treat him with cleansing rituals and so on. In the course of our conversation on one such occasion, he recalled that once [in a previous life] in India as the Paṅḍita Pratihārāmāti, while staying in solitude on a mountainside, the evil and powerful king of that locality, who favoured the Tīrthika religion, staged an outdoor feast in a forest grove on an auspicious day, surrounded by his ministers and subjects. The king announced that in such pleasant circumstances, while enjoying this feast on a well-appointed day, some special activity should be laid on, and called on his entourage to declare their personal wishes in the matter. Some said it would be well to make offerings to the celestial deities, some said it would be nice to entertain themselves with song and dance, some said it would be good to lead the army against the neighbouring [kingdom] and conquer it, and after various suggestions had been aired, they all reached a consensus that it would be great to destroy the Buddhist Dharma. At that time, the Paṅḍita had been exhorted by prophecies from the Ḍākinī-s that unless he eliminated the wicked king on that day, the king would inflict great harm on the Buddhist Dharma, and had absorbed himself in the Samādhi of Yamāntaka to perform a wrathful ritual. Thereupon, as if out of nowhere, a fearsome wild bull appeared in the midst of the revellers’ assembly, thrust

its horn into the king's belly and ended his wicked life. It also finished off the anti-Buddhist ministers, and everyone else dispersed in panic. It was as a Karmic outcome of this event that he now suffered stomach pain, he said. At that time, he had been a very close friend of Paṇḍita Pūrṇavardhana, of whom Litang Géshé Champa Puntsok was the reincarnation, and he said that at their meeting [earlier] that year there had been a close meeting of minds and he recalled some of their discourses from past-life impressions. It seems that he was continually aware of such amazing recollections from previous lives, but apart from relating some of the more extraordinary ones when in an exuberant frame of mind, he never spoke of them, or if he did tell others, I have not heard of it, and there does not even seem to be any authoritative list of his occasional or minor reminiscences.

Similarly, his visions of pure realms and landscapes were very many, but [among the most] definite was this one, related to Paṇḍita Mi-pam Gyatso:²⁵⁸ in one [vision], after crossing a fearsome desert which would take six months to walk, and continuing for a long way into the mountains [beyond], there was the entrance to lesser Śambhala, a land of ten thousand settlements known as the 'secret rock enclosure of the south'. Its inhabitants live long through the practice of Rasāyana. In that place, where the revealed teachings of Pema Lingpa are disseminated, he requested the empowerment and transmission of Vajrasattva 'ornamented with fivefold retinue' from a Yogi called "Tongku Lama" in the local language, in a lineage transmitted by disciples of Lopön Padma. [This master] also visited a temple with thousands of Vajrasattva statues made of a sandalwood which that Lama had brought from lesser Śambhala. He showed him the way to lesser Śambhala, through a cave hidden by a waterfall, and so on.

"In this 'rock enclosure' there are about ten thousand settlements", [he explained]. "If you go north from here on a road hard to travel, there is lesser Śambhala, 'the slate enclosure', a land of one hundred thousand settlements. This is what the Bönpo call "Ölmo-lung", but the Bönpo don't have a correct account of it. There are many Yogi-s who have attained powers. If you go on further to

the north from there, you will find greater Śambhala, ‘the enclosure of snows’, with many tens of millions of settlements”, and from the explanations of this Lama, the routes and the layout of those countries, and their many particularities became as clear as day to him, which he related along with his amazing visions, or so I heard.

Another time in a dream he saw himself seated like a king in one of the palaces at Samyé. It was said that a [mobile] staircase had to be set up for Lopön Padma in the open space to the right, and with great effort a couple of people managed to set up a staircase in the empty space. The great crowd assembled there made a great clamour and swirl, but the wooden structure was too short and would not reach, or was too heavy to carry, and so on, so that it was of no use. Then a distinguished-looking person present there said “These people have made a lot of noise saying they are going to set up a staircase for Lopön Padma, but apart from Chokgyur Lingpa, Kongtrül and yourself, no one can set up this great staircase”, which he said held great meaning. But in general, apart from just hinting at such dream visions as these occasionally when the situation demanded, it was absolutely not his habit to speak of them.

Another time, in an apparition of pure luminosity he was transported to a very broad and even parkland adorned with meadows and pools spangled with red and white flowers, which resembled the noble land [of India]. This master was riding on a golden turtle, Shalu Choktrul Losel Tenkyong was riding a white lioness, Dzokchenpa Shenpen Tayé was riding a powder-white elephant, Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa was riding a growling tiger, and I, Pema Garwang, was riding a turquoise dragon. We were all dressed in the apparel of Heruka-s. A multitude of Ḍāka-s and Ḍākinī-s in silks, jewels and bone ornaments carrying Ḍamaru-s and bells and various attributes performed Vajra songs and dances, and he said this joyous vision lasted for a long time and filled him with wonder. The mounts ridden by each of us had a great significance related to our emanational fields, our qualities and activity and so on, and so I commissioned a scroll painting depicting the scene and offered it to him. He was delighted, and he consecrated it and kept it hanging in his room for a long time.

Of course, he always used to say “I have no clairvoyance”, but he had no need of the ‘divination experts’ we have these days. [His] written [pronouncements] which seemed to be aware of all past, present and future lives and their qualities and faults circulated in all public places, and since he was never unable to assess the validity of divinations or to deliver one when necessary, and at critical times like periods of unrest what he said was entirely borne out by events, Lama-s, chieftains and learned men relied exclusively upon his word.²⁵⁹ He was the paragon of the virtues of learning and purity admired by those of discriminating and impartial spirit. When he told departing disciples that they were unlikely to meet again, or indeed that they would meet again, it invariably turned out so. Once he told [his attendants] to watch out for fire in the upper monastery, and once he told them that there was a fire in the lower monastery and they should go look, and on those occasions the fires had not been noticed even by those present [in the buildings concerned], and there were many other occurrences of such hidden phenomena.

In summary, no one could account for all the events relating to such an inconceivably realised master of spiritual awakening, and though I have not included all I know or could tell even from my limited viewpoint, I have told, as an ordinary and undistinguished person, whatever I have seen.



Rigs bdag mtsho skyes rdo rje padma thod phreng rtsal
[Guru Padma, lord of all classes]

Rol pa'i rdo rje
Khyab bdag Blo gsal bstan skyong
[Playful Vajra, Shalu Losel Tenkyong]

bDe bai rdo rje
O rgyan 'tshé med bstan gnyis gling pa
[Joyful Vajra, Jamgön Kongtrül]

Mi 'gyur rdo rje
Padma 'od gsal mdo sngags gling pa
[Changeless Vajra, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo]

Rig pa'i rdo rje
rGyal sras gzhan phan mtha' yas
[Awareness Vajra, Gyalsé Shenpen Tayé]

Ye shes rdo rje
gTer chen mChog gyur bde chen gling pa
[Wisdom Vajra, Chokgyur Lingpa]

SIX

How he consequently served the teachings and living beings

At the age of twenty-one, while he was at Ngor, with the encouragement of Khenchen Dorjé-chang he established an institute for the study of grammar and other sciences, which turned out such highly qualified graduates as Tartsé Shapdrung Champa Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen²⁶⁰ and Jampéyang Ngawang Lekdrup. The omniscient Tsang Pañchen Tenpé Nyima²⁶¹ also wrote a letter in his praise and, on meeting him in person, placed a greeting scarf of the highest quality around his neck and five gold coins in his hand, anointed his head and acclaimed him as the ‘Tartsé Mahāpaṇḍita’. He became renowned among the learned in those parts as the ‘Dégé Paṇḍita’ or ‘Tartsé Paṇḍita’.²⁶²

The *Sūtra requested by Sāgaramati*²⁶³ says:

‘Perfect Bodhicitta and upholding the teachings/ Accomplishing the teachings and compassion for living beings/ The virtues of these four Dharma-s are limitless/ And the teachings of the Jina-s do not exceed these’

but what is more than constant meditation on these four Dharma-s, taking the famous ‘golden volume’ of the Sakyapa as the basis, instructions for the many collected Sādhana-s of the great tutelary deities, with their respective validations from the Sanskrit scriptures, of unbroken transmission, he appended their crucially important exegetical writings, and where these were incomplete or insufficient, supplemented them with newly composed exegetical writings, as well as similarly authentic teachings from the Kagyü and Géluk traditions and so on, and compiled and printed them in ten volumes, solely out of concern for the duration of the teachings, as a collection named the ‘Compendium of Sādhana-s’ [*Druptap kuntū*].

He gave the empowerments, reading transmission and guiding instructions for this collection once in Tsang, once to Dabsang Tulku and a group of about twenty of us faithful at the Palpung monastery in Doe-kham, once at Dzongsar monastery to the fifteenth Gyalwang Karmapa, Tartsé Khenchen

Jamyang Rinchen Dorjé and others, and he once taught the supplements for Tartsé Shapdrung Jamyang Namka Gyeltsen²⁶⁴ and the [Ngor] Khangsar and Penkhang Shapdrung-s and so on.

As the *Lion's roar Sūtra*²⁶⁵ says:

‘A greater [gift] than gold-filled worlds/ As numerous as the sands of the Gangā/ To teach a single verse [of Dharma] in the age of misfortune/ Is to accumulate unprecedented merit’

and although suitable recipients of the teachings are extremely hard to find in this highly degenerate age, with the altruistic motivation of benefitting others and the teachings, and in accord with the [Buddha's] statement that teaching even one verse is of unlimited benefit, he uninterruptedly conferred the gift of Dharma teaching on living beings, starting with the great Kalyāṇamitra-s and going through those of highest, medium and lowest capacity, never tiring or becoming discouraged.

Just as this master had received the reading transmissions of the collected works of Ngorchen [Kunga Sangpo] and Shuchen [Tsultrim Rinchen] and the empowerments and teachings of the ‘two stainless ones’ from his own Mūlaguru-s, the Tartsé Dorjé-chang brothers, he taught disciples from all schools including: from the three branches of the Sakya school [*Sa ngor tsarsum*], the heads of the glorious Sakya order, the throneholder Tashi Rinchen, Jétsunma Tamdrin Wangmo, Tendzin Wangmo and Kesang Chödrön,²⁶⁶ most of the Khenpo-s and Shapdrung-s at Ngor Éwam, the Shalu Choktrul, the Simwok Rinpoché of Nalendra, the Yarlung Wön Rinpoché,²⁶⁷ Sakya Ganden Pönlop, Ngor Pönlop Ngawang Lekdrup, Lopön Kunga Jampel of Dar Drangmoché, Palden Trinlé, the Lama of the Dégé ruler, and his nephew Gendun Gyatso, and the Shar Lama Kunga Pelden [of Dégé Göñchen]; most of the holders of the Kagyü teachings, from the previous and present Karmapa-s, previous and present Situ Choktrul-s, Taklung Ma Rinpoché, the Jédrung,²⁶⁸ Shapdrung²⁶⁹ and Nominhan Pakchok²⁷⁰ of Riwoché, Dabsang Rinpoché, the Wöntrul brothers²⁷¹ and the scholar Lama Karma Ngédön,²⁷² down to myself; [teachers of the]

Bodong tradition such as Jora Tamché Khyenpa²⁷³ and Samding Dorjé Pakmo; many holders of the Jonang teachings such as Chaksam Nyima Chöpel; [teachers from the] Gélukpa side, like Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé, Lhatsün Döndrup Gyeltsen, many scholars from Tashi-lhunpo, Séra and Drépfung, the Drayab Nominhan Chenpo,²⁷⁴ the Litang Khen Rinpoché the supremely learned Champa Punt-sok, Hor Khangsar Gyelwa and so on; and from the side of the old translation school, many of the Lama-s and monks from Do[rjé Drak], Min[dröl-ling] and Péri, Chaksam and so on, and Lama-s and apprentices of all kinds from the monasteries of Ka[tok], Pé[yull], Shé[chen] and Dzok[chen], Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa and his sons, and so on; and Tibetan leaders, ministers,²⁷⁵ generals and financiers, the Dégé Dharmarāja, the king of Ling, and so on.

To them he taught all branches of ordinary science, explanations of the Sūtra-s and Tantra-s, and Tantric empowerments, blessings, instructions, guidance in the development and completion stages, reading transmissions and so on, mainly from the Nyingma, Kadampa, Sakyapa, Ngorpa and Tsarpa traditions, the Kagyü and Shangpa traditions, Shi-ché and Chöyul, and the Kālacakra tradition, in accordance with their wishes, and without partiality or bias. Of all the teachings this master received, apart from the Kangyur [canonical scriptures], there was not one he did not teach at least once, and most of them he taught many times. In particular, those requesting the blessings and instructions of Vajrayoginī and the empowerments and instructions for the ‘heart-essence’ [*Longchen nyingtik*] came to him all the time, and he always granted their wishes.

Later on, virtually everyone of significance throughout the four rivers and six ranges of Doe-kham came to meet him, and he was constantly giving ‘Dharma connections’ such as longevity empowerments or transference of consciousness practices, according to their wishes. Thus the entire spectrum of senior Lama-s and leaders in central Tibet and Kham honoured and worshipped him, yet he engaged not at all in the behaviour of the ‘eight worldly Dharma-s’, such as face-saving, taking sides or seeking patronage for himself or others, but stuck to the religious path with absolute sincerity and wholeheartedly adopted

the posture of renunciation with absolute humility and no trace of pride or arrogance, which I find singularly wonderful.

This master did not disparage any [Buddhist] philosophical system, and cultivated a non-sectarian appreciation of different religious teachings. Neither did he mix their tenets together. He appreciated any actual [teaching] lineage whatsoever, even up to the Bönpo [teachings], that could be ascertained as a stage on the path of liberation, and as an auspicious outcome of his enthusiasm for the positive aspects of all teachings, the Bönpo in that region held him in the same respect as one of their own Lama-s, and in such ways he basked in the glory of all religious teachings.²⁷⁶

Thus, to follow the general practice in the hagiographies of the saints, which proclaim their nobility as a series of twelve qualities: he reached the far shore of the ocean of great learning of Sūtra and Tantra, along with the ordinary sciences; through analytical contemplation he had perfectly distinct understanding of the tenets of [Buddhist and non-Buddhist] philosophical positions; through meditation his experience and realisation overflowed [i.e., perfection in the three activities of listening, reflection and meditation – *tösam gomsum*]; his learning was so complete that he could clarify the uncertainty of even renowned commentators with respect to the meanings of particular terms from the fields of Sūtra, Tantra or the ordinary sciences, down to the most trifling; his ethical conduct was so lacking in hypocrisy that examination of his behaviour was edifying; his righteousness was so impartial that discriminating people likened the honesty and correctness of his judgement to gold [i.e., perfection in the three attributes of learning, morality and goodness – *khétsun sangsum*]; when he taught it was as if the blessing of the tutelary deity was present, for he would speak without having to consult the text or pause for thought, as fluently as if he were reciting ‘Maṇi’; in debate, however much one tried to refute his initial assertion, his arguments from scripture and reason only gained in profundity, and objections from any angle failed to find inconsistency in his position; in [written] composition he wove multitudes of verse, and even his speech resembled something learned by heart, without the

[hesitancy of] thought or the fault of repetition [i.e., perfection in the three activities of teaching, debate and composition – *chétsö tsumsum*]; with the insight of perfect wisdom, the general and particular characteristics of any objects of knowledge whatsoever were visible to him, and any mode of existence of phenomena was within his grasp; the compassion of boundless love, of impartial benefit to the teachings and sentient beings, was his exclusive concern; his power overwhelmed malign heathens with brilliance, as celebrated in Vajra prophecies, not to mention elsewhere [i.e., perfection in the three attributes of wisdom, love and power – *khyentsé nusum*].

Leaving alone his spiritual qualities, even on the mundane side, this master's father was a man of such probity and discretion that he served twenty-six years as chief secretary at the Dé'gé court. At a time when powerful people were contemptuous of the law and unrestrained in attitude, and there was no noble family which had not incurred punishment, that pious secretary was not accused of misusing so much as a single square of silk. He was acclaimed by the public as a 'foreman [worthy of] a conch shell hair ornament' [i.e., a just minister], and [Tartsé] Dorjé-chang Namka Chimé, Drupchen Kunsang Shenpen, Ka-tok Mahāpaṇḍita Tséwang Chokdrup and others directly referred to him as at one with the saints, as can be seen from documents which have survived to this day.

Having been born into that family, this master too was fair-minded and scrupulously honest, and could judge the virtues and defects of both philosophical standpoints and mundane ideas utterly without bias, and discuss them in neutral terms, for which he was singularly respected by educated people, and feared by the deviant. As for the insults directed at him by those incorrigible miscreants cursed by Māra, unable to bear the exposure of their own faults, it is like the saying 'To be measured by the straight line is a misery for crooked people'.

Furthermore, he never engaged by any means in soliciting disciples, [soliciting donations by] performing rites in public or making gifts with the intention

of improper gain. He had nothing to do with such [worldly concerns] as trade, agriculture or family quarrels, even in his dreams. Apart from granting the wishes of those who invited him to visit in the course of a journey, he never engaged in such acts of life-sapping pretence as giving vase- or hand-blessings as an ostentatious holy man. Whatever was given he would immediately donate to the next good cause rather than hoarding it for the future, and not so much as a coin went to improper recipients, as is the case with ingratiating those heedless of Karmic fruition, like monk attendants, relatives and so on.

To those close to him he would make only the brief statement of a renunciate that “This old monk will soon be dead”, and never instructed them to lay on elaborate preparations, like someone with plans to live for a long time. In front of ordinary people he never spoke of renunciation demonstratively, as [some do] with sizzling tears of lamentation, and in front of Lama-s of course he never used the deceptive flattery of obsequious devotion, while in private he never spoke ill of any [religious figure], right down to those qualified merely by title or family descent, and spoke of Vajradhara-s and high Lama-s and so on only in the highest terms of praise and with an unimaginably profound devotion. In terms of his immutable faith alone, there are none among today’s Lama-s and disciples, whether the openly or the secretly conceited, to compare with him.

Although in general he was reserved, and no one could probe the depth of his thoughts, there was nothing unpleasant in his outward manner, none of the scholar’s arrogance or the Yogi’s irritability and short temper.²⁷⁷ He had the humility to get on easily with everyone, in the way of the wise.

In actual terms, in the moment of real crisis,²⁷⁸ those on the religious side who pride themselves as holy men, very smart or gifted with clairvoyant or miraculous powers, and those on the secular side reckoned to be intelligent, resourceful, [mighty] like tigers and lions, all swallowed their courage and fled without glancing back, without the merest hesitation, or even chose to throw in their lot with the worst of the enemies, bringing ruin on themselves and others

by surrendering everything, as if they were enacting an illusory spectacle. At a time like that, when the basest, most despicable conduct of those prepared to discard courage, shame and future Karmic prospects as readily as a stone they used to wipe their arse, had shattered the integrity of even secular affairs like a hail of rocks shatters a clay pot, his strength of mind rose in proportion to the fearsome challenges of the situation. Even the tips of the hairs on his body did not waver [in fear], and far from acceding to the opposition or seeking refuge elsewhere even in his dreams, he retained his integrity with the immovability of a mountain, blazing with splendour like the sun in a cloudless sky, which no one can impede.²⁷⁹ It seems to me that at that point he was actualising the prophecy implicit in the name 'fearless and all-accomplishing Ācārya' with which Moktön Sangdak Chenpo had jokingly crowned him early on, and the name 'glorious play of fearless wisdom and love, all-victorious' which he received with his Bhikṣu ordination at Mindröl-ling.

In such ways his ears were impervious to people's talk, and it was impossible for anyone to take him in or sway his thinking. He conversed with people, whether of highest, lowest or medium capacity, in a most leisurely and reassuring way, but without involvement. He did not use concealed or abbreviated parlance hard to understand, and his manner of speaking was relaxed and impartial. Moreover, he would relate the amazing tales from the discourse of the Kadampa masters of the past, the utterances of [great] Lama-s, or of his own experience backed up by precise chronology, genuine sources and logical coherence, and imbued with the essence of Dharma. Unlike the sycophantic and biased chatter of fools like myself, comparable to the ramblings of a drunkard, such words were not only [wasted on ordinary ears] like hay set in front of a dog, but some of the worst might even find them intolerable. He never engaged in self-praise or the denigration of those worthy of respect, or the expectations and suspicions, prickly as a thornbush, of today's Lama-s and rulers, essentially concerned with what others are saying about them, who are their promoters and who their detractors. There were those of mean quality who, while inwardly lacking respect, would deliver the obsequious flattery indispensable when addressing

today's Lama-s and rulers, heaping praise or casting blame according to their individual likes and dislikes, and especially indulging in the jealous backbiting of finding fault with those on the ascendant and rejoicing in the misfortunes of those fallen from grace, as readily as the barking of street dogs, but merely on hearing such talk he would not only fall silent and stop listening, but even subsequently retain great displeasure.

This master's entire conduct was of course unimpeachably consistent with Dharma. Contrary to the deluded ways of [ordinary] individuals, he held to reason, and did not suffer so much as a sesame seed husk from expectation or disappointment, even if he heard [himself being] repudiated or criticised, saying that if even the deeds of the Buddha had not satisfied ordinary beings, how could someone like him hope for their respect? This master was perfectly direct in all his intentions and actions, with no trace of artifice. In the presence of learned and important men he did not engage in pretence or flattery, and without the least hesitation he expressed himself with forthright elegance. His attitude to ordinary people and children was not condescending or proud, and he encouraged them with whatever easygoing talk or jokes they might like, rather than intimidating or belittling them. Having inherited and furthered the accomplishments of previous lives and mastered the internal spiritual discipline of Samādhi capable of overpowering beings of all capacities, all were humbled in his presence.

Whether in matters great or small, apart from requesting divination on important occasions from Lama-s in whom he had sincere faith, or performing the occasional divination himself, this master would keep his own counsel, so long as there was no conflict with Dharma and it was in conformity with worldly custom, without too much talk. He used to say that since one is born alone and has to die alone, and no one can accompany and advise one during these two most important moments of passage, one really has to figure out how best to fulfill the purpose of this present life by oneself, and not surrender one's independence to others.

If others requested his opinion, he would reply “I am not clairvoyant. Since we are all humans who know how to talk and know what is what, we all feel happy when we get what we want, and feel at a loss when we don’t. Considering the saying that ‘hoping too much for something prevents it from coming about’, while wondering whether something will happen and what to do about it, how can one make any assessment? Since there is nothing more to this than the proverbial [‘empty] dreams of a beggar’, I don’t know how to make predictions.”

At public gatherings, teachings and so forth, he would only give general advice on how to behave, and would never tell individual people what they should or should not do. He used to say “Dromtönpa said ‘Giving advice to those who do not listen is a pain’, and just so, these days even if one has a hundred disciples, it is hard to find any who could be depended upon to follow the Lama’s advice, and even if one has a hundred sons, it is hard to find any who will listen to their father, and in such circumstances, giving advice only causes resentment to both parties.” Apart from giving a few tips after careful [examination], he would just say that if one is really sincere one can follow the advice of the ‘three jewels’, and did not mislead disciples with easy advice.

In these days, when those who pretend to be humble tell others what to do, when people who claim to be clairvoyant deliver false prophecies without clairvoyance, attempt to resolve disputes²⁸⁰ without having the capacity to do so, advise and guide others although they do not listen, flatter and fawn before [the Lama] while [inwardly] despising him, and behave [with the imitativeness of] monkeys and [the superficial cool of] cats, one can only recall this Lama’s example.

When this master was young he enjoyed perfect health, but later on, with the arisal of conflict, the effect of being poisoned and so on, the general merit of the land of Tibet declined, and his state of health deteriorated.²⁸¹ When his various ailments became more serious, he said “It is not a case of treating [illness] as an exercise in mind training, it is due to previous bad Karma that medical treatment is not effective, and neither are rituals. No one likes being

ill or wants to die. [Even] to feel well hour by hour is something good in itself, [but] nothing can be done for [the outcome] of previous Karma, there is nothing for it but to own up to it”, and remained at peace, without fretting in the least

When others told him of the existence of such and such learned ones, those of pure conduct, renunciates, Siddha-s and *tértön-s* and so on, he would reply only “Anything is possible, so I am sure there are [such people]”, for unlike the saying ‘Despising what is familiar and always searching after something new’, he did not disregard established teachings and Lama-s to go looking for the latest novelties, or speak ill of others out of jealousy. “And while those Siddha-s and *tértön-s* and so on may be all very well, these days restless people both wise and foolish treat those Siddha-s and *tértön-s* with awed respect at first, filling earth and sky with praise for them, following after them and requesting their teaching, but as the Kadampa masters used to say “We the Kalyāṇamitra-s will get to be despised in honorific terms!”, and after a while they will cast all the slurs they know on [such teachers], describing them, whether politely or not, as short-tempered, authoritarian, spoiled, over-occupied, tricky, demanding, unreliable, prodigal, grasping and so on. Since there is no point in trying to stop a sharp-tongued beggar from saying what he will, it is better to say nothing about anyone, whether good or bad, and stay [unaffected] like a deaf person.” That is what he used to say, and this seems to me to be a very important point.

When requested for auspicious connections, this master used to say “If auspicious connections do not occur spontaneously, they cannot be deliberately contrived. Look at the timing of the auspicious connection between Khenchen Bodhisattva and the Dharmarāja Trisong [for example]. But these days the merit of disciples is too low for auspices to occur spontaneously, wrong views are rampant, doubts are manifold, disciples treat their Lama too much as one of themselves, and their Samaya-s are ruined. In these times when those who follow and place their trust in a Lama find fault in everything he does, the arrangement of good auspices is difficult.” He said this repeatedly, certainly speaking as one who knows.

“Some claim to have [the support of] auspicious conjunction to behave like drunken madmen, dressing up like the bandits who roam Nyarong and Horkok, taking girlfriends and drinking alcohol, racing horses, enjoying archery, shooting and hunting, singing and dancing, making prophecies and going into trance.²⁸² There is no way for an ordinary individual like myself to assess another and reach any absolute conclusion about what is good or bad, but in general not only are the noble ones deeply ashamed by [such conduct], but ever since the time of the Dharmarāja Trisong [when Buddhism took root in Tibet], there have only been the ‘shaven-headed’ practitioners of Sūtra and the ‘long-haired’ practitioners of Mantra, and no third group of bandits and robbers!” That is what he said, and it seems to me that anyone who is sincere and thinks carefully about the teachings of Sūtra and Mantra would find it to be so, but there is no saying what people of bad Karma might think.

Some are very touchy about defending their particular philosophical positions, and especially there are many who tug so hard in the debate between the *Rangtong* and *Shentong* views that they break each others’ necks. When this master taught the views of the various schools he did so without mixing their terminology, in a straightforward, easily understandable and comprehensive way.

“In general, the essential purpose of setting forth all of these various philosophical views is to establish the ultimate reality of all phenomena”, he would say, “and as the *Prajñāpāramitā* says ‘The essence of all phenomena is unknowable/ It cannot be grasped by conceptual thought.’ Even one such as the crown jewel of Tibet’s philosophers Ngok Lotsāva [Lo-den Shérab] said:

‘Far from being expressible in words and concepts, the absolute is not even within the conceptual sphere, and that being so, the ultimate state of things can never be defined by ordinary perception, no matter how profound.’

Since even the terms used in a necessarily provisional and partial sense by the learned and accomplished masters of the past to establish their philosophical positions are themselves evidently based on many supporting logical arguments, one should follow one’s own tradition properly, whatever it may be, and get to the

core of the founding Lama-s' teaching, without being too sectarian. Otherwise, by mixing up different terms and philosophical views, failing to get to the core of one's own tradition and entertaining superficial ideas about other traditions, one will lose the proper distinctions of view, meditation, conduct and result, like a weaver tangling up different kinds of thread, and be unable to follow the prescribed path, thus losing confidence in one's own tradition and failing to correctly follow any other tradition to which one may aspire. Since this is nothing more than a cause for amusement to the wise, it is better to control one's impulses."

Some cite 'revealed prophecies', or say 'our Lama such and such said so', or that just seeing the face or receiving the hand-blessing of a certain Lama from their own tradition will deliver one from the lower realms, and there is much heaping of excessive praise such as saying that [a certain Lama] is the earthly representative of the Buddha-s and Bodhisattva-s, [while] saying the opposite about Lama-s from another tradition, even though they may have manifestly perfected the qualities of learning, purity and excellence. This master would say that to praise one's Lama out of devotion, not merely out of worldly affinity but sincerely seeing him as the personification of the Buddha was of course a good thing, and bore no ill will towards any teaching or practitioner of another tradition. [He saw] such heretical disparagement as a departure from religion and an act even worse than the five irremediable sins.

"Also many [supposedly] revealed prophecies bear the signs of having been made up by foolhardy people motivated by some present attachment or aversion and falsely attributed to Orgyen Padma. Even if it is taken as coming from a genuine revelation, it is most foolish to one-sidedly interpret the intent, necessity and impact of something in which one has such trust in order to disparage some important teaching or individual, and far from accepting such things [one should] block one's ears on even hearing them." These foolhardy people should be a little more careful, for as it says in the *Sūtra on the non-origination of phenomena*:²⁸³

‘Son of a noble family! Since slander leaves the imprint of [negative] Karma, those who wish to be free of such Karma should not be angered by the conduct of others. One should keep faith in all such conduct. One should consider that one cannot know the minds of others, and thinking that the conduct of sentient beings is difficult to understand, generate the attitude [of acceptance]. In view of this, the Tathāgata-s have taught as follows: One individual cannot take the measure of another. If one individual takes the measure of another, he will be hurt, for only I [the enlightened one], or one like me, can take the measure of another. Son of a noble family! Whoever would protect himself should not analyse the conduct of others, should not fault them by saying “This is like so, and this is like so”, but should strive in the teachings of the Buddha by day and by night.’

*The Sūtra of the concise Dharma*²⁸⁴ says:

‘Mañjuśrī, the Karmic stain of rejecting the holy Dharma is a subtle one. The attitude that some of the Tathāgata-s’ teachings are good and that some are bad is a rejection of the Dharma. Whoever rejects Dharma denigrates the Tathāgata-s by doing so, and maligns the Saṅgha. To say “This is correct” and “This is not correct” is to reject the Dharma. To say “This was taught for the benefit of the Bodhisattva-s. This was taught for the benefit of the Śrāvaka-s. This was taught for the benefit of the Pratyekabuddha-s” is to reject the Dharma.’

Apart from this master himself, I have not seen many who have not infringed this genuine injunction.

SEVEN

How in addition he pursued the great accumulation of merit in diverse ways

These days, in the last stage of the unfortunate age [characterised by] the spread of the five degenerations, when [people] engage in both aspects of the Buddhadharmā, scripture and realisation, on the level of appearance only, most of those renowned as Kalyāṇamitra-s and holders of the doctrine overlook the importance of the three activities of study, reflection and meditation and go in for the visually impressive and attention-grabbing endeavours concerning temples, statues, Stūpa-s, dance costumes and the like, and do so, whatever their degree of motivation to benefit the Dharma as a whole and create fields of merit for living beings, in the spirit of upstaging each other. Then there is a less virtuous group who totally ignore the duties of study, reflection and meditation to spend their entire lives chasing after tainted [because undeserved] offerings merely to sustain the institutional position of their monasteries, extorting their needs from the local population and rulers. All they do is ‘pour water onto a pebble beach’, wholly taken up with the disputes and losses of this life; rather than providing for the advancement of the teachings, they don’t even have time to build up resources, but just carry on as they would in ordinary life.

This master however served the teachings and living beings exclusively through the great variety of noble means of study, reflection and meditation and so on, without engaging for even one day in the wandering quest for religious alms, the [Karmically] heinous offerings for [rituals on behalf of] the living and the dead [sought both] in winter and in summer begging seasons. And although he enthusiastically kept a humble way of life in complete abstinence from the wrong livelihood of religious extortion, and lived accordingly as a perfect renunciate, whatever he needed came in abundance spontaneously and without effort, through the power of previous aspirations and accumulated merit. Like the saying

‘The scent of a flower will not go against the wind/
Neither incense of a hundred ingredients, or sandalwood/
The scent of sainthood is not blown away by the wind/
The scent of the greatest of men pervades all quarters’

the fame of his great qualities attracted innumerable senior Lama-s, local rulers and ordinary men and women from all directions, as if proclaimed by the celestial gods, who made ceaseless offerings in accordance with their means, and gifts accompanying requests for protection or on behalf of the deceased. In order that not so much as a needle's worth out of all this be misused, he undertook the commissioning of the three kinds of sacred symbols, offerings to Lama-s and the Saṅgha, regular and occasional offering ceremonies, the giving of alms to the poor and so on, [as if] unstintingly throwing open the door to an inexhaustible treasury.

While there is no occasion to go through these [donations] in detail here, the main points can be summarised, starting with the construction of temples and symbols of enlightened body, speech and mind. According to the basic list in the [auto]biography personally dictated by this master, he commissioned the building of thirteen temples,²⁸⁵ but the major and minor temples for which he took responsibility or contributed to through the virtuous activities of giving donations, support and advice to others are more numerous.

The most important is the Ngönjang Lhakhang [Abhisambodhi temple] of fifty-five pillars at the top of Dzongsar Tashi Lhatsé monastery, of excellent materials and beautiful design, up and down, inside and out, which was completed in a short time.²⁸⁶ The central object of worship is an outstanding statue of Śākyamuni with throne, Torāṇa and so on, of very fine quality, studded with ornaments of many precious materials and so on. The main statue itself is made of Mongolian bronze, and it is surrounded by gilt statues of the [other] seven Buddha-s of the past, the thirty-five Buddha-s of confession, the eight Bodhisattva-s, the sixteen Arhat-s, a very fine Ming-period Pañjara-mahākāla, Caturmukha[-mahākāla] in the form of a Brahmin sage, [Remati in the form known as] Kāmadhātviśvarī, Caturbhuja[-mahākāla], Ṣaḍbhuja, a Karṭṛika-mahākāla made of east Indian bronze, Vaiśravaṇa and Vasundharā. The main image on the right side [of the central statue] is an Amitāyus surrounded by bronzes and a supplement of eight gilt copper statues, Amitābha with two companion figures, a bronze Bhaiṣajyaguru surrounded by the seven [other

Medicine Buddha-s] in gilt copper one handspan tall above, and a silver Lopön Padma surrounded by gilt copper figures of the eight manifestations below. The main image on the left is Maitreya surrounded by the Bodhisattva-s of the three families, the eight Bodhisattva-s, a Chinese-style statue of Akṣobhya surrounded by the eight auspicious goddesses, a red bronze Tārā with heat-gilded [finish] in front, surrounded by twenty-one assorted bronze and gilt copper [Tārā-s] from China and Tibet.

In the centre of the throne on the wall of the sanctum is a Mahākāruṇika-ekādaśamukha, surrounded by [four statues of Lokeśvara corresponding with] the four Buddha families, [and] the Dharmakāya, Saṃbhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya forms. Above all is a central statue of Vajradhara and two consorts in Tibetan bronze, Virūpa, the five Sakya elders, Ngorchen [Kunga Sangpo], King Songtsen Gampo and his two ministers, Tönmi [Sambhoṭa] and Gar Tongtsen, Lo-chen Vairocana, the trio of Ka[wa Peltsek], Chok[ro Lu'i Gyeltsen] and Shang [Yéshé Dé], Nga-dak Tri Ré[pa-chen], Jowo Atiśa, Khaché Paṅchen Śākyasri, Lo-chen Rinchen Sangpo, Dromtönpa, Ngok Lo[tsāva], the father and son [sic for 'uncle and nephew'], the trio of Marpa [Lotsāva], Mila [répa] and Dakpo [Lharjé], Butön Rinpoché, Dolpo Sanggyé [Shérab Gyeltsen], the trio of Jé Rinpoché [Tsongkapa] and his two senior disciples, Dzongpa Kunga Namgyel, Tsarchen [Losel Gyatso], [and] Tartsé Khenchen Champa Namka Chimé, [Khenchen] Kunga Tendzin, [Pönlop] Jampel Sangpo and [Shapdrung] Tenpé Gyeltsen, these four.

Then there are new statues of the trio of Trisong Détsen, Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava, King Indrabodhi, Dharmarāja Candrabhadra, Mahāsiddha Saraha, Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmakirti, Mahāpaṇḍita Vimalamitra, Drokmi Lotsāva, Drupchen Khyungpo Neljor, Padampa Sanggyé, Druptop Orgyenpa, the lord of beings Pakmo-drupa [Dorjé Gyelpo], Shang Tselpa, Machik Lapdrön, Gyijo [Lotsāva], Drupwang Tangtong Gyelpo, Gyelwa Kesang Gyatso, Sakyapa Kunga Rinchen, and this master's principal teachers, from Karmapa Tekchok Dorjé, Shalu Losel Tenkyong, Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé, Lha-tsün Yéshé Döndrup, Géshé Champa

Puntsok, Shapdrung Namka Gyeltsen, Gémang Shenpen Tayé, and Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa down to myself, gold statues, finely finished, over one handspan and three fingers in height, all the same size. Among the [statues of] deities are his blessed Hevajra in Chinese style with retinue statues of the eight goddesses in gold, statues of Vajra-pañjara, Samputa and Kālacakra so well made that today they are exemplary, the Guhyasamāja forms of Akṣobhya and Mañjuvajra, Saṃvara in the styles of Lūipa and Kṛṣṇapa, a Vajrabhairava one short forearm in height, red and black forms of Yamāntaka, Bhūṭad-amara [form of Vajrapāṇi], the three Khecarī cycles, the cycle of three red protectors, the cycle of three red minor protectors, the Nirmāṇakāya [form of] Amitāyus of the secret teachings [*sérchö*], Siṃhanāda, Sitāpatrā, Marici, Parṇasābarī, black Mañjuśrī, multicoloured Garuḍa, Acala, fierce Vajrapāṇi, Mahācakra-vajrapāṇi, Tārā, secret Hayagrīva, Vajrasattva without consort, and as Heruka, a white Mahākāla made of sandalwood, and in the shrine room, [more statues of] the trio of Trisong Détsen, Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava, the trio of Marpa, Mila and Dakpo, Jowoje [Atiśa], Jé [Tsongkapa] and his two senior disciples, the sixteen Arhat-s, sandalwood statues of Saṃvara, Guhyasamāja and so on, altogether a great many high-quality statues.

On the temple walls are paintings of the thousand Buddha-s perfect in design, [ornamented] with heavy applications of cold gold. By the doorway are elegant [paintings of] the Dharmapāla-s and so on. As for the symbols of enlightened speech, it is filled with innumerable volumes of scripture and instruction from both Sūtra and Mantra classes, exemplified by a set of the precious *Kangyur* on vermillion-washed paper of fine materials, right down to the silk flaps, boards and fastenings. [Among the symbols of enlightened mind are] an elegant series of eight Stūpa-s one forearm tall adorned with silver and gold and minor ornaments of special manufacture, an extremely well made gilt copper Stūpa over an arrow's length tall of high quality, and a series of eight wood Stūpa-s embellished with gold leaf. Furthermore, in this temple alone are around five hundred statues of Lama-s, deities and protectors, old and new, large and small, chiefly the newly made ones of Vairocana-ab-

hisambodhi, of excellent quality, with throne and Torāṇa, Vajrasattva and Ācārya [Padmasambhava], each an arrow's length in height, and about thirty large and small Stūpa-s, chiefly a series of eight Kadampa [-style Stūpa-s], of exceptional design, with pavilion receptacles and so on.

For the above-mentioned Lama statues which he had made, seven Sang of silver was paid to the smiths for each copper figure, and about two Sang for the finishing work, making a total expenditure of at least eight Sang per statue. For the main statue of Śākyamuni, [an expenditure of] about eight Deltśé [= fifty Sang] of silver, for the Maitreya and Amitāyus a total of about seven Deltśé, for the Kālacakra reverently offered by another benefactor, he gave forty Sang of silver by way of refurbishment, and in total about sixty, twenty Sang each for the statues of Saṃvara, Guhyasamāja, Pañjara-mahākāla and Sampuṭa, forty each for the cycle of three red protectors and other deities of the *śérchö* [secret transmission Sādhana-s], about seventy-five Sang each for the Vairocana-abhisambodhi and Vajrasattva, four Deltśé for the large Stūpa, and twenty each for the series of eight Stūpa-s, which adds up to a donation of about thirty Deltśé. This partial account of his construction of the Ütsé Lhakang together with its contents is one illustration of his concern for the future sustenance of the teachings and living beings.

In the nine-pillar 'marvellous paradise of the all-seeing one' chapel of Śākyamuni and the Arhat-s which he commissioned, the central image was a large Śākyamuni in Saṃbhogakāya form finely made in gilt copper, with a retinue of eight Bodhisattva-s, sixteen Arhat-s, thirty-five Buddha-s of confession, a bronze Vajradhara and other fine gilt copper statues including twenty-one Tārā-s, eight manifestations of Guru Padma, the thirty-seven deity Sarvavid[-vairocana]-maṇḍala and the five [Pañcakula] Buddha-s. In addition there are three hundred and thirty assorted statues, a large Bodhi Stūpa in gilt copper, and sets of eight and of three, and so on, in a collection of thirty-four larger and smaller Stūpa-s, and innumerable volumes entirely fill the shelves along the left-hand wall, including the *Kangyur* and *Tengyur*, the collected Sūtra-s of the final turning of the Dharmacakra [comprising] six volumes of

definitive meaning, the hundred thousand verse *Prajñāpāramitā*, the collected works of the five Sakya elders, the collected works of Shuchen Tsultrim Rinchen, the collected works of Jamgön Amé Shap, the Maṇḍala rituals of the Shalu tradition, works on the mundane sciences, and so on.

The central image in the upper storey Tukchen Lhakhang library chapel, arranged like the Potala paradise, are Mahākāruṇika in the form known as ‘relaxation in the nature of mind’, in four-armed form and eleven-faced form, made of gilt copper with fine jewel ornaments. There are small statues of the thirty-five Tathāgata-s, eight Stūpa-s, and the four chests of books are filled to the brim with innumerable texts, mostly manuscripts, including the complete writings of the Sakya, Nyingma, Kagyü and Géluk traditions, and commentaries on the mundane sciences like medicine and astrology. On the rooftop is a large gilt copper spire [Gañjīra].

In the Lamdré Lhakhang over the assembly hall are statues of Śākyamuni and the sixteen Arhat-s, Virupa, the five [Sakya] elders, the eight manifestations [of Guru Padma], and of various Lama-s, a Stūpa of excellent quality, the collected writings of the Sakya elders, and so on. In the Lama Lhakhang, a new likeness statue, fifteen statues of Lama-s of various traditions, and many volumes of scripture, including the collected old translation Tantra-s [*Nyingma gyübum*], the four ‘heart-essences’ of the Great Perfection [*Dzokchen nyingtik yabshi*] and ‘seven treasuries’ [*Dzödün*] of Longchenpa.

In the upper and lower chapels at the Dzamnam [Pema Shépu] meditation cave are gilt copper statues of the Guru in ‘Mahāsukha’ form and of [Khandro Yéshé] Tsoygel, and on either side of them are many gilt statues, including the twenty-one Tārā-s, and many volumes of scripture, including the ‘seven treasuries’. In what seems to have been his residential chamber below [the cave], all [his] scroll paintings, offering utensils and kitchenware are preserved, and in the hermitage at the Dagam Wangpuk cave is an essential collection of the three kinds of symbols, chiefly some finely made clay statues of the ‘three roots’ [Guru, Deva and Ḍākinī] with inherent blessing. At Rongmé Karmo Taksang

is the hermitage and its sacred symbols. He provided for the establishment of a temple at Khangmar-doe²⁸⁷ and its sacred symbols, chiefly a gilt bronze Śākyamuni statue one arrow tall, and offering utensils.

In the newly established nine-pillar Riksum Lhakang temple at Khamjé Tang²⁸⁸ were large statues of Śākyamuni, the eight Bodhisattva-s, the sixteen Arhat-s and the Bodhisattva-s of the three families, and many assorted statues, including a Chinese-style *Prajñāpāramitā* one forearm tall surrounded by the Buddha-s of the ten directions, a Kadam-style Stūpa one forearm tall surrounded by eight reliquary Stūpa-s in gilt copper, the scriptures of a great variety of teachings such as the twelve volumes of the hundred thousand verse *Prajñāpāramitā*, finely painted murals depicting the Lama-s of the triple vow lineage, irrespective of sectarian affiliation, and so on, and an ornamental spire [Gañjira]. In the temple at this master's own residence, the 'auspicious garden of immortality attained',²⁸⁹ were bronze statues of the Lama-s, deities and protectors, and one hundred and ten gilt copper statues, old and new, and with the great many volumes of scripture, it blazes inside and out with the splendour of all-pervading blessing. These are the temples and sacred objects established on this master's authority.

In addition, there were the fine gilt copper jewelled statue of Ārya Tārā with thirteen retinue from him in the Drölma Lhakang at my own hermitage [in Palpung], the forty or so assorted statues in the Dzongsar assembly hall which he sponsored, and also the gilt copper statue of Śākyamuni in Saṃbhogakāya form and accompanying figures of the thirty-five Buddha-s and eight Bodhisattva-s in gilt copper, each one handspan tall, which he offered to Khen Lama Tashi Öser's temple at Alo Penjor Gön [monastery].²⁹⁰ He [also] offered fifty or so gilt statues of the [Lamdré] lineage Lama-s, the Hevajra nine-deity ensemble and so on for the Kunyön Lhakang [chapel] at [Dégé] Gönchen, and at any other newly built temples such as Dzongsar Nga, Gang and Néra,²⁹¹ he not only offered all kinds of support for the commissioning of sacred symbols out of pure motivation, but it was as if there was nothing he would not provide for, right down to the varnish needed by ordinary monks trying to make [something as simple as] a bookcase, which shows that even these things came

about through the Lama's kindness. In summary, in arranging beautifully the interiors of the above-named temples, and making endowments of all kinds to other monasteries, he commissioned around two thousand statues just [counting those] in gilt copper.

Concerning symbols of enlightened speech [i.e., books], just as this master arranged the Sādhana-s and rituals of each deity of the new translation Tantra-s in a single series, in the form of an accompaniment to the *Precious source* Sādhana collection of the Jonang tradition [*Jonang rinjung gyatsa*], making a complete collection in eleven large volumes, and furnished the means to publish it, he also took on the work of printing a lot of the fundamental liturgical texts of the old and new translation traditions, the *Hundred minor teachings* [*Chöchung gyatsa*] of Jowo [Atiśa], the *Hundred deeds of the Buddha* [*Tönpé dzégya*] compiled by Jonang Jétsün Tāranātha and [his] *History of Buddhism in India* [*Gyakar chöjung*], most of the root texts of the canonical teachings, such as the *Five treatises of Maitreya* [*Chamchö nga*], and many of the treatises and commentaries, including the superior *Abhidharma[-samuccaya]* and inferior *Abhidharma[-kośa]*, the omniscient Rong[tönpal]'s commentary on the two 'distinguishing' titles [from the Chamchö nga], and so on. At the behest of discriminating sponsors, and with the wherewithal provided by them, he printed nearly forty volumes of Sūtra and Tantra, treatises and commentaries, and works on the mundane sciences, including Rongtön Chenpo's commentaries on the [Prajñāpāramitā] *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Uttaratantra*, Mapja Chang[chub] Tsön[dru]'s commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, Rendawa's commentary on the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Tsonawa's two-volume commentary on the *Vinaya-sūtra*, the *Vinaya* commentary by Sanggyé Pel of Kyétsel, Chim Jampéyang [Namka Drak]'s two-volume commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, Sazang Pañchen's great commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Gyelsé Tokmé's commentaries on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, the root text and commentary on Longchenpa's *Wish fulfilling treasury* [*Yishin dzö*], Mi-pam Gyatso's great commentary on [Śāntarakṣita's] *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*, Uyukpa [Rikpé Senggé]'s *Treasury of Pramāṇa* [*Tséma rikpé dzö*], and so on. Then, he had

the scriptures, instructions and advice from [all] the transmitted and revealed teachings of both new and old schools and all traditions rewritten, right down to the authentic advice on behaviour related to each, be it [only] one page, amounting to more than two hundred volumes, all of the major printed works extant in central Tibet, and every last page of the printed works in this region of Döe-kham, which adds up to about two thousand printed and manuscript volumes reproduced with respect and devotion as things of beauty, using best quality materials, even down to the boards, straps, silk flaps, buckles and wrappers.

As for symbols of enlightened mind, of the more than one hundred larger and smaller Stūpa-s made of gilt copper alone which he commissioned, the principal one was the ‘great Stūpa which liberates on sight’ [Chödong Tongdröl Chenmo] at Lhundrup-teng, the height of one very tall storey, with gold, silver and jewel ornaments of good quality, made with an expenditure of one hundred and eight Deltse of silver.²⁹²

These temples and sacred symbols of the three kinds, the most important of the great many he commissioned, have been related here approximately in the most preliminary form, for to list the whole collection of statues and books one by one, including those he gave away to others, would defy simple accounting and add up to a substantial archive, and this brief description has omitted even some of the more important items.²⁹³

He also offered respect and service to spiritual teachers and the Saṅgha, considering them as particularly worthy objects. In the presence of all the Lama Vajradhara-s and Kalyāṇamitra-s from whom he received the nectar of vast and profound Dharma teachings at various times, this master initially presented flowers or a Maṇḍala with his request for teaching, and upon completion, he promptly arranged ‘clouds’ of offerings of good quality in acknowledgement of the teacher’s kindness, not even slightly tarnished by deceit or meanness, and embellished them many times over with devotion and joy. Later on, even here, on the occasions of receiving many profound empowerments and transmissions

in the presence of P'eyul Tulku Karma Kunsang Tendzin and Dzarka Choktrul Kunsang Namgyel, he delighted them with abundant Maṇḍala offerings and gifts of excellent substance. Even to myself, whom this master included among his Lama-s with a purity of perception that sees dung as gold, he at all times made repeated Maṇḍala offerings, and in the cause of longevity prayers and so on, made the finest quality offerings of all delightful things, chiefly most precious symbols of body, speech and mind. Likewise, he continually and respectfully made vast offerings to the Lama-s of all schools with whom he had the connection to receive teachings, taking absolutely to heart the words of [Aśvaghōṣa's] *Fifty verses of Guru devotion*:

‘With the intensity of one’s desire/ Whatever is somewhat attractive/ That which stands out as special/ Offer them to the Lama’

and all the other Sūtra-s, Tantra-s and commentaries which emphasise respect for and offerings to Lama-s and spiritual teachers, and put them into practice.

To all the major and minor monastic communities of all schools, most of which were in decline as a result of the conflicts of those times, he donated more than three thousand parcels of tea in the form of restorative contributions. Concerning his blessed kindness in engaging the favour of Chinese and Tibetan rulers,²⁹⁴ [particularly] the king and ministers of Dégé, by clarifying the main points for them, to provide the overall conditions for the restoration of former [monasteries] and endowment of funds, and promoting their expansion through relevant and pertinent advice, the *Garland of rebirths* says:

‘[Like] the universal appeal of the moon, the brilliance of the sun/ The heat of fire, the speed of the wind [and]/ The joy of compassion, benefitting others/ Is the inherent nature of the saints’

and likewise the perfect career of enthusiastically undertaking to single-mindedly benefit the teachings and living beings is something which this master manifestly lived up to.

Furthermore, in terms of his practical application of reverence and service to teachers and the religious community, in accord with the Dharma, exemplified by undiminishing annual donations to each of the greater and lesser monasteries to support the [recitation of] Mantra and dedicatory prayers, amounting consistently to more than four thousand parcels of tea, down to supporting hermits in mountain retreat with teaching and material necessities, I cannot think of anyone else in the land of snows during this late epoch who has exceeded this master's efforts.

Also, his arrangement of continuous and uninterrupted cloud-like offerings, both occasional and regular [were exemplary]. He furnished the above-mentioned thirteen temples, the main ones and their branches, with complete sets of offering utensils in general, and specifically, supplies of items in regular use like incense and butter lamps. In particular he ceaselessly [provided] a mass of offerings including the utensils, materials and fine apparel for the ongoing regular performance of Maṇḍala rituals [*drupchö*] from many classes of the old and new translation Tantra-s which he instituted, including Saṃvara according to Kṛṣṇacārin's tradition, Guhyasamāja-mañjuvajra, the Sarvavid [-vairocana] of the purification [*Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana*] Tantra, the three families [of Kriyā-tantra] and so on, provided for offerings of pure substance made constantly, without interruption or delay, such as the sets of butter lamps offered constantly, night and day, in the chapel at his own hermitage and in the outer hall, constant offerings of fragrant incense, as well as different kinds of flowers, hundreds of water [bowl] offerings, series of food offerings and so on, as well as the materials for Pūjā-s offered every day without fail, with a full variety of foodstuffs and beverages. His offerings for the maintenance of prevailing conditions were great, such as a daily substitute [*lü*] offering for the benefit of the country, the teachings and beings at large, at a minimum cost of three or four silver coins, while for the extensive offerings made on special days like the tenth days of the waxing and waning phases of the month, he would provide utensils and materials as abundant as can be, like butter lamp offerings which alone ran into hundreds. His manifold splendid offerings of incense and series

of hundreds of butter lamps for ceremonies falling on the eighth day, full and new moons and so on were like those proceeding from the prayer made by Samantabhadra, with no dwindling or interruption over the months and years, and the conviction that single-minded effort just in this as a way of acting and accumulating merit was a profound engagement in the process of cause and effect and his accomplishment of this path independent of others was in itself a matter of wonderment for those of discriminating mind.

In accord with the saying ‘Summon easily with the gesture of giving, and then gain attention with pleasing words. Practise appropriate conduct scrupulously, and then preach consistency [of word and action]’, with the strength of his concentration on meeting the needs of those to be instructed through these ‘four means of attracting [disciples]’, he committed himself to this excellent field of activity which is the noble resort of Bodhisattva-s, and thus inspired joy and devotion with abundant and unstinting material donations to high and low alike. [His generosity ranged] from freely giving to the lowly and impoverished, including birds and dogs, whatever was appropriate, such as food and clothing, benefitting them directly, both physically and mentally, to bringing joy to the minds of others with pleasant and attractive speech. In short, by unhesitatingly throwing open the portals of the sky-treasury of generosity, he caused the jewels of accumulated great merit to pour forth and eliminated at once the poverty of all Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa.

EIGHT

How, having reached the end of his enlightened activity, the manifest Maṇḍala [of his body] merged back into the Dharmakāya

This noble all-knowing and all-seeing Lama first of all attended upon many holy teachers, and by studying and reflecting on the disciplines of learning in general and in particular the teachings of Sūtra and Mantra in their entirety, without distinction, reached the limits [of learning] and became an ocean[-like teacher] of Dharma. In the middle, not stopping at mere learning, he pursued the meditative accomplishment of integrating with his own mind the import of the teachings from the entire range of the old and new translation Tantra-s, and as the learning of former [lives] recurred in his awareness, he thoroughly perfected the qualities of the levels and paths. Finally, through the force of aspiration and the ramifications of compassion, his enlightened activity for the benefit of all [Buddhist] teachings without distinction and all beings from the highest to the lowest flowed like a great river of nectar. In particular, like the dictum of Sakya Paṇchen that ‘Scripture and logical reasoning are to be transmitted’, having transmitted the authentic scriptures of the Sūtra-s, Tantra-s and commentaries, analytical cognition justified by logical reasoning and [whatever] accords with the profound nature, he guided no end of fortunate individuals of greater and lesser capacities on the path of liberation and omniscience, perfecting the sum of enlightened activity which no other master in this age of degeneration could rival. Then, as the *Ornament of the Sūtra-s* says:

‘Just as if a water vessel breaks/
The reflection of the moon will not appear/
So the image of the Buddha will not appear/
In corrupted sentient beings’

the merit and fortune of beings requiring instruction in the dark age being low, they fail to qualify as objects of enlightened compassion. [Thus] considering the pursuit of enlightened activity in other realms to be more meaningful, as well as out of his continual efforts to encourage the stubbornly

irreligious to change their minds, and in conformity with his statement that '[This] old monk knows not when death will come, [expects] no outcome in any case, has no need of anything at all', he had the usual offering ceremony performed grandly on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of the Water male Dragon [1892], his seventy-third year, and after clearing up the scattered papers in his quarters, told the presiding Lama "From today onward you need not go to any trouble", and retired to the inner chamber.

The next day, he appeared to be unwell. Then, when a swelling on the right side of his leg made him unable to stand, his attendants concernedly enquired as to what rituals should be performed on his behalf, but he replied "None at all. In the twenties of next month I shall recover." The abbots of Tartsé and Penkhang [colleges], and myself, having received no indication of which longevity prayers would be best to offer, I made extensive prayers including the Maṇḍala rituals of the *Pakma nyingtik* and the three longevity deities, and when his attendants asked me to give whatever advice I could on practices [to promote his longevity], I told them that reciting the hundred-syllable Vajrasattva Mantra as much as possible would be fine. As for aversion rituals and suchlike, since he declared that "Aversion rites have never been performed for my longevity and are not necessary [now]", I [merely] arranged for monasteries in various places to perform allotted shares of Vajrasattva recitations, and following this master's wish, had some Lama-s and their disciples perform innumerable Ḍākinī feast offerings and fire offerings in the outer chamber. Occasionally he simply mentioned to his attendants "Vimalamitra is there in the sky. Do you see?" There was no serious illness at all, and he took different foods according to how he felt. Sometime after, he would take a bowl full of boiled milk, and then nothing more.

On the morning of the twenty first day of the second month, after washing as usual, he said "Now it's all over. Take these things away", and he cast flowers [in benediction] and recited a great many auspicious verses. After that he said nothing further but sat in meditative equipoise, and in less than half a day he entered into the clear light of the Dharmadhatu. At that time a messenger also

came to [inform] me, and I hurried into his presence, but this was not someone whose consciousness had to be guided or prompted to focus on the tutelary deity, and as soon as his illusory manifest form was subsumed [into absolute reality], his mind merged indistinguishably with that of Mahācārya Vimalamitra just as the space within a broken vase merges into the space without, so those who had already gained certain [faith in him] concentrated on merging their minds with that of the Guru in meditative stability.

On the third day, as an invocation for him to reemerge from the Dharmakāya in a form body, as is general practice, we offered Guru Pūjā-s, prayers and so on to our hearts' content.²⁹⁵ Tartsé Khenchen Jampel Rinchen Dorjé also made an appearance and, along with myself, carefully washed the body with water blessed by the rituals of Vidāraṇa, Bhūrkumkūṭa and so on. It was anointed with fragrant powder, and inscriptions [néyik] drawn from the upper and lower classes of the old and new translation Tantra-s, written in purified gold, a copy of the *Tantra of the single son of the Buddha-s* [Sanggyé séchiki gyü] and many varieties of circular [Yantra-s] conferring liberation through contact [takdröl], the nine Tantra-s of the *Lama gongdü* and so on were [affixed] to the body's [energetic] centres. The body was wrapped in a white shroud scented with perfumed water, dressed with a crown ornament and upper and lower garments, Vajra and bell placed in its hands, and seated with full attributes [paraphernalia] on the throne in the outer chamber. Having arranged all manner of offerings and extensive Gaṇacakra-s, a long Guru Pūjā was performed over about seven days by way of the Maṇḍala rituals of Khecarī led by [Tartsé] Khen Rinpoché, and of Vajrasattva led by myself, receiving empowerment and, in accordance with tradition, out of reverence for the [master as the] principle figure in the Maṇḍala, offering back to him the four empowerments, Gaṇapūjā, and supplications urging his attention towards the desired outcome, all in elaborate style.

This precious master always used to say latterly that putting Lama-s' bones in Stūpa-s will in future turn into a cause for the Lama's bone [family] lineage to suffer disgrace and for others to accumulate non-virtue, it will not serve to fulfill the Lama's final wishes, neither will the living themselves accumulate

merit from so doing, and since no credible authority whatsoever attests that rotten bones are beneficial, it is better if the [cremated] remains are free [of unburnt body parts]. Accordingly, on the auspicious last day of the second month, the precious body was cremated on a pyre of fine wood, chiefly sandal and aloe, in a ceremony involving four [simultaneous] Maṇḍala rituals, the Hevajra rites performed by Khen Rinpoché, Khecarī by [Tartsé] Pönlop Rinpoché, the Mindröl-ling version of Vajrasattva by myself, and Sarvavid[-vairocana] by the monastery's chant-master, each accompanied by quite large groups of followers. That day there was a very sudden rain of flowers. For three days the funeral chamber was sealed and offerings made. Then, once it was opened, the remaining bone fragments were duly collected and sifted, without losing any, and made into proper votive tablets [satsa] [representing] the 'two stainless ones' [Vimalaraśmi and Vimaloṣṇīṣa], which were placed inside a reliquary Stūpa at the main monastery [Dzongsar] and the great Stūpa at Lhundrup-teng.

Then, as it says in the Vinaya teachings:

'Like a creeper entwining a Sāla tree/
The saints become a support [for others]/
Embracing [them] with the splendour of goodness'

and like the saying 'Whoever lives on a golden mountain, all his doings will turn to gold', so it is with a Mahāpuruṣa, crown ornament of all, including the divine realms, that those who remain in the sandal grove of the spiritual career of a great saint, even as his attendants, will naturally be drawn into his exceptional qualities. These were principally this master's nephew Kesang Dorjé, a person with vast knowledge of the two spheres [religious and worldly affairs] dignified by a life spent in the excellent pursuit of noble deeds, his senior attendant Jamyang Lekpé Lo-drö, whose eye of analytical intelligence in the intricacies of the outer and inner fields of knowledge was opened like a lotus in bloom and who, inseparable from the noble Lama as his shadow, served him well through all three gates [of body, speech and mind], and the Kalyāṇamitra and holder of the triple vow Kunga Gyeltsen, who had been his attendant since early on and rendered excellent service.

To relate in summary how, with an unsullied mind, clear and devoted, [white] as the conch shell and Kunda flower, they strove with unflinching devotion to fulfill the master's wishes in great measure after his death, and to differentiate the immensity of the treasury of vast offerings made to commemorate his death before the sublime religious symbols, the Lama-s and religious communities in the three provinces of Ü, Tsang and Kham: the offering of no small amount of goods along with a thousand-fold offering before the three Jowo brothers at Lhasa, the regents of the Buddha in the land of snows;²⁹⁶ elaborate offerings to the widely renowned and sublime religious symbols at glorious Samyé and other holy places in Ütsang, including regilding, ceremonial silk scarves and thousand-fold series of incense and butter lamps; offerings to high Lama-s, exemplified by offerings of high-quality silk scarves [*ashé*], silver, rolls of satin and so on to the omniscient Padmapāṇi,²⁹⁷ the regent Démo Hutuktu,²⁹⁸ and the religious and lay offices of state according to rank, then offerings of symbols of body, speech and mind, gold and silver finery, silk cloth and so on to Tsang Paṅchen Rinpoché,²⁹⁹ Ganden Tri Rinpoché,³⁰⁰ Sakya Tri-chen Rinpoché³⁰¹ and all the Lama-s of the Sakya family lineage, Gyelwa Karmapa,³⁰² the omniscient Drukpa Choktrul,³⁰³ both of the Karmapa's nephew incarnations, Taklung Ma Rinpoché,³⁰⁴ the palace tutor [?], the Ngor Éwam Khangsar [Labrang], the five abbatial candidates [Shapdrung] and the Ngor Labrang-s of Tartsé, Penkhang, Luding and so on, the abbots of the upper and lower Tantric colleges [in Lhasa], the Shartsé and Changtsé [colleges at Ganden], the Sungtrul of Chimpu, the two incarnations at Shalu, Lho-drak Tuktrul, Bakha Tulku and so on, as appropriate; tea services, offerings and gifts to please the communities of great and small monasteries [in central Tibet], principally Sakya and Ngor [as well as] Reteng, Shalu, Samyé Yama-lung and Chimpu, Densa-til, Tsétang, Nédong Tsé Tsokpa, Yarlung Shédrak, Réchung Puk, Chaktsé Drigu, Lho-drak Mawochok, Kharchu, Tashi-lhunpo and Taklung, as well as retreatants in the hermitages. Of the death commemoration offerings made to Lama-s and monastic communities in this region of Doe-kham, first of all are the offerings presented to Tartsé Khenchen for performing the Hevajra ritual based on the creation of a sand Maṅḍala

from the second to the third weeks of the [seven week] after-death observances, including a best-quality scarf [*nangdzö*], a full silver Maṇḍala, an Amitāyus statue in Tibetan bronze, a scroll painting of the eight Mahāsiddha-s, copies of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* with two ornamental superscripts, the *Hundred Minor Teachings* of Jowo [Atiśa] and [Tāranātha's] *History of Buddhism in India*, a ritual bell with silver finial, an ornamental rosary of excellent quality made with sixty silver Sang, seventy-five Sang in cash, with an auspicious supplement and so on, altogether one hundred and twelve items with a value of three hundred and fifty Chinese Sang. The Tartsé Shapdrung was presented with a best-quality scarf, symbols of body, speech and mind, a full silver Maṇḍala, fifty Chinese Sang and so on, altogether thirty seven items with a value of one hundred and three Sang, and in addition their retinue were each presented with generous gifts as appropriate. A fixed offering was made to the Tartsé Labrang itself, including a statue of Śākyamuni in east Indian bronze, a green Tārā in Tibetan bronze, a Padmācārya representative image [of Padmasambhava], a scroll painting of the five [Mahāyoga] Tantra-s, three volumes of Lamdré teachings, yellow, red and blue, *Tsuljön gonggyen* [elucidation of two classic Lamdré commentaries by Ngorchon Könchok Lhundrup] in one volume, two volumes of Lamdré teachings by [Mangtö] Ludrup [Gyatso] and Nga[wang] Chö[drak], the 'discourse' of Nga[wang] Chö[drak] in one volume, the *Medicine chest* [*Khyuché*] instructions of Dampa [Sanggyé] in one volume, the *Compendium of Sādhana-s* in eleven volumes, five monks' staves, a blessed cane, [Vajra]yoginī's Vajrakatika with gold and silver tracery, a gilt bronze Vajra held by Guru Nyima Özé, a pair of full silver vases, twenty-five [sets of] fine new Vajra-s and bells with gilded tips, an extremely fine Amṛta-kalaśa vase, twenty-five pentadic head-dresses with repoussé ornamentation in gold leaf, with fastenings and pendants for each, twenty-five covers of best and medium quality, a fine pair of large incense vessels with gold and silver tracery, a fine pair of ritual oboes [*gyaling*] with gold and silver tracery, a conch shell trumpet with gold and silver ornamentation, a fine quality thigh-bone trumpet with silver and gold tracery and inset jewels, and an offering dish with gold and silver tracery, amounting to a value of twenty-five

silver Deltse [i.e., 1,250 Sang] altogether. Likewise, the offerings presented to Penkhang Khen Rinpoche for performing the Hevajra Maṇḍala ritual on completion of the after-death observance period included a best-quality scarf, a gold statue of Amitāyus, a scroll painting of the three ‘close sons’ [of the Buddha], a hundred-figure Amitāyus [scroll], [a copy of] the *Hundred Minor Teachings* of Jowo [Atiśa], an old Vajra and bell with gilded tips, a Kapāla vessel with silver and gold tracery, a fine quality teapot, an ingot of Chinese silver weighing one Deltse, an auspicious supplement and so on, a list of items enumerated [like] the thirty-two Lakṣaṇa-s and thirteen Bhūmi-s, with a value of two hundred and twenty-five Chinese Sang. Those [in his retinue] with the title ‘Lama’ and other assistants were also presented with gifts and remuneration according to status.

For accomplishing meditation on their tutelary deities, from the Maṇḍala-s of the old and new translation Tantra-s both transmitted and revealed, as inseparable from the Lama, and striving on the profound path of swift accomplishment of the ordinary and supreme Siddhi-s by taking empowerment through worship [of the Lama], the Tartsé Pönlop,³⁰⁵ Palpung Öngen,³⁰⁶ Nyidrak Choktrul,³⁰⁷ Gémang Kushap,³⁰⁸ Péyul Karma Gyurmé Tulku,³⁰⁹ Kushap Khamtrul,³¹⁰ the Nangchen Pur[ba] La[ma] and Drayab Tsangsar Trulku,³¹¹ Dzarka Choktrul Rinpoche and so on were presented with fine offerings of high quality and great quantity, such as precious silks, pelts, broadcloth, horses and mules, and so forth. Furthermore, the Ta’i Situ incarnate of Palpung³¹² was presented with silk, symbols of body, speech and mind, and a set of silver offering vessels, and a host of great Lama-s of the old and new schools such as the two nephew incarnations [jéwön], Péyul Gyatrul Rinpoche, the Shingkyong [and] Situ incarnations of Ka-tok,³¹³ Dzokchen Rinpoche,³¹⁴ the Shéchen Rabjam [and] Gyeltsap incarnations,³¹⁵ Gyarong Wöntrul, Ling Jédrung³¹⁶ and so on were presented with dedicatory offerings including excellent symbols of body, speech and mind, requisites such as personal goods and offering paraphernalia, silk clothing, valuables and so on, all of high quality and innumerable variety. We too were presented with a great deal, chiefly special symbols of the three kinds, in the cause of fulfilling his wishes.

Offerings made to monastic institutions included one hundred silver Sang to Lhundrup-teng, twenty-five silver Sang to the general assembly at Dzongsar, twenty-five Sang to the main bursary [*chi-chen*] and one quarter to both sections of the minor bursary [*chi-chung*] for [recitation of] the hundred syllable Heruka [Mantra] and six syllable Mahākāruṇika [Mantra], eighty Sang to Palpung for [recitation of] the hundred syllables and set of five prayers, and according amounts to the upper and lower hermitages, twenty-five Sang to the assembly at Dzokchen monastery, one quarter to Shéchen, similar amounts to both Ka-tok and Péyul, ten Sang to each of the assemblies at Dzin Takmo-gang, Ranta, Pomdzang and Khangmar-doe for [recitation of] six syllable [Mantra] and prayers, eight Sang to the Changlung monastery of the Bön order, and so on. Thus offerings of fine and plentiful substance equivalent to so many tea services were made to the ocean of assembled Saṅgha at monasteries of the old and new schools and of the Bönpo, these three, without distinction, untainted by miserliness, as a broad means of exhorting the noble Lama to ultimate perfection on the path of no more learning, but they have merely been summarised here out of concern to avoid long-windedness and the flaunting of virtue.

A likeness statue in clay mixed with medicinal substances was placed in his chamber, and a Maitreya statue of his intended design, fifteen handspans tall made with about twenty-five Deltse of silver, is at [Dégé] Gönchen. As a supreme symbol of the Dharmakāya, a Stūpa more than nine handspans tall was made, containing this master's crystallized funeral remains [*dungtsa*] and so on, and with both the copper body and gold finish as solid as can be, no expense spared on the jewel ornaments, and full attention paid to style and proportion, it turned out [like] visual nectar. Some thirty-seven Deltse of silver went into its manufacture, and the consecrational pole [was blessed with sacred formulae] of the 'two stainless ones' [Vimalaraśmi and Vimaloṣṇīṣa]. It was packed with exceptional symbols, like the four kinds of Śarīra relics, exemplified by the crystallized funerary remains and so on as specified in the scriptures, and once imbued with the presence of the Jñānasattva by an impeccable consecration ritual, it became a symbol with the great power of liberation on sight. As a

symbol of the Saṃbhogakāya, a statue of Mañjuśrī-dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara in red bronze with gold and silver ornamentation, made with more than three Deltśé of silver, the manufacture of which had been his own wish, and as a symbol of the Nirmāṇakāya, two beautifully made statues of the Buddha in the measure of the Jowo Śākyamuni [at Lhasa], with this noble Lama's features, ten handspans tall, involving some twenty-seven Deltśé of silver. In addition, seventy gold retinue statues of Buddha-s, Bodhisattva-s and Arhat-s, numerous volumes of scripture, and a log cabin-style chamber to house the reliquary Stūpa, five Dom [= 2 metres] [tall] with a portico, complete with offering utensils, where a continuous lamp offering was instituted, all of these were undertaken assiduously with pure intention and great devotion, in accordance with the teachings and the injunctions of the noble ones on pleasing the Lama, and thus was the blessed duty of fulfilling the Lama's intent thoroughly and unobstructedly completed with the utmost virtue and excellence.





Panchen Vimalamitra

White Manjusri

Shalu Losel Tenkyong

Jamgön Kongtrül

JAMYANG
KHYENTSE
WANGPO

Mipam Rinpoché

Ka-rok Situ Chöki Gyatso

Jamyang Khyentsé Chöki Lodrö

The Inner Life

Second, the ‘inner biography’ relating this exceptional master’s unique acquisition of special teachings: Most [Tibetan] religious biographies are limited to encouraging devotion for teachers from the land of snows who had become learned and accomplished in their particular tradition and performed wonderful deeds in support of the teachings and to benefit living beings. [But] having listened, reflected and meditated upon all aspects of Sūtra and Mantra, contributed to and given instruction in the teachings of all [Buddhist] schools, the religious accomplishment of this omniscient master was extraordinary. A certain amount of his learning in the mundane sciences and in the Tripiṭaka has already been related in the [outer] biography. Then, as the learned and accomplished Prajñāraśmi put it: ³¹⁷

‘That protector of beings in the land of snows, prophesied by the Jina-s/ Working solely for the promotion of the teachings who previously was the divine Dharmarāja/ He is the second Buddha in this snowy land/ The great translator Pagor Vairo[cana]/ Dromtön the Upāsaka, who revived the hereditary succession of the Jina-s/ The greatly learned and accomplished Khyungpo Neljor³¹⁸/ The translator La-chen Drokmi³¹⁹ and/ The lord of Yogi-s Jétsün Marpa³²⁰/ Dampa Gyakar, resting on the level of accomplishment/ Gyijo Lotsāva³²¹ and the learned and accomplished Orgyenpa³²²/ These are the ‘eight great pillars’ supporting the lineages of meditative accomplishment in the northern land/ These eight great traditions of the land of snows/ Excellent inheritance from the glorious Vajradhara and legacy of the Siddha-s of the past/ Should be pursued by those seeking liberation.’³²³

Thus, having practised and directly achieved the results of [those teachings], the excellent inheritance of the Lotsāva-s and Paṇḍita-s, the highest incarnations in the northern land of snow mountains, he sought out the whereabouts,

whether in Ütsang or Doe-kham, of those granted the reward of [reaching] the spiritual level of Mahābodhi through the innumerable teaching activities of each of these holy sages, the holders of the ‘eight great chariot’ accomplishment lineages. With the standard of accepting any lineage [of teachings] furthering the essential tradition of the Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s of the noble land [Āryāvarta] which he judged authentic, he made great efforts to seek out tutelage and instructions from the holders of each of these lineages, with no regard for the difficulties involved. He reproduced whatever authentic texts of doctrine and instruction there were, whether thick or thin, long or short. Some of these had numerous redactions, [but] most were no [longer] taught in their entirety, and [where] the lineages of empowerment, guidance and instruction had lapsed, he taught them and accomplished their meditations in accordance with compatible [extant] systems, and [in this way] prolonged the vitality of the teachings, so that the continuity of transmission in each tradition was preserved as the basis for study.

The circumstances in which the oral transmissions [*nyégyüki kabap*] were received:

1 The old school of the early translations which developed through the kindness of the Mahā-upādhyāya [Śāntarakṣita], Mahācārya [Padmasambhava] and Dharmarāja [Trisong Détsen], these three: first of all, at the age of twenty-four, on the sixth day of the fourth month of the Water Hare year [1843], when he went to make offerings before the “Pal Chenpo” or Viśuddha [Yangdak Heruka] [statue] in the hermitage at Hrampa in the lower Shang valley,³²⁴ Pal Chenpo actually appeared to him in his mind’s eye. He saw Zur[chen and Zurchung],³²⁵ the father and the son, seated there above the door in jovial mood. They granted him the empowerment of the “Rulu” Mantra, the explanation of the Vajrasattva Tantra, and oral instructions on the letter “Hūṃ”, and due to the clarity and firmness of his vision, he received the oral transmission of the Māyājāla-guhyagarbha [Mahāyoga] Tantra.³²⁶

At the age of thirty-eight in the Fire Snake year [1857], when he received the empowerment of the *Düpado* [Anuyoga] Tantra from the Vajradhara Padmavajra, abbot of Rudam Samtenling,³²⁷ during the central phase of the ritual he had a clear and steady vision of the Maṇḍala in its entirety. In his dream that night, he ascended a valley and came upon a white meditation hut on the mountainside. He made towards it and went inside, and within there were devotional offerings with the awful stench of flesh and blood arranged in front of a cotton screen, and in the corner, a turbanned Māntrika with a shining aura counting on a Rakṣamālā [rosary used for wrathful rites] and beating a drum. As he sat there doing recitations, [this master] asked him who he was, but he gave no reply. [This master] again asked “Who are you?”, and he uttered a cry and beat forcefully on the drum, calling “By beating on this Bodhicitta drum, let the three hundred and sixty minions [*po-nya*] gather here!”, and as he was shouting, what [this master] thought certainly could have been three hundred and sixty minions appeared [in the space] behind the curtain, wearing armour and carrying weapons. Without any terror or dread that he would be cut into a hundred or thousand pieces, [this master] looked on for a moment as if watching a spectacle, after which a brilliantly luminous figure of Vajrasattva emerged, and it occurred to him that the Māntrika had been So Yéshé Wangchuk³²⁸ and that he had just simultaneously completed both the ripening and completion phases of the *Düpado*. In this way he received the oral transmission of the *Düpado*. It is said that the abbot himself was an emanation of Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang.³²⁹ There is more explanation of most of these traditions in the list of prophecies from the *Tsasum gyütrul drawa* [revelation].

On the eighth day of the fourth month of the Wood Sheep year [1835], when he was sixteen, he dreamt that he was in India, in a beautiful pasture forested with medicinal trees, where he found a temple of nine storeys with a gold canopy roof, a building of inconceivable design with the appearance of a Stūpa which he thought might be the nine-storey treasury of Vajrāsana, or the Dahéna assembly hall.³³⁰ A woman led him inside, and as they passed

through the lower floors he had the impression that there were Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s carrying religious texts and expounding them, and a great many holy images, but he did not look closely at any of them. As they reached the eighth floor, he beheld the Ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra in the attire of a Paṇḍita, with many bound scriptures piled up either side of him, and respectfully bowed and offered salutations. [The Ācārya] took out a volume from the pile on the left, the condensed *Prajñāpāramitā* in Sanskrit, placed it on [this master's] head and entrusted it to him, saying "That completes [the transmission of] all the precepts of the teachings on metaphysics." From the right pile, he took out a volume written in Tibetan on conch [ivory-] coloured paper, which seemed to be a Tantra called *Mirror of the essence of Vajrasattva*, placed it on [this master's head] and entrusted it to him, saying "That completes [the transmission of] the Vajrayāna approach of Secret Mantra in general, and in particular, the blessing of the explanatory meaning [*tsikdön*] of the three classes of the Great Perfection." Finally, after making some prophecies, [the Ācārya] joyfully melted into light and dissolved into the master, who remained absorbed for a moment in a Samādhi void of external phenomena. When it had passed, he returned the way he had come, and thinking that the many Siddha-s, Mahāpaṇḍita-s, meditators, teachers and recluses he passed on the lower floors must be the twenty-one adepts of the 'Mind class' [*semde*], he requested blessings from each of them. As he came to the door of the temple, a great fuel-less fire was blazing there on the threshold, and thinking that it would be good to burn in this fire he walked into it, whereupon all materiality and conventional appearances both inner and outer were suspended, and he merged into a body of light which he thought was Vimalamitra, and a mind of the limitless immaculate wisdom of bliss and emptiness [conjoined], which stayed with him for several days after he awoke. In this way, he received the oral transmission of the Mind class of the Dzokchen teachings

In the tenth month of the Water Mouse year [1852], when he was thirty-three, at his own residence in the Dzongsar Tashi Lhatsé monastery, after granting at my request the *Gomtsul lamé jinlap* empowerment, reading trans-

mission and guiding instructions of the *Vajra bridge* [teachings belonging to] the ‘Spatial class’ [*longdé*], he dreamt that night of a place he took to be Wa Senggé Drak.³³¹ Above there was a white cliff [covered] in juniper, and in the middle, at the centre of what seems to have been hillside meadow, was a rock [outcrop] shaped like a sitting dog, and on its summit was a kind of earth mound [*sa-bum*] which he assumed to be Pang Mi-pam Gönpö’s burial Stūpa [*kumbum*]. He respectfully circumambulated it, and having done so, it turned into something like a clay statue, and eventually into an old man in a felt cloak, supported on his left by a meditation staff [*gomshing*] and another [*tsulshing*] in front.³³² He made many supplications, and then in one instant [the old man] looked towards him and showed four symbolic indications, at which the certainty arose in him of having completed the ripening and perfection phases of the Spatial class. Thus he received the oral transmission of the Spatial class of the Dzokchen teachings.

In the fifth month of the Iron Mouse year [1840], when he was twenty-one, when he arrived at Shotö Tidro Drakar, his state of mind was transformed as if by the blessings of the place in general, and the scenery painted by the ordinary, conceptualising mind appeared to him absolutely as pure. Then, while offering Gaṇapūjā in the ‘great assembly hall’ [i.e., the “Khandro Tsokchen” cave at Tidro] he started to doze off, and in that very instant, Guru Padmasambhava and the Dākinī Yéshé Tsogyel appeared in a vision and bestowed upon him the empowerments, reading transmissions and guiding instructions of the *Heart-essence of the Dākinī-s* [*Khandro nyingtik*].

In the second half of the fourth month of that year, while visiting Kangri Tökar, he had a vision of Longchenpa’s ‘wisdom-body’ placing a hand on his head and saying “Son”, conferring his grace, as well as granting the empowerment for the *Tiklé gyachen* Guru-yoga and so on, and once this emerged in the treasury of his awareness, he committed it to writing. In the printing colophons of some of his works, he describes himself as ‘the servant who pleases the omniscient Lama’, and he said that he wrote that with this episode in mind.³³³ In a dream, the omniscient one [Longchenpa] granted him the

blessing of the *Inner heartdrop of the Ḍākinī-s* [*Khandro yangtik*], together with the empowerments and guiding instructions of the *Propitiation of the Lama* [*Lama druppa*]. A figurine which seemed to be made of relic bone also came into his hands while he was in this cave. In this way he received the oral transmission of the Instruction class [*méngakdé*] of the Dzokchen teachings according to [Guru] Padma's tradition.

On the thirteenth day of the fourth month of the Water Hare year [1843], when he was twenty-four, while riding along the road to Uyuk Dingma, at first the whole landscape seemed to be filled with red and yellow light and his ordinary perception was suspended. Later, when he went on to [Uyuk] Dza'i Rawa,³³⁴ he had a recollection from a former life [*jésu dren*] of Chétsun Senggé Wangchuk surrounded by a host of Ḍākinī-s, expounding his Dzokchen instructions [*Chétsun nyingtik*] in the manner of a 'testament from the departed' [*déjé shalchem*], and through the blessings of the Ḍākinī Pelki Lo-drö, all the words and their meaning sparkled clearly in his mind, even though such a long time had passed. In that way, he received the oral transmission of the Instruction class of the Dzokchen teachings according to Vimalamitra's tradition.

2 The Kadampa tradition originating from the teachings of Jowo Palden Atiśa

In general, he visited Dromtön's monastery Reteng four times in all, and [found that] his state of mind was definitely affected by the powerful blessings of the place.³³⁵ Moreover, on the eighth day of the fifth month of the Water Hare year [1843] [when he was twenty-four], while paying homage to the Jowo Jampé Dorjé statue and the scroll portrait of Jowo [Atiśa] called "Üyön" ['with head inclined'], he had a clear vision of actually meeting [these figures in person], and it miraculously occurred that a severe debility from which he was then suffering, and suspected to be food poisoning, was cured in that instant. On a visit to Reteng in the ninth month of the Iron Pig year [1851], when he was thirty-two, he had a vision of Dromtön with the close disciples seated in the shade of a juniper tree, delivering the complete oral transmission of the three classes of Kadampa

precepts [*shungdam méngak*], and the song he wrote in connection with this vision is in the volume of his collected songs of realisation.³³⁶

3 The ‘Path and Fruition’ [Lamdré] teachings and instructions of the Mahāsiddha Virūpa

In the fourth month of the Iron Pig year [1851] ,when he was thirty-one, he visited Mangkar Tubten Gempel, and while paying homage to the likeness statue of Tsarchen [Losel Gyatso] he had the blessing of perceiving it as Tsarchen in person.³³⁷ [Then] he performed the Guru-yoga of the Lamdré lineage masters [*Lamsap lamé neljor*] in the Dra-gyur Gyakar Puk [‘cave of the Indian translators’] at Mugu-lung,³³⁸ and when he became a little sleepy, the hazy figure of Drokmi Lotsāva appeared and placed a bound scripture on his head saying “That completes the explanation of the Tantra, the instructions will come later.” He also composed a song called *Essence of Lamdré* on that occasion. On the fourteenth day of the ninth month of the Fire [sic for Iron] Monkey year [1860], when he was forty-one, he beheld Sakyapa Chenpo [Kunga Nyingpo] very clearly in a dream. [The Lama] had a body of light with a lump of blue crystal at his heart centre shaped like a Stūpa, and around the top [of this Stūpa] were the nine Viśuddha deities [*yangdak lha-gu*], in the middle were the nine Hevajra deities [*kyédor lha-gu*] and at the base, the single figure of [Vajra-] Kīlaya. He granted [this master] exceptional empowerments from the generation and completion stages of the Lamdré and *Yangpur* [Kīlaya] teachings, just as if he were actually present and [at the same time] inseparable from the deity.

4 The Oral transmission [Kagyü] of Lord Marpa

In the ninth month of the Iron Mouse year [1840], when he was twenty-one, he visited Lho-drak Sékar Gutok³³⁹ and while paying homage to the precious likeness statue of Marpa Lotsāva, he had a vision of Marpa himself. In his dreams that night he heard an unrecognisable figure, whom he thought might be Marpa, discoursing on the single verse [*tsik kang*] [uttered by] the Jñāna-ḍākinī, “The way things are, the path and its result, these are the stages.”

On the twenty-fifth of the ninth month of the Earth Monkey year [1848], when he was twenty-nine, he was riding along the road to Shung Péshing,³⁴⁰ with nothing particular in mind, when he had a vision of Lord Marpa seated in front of a silk curtain pronouncing a stanza which encapsulated all the Tantra-s and instructions, [as well as another figure] who seemed to be Ngok Chöku Dorjé, and with the blessing came a glow of brilliance. Furthermore, he had encounters at various times with the [likeness] statue in Düsum Khyenpa's 'cave' at Tsurpu,³⁴¹ the precious likeness statue in Pakmo-drupa's 'reed hut' [*jakchil*] [at Densa-til],³⁴² the [likeness of] Drikung Kyobpa in the Sérkhang [temple at Drikung], the [likeness of] Tangpa Rinpoché in his chamber [*simchil*] at Taklung,³⁴³ and the effigy of Tsangpa Gyaré, called 'overwhelming the triple-world with splendour' [*khamsum silnön*] at Ralung,³⁴⁴ and through the great force of his devotion for each of them, many blessings and visions came about. He also said that on numerous occasions he experienced indistinct [memories or] visions apparently of Réchung Dorjé Drak.

5 The [Shangchö] teachings of Khédrup Khyungpo Neljor

On the eighth day of the fourth month of the Water Hare year [1843], when he was twenty-four, while paying his respects to the statue of Khyungpo Neljor at Shangshong,³⁴⁵ he saw many assemblies of Tantric deities, like [a display of] form and emptiness [combined], in a canopy of blue light above the [statue's] head. Finally the statue uttered a symbolic Mantra "Éwam ma ya ho" and issued light rays from its heart centre which dissolved into him, and he was able to recall his familiarity with the Shang[pa] teachings from past lives.

Earlier, in the autumn of the Wood Horse year [1834], when he was fifteen and staying at his family house, he dreamt of meeting Tangtong Gyelpo, who took him on [as a disciple] and granted him essential instructions, [including] the 'Amulet box Mahāmudrā instruction' [*Gompa chakchen ga'uma*] from the 'Five cycles of the perfection stage' [*Dzokrim kor-nga*] and, as the ripening phase of the practice, the 'Six Dharma-s of Niguma' [*Nigu chödrük*].

6 The teachings of the Mahāsiddha Dampa Sanggyé on the ‘Pacification of suffering’ [Dukngel Shiché] and of Machik Lapdrön on ‘Demon severance’ [Düki Chöyul]

On the tenth day of the seventh month of the Water Hare year [1843] [when he was twenty-four] he visited Tsékok,³⁴⁶ and while offering Pūjā in Dampa’s meditation cave, the cave changed into pure light and Dampa Sanggyé himself appeared, clothed in sunbeams. He gave [this master] oral instruction in the Shiché cycles as if entrusting the tradition to a successor, before turning into Guru Padmasambhava and giving further oral transmissions. With a hand signal [from Dampa] to a white Ḍākinī, many unidentifiable translucent forms like symbolic letters dissolved into his heart centre, and the teaching cycles at the very heart of Dampa’s oral transmissions sparkled in his mind. Later, he committed the root [instructions] and Sādhana-s to writing.

In the Iron Mouse year [1840], when he was twenty-one, while paying homage to the precious likeness statue of Machik Lapki Drönma at Sangri Kharmar,³⁴⁷ she smiled and wriggled, and tremors like an earthquake were felt by everyone. With the great brilliance of this blessing, the essence of [her] instructions seeped back into his awareness, and he wrote them down in the form of a ‘song of experience’.³⁴⁸

7 The transmission of the Vajra Yoga [Jordruk], or completion stage practices of Kālacakra, king of all Tantra-s

On the third day of the fifth month of the Iron Pig year [1851], when he was thirty-two, while he was visiting the Jonang Kumbum Chenmo,³⁴⁹ a woman of the Ḍākinī race led him to the roof, and after absorbing a glistening luminescence from her, he entered into the seamless experience of [the unity of] bliss and emptiness and had a very steady vision of the entire landscape as a pure realm occupied by the descendants of the Dharmarāja-s. As he heard the Mantra syllables “É Wam” being spoken in the sky, the essence of the Tantra and its instructions arose and shone clearly in his mind.

Earlier, at the end of the third month of the Earth Monkey year [1848], when he received the empowerments, reading transmissions and guiding instructions of the Kālacakra-tantra according to the Jonang tradition at Palpung [i.e., from Kongtrül], he retired to a dark retreat cell after being given rigorous instruction in the ‘withdrawal’ [*sordü*] stage of the Śaḍaṅga-yoga [*jordruk*], where a multitude of the seed syllables “É Wam” appeared within a blue-coloured sphere [*tiklé*]. Ever since he was a child, he could see a great variety of insubstantial forms of beings from [all] three realms of existence in the darkness of any shadow, without having looked for them, and he felt that his mind bore strong traces of exposure to the Śaḍaṅga-yoga from previous lifetimes.

In the ninth month of the Iron Dog year [1850] at Shalu Ribuk,³⁵⁰ in the evening after receiving the preparatory phase of the empowerments and explanations of the Kālacakra in Butön’s tradition from Choktrul Losel Tenkyong, he dreamt of flying high into the sky and far away to the north, to a vast country which he took to be Śambhala, and at its centre he had a slightly indistinct vision of the complete Maṇḍala-s of Kālacakra’s body, speech and mind. Finally, he saw numerous beings with the appearance of wild spirits inside a mass of flames, and their words shattered his hearing, whereupon he awoke. Later, he asked the Lama about it, and was told that this dream signified triumph over obstacles and was an excellent sign.

8 The instructions on ‘familiarisation and accomplishment’ [nyendrup] which the ‘Vajra queen’ taught Mahāsiddha Orgyenpa

He had very clear mental impressions from a previous life as a contemporary of Orgyenpa called Tokden Dawa Senggé,³⁵¹ which inclined him to develop faith and aspirations for the ‘Orgyen Nyendrup’ teachings, and on one such occasion, he had a dream in which rJe [Karmapa] Rangjung Dorjé appeared, followed by a hand that he took to be Orgyenpa’s placing a volume on his head in blessing. Not long afterwards, he received the complete instructions of these teachings from the fourteenth Karmapa at Tsurpu, which he regarded as an excellent opportunity.

In addition, he received the blessing or oral transmission of numerous lesser or miscellaneous teaching cycles, but I have noted only the more important ones that I specifically requested, and he said that there was no way to recount or record other dreams and visions, which would in any case be of little use, so I have no detailed knowledge of these, and those I have heard are mentioned below [in the secret biography]. As Khédrup Prajñāraśmi said

‘The eight great traditions, which are the distillation of the eighty [-four] thousand component teachings [of the Buddhadharma], employ expedient means for the conversion of devotees, their instruction and practice differ from one to the next, but it is clear that their régimes of view and meditation ultimately amount to the same thing.’³⁵²

Thus, all of these oral traditions have developed various expedient forms of instruction in the key points of view and meditation in accordance with the varying capacities of individuals, but all ultimately result in the transcendent realisation of the unity of the four Kāya-s and attainment of perfect Buddha-hood, and since none of them differ from the unmistakable and profound path of Vajrayāna, and other noble masters had faith and confidence in this noble Lama’s pursuit of these teachings and studied them with him, their authenticity is beyond doubt.



The Secret Life

Third, the secret biography, concerning [experiences] shared by no one else at all, of any capacity, comprises two aspects, general and particular: In general, there is his accomplishment of mastery over the ‘Seven ordained transmissions’ [*Kabap chenpo dü*n], resulting from the timely fruition of the seeds of exceptional aspiration and longing [planted in previous lives]. It is stated in the list of prophecies in the *Great Perfection in three parts* revelation [*Dzokchen désum*]:³⁵³

‘The uninterrupted verbal transmission/ Profound revelations, [both] actual and mental/ Revelations of reconcealed teachings and through recollection [from past lives]/ Visionary perceptions and the [associated] direct transmissions/ The flowing river of the seven transmissions/ Are the inheritance of the rulers, father and son/ Great harvest of teachings in the degenerate age/ Further pervading sunlight of the vast and profound [Dharma]’

and in many instances in more elaborated statements in other revealed prophecies as well, the emanation of the royal father Trisong [*Détsen*] being this omniscient precious Lama, and the emanation of the prince Lhasé Damdzin³⁵⁴ being Chokgyur Déchen Lingpa, are indicated as the [‘father and son’] of prophecy. There is also a complete list [of transmissions destined] for Chokgyur Lingpa, but since the full trajectory of his activity for the benefit of beings was thwarted, it appears that they did not come to pass in large measure.

1 Concerning the manner in which this noble Lama received the first of these, the **direct verbal transmissions** [*ka-né kagyü*] of secret Mantra, both old and new: At the age of sixteen, at dawn on the tenth day of the fourth month, he travelled in a state of pure perception to the ‘lotus light’ island of Cāmara. There he beheld the Guru Saroruhavajra in a cave on a singularly formed mountain amid beautiful white clouds, surrounded by the assembled Ḍākinī-s. Having

mentally conferred his blessing, given a symbolic empowerment and granted full confirmation of [this master as recipient of] the seven transmissions, [the Guru], his eyes fixed in a gaze, said:

“Maintaining naked [presence in the union of] awareness and emptiness/
Untainted by objects [falsely] perceived [as external]/ Unaffected by the
[false] viewpoint of the perceiver/ This is the mind of all the Buddha-s”

whereupon he dissolved into this master along with his retinue, and the experience arose of their minds blending indistinguishably. From then on, he attained a natural stability in the state of primordial purity. Having grown at ease with this, he was able, through praying one-pointedly to Guru Rinpoché, to seek out and find whatever remained in the land of snows of the widely known teachings of Sūtra and Tantra, old and new translations, transmitted and revealed, along with their ripening [empowerments], liberating [instructions] and supporting [reading transmissions], as well as the empowerments, transmissions and instructions of traditions which had become most rare. Since many distinguished old texts of scripture and instruction of very rare currency came into his hands, with and without his having sought them, and he undertook the work of accomplishing their teachings himself and teaching them to those with faith, he acted as the main vital link in the continuity of all [Buddhist] schools without sectarian distinction. Exulting in the manifest entirety of approaches to the Dharma both day and night, through mastery in the Samādhi of the continuity of the teachings, he received teaching in the realm of visionary perception from Buddha-s, Bodhisattva-s, learned and accomplished masters, Vidyādhara-s and so on, and while his recollections of experiences and teachings received in previous incarnations appear to be many, he never spoke of them, except to a few fortunate ones, considering it wrong to propound his own greatness and in matters beyond the comprehension of others, so there is no question of setting them forth here, and the following are merely examples drawn from what I happen to have heard, without exaggeration or depreciation.

Apart from the manner in which he received the direct transmissions of the eight ‘chariots’ [or] practice lineages related above, there was also the clear recollection of his previous life as Chel Amoghavajra and the close transmission of Khaché Pañchen’s personal *Yangdak méchik* [Sādhana].³⁵⁵ In visions, he received teaching on the graduated path of the Māyājāla[-tantra] from Budhaguhya,³⁵⁶ and on the ‘two truths’ of Madhyamika from Rendawa Shönu Lo-drö.³⁵⁷ He recalled his former life as Nyemdo Sonam Pel, and received the direct transmission of the Kīlaya teaching which Padampa [Sanggyé] requested from Lopön Padma. On three occasions, Sa-chen [Kunga Nyingpo] granted him the blessings of ripening and completion, and in particular, while he was acting as Vajrācārya for a Kīlaya ritual at Palpung in the second half of the eleventh month of the Fire Hare year [1867-8], I requested an exegesis of the Mūlatantra [*tsa-dum*], and he said that in his dream that night he beheld Sa-chen, requested him to grant an explanation of the root text, and was told that those given earlier were quite sufficient. When he departed after giving an abbreviated explanation, [this master] requested the more extensive version with sub-divisions and so on, he replied “That transmitted explanation of the root itself is sufficient, and for a more extensive version you should consult the one written by my own disciple Minyakpa Prajñajvala”, and thus he received the direct transmission of the Kīlaya-tantra.

In the third month of the Iron Bird year [1861], while at the ‘outer hermitage’ in Palpung,³⁵⁸ where he had been requested to perform consecration of newly installed images and complete the empowerments of the four Hevajra teaching lineages, exegesis of the Tantra and Lamdré teachings, he dreamt of entering a great temple hall with a high throne in the centre, on which Palden Lama Sonam Gyeltsen was seated.³⁵⁹ Many volumes of scripture were piled up on either side. Tekchen Chöjé was seated on a carpet spread out below the throne to the right, and having bowed respectfully before them, he requested them to grant an explanation of the Hevajra-tantra, whereupon [the Lama] pointed to the right-hand book stack, saying “Bring out the commentary.” Passing [this master] a

volume whose title tag identified it as a commentary, [the Lama] said “This isn’t mine. This is by him”, and looked at Tekchen Chöjé. Passing him another volume, [the Lama] read him the explanation once through, placed the volume on his head [in blessing], and so on. He had also received the explanation of the Hevajra-tantra from Mangtö Ludrup Gyatso at Jashong [in a vision] on another occasion.³⁶⁰ That being so, and since he especially got the direct explanatory transmission of the seven essential treatises and so on [even] while the written transmission continued unbroken, from his emphasis on ascertaining the explanatory lineages of the Hevajra-tantra and Kīlaya Mūlatantra it is evidently of great importance for holders of these traditions to ensure the continuity [of such lineages].³⁶¹

On the first day of the second month of the Fire Dog year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle [1886], [this master] ordained that Mahāpaṇḍita Mi-pam should write a commentary on [Śāntarakṣita’s] *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*, and having completed it, while making a written composition of another [of this master’s] explanations that summer, he was summoned into his presence on the sixteenth of the fourth month. He told [the Paṇḍita] that the previous night, the fifteenth [full moon], [he dreamt that] Ācārya Kamalaśīla³⁶² wearing an ordinary monk’s robe dyed in mineral pigment, handed over a volume with both the root text and commentary on the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra* which he said belonged to Ba Yéshé Wangpo.³⁶³ After he had delivered an explanation, [this master further] requested an explanation of Kamalaśīla’s *Bhāvanākrama* [Gomrim], and he said that there was a lineage of reading transmission for the intermediate *Gomrim*, which would suffice. “I shall give you the explanatory transmission presently”, he told [the Paṇḍita], “and the day after tomorrow, the eighteenth, you should take care to give it to the assembly of those requesting the explanation of the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*.” Also around that time, someone else related to him how, in a previous life as Doetoktelpa Dorjé Gyeltsen,³⁶⁴ he had taught the *Five treatises of Maitreya* a hundred times over. That Lama went to China to serve as preceptor [to a ruler], and since he was a Māntrika, the Chinese put him in a box inside a Stūpa and sealed the entrance for a whole

year, in order to test his powers. After a year had gone by, he was still there just as when he was put inside, as if no more than a moment had passed. The Chinese king and his court gained faith in the Māntrika, and he returned to Tibet amid great demonstrations of respect, and brought great benefit to the Māntrika [community]. He cited recollection of the events of that time as the basis for giving Mi-pam explanatory transmissions of the two ‘distinguishing’ treatises [from among the five], so I heard.³⁶⁵

During the night of the third day of the twelfth month of Fire Hare [1867-8], when he had begun an explanation of the Saṃvara-tantra based on the *Clarification of the hidden meaning* commentary by Jé Rinpoché [Tsongkapa], he dreamt that everything impure was drained from his body and endless blood and pus streamed from its orifices. Then he found himself in an immaculate and very light body with wings, in which he flew to some place in south India. There he found himself near a rocky, forested mountain on the edge of a great plain, and looking up, he saw a Yogi said to be Lūipa at the base of the mountain peak, his face turned away, kindling a fire in a clay vessel, in which he was apparently cooking vegetables.³⁶⁶ From the foot of that mountain he called out “Grant me a Siddhi”, at which the Siddha glanced towards him, and an almost unbearable sun-like brilliance shone out. [When this master] again called out, [the Siddha] hurled down the blazing red embers of the fire in front of him, and in their midst appeared a piece of burnt radish, which split open to reveal a fine, dark yellow figure of Cakrasaṃvara within, that seemed to be made of fruit. Putting it in his mouth, his body was as if filled with the bliss of merging indistinguishably [with the deity], and in that state he awoke, and the certainty of having received the complete blessing of Cakrasaṃvara arose in him.

He had the merest recollection of his previous life as Baktön Shönu Tsultrim of Shap,³⁶⁷ and a hazy recurrence of mental traces from Nga-ri Pañchen Rinpoché, and he said that on recalling the many hardships he underwent in those lifetimes in the quest for the guiding tenets of the eight practice lineages, so many thoughts of joy mixed with sorrow came to him. Simply by hearing

the name of Jé Rinpoché Tsongkapa, his mind became fixed in a state of serenity, and due to his habitual sense of uncommon reverence for Jonang Jétsün Rinpoché,³⁶⁸ he repeatedly beheld [that Lama's] presence, and on one occasion was granted a summary presentation of a hidden teaching which [that Lama] had [intuited but] not [physically] revealed, the *Four garland cycles*, comprising the *Garland of view* basic Tantra, the *Garland of consciousness* for the development stage, the *Garland of primordial wisdom* for the completion stage, and the *Garland of activity* for the major and minor rituals. He said that [Jonang Jétsün] further instructed him that the text for this practice was concealed in a mountain of scree shaped like the letter 'Hūṃ' at [Shang] Sapulung,³⁶⁹ and that in future he should reveal it.

2 The transmission of **physical revelations** [*sa-tér*]

From a young age, many prophecies of revelations came to him, but the auspicious conditions for their fulfillment were overpowered [by circumstances]. While staying at [his family's] summer encampment, he found a square stone bearing symbolic script on a supposedly sacred rock mountain, from which he deciphered the practice manual of the *Assembled Sugata-s [Sādhana of the] three roots [Tasum déshek düpa]* cycle, some fifty pages in length. He replaced the stone and sealed it. The manual remained with him until later on, but when the subsequent single stream of all the deities and Mantra-s of the three 'heart-practices' combined was the only one to be found, he said that the text was no more to be seen [and] he had concealed it in space.

While travelling from Lhasa to Samyé in the ninth month of the Earth Monkey year [1848], his twenty-ninth, on the morning of the tenth day, his attendant having gone on ahead, this master arrived alone at the temple of Drakmar Drinsang.³⁷⁰ In the vicinity of the temple, a woman approached to offer him a [clay] finger [rescued] from a collapsed giant Buddha statue, which he put in the fold of his robe and continued on his way, forgetting meanwhile that it was even there. Later on when changing his clothes, as he loosened the

belt of his robe it fell to the ground, and on inspection he saw that the finger had broken, and inside were the treasure scrolls of the *Tukjé chenpo semnyi ngelso* cycle and the *Nyingpo chikdril* ['single essence'] of the Sādhana-s of the three kinds [*la dzok tuksum*] reconcealed by Drimé Kunga,³⁷¹ and bone relics of twenty-one Brahmins, but as not so much as a word of it had got around, even his attendant and constant companion Tsultrim Gyatso had no idea that they were revealed treasures. He went through each of the *Semnyi ngelso* practices cursorily [there and then].

Later, on the tenth day of the middle winter month of Earth Male Horse [1858], following the treasure-key with the Jñāna-ḍākinī's [verses of] exhortation [*külchang*], he transcribed just the essential treasure-key concerning its transmission history [*loegyü néchang*] and the inner treasure-key [*yangchang*]. The essential key states:

‘The first to open up this teaching/ At a powerful place and time [*wang*]/
An emanation born to the powerful lotus lineage/ Will teach it for dual
benefit/ He and the assembled [recipients] will be fortunate’

and accordingly, when the fourteenth Gyelwang Karmapa came [to Kham] at the invitation of the Nyaké Pön³⁷² in the fifth month of the Iron Monkey year [1860], and visited Tér lung on his outward journey, during the sixth month, he had already hinted at the import of this to myself in advance. At that time, as this noble Lama had gone to Dagam Wangpuk, I respectfully consulted Gyelwang Rinpoché on how best to arrange a meeting, and having proceeded to visit Dagam Wangpuk, he requested [this master] to confer whatever empowerment came to mind. This precious master then joyfully conferred upon our group of eight, chiefly Gyelwang Rinpoché and the Situ Tulku,³⁷³ the essential empowerment of the *Semnyi ngelso*, the root empowerment of the *Tsokyé nyingtik* and the *Chétsun nyingtik* empowerment, thus kindly granting in their entirety the three main components [*la dzok tuksum*] of his own profound revelations, which we were [indeed] most fortunate to receive, and the initial conjunction of auspices was well founded. It seems that the auxiliary

parts of this teaching were [concealed] in that place, and he had certainly got hold of them, but because of having started out with the basic conjunction of auspices of this earth treasure, merely looking at the type of treasure scrolls derived from it made him seriously ill and to enquire just into the import of those scrolls was difficult enough. Therefore, most of the teaching could only be glimpsed, and the entirety of auxiliaries could not be transcribed at all. On being requested for a regular practice [based on this revelation], he said there was no need to compose one as it was already there in the scroll, [but] as he prepared to transcribe it, his hand seized up with severe incapacity. The reasons for this inability to transcribe the teaching were, in general, that in their inferior endowment of good fortune, most of the destined recipients were defiled by lapsed Samaya-s, having remained in uncertainty from the start, and in particular, that the very initial revelation of this teaching was [destined] to allay the harmful inroads of [foreign] vandals, and the stock of merit of the land of snows was insufficient for such a thing to take place.³⁷⁴

At the age of thirty-one, he performed rituals for the wellbeing of the Tibetan realm at the Namka Ding meditation cave of Guru [Padmasambhava] on the Pelchen Chuwori mountain, in accordance with certain indications he had seen at the Yöru Trandruk [temple]. Having done so, the Guru in Mahāsukha form appeared with innumerable retinue filling the sky, and he obtained special indications that [the Guru] had come to the aid of the Tibetan realm with endless manifestations, and for one [twelve-]year cycle hence, the central region of Tibet would suffer no threat of foreign invasion.³⁷⁵ While offering Gaṇapūjā in the Guru's meditation cave at Gyang Yönpö-lung³⁷⁶ the following year [1851], he clearly saw a representative [treasure] image of the Guru and the *Spontaneous wish fulfillment* [*Sampa lhundrupma*] cycle [concealed] above the cave entrance, and the precise contents of the teachings and so on arose in his mind.³⁷⁷

Then, before dawn on the tenth day of the second month of the Earth Horse year [1858], his thirty-ninth, the recitation melody of [Guru] Tötreng Tsel resounded in the sky, after which slender, hollow tubes of light projected from

his eyes and pierced the flank of a rocky mountain in the south with rivers flowing from either side. There he saw a representative statue of the Guru in Mahāsukha form, one forearm in height, and the teaching cycle in the form of a volume of treasure scrolls, as if they were actually there. The words and meaning of the teachings contained therein shone vividly in his mind, but seeing that the auspices of time and place and so on and the required agency were not his, and that the time had not come for this master himself to reveal them, he explained the situation to Têrchen Chokgyur Lingpa and urged him to do so. Having made the connections with prophecies and visions of his own, the Têrchen was able to take possession of the representative statue called ‘splendid Siddhi’ [*Ngodrup pelbar*] and the treasure scrolls, in their case made of ‘all-accomplishing Giwam’ [solidified animal bile], on the tenth day of the tenth month of the Earth Horse year from the Norbu Punsum cliff at the confluence of rivers at Tsiké [in southern Nangchen], without difficulty. The symbolic script in the scrolls was not clearly legible, but ‘father and son’ spent seven days together deciphering it, and having soaked them in water of the five Amṛta-s [Tantric sacraments], and the great wonder of ‘seven cities’ of symbolic script having appeared vividly from the fifth day on, they transcribed them together on the tenth day of the eleventh month. Whatever was pronounced by Têrchen Rinpoché was decisively confirmed in this noble Lama’s visionary perception, so that each gained confidence in the other, and the transcription was accomplished without error.

The following year, while this omniscient Lama led an entourage in the group practice of the two Guru Sādhana-s [*tukdrup*] combined, he saw the two deity assemblages one above the other in the centre of a Maṇḍala temple of inconceivable proportions.³⁷⁸ The central [Guru] figure gave instruction and related comments, and particularly the oral instructions based on the four ways of supplication, and he had extraordinary visions of each of the treasure-guardians at work. He took the revealed image as his personal object of meditation, and a gilt copper statue of the [Guru according to the] *Tukdrup yishin norbu* was enshrined at the Pema Shépuk hermitage.³⁷⁹ He certainly furthered the influence of this teaching,

[but] for one vital point of auspicious conjunction, he did not propagate the thirteen divisions of the *Shédam nyingchang*.³⁸⁰

Before dawn one night in the first month of the Fire Tiger year [1866], when he was forty-six, two figures appeared dressed as Ḍaka-s who said they had come from Cāmara, and told him “The actual occasion for this was the Wood Tiger of the previous annual cycle [i.e., 1854], but the conjunction of auspices did not work out. This time we have come to give you this on Guru Rinpoché’s orders”, handed him a rolled scroll, and vanished. He put the scroll in the pot in front of him, and once it was light, he saw that it was the key [*khachang*] to a hidden treasure. Accordingly, together with Tērchen Chokgyur Lingpa, he proceeded to Rongmé Karmo Taktsang in the tenth month of that year, and they ‘reopened’ the door to that sacred place.

Chokgyur Lingpa revealed a Vajra made of meteoric metal and the *Five cycles of the essence of the sublime teaching* [*Damchö nyingpo kor nga*] [Sādhana-s]. From the Dün Drakar rock, this master revealed a statue of the ‘wrathful Vajra’ [Dorjé Drakpo Tsel] form of the Guru, from the *Tukdrup* [*Barché kunsel*]. At the frozen Seng-ngu Yumtso,³⁸¹ once the ice in the centre of the lake had broken, they both poured a ritually prepared libation, and on their command a guy-rope was cast [into the water], but with no result on the first two attempts. Then a vision arose of the Nāgarāja treasure-guardian coming under a golden parasol, and simultaneously the lake boiled over with waves and powdered gold fell, and at that point the treasure casket came up on the end of the rope. This noble Lama withdrew a gold casket from the lake in the form of Heruka in union [with consort]. The other monks in their entourage at the time found bits of gold among the sand [on the lake shore]. Later on, that gold vanished without trace. About eight pages were removed from the casket, containing a wonderful series of teachings on the Dorjé Drak[po]tsel of the *Tukdrup*, and the *Tsasum gyütrul drawa*, of which the *Lamrim yéshé nyingpo* [‘heart of wisdom’ oral instruction] from the Dorjé Drak[po]tsel teaching was transcribed, which he taught on a few occasions. Some sections of the *Tsasum* were also transcribed, but never came to be taught.³⁸²

[In a dream] on the night of the twenty-seventh of the second month of the Water Dog year [1862], when he was forty-two, Nyenchen Tanglha appeared in person and handed him a casket, saying “I was to give you this casket if you came to the Nyingdrung cave, but it did not happen in time.”³⁸³ Now, although the time has passed by, and there is nothing to be done, I have met my obligation to you. Since there is little hope of happy times coming to Ütsang either, I am going into the presence of Vimalamitra at Wu-t'ai Shan in China.”

This master interjected “In that case, if there is little chance of peaceful times anywhere, you had better ask Vimalamitra what can be done and what would be beneficial?”

“Of the ten fixed periods, we are now in the eighth”, he replied, “There is little that even Vimalamitra can say. By meditating on great compassion, reciting Maṇi Mantra, restoring Samaya-s and doing redemption practice as much as they can, people can remain at peace individually. It is important for everyone to keep a good heart....” and while saying so, he faded away.

Subsequently he opened the casket, and inside were a fist-high representative statue of the Guru made of clay from the Nāga realm and covered in a paste of the sexual fluids of the five Heruka forms of the Guru [*Tötreng dénga*] and their consorts, one of Guru Rinpoché’s teeth, innumerable miraculously produced Śarīra pellets as clear as crystal, and Śarīra produced from the teeth of adepts in the *Four Kāya-s* [*Lama kushi*] Guru Sādhana. These he gave out to any faithful supplicants who asked for them, and although they amounted to many thousands, [the supply] never diminished. Later on, about a year before his death, he said that the treasure-guardian had taken them away, and they were there no more. This *Lama kushi* cycle was the extended one of the three extant Sādhana-s, extended, medium and brief, based on the movements of the tenth-day ritual dance, however, apart from half of the introductory account, they were never set down for the benefit of others, and were evidently reconcealed.



A brief depiction with captions of the revelation of profound treasures at the Vajra rock of Chimé Karmo Taktsang and the turquoise lake, entitled 'Sweet melody of the auspicious Tambura'

Home to Guru Rinpoché, personification of the three roots!

Having commonly intuited exceptional visions and prophecies from the Guru-s and Ḍākinī-s, the 'lineal descendant of Guru Padma' Orgyen Chokgyur Déchen Lingpa and Jamgön Lama Padma Ösé Do-ngak Lingpa proceeded to **Chimé Karmo Taktsang Senggé Samdrup Ke'utsang**, one of the sacred places where auspicious conditions for the land of Tibet are produced, **on the auspicious 25th day** when the Ḍākinī-s gather, in the latter half of the 9th month of the Fire Tiger year (1866), and reached there at noon. Having made incense offerings, Gaṇapūjā and so forth at the centre of the site, we went on to Samdrup Ke'utsang, offered Pūjā there and so on. On the following day, the 26th, we went up to the mountaintop and surveyed the scene, and there effectively performed hundredfold feast offerings, Torma rites, incense offerings and libations aimed at bringing about specific and general benefits for the land of Tibet. Early on **the 27th day**, we went to the **Orgyen Sangpuk** cave. Finding the sign of a concealed **treasure**, they broke the rock seals one by one and used charcoal to melt the stone glue, so that without much difficulty we revealed a representative image (of Guru Padma), casket, ritual implements and so forth, in full view of the assembled onlookers, by about midday. On the 26th, we got up to the door of the **Tso-gyel Sangpuk** cave, but due to insufficient conditions it had become **invisible**. On the morning of the **28th**, once the sun was up, a juniper tree was cut to make a ladder. We dug towards where the earlier Sangpuk cave had been, to a depth of about two fingers, and although the seam in the

rock through which the cave could be re-opened was clearly visible, it was difficult to use tools or other more effective methods to get in, we left the diggers to work, and came back that afternoon. On the next day, the 29th, upon arrival at the house of the treasurer Sonam Topgyel, we conferred the treasure empowerment on the Dégé king and ministers, and performed the rituals of Dorjé Drolo and of Mañjuśrī, destroyer of external hindrances. On the 30th, we fulfilled the requests of the sponsors. On the first day of the 10th month we conferred the white Tārā longevity empowerment on the Dégé king and family members, and made incense offerings for the general purification of the land. Then, on the 2nd, a small group of disciples and myself returned to the place, continued digging the treasure seal, and performed incense offerings, offering Pūjā-s and many other things. On the 5th, the king also came there, and Jamgön Lama came on the 6th. From the 7th, my group of disciples performed collective Pūjā and incense offerings. There were many rock seals, and as we broke through the layers we found many amazing things in between, like a paste of molten gold, and multicoloured earth. On the morning of the 9th, knowing the treasure to be nearby, we stopped the digging, and from the late evening, songs and melodious prayers were chanted continuously. In our eagerness for a sign, we did a lot of loud chanting, and my group of disciples, with the Dégé king, ministers and retinue, proceeded to the cave with the earth shaking as we went. There we kept up a continuous incantation of Pūjā and prayer. **As dawn rose on the 10th day of the 10th month,** we found the treasure sign on the entrance wall of the cave, and after digging, without too much difficulty I was able to remove the meteorite Vajra used by Rikdzin Dorjé Drakpo Tsel, embedded in the rock as if in mud, and I left it stuck half way out so that it be believed, and had people come immediately to see it. Then, once the sun was up, the (other) treasures inside and outside the cave were revealed, and we gave the treasure empowerment to a crowd of about 300 including the king and ministers. Then, under the impetus of some visions at various times, on

the 11th myself and a group of disciples went up to the shores of the **Seng-gö Yumtso** lake, and at once felt at ease and clear minded. The sky was filled with a lattice of rainbows in young summer clouds. In one of the tumbledown slate huts once used by the determined meditators of the past, we arranged a Torma offering and held a Gaṇapūjā. After performing a special Pūjā and making prayers, I felt my awareness passing into another state, and went out into the middle of the frozen lake, and through a great hole in the ice, my eyes sent down rainbow-tipped rays, and I could clearly see the position of the treasure. And with his own exceptional vision, Jamgön Lama held the Nagarāja-s, the local treasure-guardians, to their oath. I tied my belt and skirt to the end of a stick, and while giving instructions for the recovery of the treasure, a rain of flowers fell like sleet from a clear sky, and the Nagarāja Bodhisattva-s scattered flowers of powdered gold so that the lake shore was speckled gold, and at the same moment we were **easily able to remove the treasure**. We offered [i.e., threw into the lake] blessed substances in plenty as a replacement, and got back [to the Taktsang] that same evening. The next day I partly transcribed the scroll from the earlier revelation, and then returned. With the auspiciousness of all going well from start to finish, without sweat or tears, it was a blessed occurrence.

This account, unblemished by the slightest exaggeration or depreciation, was sincerely written by the descendant of Orgyen Lama, Chokgyur Lingpa, in order to please the Kyapgön Situ Choktrul Rinpoché, one prophesied by Gyalwang Padma, and by presenting it, through the kindness of the Upādhyāya, the Ācārya and the Dharmarāja, emanations of the three Bodhisattva-s, may there be benefit to the whole of Tibet, the centre and the borders, and may all the attributes of content be simultaneously present there in their entirety! *Sarva Mangalam!*

In the first half of the tenth month of the Fire Hare year [1867], at the age of forty-seven [sic for -eight], he went to Alo Penjor-gang, and I myself accompanied him, at his bidding. During the night of the tenth, he had an unobstructedly clear vision of the layout of more than a thousand major and minor holy places from Drémojong in the west down to Yulung Kang-ra, the treasures concealed there and so on. On the eleventh he offered Gaṇapūjā in the Shi-tro Shépuk cave on the mountain above, and revealed the treasure scrolls of the *Three cycles of the heartdrop of liberation* [Dröltik korsum] and a few guidebooks to holy places.³⁸⁴ There were rainbows and a rain of flowers. He transcribed some of those guidebooks.

Also in the Fire Hare year, this master accompanied by Chokgyur Lingpa revealed a stone casket with three sections from the Riwo Khyungding mountain, also known as Khyungsang Drak, at his paternal estate. It contained the auxiliaries of the *Tsasum kadü*, the Sādhana-s and sacred substances of each of the twenty-five disciples, but only the collected substances were shown to others.

One summer after that, during a visit from the Tértön Kundröl Sangwa Tsel,³⁸⁵ he had him go to Têrlung right then. There were Śarīra relics of the seven past Buddha-s in the boulder [marked] with a gold canopy, a treasure hidden on the Pema Shéri mountain and so on, but [their revelation] had not worked out on this master's previous attempt, and there was no point in him going back for them in person. At his insistence that their revelation was a matter of importance, the Tértön went there, but despite his offering rites and supplications, no further Śarīra were forthcoming. He made propitiatory offerings for three days in the Dagam Wangpuk cave, and on the morning of the last day, on the mountain peak, he renewed the oaths of the territorial spirits, whereupon a vulture came flying from Pema Shéri in the midst of rainbow-filled clouds, landed on a rocky peak below and deposited a treasure-casket. It was wrapped in fresh vermilion clay, and he offered it to the noble Lama just as it was. [The latter] opened the casket within to find a representative image of [the Guru as] the Vid'yādharma of immortality made of dark bronze,³⁸⁶ and the scrolls of the *Union of the three roots* [*Tsasum Chindü*] cycle and of introductions to many holy places, of which

he transcribed a practice manual [and] empowerment from the *Chindü* cycle. The scrolls were evidently reconcealed.

It seems that the most important of the profound treasures which this master was to reveal in this incarnation was the *Tsasum kadü chenmo* at the Tsi-ki Lhakang temple in Tsang Yéru, but as he did not achieve this, [there are only] the auxiliary teachings, the scrolls of the *Particular accomplishment of unconditioned bliss* [*Tro-tral déchen gödrup*] which Tértön Lérab Lingpa revealed at Ka-tok,³⁸⁷ the Sādhana cycle of the ‘eight close sons’ from Tsangrong Tashi Lhatsé³⁸⁸ which I got hold of, and the *Individual Sādhana-s of the Eight Vidyādhara-s* [*Rikdzin gyéki gödrup*] from the ‘Palace of assembled Sugata-s’ at Dzongshö,³⁸⁹ none of which were transcribed.

Also, once during his latter journey to [central] Tibet, when he travelled on foot with his attendant Tsultrim Gyatso visiting the temples and sacred images of Ütsang, on the way back from Shang Sapulung, they stopped in a beautiful meadow to take their meal. There, an extensive cycle of Tārā Sādhana which he was destined to reveal appeared very clearly, concealed in the [nearby] cliff, but as he had no means to stay there for days and make the necessary efforts, he could not take possession of the scrolls. However, their contents sparkled clearly in his mind, and he wrote down the basic text in three or four pages.³⁹⁰ As he was doing so, a layman appeared and handed him an old Tārā statue, saying that there was a price of seven Sho of gold, which he said was just the amount he had in the purse at his waist. As none of this was seen by his attendant, it was [surely] the treasure-guardian himself who appeared, and the gold was needed as a precious substitute [*tértsap*] for the revealed statue. He said that the statue had belonged to Ārya Nāgārjuna and regarded it very highly. Later, it spoke the words “Lekso!” [‘excellent!’] three times to Chokgyur Lingpa. Subsequently he kindly bestowed it on me along with the ripening and completion teachings of the *Drölma saptik*, and it is now the main object of worship in the Yangtrö Kunsang Déchen Ösel Ling [hermitage at Palpung].³⁹¹ The exceptional Kīla which he came by on the road to Jomo Kharak was also certainly offered to him directly by a treasure-guardian.³⁹²

Then, when he came to Khangmar-doe in the Fire Hare year [1867], I remarked that there was certainly a Vajrasattva treasure in the vicinity as it is specified in a prophecy revealed by Dündül Dorjé, and beseeched him to consider [whether] it could be [revealed]. He went up to the secret cave of Vairocana at Pema Shéri in company with Chokgyur Lingpa, myself and some others, and after offering a Gaṇacakra, he revealed from that very cave an exceptional bronze Vajrasattva statue which had been Vairocana's personal object of meditation, which he later gave me. At Dzungshö, the holy place of [Buddha] body, he revealed a most wondrous ornament of [Guru] Pema Gyelpo no bigger than a fingertip, which he declared to be a fruit of the wish-fulfilling tree. In the secret cave of four-armed Mahākāla at Pel De'u, in that same holy place, he revealed an exceptional Vajra made of meteoric metal which had been reconcealed by Nga-dak Nyang Rinpoché. Later he gave it to Dzokchen monastery as a relic [*nangten*]. Evidently, he revealed many sacred objects and substances in the three provinces of Kham, Ü and Tsang, such as the 'secret Amṛta' of the Dākinī Karmesvari from the spring below Tro Siltrom, an old statue of Jambhala from the Dagam Wangpuk cave, blessed pills for the *Pakma Nyingtik* practice from the nearby Drölma Drak cliff, the silk skirt of Mönmo Tashi Khyédren and leaves of the Bodhi tree from the Seng-ngu Yumtso lake, and so on, but only those I have actually heard about are included here. And as for them, it is as the *Tangyik* testament says:

'For me, the earth is filled with treasures/ If I need, I can take them from any place'

for any fortunate individual on the 'path of application' and beyond can effortlessly accomplish the revelation of treasures from anywhere at all.

The profound revelations produced by this master in partnership with Chokgyur Lingpa were the so-called *Four cycles of Guru Sādhana* [*La-drup korshi*], the outer *Removal of all obstacles* [*Barché kunsel*], the inner *Spontaneous fulfillment of wishes* [*Sampa lhundrup*], the secret *Heart-essence of the lake-born* [*Tsokyé nyingtik*], and the utmost secret *Wrathful Vajra* [*Dorjé draktse*], as well

as the *Seven heart-essences* [*Nyingtik kordün*] of Garab Dorjé, Mañjuśrimitra, Śrīsingha, Vimalamitra, Guru Padma, Yéshé Tsogyel and Vairocana. Of these, the way in which the *Barché kunsel* initially occurred to this master is related above,³⁹³ and for a period of about eight years Chokgyur Lingpa was unable to transcribe the treasure scrolls. Later this master transcribed them through a favourable conjunction of circumstances, while the main practice manual and daily practice were transcribed by Chokgyur Lingpa. All the rest were transcribed by this master, and the other three will be explained in due course. They revealed the *Garab nyingtik* from Dzamnang Drakar Yangtsé in Méshö, and the *Vairo nyingtik* and *Dzokchen désum* from [Dzamnang] Pema Shépuk together. The *Tsogyel nyingtik* was revealed at Senggé Namdrak,³⁹⁴ and the *Riksum nyingtik*, an auxiliary of the *Désum*, from Yégyel Namka Dzö,³⁹⁵ by Chokgyur Lingpa, but transcribed by both masters together. The other ‘heart-essences’ were received by this master as direct transmissions, but due to the conjunction of auspices of time and place and so on, he was unable to transcribe them except in outline.

In general, this master’s principal ‘earth treasures’ were the *Tsasum kadü* and, in common with Chok-ling, the *Tsasum gyütrul drawa*. I myself secured the authorisation for the *Tsasum gongdü*, and in the Wood Dog year [1874], the actual treasure.³⁹⁶ When I offered it for his inspection, with great delight he had me seated on even more carpets and so on than I had been accustomed to.

“As the initial conjunction of auspices was misconstrued, Chokgyur Lingpa was unable to transcribe the scrolls of the *Tukdrup barché kunsel* at first, but I managed to do it. Now as your revelation needs to be transcribed in full, I will give you both guidance in the symbolic script and assistance”, he said, and made elaborate propitiatory offerings and supplications. He listed the divisions of the *Lama gongdü*, one of four *Gongdü* [categories] in the great *Treasury of revelations*, one of five treasuries contained in this teaching,³⁹⁷ and in conjunction with the master I had completed about four sections of the *Rikdzin chokdrup* when, because of another factor, he forgot the work and it remained

unfinished. There were many visionary episodes concerning this which will not be included here.³⁹⁸

From then on, the transcription was increasingly difficult, but this master's commitment to the undertaking being unchanged, before dawn on the sixth of the seventh month of the Fire Rat year [1876], in a state of luminosity, he was transported to the top of a [mountain] said to be Kang Tisé [Kailāśa-parvata], in the form of a crystal Stūpa with an eight-stepped base. There, in a cave with some of the signs of concealed treasure, were monastic robes, begging bowl and staff, and as he was offering Gaṇacakra together with some women, the sun began to rise in the east, and on its rays, amid rainbow lights and raining flowers, Orgyen Rinpoché appeared, and seated himself in the manner of Maitreya [i.e., with legs extended] on a platform before them. Holding a bright red object like a jewelled casket, he declared "This is the empowerment of the four rivers of Tantra-s, texts and instructions combined", and placed it on [this master's] three centres [of body, speech and mind]. After pronouncing the Mantra-s *Kāya-abhiśiñca-om* and so on, [the Guru] placed it in [this master's] hands. It felt soft and fragile, as if about to melt, and as he accepted it, he sensed his entire body being filled with a sweet-tasting sap. "Do a hundred thousand recitations of the seven-line prayer, and Orgyen [Rinpoché] will come to you", he said, whereafter the vision ceased.

That day, he told me "It seems that doing those hundred thousand seven-line prayers will be a way for you to transcribe the *Tsasum gongdü*", and while conferring detailed instructions on the place and manner of recitation, like the instructions for the revelation of a treasure, there emerged the Sādhana to be used during the practice, which I wrote down as the master had explained it. Thereafter, this master was entirely preoccupied with visitors and so on, with no free time whatsoever, and lacking the reliable testimony of Vajra speech I am unable, nor is it necessary, to record [my own thoughts and] ideas, and as the auspicious conjunctions of time and place had mostly passed, so too did my opportunity.³⁹⁹

3 The consequent transmission of **reconcealed treasures** [*yangtér*]

Once in a dream, during the Earth Sheep year [1859] called ‘all-accomplishing’, his fortieth, he encountered Tércen Sanggyé Lingpa⁴⁰⁰ dressed in the attire of a Tantric priest, with a purple shawl wrapped over an ornate waistcoat, bowed reverently, and requested him to grant his ‘essential summary’ of the Dzokchen teaching. He produced a volume, saying “This is better than the essential summary. This is the *Great history of the revealed teachings* [*Térjung chenmo*] which I revealed from the lion-faced rock at Samyé”, and handed it to him. Opening it and looking inside, he found the detailed biographies and lists of the revealed teachings of the *tértön-s* of the past in the first half, and those of the present and future in the second half. Handing the volume back, [the Tércen] placed it on [this master’s] head, and after saying a few words in blessing, both the *tértön* and the volume dissolved into him, and the life stories and teachings of each of the thousand-plus *tértön-s* shone vividly before him, as if the text had been incorporated into his being. For several days afterward, they remained clear in his mind, and even subsequently, he said that just by turning his mind to it, the information was there in detail. [Thus] it appears that by making supplications for those old revelations of which neither the texts nor the transmission had survived, or those for which there were texts but the transmission was hard to find, the Jñānakāya of the *tértön* concerned would confer the empowerment and transmission upon him, and the reconcealed scrolls and sacred symbols and substances would actually come into his possession, offered by the treasure-guardians and Dākinī-s.

On the first such occasion, Tértön Sanggyé Lama appeared to him in person, dressed as a Tantric priest with a dark maroon shawl over a yellow vest, and granted him the blessing of a teaching in twenty-one parts which he said was his own *Tsasum ngodrup tensik* revelation. That cycle was in symbolic script, and the main part was never transcribed, but his summarised *Tsasum drildrup* practice manual and torma empowerment are there.⁴⁰¹

The ‘Heartdrop of the assembled Sugata-s that liberates on seeing’ teaching on the two levels and three Kāya-s of the Lama [Lama tennyi kusum déshek düpé saptik tongwa rangdröl], the innermost essence of the condensed teaching, granted at the request of Princess Mandārava when Guru Rinpoché was turning the wheel of the Kadü chöki gyatso teachings at Yöru Trandruk, out of her concern for future disciples, a unified summary of the essentials of the vast and profound aspects, of concise expression and condensed meaning, easy to practise and great in blessing, this cycle of instruction was concealed in a boulder resembling a ‘joyous swirl’ [design] to the east of the Pūrṇa Dzari mountain on the border between Tibet and Nepal, and revealed by Gya Lotsāva Dorjé Sangpo, who then reconcealed it. The Ḍākinī treasure-guardianess presented [this master] with the scrolls, and he transcribed the first six of its eight chapters. Soon after beginning the work, the tértön himself granted his blessing and kindly bestowed the basic empowerment and authorised transmission.

The Wishfulfilling Jewel of all profound meanings combined that grants self-liberation on seeing [Sapdön kundril yishin norbu tongwa rangdröl], one of the four versions, extensive, medium, abbreviated and innermost essence, of the Lotus king [Tukjé chenpo pema shi-tro or Pema gyelpo] Mahākāruṇika cycle, the unified form of the three kinds [la-dzok-tuksum] taught by Padmasambhava to the later grouping of twenty-five disciples led by Gyelsé Lhajé, at Chimpu and other places of meditation, was concealed in the Chamtrin temple in Mang-yul. It was revealed by Tértön Nyima Senggé, but after being rejected by his consort and monastic entourage, his activity for the benefit of beings was curtailed, and he reconcealed it.

On the night of the tenth day of the second half [i.e., the twenty-fifth] of the fifth month of the Fire Hare year [1867], the first year of the [fifteenth] sexagenary cycle, Caṇḍikā, the pure realm Ḍākinī of the lotus family, handed him the treasure scroll in a small roll, to remain under seal for one further cycle of [twelve] years. Then, in the spring of the Earth Hare year [1879], as the same Ḍākinī [re-appeared and] urged him to transcribe the scroll, he saw himself approaching the Orgyen Lhakhang [chapel] in the inner hall of the Yöru Trandruk temple. The

representative statue there turned into Guru Rinpoché in person, manifested the Maṇḍala and articles of empowerment in an instant on the platform [where] the Maṇḍala ritual of the *Kadü* [*chöki gyatso* was originally performed], and conferred on him the complete ripening and completion [stages of the teaching]. After awaking from that vision, the complete meaning of the symbolic script shone clearly [in his mind], and with one-pointed supplications to Guru Rinpoché, the transcription was finished effortlessly in a couple of days, and he also became accomplished in the practice and taught it to others.

While Guru Rinpoché was in residence at Drakmar Zenyang [i.e., Samyé], at the request of the king and four fellow disciples, as well as [his minister] Shanglön Dorjé Trelchung, he condensed the *Sādhana*-s of the Padma-ḍākinī, which had emerged [spontaneously] from the consciousness of the Ḍākinī [consort] of Pema Garwang, [a deity] of the Mother-tantra-s, classed as outer, inner, secret and utmost secret suchness, into three different instructions, corresponding with the vast, the profound, and the essential, and these were concealed in three different locations, to be revealed by different *tértön*-s. The extremely profound and condensed *Five-deity secret Sādhana* [*Sangdrup lha-nga*] cycle of instruction hidden in the doorway of the half-moon-like cave at Drakmar, on the east side of Tsang Rongchen, was revealed by Rongzom Lotsāva Chöki Sangpo, and the continuity of the empowerment and transmission, known as the *Ḍākinī inspiring awareness* [*Khandroma rikché tsel*],⁴⁰² was recorded by Nésar Jamyang Khyentsé and Shikpo Lingpa⁴⁰³ in their lists of teachings received. Latterly, neither the text nor the transmission were in currency, when in the Iron Dragon year [1880], the Ḍākinī guardianess actually presented [this master] with an ancient copy. With both Orgyen Rinpoché and Lo-chen Vairocana having granted the blessing of the ripening and completion instructions, [he made] copies in greater detail. Upon engaging in the practice a little in the fourth month of that year, he said he gained a clear comprehension of its outcome.

Once in the Earth Horse year [1858], Yarjé Orgyen Lingpa appeared to him in person as an old-style Māntrika with a lotus hat, and granted him an essential instruction condensed from the twenty-one assemblages of the *Kadü*

chöki gyatso, and having transcribed it and gradually familiarised himself with the practice, he became triumphant over [all] obstacles. This teaching was a singular antidote to the forces of darkness, such as invading armies, and he said that the first time he so much as opened the volume, a great turbulence arose.

In this lifetime he never engaged even slightly in wrathful ritual, but through the force of the blessing of this teaching, on the night of the twenty-fifth of the second month of the Water Pig year [1863], when the whole of Doe-kham was beset with suffering from the war waged by the Nyarong chieftain,⁴⁰⁴ he dreamt that in an iron pan in front of him was an arrangement of forty-four small Liṅga [effigies] each with a birch leaf at its heart on which [the Mantra] *E nri tri dza* was written in blood. An imposing figure spoke, saying “To begin with there were forty-four senior named military commanders in this war. Each has a protective deity [making] forty-four, and each an attendant *damsi* [demon, making] forty-four. Now if the forces of good prevail, there is some chance for the restoration of peace in the land, but if the forces of evil prevail, this disastrous situation will worsen, so these *damsi* must be annihilated”, and bowed in urgent supplication. In an unconscious way, this master first performed the visualisation and recitation practice of Guru Drakpo, and while doing so, assumed the actual form of Paṇḍaka-mahākāla. Once again his form changed into a larger than life ‘all-powerful queen’ [*Kuntup gyelmo*], and he set to ‘inducing and dissolving’ each [demon]. As he caught hold of innumerable *damsi* with the heads of carnivorous beasts like leopards, Nāga minions like scorpions and snakes, and fearsome birds of prey like hawks and eagles, and dissolved them into the small Liṅga-s, each turned into oversized living forms, which he slaughtered with various weapons. Blood flowed like a river, and by eating their flesh, drinking their blood and so on, they were eradicated without remainder. Dealing with each one in this way, as he finished the twenty-fourth, he awoke from the dream. He could actually smell the blood and so on [even after waking]. Thereafter he was afflicted with an undiagnosable illness which made him lose his voice and so on, so it is clear that although there were many who performed religious ceremonies and recitations and so forth in that period

[for the alleviation of suffering], in fact it was through this master's compassion that the harsh onslaught of the dark forces was reduced by half, and the sun of wellbeing for the country shone at least through the clouds.⁴⁰⁵

The Distillation of the Ḍākinī-s' secret [Khandro sangwa kundū] cycle of instruction which Guru Rinpoché bestowed on Khandro Yéshé Tsogyel as her essential tutelary practice was concealed in the Sarmolung cave in Éh. The Ḍākinī-s gave the actual treasure text to Jomo Menmo Pema Tso-ki,⁴⁰⁶ and she practised it herself, but as there was no occasion to teach it to others, she reconcealed it. While Jomo was wandering the territory of Ütsang, she met with Guru Chöwang in Lho-drak, and he accepted her [as a disciple] by granting her instructions for the ripening and completion stages. Because of taking her as his secret Karma-mudrā, the knots in his wisdom channels were released and he was able to transcribe the Tantra-s of the *Entirety of secrets [Ka-gyé sangwa yongdzok]* previously closed to him, so that she became his main consort. Subsequently, this master had very clear mental traces from the lifetime of [Guru] Chöwang. Out of past auspicious connections, the Jomo herself, who was only another form of Yéshé Tsogyel, blessed him and opened the door to the eternal spring ['Vasant'] of primordial wisdom, and the treasure-guardian put the concealed text within his sight, so that by concentrating on it, the symbolic script appeared effortlessly before his eyes, and he transcribed it all except for the ritual and liturgical procedures. Today this teaching is essential for all who enter the Mantra[-yāna].

As is stated in the list of prophecies:

'In a previous life, in the wisdom palace/
In the secret realm of Akaniṣṭha/
Great mother of cosmic space, Samantabhadri/
Whose Saṃbhogakāya form is Vajravārahi/
Taught the Tantra of the great secret through the
natural sound of Dharmatā/
In the three times and beyond time/
In the meantime, in the gathering place of the Ḍākinī-s/
The self-manifest cemetery of Oḍiyāna/
The Bhagavati Vajravārahi/
Bestowed upon I, lotus skull-garland/
The secret treasury of Tantra, scripture and instruction/

The ripening and completion stages, in their entirety/ Now for this Yoginī/ The gatherer of instruction, lady Tsogyel/ And the assembly of a hundred thousand Dākinī-s/ In this palace of the joyful mighty/ Central place of attainment in Tibet/ I, the lotus-born Vajra shall set forth/ The essentialised intention of/ The Great Secret Tantra of Vajra-vārāhī/ From the authoritative transmission/ And give the distillation of my intimate deliberation/ As direct guidance in applying the instructions/ Carrying your practice through to the end/ Go forth into the heart of the Ratnabhūmi/ A girl of the lineage, born in a monkey year/ Once blessed by the Dākinī-s/ With the name Jomo, will secretly/ Be given this teaching by the Dākinī-s/ Grasping the blessing, she will automatically gain liberation/ On that occasion, there will be little benefit to others/ [But] whoever associates with [her]/ Will reach the land of joy/ Exhaust their Skandha-s and gain perfect awakening/ Then again, when Tibet is mired in suffering/ The last emanation of the Dharmarāja/ Whom you, Tsogyel, have blessed/ Whose [capacities] will scarce be known/ Vidyādhara, trainer of countless beings/ Illusion-like Mahāpuruṣa/ Will come from Doe-kham in the east, and encounter [this teaching]/ Indivisible from the wisdom of the great Lotsāva/ [Yet] manifest in dualistic form/ Final heir of the Mantra lineage, [endowed with] Bodhicitta/ He will apply limitless intellect to the hidden teaching/ Through the aspirations of [you] both/ Some fortunate [disciples] will mend their broken vows/ Some will engage in Mantra[-yāna] discipline/ Some will find the bliss of primordial wisdom/ Great will be the feast of Siddhi-s attained!

Although Guru Rinpoché himself is essentially inseparable from Mahotara-heruka, he demonstrated the act of receiving the complete instructions of Ācārya Dūtsi Sangwa [Amṛtagupta?], who had gained the accomplishment of Vajra-amṛta, in order to guide others. In Tibet, as his bestowal of the Tantra, scripture and instructions of the *Dūtsi yōnten* [fourth of the eight precepts], general and particular, he gave the text of the profound heart-essence instructions for the ‘great secret’ of Vajra-amṛta to Nyak Jñānakumāra,⁴⁰⁷ to be translated

at the crystal cave [Samdrup Shépuk] in Yarlung, and granted the ripening and completion [instructions] to the king, princes and other assembled disciples. The text of the Tantra was hidden in the Pema-tsekpa cave, and later revealed by Ramo Shémen Yéshé Sangpo,⁴⁰⁸ who accomplished the practice and, following the Vajra prophecy, reconcealed it there. One morning before dawn in the first half of the first month of the Fire Rat year [1876], this master's fifty-seventh, Ekajaṭī, the guardianess of Mantrayāna, in the form of a pure realm Ḍākinī, handed him the concealed text of this instruction, written on palm leaves in a mixture of Nāgarī and symbolic scripts, and gave a full account of its history. Later, having repeatedly supplicated Orgyen Rinpoché, before dawn on the tenth day of the fifth month, in a state of pure vision, he received the empowerment from Guru Rinpoché and entourage in a magically produced Maṇḍala at the Guru's palace in the 'lotus light' paradise, and one complete instruction. He further received a declaration from the great translator Nyak [who served as] the Karmavajra, that this was the fundamental teaching of the *Dütsi yönten* [category], and further, that he would receive the transmission of the *Great 'Narrow approach to the fort' teaching* on medicine [*Menki dzongtrang chenmo*].

After that, the complete meaning of whatever was there in the treasure scroll shone clearly in his mind, with no obscuration, and from this amazing, mirage-like miraculous display, the complete cycle was transcribed. Our good fortune was confirmed, and he kindly granted all the empowerments and instructions. The night before the main empowerment, which I had particularly requested, this noble Lama dreamt that he was in a narrow mountain gorge. He asked someone where it was, and they replied that it was in the vicinity of Somapurī.⁴⁰⁹ Carrying on, they came to a somewhat open plain, and the same person said "Somapurī is up there." There was a very steep mountain with something like a white cliff at the summit. Having climbed up there, after a moment he came upon a tall building, and inside climbed many storeys. Thinking that there were two more storeys to go, he came to a room as high as if it reached the sky, where there was a throne, and thinking it was his, he sat down. There was someone who looked like the treasurer of Riwoché,⁴¹⁰ and he asked

him what kind of major sacred object was in there. “This is the main object of worship”, the man replied, pointing to a chest on the wall of the inner recess.

“What’s in there?”, he asked.

“The continuous flow of water from the empowerments of the ‘four rivers’ transmissions received by King Ja.”

I was [also] there in my present form, and having opened the chest, he said “There is no way for just anyone to look in there.”

This master approached, [saw] that inside was something like a bottomless well, and midway was a large, fine green [vessel] like a beer jar, then returned to his seat. I pulled [the vessel] up, in a sort of mesh of very fine thread, and inside was some whitish [ritual] water. He poured some into his hand and drank, whereupon it filled his whole body, he felt a blissful sensation, appeared as if drunk, and went into a non-conceptual state. Then he gave me some, and I went into the same state. The man said “Now you two gentlemen have met each other and drawn up the initiation vase, which is a most fortunate occurrence, and I too would request you for some”, and some of the water was poured into his hand, and he drank and also went into that state. Then he said “Now, having your bodies filled by the vase water was the vase empowerment, the sensation of bliss was the secret empowerment, the drunkenness was the wisdom empowerment, and entering the non-conceptual state is the fourth”, and he turned into a red Ārya-ḍākinī wearing bone ornaments in the sky. [This master] said it occurred to him that the man was King Ja, and the Ḍākinī was Mahākarmesvarī.

As stated in the previously mentioned prophecy, there was also a wonderful medical teaching related to the individual Maṇḍala of the Ratna-heruka, the *Heartdrop of the ‘Narrow approach to the fort’* [*Menki dzongtrang nyingtik*] essential summary of the *Menki dzongtrang chenmo* revealed by Rongmen Nyima Ösel⁴¹¹ from Dzarong Bi in Yamdrok, but [this master] did not get to write it down systematically.

Concerning the *Heart of the wisdom radiance* [*Yéshé öki nyingpo*] cycle of instruction of Jinasāgara, the ultra-profound [form of] Mahākāruṇika, it was revealed from the lion-faced rock at Pel Samyé Chimpu on the tenth day of the eleventh month of the Iron female Ox year of the sixth sexagenary cycle [1361-2] by Orgyen Drimé Kunga,⁴¹² the Bodhisattva emanation of Nup Chenpo.⁴¹³ Through his all-encompassing diffusion of the three great cycles of Guru-yoga, Great Perfection and Mahākāruṇika teachings [*la-dzok-tuksum*] he delivered endless disciples to the ripening and completion stages [of the path], [but] in accord with the [accompanying] list of prophecies, after gaining accomplishment in the *Nyingpo* [revelation] he reconcealed it in the Drégu ravine at Samyé Drakmar Drinsang. It was actually presented to this master together with the *Heartdrop of the noble tamer of beings* [*Drondül pakpé tuktik*] by the Ḍākinī treasure-guardianess [i.e., in 1848], sealed for a long time to come.

In a dream in the Fire female Ox year [1877], he entered a house, and in the inner room found Shéchen Öntül sitting there wearing lay clothes and in an oblivious state. As [this master] approached, he said “Don’t come! I have incurred many defects through my excessive like of women. My intestines have rotted from venereal infection. Smell this foul odour and renounce attachment [to sensual pleasure]”, and he did indeed smell the foul odour. As he withdrew somewhat, [Öntül] said “Sit for a moment and talk”, and he sat. “These days Kongtrül and yourself are teaching various current and non-current revealed teachings. At one time I intended to edit the Mantra-s to be attached to the body [*takdröl*] from Karma Lingpa’s revealed teachings on the peaceful and wrathful deities [*Karling shi-tro*] [but] the twenty-eight Īśvarī-s nearly killed me. Do you dare to do it?”

“There is certainly a transmission, which seems to be from the new [translation tradition], but not a single verse [Śloka] of explanation,” he replied. “You Nyingmapa-s have a tradition of carrying on many [distinct] transmission styles of the transmitted, revealed and visionary [branches of the teaching], and likewise the two of us have obtained every scriptural lineage we could,

and there is virtually none we don't have. Apart from some rare transmissions received definitively in visions and dreams and so on, we don't teach any without authentic origins."

"Well, I should think not. As you two are the masters of the revealed teachings, those are all very well, but I am Drimé Kunga, and when you give fundamental importance to the revelations of the likes of that whore Jomo Menmo and that scruffy physician Ramo Shémen, in disregard of my treasure scrolls of all three kinds, it is not [acceptable]!"

'Actually, a treasure scroll of one of Drimé Kunga's revelations came into my hands long ago, but I never had the means to decipher it. Would you now please give me the empowerment and transmission?', he requested, whereupon a large roll containing that scroll appeared in his hands, which he passed to [Öntrul].

"But you always require the [validating] presence of Lopön Padma and our beloved lady Yéshé Tsogyel, and what can be greater than that?", he protested. [This master] made the request more insistently, and no sooner had he done so than [Öntrul] transformed into a splendid Yogi with a mane of hair tied back in a bun, wearing a white undergarment with a silk vest over it, and rose into mid-air. He gave the empowerment and transmission from the scroll and, placing it on [this master's] crown, the authorisation, and feeling that the scroll had dissolved into his crown, the meaning of everything written in it sparkled clearly in his mind.

Then he said the following: "It would also be well for you two to wear white. Previously [you] did not have treasure-revealers' names. Names are necessary. This is a point of greatest importance. Because I myself did not wear white in that reincarnation [lifetime], the auspicious conjunction was spoiled.⁴¹⁴ Now the Ḍākinī Nivaraṇaviṣkambhin will always be extremely important." He rose steadily higher, and [this master] requested him to remain a little longer, but he dissolved into space, and the dream was over.

The next morning he related to me what had happened, and made supplications to be able to transcribe the scroll, whereafter the Guru-yoga, Mahākāruṅika and Mahāmudrā practices were transcribed, and he conferred the complete empowerments and guiding instructions. In particular, he most kindly [gave me] the uncommon profound empowerment, and in doing so also foresaw that I would live out my full [potential] span of years. The Guru-yoga seems to have had several auxiliary parts, but these were gradually neglected, and even my *Profound path in seven chapters* [*Lamsap le'u dünma*] seems to have been among them. In the list of prophecies in the *Wish fulfilling* Guru Sādhana [*La-drup yishin norbu*] [section of the latter revelation] it says:

‘The condensation of the subtle essence of my excellent secret mind/ I, the self-arisen lotus [Guru]/ Form of essential luminosity, undifferentiated union of the Trikāya/ It is just that, and should not be altered/ But accomplished in practice and written down in symbolic script/ As a parting testament for qualified disciples/ And hidden in a fold of the mountain near Chimpu/ In the future, in a time of turbulence/ In fulfillment of the aspiration of Nup-ben’s activity/ It will come to one named Drimé, and/ Having practised it, he will reconceal this original scroll/ Together with the *Dronḍül pakpé tuktik* and/ In a later time of turbulence/ The one born as the thirteenth successive treasure-revealing incarnation/ Of the present Prince Lhasé Chokdrup/ Will accept this teaching under secret seal/ When the time comes, he will teach it to qualified disciples/ He too will gain complete realisation through practice/ And reach the primordial ground of Samantabhadra’

and [concerning] the timing of the redaction [it says]:

‘The master of the teaching will come thrice/ [To deliver] the authorisation, the blessing and the encouragement, by way of a dream’

and it happened just so.

As for Shéchen Önrul Gyurmé Tutop Namgyel, it was said by the fourth

Dzokchen [incarnation] Mingyur Namké Dorjé that he was the rebirth of Tértön Gya Shangtrom,⁴¹⁵ that once he was a most powerful master, but these days he has been falsely maligned, and evidently the eye of wisdom is unmistakable, for Drimé Kunga is renowned as the rebirth of Gya Shangtrom, and that Önrul Rinpoché was a reincarnation of the former is stated in the prophecy.⁴¹⁶

In a vision on the night of the twenty-sixth of the first month of the [same] Fire Ox year [1877], to begin with I myself was seated on a high throne delivering a teaching called *Long treasury of teaching on the Trikāya* [*Kusum tönpé gongdzö ringmo*] which, although mostly in Prajñāpāramitā-style verse, belonged to the way of secret Mantra, with three hundred and sixty chapters in seven volumes. “Which *tértön* is that?”, he asked, and the reply came “It is the first *tértön* of them all.”

“Is it [really] Sanggyé Lama?”

“No, this is a teaching of Tsuklak Pelgé.”⁴¹⁷

After listening to the entire teaching, he saw the teacher turn into a splendid Lotsāva of large physique with a [folded] Paṇḍita’s hat placed flat on his head, who was said to be Nyang Shami Go-cha.⁴¹⁸ “If you are a Lotsāva of the early translations, you are not among the twenty-five disciples”, he queried.

“Whether or not I am among the twenty-five disciples”, he replied, “I am a recipient of the instructions of Khenpo Bodhisattva, Lopön Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Vairocana, these four.”

When [this master] requested those instructions, he explained “The unified essential intention of the outer three Piṭaka instructions of the Khenpo, the inner three sections of Kriyā-yoga of Lopön [Padmasambhava and of] the secret three Yoga-s of Vimalamitra, known as the *Great treasury* [*Gongdzö chenmo*], was concealed on the Hépori hill at Samyé, and after its revelation by Shami Do[rjé] Gyel[po],⁴¹⁹ these teachings benefitted beings. When that [phase of] benefit was over, they were taken by the Dākinī-s. There are seven volumes. Since those are unnecessary [in full], this is an essential summary, the *Profound*

essence of the treasury [Gongdzö saptik]”, and [this master then] received the complete empowerments and transmission of a teaching in three chapters.

When Guru Padmavajra and his supreme longevity consort Mandārava attained the Siddhi-s of immortality at the Marātika cave, the Heruka-s of the Trikāya entrusted them with a limitless secret treasury of Tantra-s and instruction, and their blessing. In response to the supplications of the Dharmarāja [Trisong Détsen], he divided the many cycles of instruction bestowed by the Saṃbhogakāya [-heruka] Cakrasaṃvara into extensive, medium and abbreviated categories, and concealed them separately. The extensive and medium treasures were revealed by Nga-dak Nyang and Bönpo Lhabum. The abbreviated treasure, this *Condensed essence of the profound meaning* [Sapdön nyingpo chüdril], was concealed in a boulder with the sign of Īśvara, before the entrance to the great rock overhang known as Khatö Kangbar Pukmo-ché in É-yul, the ‘valley of smart people’,⁴²⁰ and revealed by Gya-tön Pema Wangchuk,⁴²¹ along with teachings of the three kinds [la-dzok-tuksum], the Sanskrit text of the *Overwhelming the Dreḱpa with brilliance* [Dreḱpa silnön] cycle of instructions of the Dharmapāla Pañjara-mahākāla in five chapters, and sacred substances in the form of Amṛta pills. They benefitted beings in all kinds of ways, and the Pañjara-mahākāla cycle passed, through the Lupa Lama-s of Yarlung, into the ‘blazing’ volume of Pañjara-mahākāla texts in the present Sakyapa canon.

The Saṃvara cycle was reconcealed in the same place, in accord with the accompanying prophecies, and on the tenth day of the fourth month of the Earth Tiger year [1878] the Jñāna-ḍākinī showed the actual text to this noble Lama and, upon her signal, Tértön Pema Wangchuk appeared in person and granted the complete empowerments and transmission. He immediately put the scriptural transmission into writing. On the twenty-fifth of the eleventh month of the Water Horse year [1882-3], he kindly bestowed upon us the ripening and completion stages of the actual transmission in their entirety. He also received some of the ripening stage instructions in the oral transmission tradition of the *Pañcakrama* [Drilbu rim-nga] instructions [on Saṃvara] widely

known in the new translation schools, and the Siddha Vajraghaṇṭapāda and consort [to whom they belonged] conferred the four symbolic empowerments on him as the direct transmission in visionary experience. On repeating the single Śloka root verse of the *Pañcakrama*, the streams of blessing conjoined at the inconceivable limit of space and primordial wisdom indivisible, and moreover, the blessing of the *Drilbu rim-nga* instructions of the new translation schools had continued up to Sa-chen Kunga Lo-drö⁴²² but ceased thereafter, and so exceptional was the blessing conferred by this visionary empowerment that the continuity seems to have been restored.

The text of the eleven-part instructions on the *Seven Pacifications* which summarise the essence of many profound Tantra-s was translated by Padmasambhava and Lhasé Yéshé Rolpa Tsel and concealed at Lhari Rolpa Drak to the west of Ushangdo, where it was revealed by Lhatsün Ngönmo, also known as Lhawang Gyatso Lo-drö, during the second sexagenary cycle [1087-1147]. The original was [re]concealed at Drak Yangdzong, where it was revealed by Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa in the Earth male Dragon year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle [1868]. He offered the scrolls to this noble Lama, who transcribed them and propagated the empowerments and transmission.⁴²³

The destined transmission of the Yakṣa black Jambhala's cycle of instruction fell to the chief merchant's son Sukhadeva in the noble land [of India], and Lopön Chenpo [Padmasambhava] made the outward gesture of receiving it from King Gurudeva. Having combined the Yakṣa root Tantra and the *Precious heap of treasures* [*Rinchen térpung*] instruction for black Jambhala Sādhana, a fragment of the *Inner kernel of the secret profound essence* [*Sapsang nyingpo yangchü*] [condensation] of the three hundred and seventy-seven chapter *Jewel power* Tantra [*Ratna tselchen düpa*], by way of a direct practice instruction, he taught it in Tibet with great loving kindness to the king and the senior disciples. For the benefit of those mired in degenerate times [to come], [Khandro Yéshé] Tsogyel arranged three different versions of the text and concealed them in three different places, two of which were revealed by other *tértön*-s. This profound teaching was revealed from the [rock like a]

swirl of flames west of the red cliff at Chel in the Paro valley by Belpo Ā Hūṃ Bar,⁴²⁴ an emanation of [Nanam Dorjé] Dūjom, on the full moon of the middle autumn month of the Fire male Dragon year [1196?], and was of vast benefit to beings. In the meanwhile it was greatly spread, but later on there was no authority for the transmitted version, and the revealed teaching seems to have disappeared. Then in the first month of the Iron Dragon year [1880], the Ḍakinī guardianship of the teaching presented this noble Lama with an ancient copy of the text, as well as the Mantra-wheels, instructions and so on, and by granting him the Sādhana cycles in the form of blessings, he transcribed them.

At the time of doing so, he dreamt of coming to the face of a mountain like a rampant elephant on the upper side of a very pleasant valley. In the distance was an intensely brilliant sphere of green light, and as he got closer, [he found] a dark green translucent crystal which sent out light rays of many colours when struck by the rays of the sun. In shape it was [spherical] like a one-eyed precious stone, large and translucent, of wonderful appearance, and inside, on a perfectly arranged jewel throne, was black Jambhala, glittering with green light, his face, hands and so on vividly clear and in conformity with the canonical description, and accompanied by a retinue too, or so [this master] thought. In an instant he transformed into the semi-wrathful Guru Padma [Orgyen Nangsi Silnön] and conferred the instructions of the ripening and completion stages in their entirety. “The two texts of the cycles of these Sādhana-s revealed earlier by Belpo Ā Hūṃ Bar and Guru Jotsé were so similar that they have been combined”, [this master heard] him say, and received the signs of extraordinary blessing. Of all the wealth deity practices, this one is free of obstruction by troublesome spirits, and the accompanying Yantra-s and so on have a most marvellous import.

Out of compassionate concern for those afflicted by the harm to be visited on the Tibetan realm by the male and female malicious spirits [*gyel-sen*] and elemental spirits in the future age of degeneration, Guru Rinpoché combined the oral instructions on the Ekavīra form of red Hayagrīva with the profound *Wheel of sky metal* [*Namchak korlo*] instructions and gave them to the Dharmarāja

[Trisong Détsen]. He in turn gave them to the Mönpa meditator Haminātha and passed on the instructions. When Guru Rinpoché initially came to Laru Sérka in upper Tsang, he overcame the obstructions of the spirits [*mi-ma-yin*], and concealed [the instructions] along with the Mantra wheel for striking down the *gyel-sen*, [devised] to free the Mön King Sendarka from the afflictions of the eight classes [of spirits], in the capital of a pillar in the temple at Chang Tradüntsé. Later they were revealed by Molmikyil of the royal lineage of the great lord of the south.⁴²⁵ Earlier on, the Mantra wheel and so on was spread among the Māntrika-s and greatly renowned, but the lineage had long since died out when, in the Iron Dragon year [1880], a pure realm Ḍākinī presented this noble master with the ancient text of the Mantra wheel for [eliminating] the *gyel-sen*. She also granted him the instruction cycle of Hayagrīva-ekavīra in the form of a blessing, which he transcribed and kindly bestowed on those fortunate enough to receive it, and those disciples experienced manifest signs of obstacles being removed and suchlike, and great was the blessing which came about.

At the time when Ācārya Padmasambhava was demonstrating exemplary perseverance in the practice of the essence of the profound path in the Marātika cave in eastern India, Ārya-tārā actually appeared to him and conferred extensive series of Tantra-s, transmissions and instructions, the inner essence of which he redacted as extensive, medium and abbreviated instructions, which he gave to his fortunate disciples, king and subjects, in Tibet. For the benefit of future disciples he concealed the teaching in three treasure deposits, of which the abbreviated *Tārā, protectress against the eight fears* [*Drölma jikpa kunkyop*] was concealed at Tramo Drak in Yakché, a branch of the Uyük valley,⁴²⁶ and revealed by Yakchar Ngönmo.⁴²⁷ The scrolls were subsequently reconcealed at Séwalung in Yérpa, and revealed from there by Rongpa Dündül Lingpa,⁴²⁸ but as he passed away suddenly and involuntarily, the treasure-guardianess Mentsün Dorjé Yudrön took them back. Then, on the eighth day of the first month of the Earth Tiger year [1878], the Ḍākinī Caṇḍikā presented the scrolls to this noble Lama in a dream, and granted her blessing. On waking from the dream, the greenish-yellow scroll was actually there before him, two fingertips in width

and one finger long, and filled with symbolic script, which he transcribed and taught to fortunate disciples in due course.

Most of the many revelations, chiefly wrathful Mantra, extracted by Tönpa Śākya Ö of Üru Lhasa from the Stūpa at Chang Tradüntsé came [to an end] early on, and these days even copies of the texts are hard to find.⁴²⁹ The scroll of the profound and condensed *Flaming Vajra* [*Dorjé mé'bar*] Vajrapāṇi Sādhana was reconcealed and presented to this master by the Ḍākinī treasure-guardianess, and he transcribed it.

The reconcealed scrolls of the *Four masters of the Great Perfection* [*Dzokchen guru shipa*] and *Amitāyus and Pañjara combined* [*Tségur drakma*] of Bönpo Draktsel⁴³⁰ came into his hands, and he said that for several nights in a row he had visions of the *tértön* granting the empowerments and transmission. He transcribed the *Tségur drakma*, but said that the following *Profound rite for repelling life-shortening demons* [*Tsédü dokpé doe sapmo*] was very violent, and left it out.

Of the ‘inner essence’ cycle of Nyangpo Samten Lingpa’s ‘*Subduer of all the Drekpa spirits’ teaching on the eight precepts* [*Ka-gyé drekpa kundül*], the Tantra, transmission and instruction [sections] in seven chapters were reconcealed, and after the Ḍākinī-s handed [this master] the scrolls, he transcribed both the Tantra and scripture, and the practice manual, but transcription of the empowerment ritual did not come about.⁴³¹

While Chokden Gönpo was in Lhasa after performing his ‘great ritual [*rimdro chenpo*] for driving back invaders of Tibet’, Guru Rinpoché [appeared] granting him the profound and condensed *Five-deity terrific Hayagrīva Sādhana* [*Tamdrin nyenpo lha-nga*] for the destruction of all obstacles as an oral transmission. The Jñānakāya form of Chokden Gönpo in turn gave the oral transmission to this noble Lama in a vision, but it was not transcribed.⁴³²

The Tantra-s and instructions extensively bestowed on Guru Rinpoché at the Śītavana cemetery by Vajravārāhī, which he granted to the king and subjects

in Tibet in accordance with their individual capacities were concealed as extensive, medium, abbreviated and essential, these four categories, each revealed by a different *tértön*. Of those, the abbreviated *Heartdrop of the great secret wheel of primordial wisdom* [Yéshé khorlo sangwa chenpo tuktik] Sādhana of white Vārāhī was revealed by Garwang Létro Lingpa of Éh Péchok from the Padma Tsekpa cave at Yarlung Shédrak at the end of the ninth sexagenary cycle [1507-67] through unobstructed miraculous play. He made it his secret practice, but did not teach it to others. In accordance with the accompanying prophecies, the scroll was reconcealed and the Jñāna-ḍākinī treasure-guardianess exultantly offered it to this master. While he was transcribing it in the first month of the Iron male Dragon year [1880], Létro Lingpa blessed him in a dream [indistinguishable from] waking experience with the ripening and completion [instructions] and opened the door of the teaching for him, which he kindly conferred on us like a repetition.

These have been mentioned as extinct teachings which he was able to put [back] into writing, while in general, as has been said, he enjoyed mastery of all the revealed teachings that came to Tibet. In particular, in the list of reconcealed scrolls presented him by the Ḍākinī treasure-guardianesses are the *Collected quintessence of interdependent arising* [Tendrel yangnying düpa] of Nanam Tuppa Gyelpo,⁴³³ the *Yakṣakīlaya* of Pönsé Khyungtok,⁴³⁴ the *Seven sets of wrathful Mantra* [Drak-ngak temdü] of Tsuklak Pelgé, the *King's ten ransoms rite* [Gyelpo doechu choka] of Khyungpo Pelgé,⁴³⁵ the *Essence of the treasury of realisation* [Gongdzö nyingtik] of Shami Dorgyel, the *Blazing sun and moon vision of the Trikāya* [Kusum nyinda barwé nangwa] and red Hayagrīva revelations of Shuyé Nöchin Bar,⁴³⁶ the *Gathered heap of the three roots* [Tasum chi-pung] of Kutsa Dawö, or Kusa Menpa, the *Dzongtrang nyingtik* of Rongmen Nyima Ösel, the *Ritual of the stainless confession Tantra* [Drimé Shakgyu Choka] of Guru Jotsé, the *Wrathful Guru's self-clarification of primordial wisdom* [Gurdrak yéshé rangsel] of Dra-gom Chöki Dorjé, the *Complete collection of profound Mother Tantra-s* [Ma-gyü sapmo kundü] of Aya Bönpö Lhabum [also known as] Tanak Guru Nöntsé,⁴³⁷ the *Yoga of the collected precepts for practice day and night* [Kadü nyintsen gyünki neljor] of Orgyen Lingpa, the *Red lotus hunter* [Pema

Śāvāri Marpo] of Ngakchang Létro Lingpa, the *Vajrapāṇi*, *destroyer of all harm* [*Sangdak dukpa kunjom*] of Lama Drum and Yöndak Nakpo Khar,⁴³⁸ and the *Essence of the heartdrop of the Ḍākinī-s* [*Khandro nyingtik nyingpo*] of Kharak Déchen Lingpa,⁴³⁹ which he transcribed after actually hearing the teaching from its revelator [in visions], or in some cases merely having it touched to his head [in blessing], and there are many others besides those requested by myself.

Of the old revelations for which the textual transmissions had become unavailable, the old texts of each of the *Fierce lotus* [*Pema tumpo*] of Mingyur Létro Lingpa,⁴⁴⁰ the *Multicoloured Garuḍa* [*Khyungtra*] of Rashi Pema Rikdzin, the *Vital drop of primordial wisdom longevity Sādhana* [*Tsédrup yéshé soktik*] of Takmo Tértön Ponsé Khyungtok,⁴⁴¹ and the *Secret and superb longevity Sādhana* [*Tsédrup sangwa méjung*] of Tawu Rokjé Lingpa⁴⁴² were offered him by the treasure-guardians, and when he kindly gave their empowerments and transmissions, the most amazing visible signs of accomplishment occurred, such as the Mantra-wheel of the *Pema tumpo* [traced on] a mirror naturally remaining there inerasably, and the curing of a sick disciple afflicted by subterranean spirits through the *Khyungtra* [empowerment]. He [also] restored the texts of the full empowerments of the *Guru tsokyé dorjé* and *Tukjé chenpo drondül* from the revelations of Nyangré Nyimé Ösé, for which the transmission had died out, as mentioned already, but otherwise he gave no particular account [of such things].

On the occasion when this master and myself received just the reading transmission of the Rashak [Tértön]’s *Mātrkā cycle* [*Mamo gangshar*], I firmly beseeched [this master] that through his kind efforts the empowerment current might be recovered. Then, in a vision on the night of the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month, he encountered Guru Chöwang, a corpulent figure with hair coiled around his head and a mirror breastplate, and asked him whether there was an empowerment transmission for Rashak’s *Mamo gangshar*, to which he replied with a scornful air “Khyungnak Shak[ya] Dar is the expert in ransom rituals [*doe*] of the Mamo and suchlike.” As he was thinking that [that master] must be somewhere nearby, [the Guru] turned into Droltön Jamyang Chöki

Gyeltsen, to whom he put the same question. “At the time I received the *Sugata-s’ assembly* empowerment of the eight precepts, the singular essence of the deities and the transmission currents of the earlier lineage Lama-s being conjoined, it was taught as a part of that assembly, and thus deemed sufficient”, he replied. After that vision ceased, [he encountered] Orgyen Lingpa inside a dwelling, wearing a lotus hat and a shawl wrapped over a silk vest, and asked him if there was a *Gangshar* empowerment. [He replied that] he was an expert in that, and had practised it many times. “When the Nédong ruler banished me to Kongpo, I could easily have annihilated him with this [doe] ritual, but since killing him would have brought harm to the Tibetan nation as a whole, I let it rest”, he explained.⁴⁴³ He took a yellow, heart-shaped casket from the wall behind him, saying “All the Tantra-s and scriptures of the Mamo of conditioned existence are collected here.” He touched it to [this master’s] head and read about ten pages of text, all in Sanskrit. As the radiance of blessing faded, the casket seemed to break and dissolved through the crown of his head, causing his entire body to become one [Citta], and he said after remaining for a moment in a swoon of bliss, the vision was over.

On the afternoon of the thirtieth day he performed the empowerment and fire offering of the Padma-ḍākinī, and that evening a woman the height of a building storey came before him, and he asked her who she was. “I am the librarian of a great incarnate Lama”, she replied.

“Which Lama?”

“The great Rashak Lama.”

“Do you have the empowerment and text of the *Mamo gangshar*?”

“Yes, but the empowerment given by Yarjé [Orgyen Lingpa] is sufficient. I’ll just bring you the text.”

She offered him four long slim Sanskrit volumes, and on perusing them he found they were written in a variety of Lantsa, Wartu and Nāgarī scripts. “What made you bring these?”, he asked.

“I came because I was pleased by this afternoon’s fire offering”, she replied. She gave a brief account of Rashak’s life,⁴⁴⁴ and recounted how although he was said not to have benefitted beings, he brought about inconceivable benefit, liberating beings through sight, hearing, recollection and touch, and how Kusa Menpa was said to have been ineffectual, and yet hundreds of thousands of living beings were liberated simply through putting his medicine in their mouths, and so on.⁴⁴⁵ Finally a long raven’s beak grew out of her human [face], and in a burst of radiance she turned away and was gone, and in that instant he saw her unimaginably [vast] entourage of assistants depart. Thereafter, he bestowed the full *Gangshar* empowerment, and gave an important authorisation for the newly written practice manual and empowerment liturgy, which I also wrote down.

He sought out the text of the ‘*Self-liberation of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa*’ heart treasure of *Samantabhadra* [*Kunsang tuktér khordé rangdröl*] revelation of Changchub Lingpa Pelki Gyeltsen,⁴⁴⁶ the empowerment and transmission of which had died out, and while he was making a new copy, there were signs of the *tértön* himself granting his blessing, and he clearly recalled mental traces of a former life as [*the tertön’s*] son Samdrup Dorjé. Having been supplicated to grant the empowerment and transmission, he did so in the first month of the Water Sheep year [1883], and on the night of the first day he saw Jomo Gyakarma [‘the lady of India’] come, clothed in leaves. “Latterly there was no one to give this teaching. Here is a sign of my gratitude”, she said, and handed him an ear of rice grain. On the second night, he said that he dreamt the whole night [that she came] offering her service. On the night after giving the subsidiary empowerments, Changchub Lingpa [in the form] of a highly dignified and resplendent *Māntrika* dressed in what looked like pure blue silk taught him the six-deity *Mahākāraṇika* cycle in great detail. Sanggyé Lingpa was in his attendance, wearing monastic robes and holding a few volumes of scripture, and said “Baso Chösang, who is both my teacher and my disciple, and you have both done great things in the past. Now if the number of old revelations you manage to take out and transcribe makes twenty-five, either one

of you will stay on for another twenty-five years. That'll be a great contribution to the Old Translation teachings!"⁴⁴⁷

The Hayagrīva, union of the Sugata-s, liberator of all Drekpa spirits [Tamdrin déshek düpa drekpa kundröl] cycles were concealed by the Dharmarāja Trisong [Détsen] in the red cliff resembling fragmented flames at Paro Chelka, at the head of four rivers, and later revealed by his mind-emanation, the destined revelator of wrathful Mantra, Drugu Yangwang, or Dorjé Yangwang Tsel.⁴⁴⁸ Having also received the cycles of teaching on Hayagrīva in the oral lineage from Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang, this *tértön* combined them in a single current, a powerful and unrivalled blessing, which was widespread in earlier times. Later on even the text was hard to find, not to mention the empowerments and transmission, so this master reassembled the text by piecing together old versions which had come into his possession from here and there without his having undertaken a search. Having made fervent supplications to Orgyen Rinpoché, before dawn on the tenth day of the seventh month of the Iron Dragon year [1880] he came in a vision to the foot of Munang Dorjé Drakmar, where Drugu Yangwang had once revealed treasure,⁴⁴⁹ stayed in meditation, and instantly encountered Drugu Yangwang as a mirage-like Mantradhara great in size and splendour and of fierce appearance, with triangular eyes and so on, prostrated before him and requested his blessing.

“I am Tértön Drugu Dorjé Yangwang, and I withdrew the cycle of the wrathful Tsen spirits from here”, he said, poking his finger into the rock, and then smiled. [This master] beseeched him to grant the Hayagrīva cycles, at which he instantly turned into a dark red form of Orgyen [Rinpoché] with a neighing horse head on his crown and dressed in the guise of a Heruka, and granted the ripening and completion stages of the teaching all at one go. He stated that the teaching comprised fifty-seven sections, but as the present text had no more than twenty-something, [this master] asked what might be done [about the rest]. “Over the course of time, most of the texts will have degenerated, and some may have been reconcealed by the Ḍākinī-s, but by making supplications they will come to you as mental revelations, and if you

put them into writing and accomplish their practice, that will suffice”, he said, and as instructed [this master] added some of the indispensable [missing] sections as supplements, and having practised them he attained exceptional signs of blessing.

It seems that he received authorisations for many of Térchen Dorjé Lingpa’s revealed teachings at various times, but most importantly, in the second eleventh month of the first year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle, the Fire Hare year [1867-8], while giving a series of teachings at the Yangtrö hermitage in Palpung, on the night of the sixth, after giving the main part of the empowerment for Dorjé Lingpa’s *‘Expansive view’ father Tantra of the great perfection* [*Dzokchen pa-gyü tawa longyang*], he dreamt of being a woman named Dorjé Tso, the wife of a householder in the Layak region of Lho-drak, in a [former life-] time of engagement in worldly conduct. The householder had instructed her “The Lama is coming here and we must prepare a throne for him”, she swept out a room and arranged a seat, and a moment later, a short, plump Lama arrived, who was said to be Dorjé Lingpa with a small topknot and a mane of hair, wearing a yellow jerkin, and she received his hand blessing and waited on him. That night, she went before him seated there, he took her in his arms, and they passed the night together with kissing and embracing and other such play. Meanwhile she hazily perceived the Lama sometimes as Dorjé Lingpa and sometimes as Jonang Jétsün [Tāranātha], without being able to distinguish between them. After daybreak, having been served [refreshment], the Lama departed on horseback, accompanied by several monks on foot. On the throne where he had been seated, she found a box-like object crammed full and covered in silk, and thinking that the Lama had forgotten one of his possessions, she ran after him and called out. When she caught up and handed it to him, [he said that] it was the box in which he kept the sacred substances from his treasure revelations. “Leaving it behind was a fine auspice”, he said, “So you should keep it safely with you.”

Conscious of being a woman, someone who might have to move to another place, she insisted that she was quite unable to look after it, that she did not

dare do so, did not even know how, and so on, but he told her “There is no problem. Just keep it for a while and I will be back.”

“I know not when you will come, nor where”, she replied, “Since I dare not keep it, please grant me a blessing.”

He opened the box and removed a large rolled scroll bearing the title *Authoritative list of Mantrayāna transmissions* [*Sang-ngak lungi katoe chenmol*], which seemed to be an inventory of all the revealed teachings of Dorjé Lingpa presently known, as well as many which are no longer known, and he read through it and replaced it in the box. Placing it on her head [in blessing], he declared “Look after this, and my reincarnation will come to you for it.”

Thinking that as she was slightly older and the Lama was young there was no question of his incarnation being born to her, she asked “When will this reincarnation appear?”

“It should be within five hundred years from now”, he replied.

As she was about to return home with the box, she thought that as this Lama was Orgyen [Rinpoché] in person, she should ask where Kongtrül’s mother had been reborn, and on enquiring about it, he told her “She has been reborn in a watery realm.” At that she became very unhappy and weeping, she asked “What kind of water realm? What can be done about it?”

“Actually she is better off there”, he told her, “Don’t be upset”, and as he said so, she imagined this water realm to be a fabulous jewelled mansion with an abundance of ornaments and other luxuries, and at that point he said the dream came to an end.

This Dorjé Tso was always clearly recollectable, and he said that when requesting the *Collected precepts of the Lama* [*Lama kadü*] and *Heartdrop of the Hūṃ cycle* [*Hūṃkor nyingtik*] also, he clearly [beheld] Dorjé Lingpa actually sitting right in front of him, and that from the start of the practice session to the end he experienced appearances and mind blended in a single taste, as if there were no distinction between being separate from his body and non-sepa-

rate. The empowerment and transmission of the *Tawa longyang* had continued without interruption, but even the texts of the other revelations were rare, and it was through many painstaking attempts that he attained the empowerments and transmissions of the *Lama kadü*, the *Ka-gyé sangdzok*, the *Mahākāruṅika jinasāgara* [*Tukjé chenpo gyelwa gyatso*] and *Complete protection from the lower realms* [*Ngensong kunkyop*], the *Hūṃkor nyingtik* and ‘Blazing expanse’ *Mother Tantra* [*Ma-gyü longsel barmal*]. Apart from those, he did not acquire any texts at all. Of the *Four collection cycles* [*Düpa korshi*], the symbolic script of the *Collected precepts of the Ḍākinī-s* [*Khandro kadü*] came into his possession, but he did not manage to transcribe it.⁴⁵⁰

Having been taught the inner essence of the three types of revelations [*la-dzok-tuksum*] of Rinchen Lingpa by his Jñānakāya form and granted his blessing, this master kindly bestowed the empowerment, transmission and guiding instructions of the *Dzokchen chikchö kundröl* on the twenty-ninth of the tenth month of the Fire Pig year [1887]. That night he said he dreamt of coming to a broad plain somewhere in India, dotted with rocky outcrops. There were a great many riders dressed in white on white horses in a variety of stances, side-saddle, standing up, and so on, and among them was a most handsome youth with a silk cap who spoke in the high-pitched voice of a woman. “Sir, my parents are delighted that you have come here”, he said, “I am to invite you to a banquet. Please ride on this horse to get there.”

“I don’t need a horse”, said [this master], “You take it.” He mounted lying with his stomach across the saddle and set off, and this master followed him until they reached the foot of a large boulder. There was a door, and on entering he found a dwelling like a robbers’ den with outer and inner chambers, and took his seat in the inner part. There were an old man and old woman with silk caps and splendid brocade robes, who presented him with something like cooked turnip. He hesitated, thinking it was human flesh, and they told him “There’s no need to worry, please take some.”

“Who are you two?”, he asked.

“We two live here always, and this is the so-called ‘black turtle boulder’”, [said the old man].

“What are your names?”

“We have many names, but occasionally we are called father Lekden Nakpo [Mahākāla], mother Ekajaṭī, and the boy Pelgön Ma-ning [Paṇḍaka-mahākāla]. Long ago, Rinchen Lingpa came here from Tibet. He demanded the Dzokchen teachings. They are our most cherished possession, extremely precious, but as he was sent by Orgyen Pema, we had no choice but to give them to him. Earlier on, those teachings flourished, and subsequently the transmission just about continued, but later it died out, which made us displeased. Now that you are teaching them, we are most pleased, and will help you to accomplish your aim.”

Then, once when many visitors came for audience [with this master], one of the three manifestations projected by Drupchen Tangtong Gyelpo in the three regions of Nga-ri, Ütsang and Doe-kham, Drupchok Tsultrim Sangpo of Gugé Rong in upper Nga-ri, who lived to a hundred and thirty without showing any signs of old age and eventually dissolved his body into light, actually appeared there, in the guise of a renunciate Yogi, presented [this master] with the text of the visualisation and recitation practice of the six-syllable prayer which Ārya-mahākāruṇika had bestowed upon him, and then disappeared again.⁴⁵¹ He compassionately granted this Sadhana along with the conferral of awareness to many beings, something of benefit and great blessing to all, whether of higher or lower capacities, for merely by practising the basic recitation, even the actions of those who [simply] repeat the six-syllable Mantra were assured of definite [positive] Karmic outcome, such that a simple incantation of the name of the Sukhāvati paradise carried import.

The *‘Lamp clarifying the meaning teaching on Mahākāruṇika’* [Tukchen *dönsel drönmé*] was revealed by Drondül Létro Lingpa, one of the twenty-one revelator-disciples of Pema Lingpa,⁴⁵² and the *tértön* himself performed a vase consecration [*bumdrup*] in the style of this practice sixty-two times over. Through five generations of his family lineage the teaching was of vast benefit to beings, but as the empowerment and transmission were no longer current,

the *tértön* himself granted [this master] the blessing of a direct transmission.⁴⁵³ Accordingly, one day in the first month of the Water Sheep year [1883] he granted the empowerment, and that night a woman appeared wearing a loose red top over her underclothes, with her hair tied back, carrying an amulet box that seemed to be made of red crystal. “In here there were three thousand pills prepared with the flesh of one born seven times as a Brahmin which were offered to Létro Lingpa in the past. As his service to beings was extensive, just a single one remains, and Létro Lingpa told me to offer it to you”, she said, and placed the amulet on his head, intoning a lot of mumbled liturgy, like a blessing.

“Who then was the Brahmin?”, he enquired, and she replied that it was Dawa Sangpo.

“So would the Dabsang Tulku [i.e., Ngédön Tenpa Rabgyé] be his reincarnation?”

“Merely to be touched by his luminosity is sufficient. This pill is extremely sacred and needs to be kept carefully”, she said, putting it in a relic chest near his seat. Later, when the pill actually materialised, he used it as a catalyst to make more [*ta-pel*]. He said the *Ḍākinī* was Padmajālī.

On the sixth day of the eleventh month of the Fire Hare year [1867-8], he dreamt that he was on the way to visit Sapulung, riding a horse and accompanied by about four monks on foot. They were invited into the house of a *Māntrika* at the entrance to the valley of the sanctuary, who requested an empowerment and blessing, and served them respectfully. To all such people they met on the way asking where they were going, he always replied “To visit the ‘treasure valley’ of Sapulung.” There was rain on the way, the monks wondered what kind of weather was in store, and he told them “It will turn out fine.” In the afternoon they reached the middle of the ascent, and on the far side of the river was the house of a wealthy nomad family. All of them, old and young alike, came running across to the near bank to request his blessing. They asked how far they had to go and were told they were only half way. Then they asked if there was a place to stop for the night further on, and were told that beyond

there was nothing more than a cliff under which to shelter. In that case, the monks asked, couldn't the nomads provide shelter overnight, as they would be moving on early next morning, and the nomads agreed. They crossed to the far side of the river, mats were spread on the ground for them inside a small Yak-hair tent behind the house, and they were served soup and so on. Their hosts requested that as the chief Lama would be coming in the morning, and he was very keen on cleanliness, could the Lama and his followers please not scatter things around and make a mess.

That night he remained in meditation. Once it was light and they had taken their meal, they set off for the upper valley, asking directions along the way, and came to the 'Palace of assembled Sugata-s' [temple] at Sapulung. There, in the shelter of a large rock, was a Yogi with a small topknot wearing monastic robes, of medium physique and well-built with slight whiskers, who seemed to be sheltering from the rain. As he stood up, [this master recognised that] he was Trengpo Tértön Shérab Ösé.

"Your coming is an excellent auspice," he said, "so let us go and reveal the treasure." He joyfully proceeded to pull a scroll out of a [nearby] boulder. Thereupon, he turned into the present form of myself, Guṇasamudra [Yönten Gyatso], telling [this master] "As you are the owner of this teaching I should give you the reading transmission right now", and read once through the scroll perfectly, which he said was like receiving the Dhāraṇi-s for increasing intelligence and memory from the *Liberation drop* [*Dröltik gongpa rangdröl*] teachings. This master clearly understood this dream to be [a memory from the life of Nésar] Jamyang Khyentsé Wangchuk.⁴⁵⁴

Also, before dawn on the twentieth of the third month of the Fire Dragon year of the fourteenth sexagenary cycle [1856], the night before I visited him on the twenty-first, in a state of luminosity, a woman dressed in blue told him "Let's go", and he followed her. As the path led into a gorge, she took flight, and this master also flew after her, encountering pure visions of [Guru] Chöwang and so on, and at the same time passing through a blur of Chinese, Tibetan and Nepalese landscapes, before coming towards a mountain with its peak

wreathed in cloud, and as they approached, he saw more clearly that the sides of the mountain were in the form of a Stūpa. Up close, they discerned two mountains, one in front and one behind, and the nearer one had the very clear form of a Stūpa externally, with doors on all four sides of the lion throne [base], but in each direction they were shut, with no way inside. He asked the woman what this mountain was, and she told him “This is the citadel of Śāntapuri. It is where Trengpo Tértön Shérab Ösé lives.”⁴⁵⁵

“I want to go meet him”, he said.

“Here he is called Pawo Töpé Dumbu Tsel [the Ḍaka known as ‘skull-ves-sel adept’]. These days he is in Tibet. This is where the Deva-s and Ḍākinī-s constantly gather to offer worship to the reliquary”, she explained, and through an inner door within the entrance he could hear the enchanting melody of an unfathomable music, like the sound of a European machine [i.e., phonograph?],⁴⁵⁶ and the intonation of Tantric verses. “That is the music of worship”, she said.

“What form does Pawo Töpé Dumbu take when he is in Tibet?”, he asked.

“One who remains in Samādhi without speaking”, she replied, “Whereas when he returns from Tibet, he teaches Dharma verbally.”

Then, from the second mountain to the rear they travelled a long way through mist to a place said to be the mountain paradise of Cāmara, and flew up to the summit. There was a three-storey palace with no particularly distinctive features, which he thought might be the ‘lotus light’ celestial mansion [of Guru Padma]. Entering the ground floor, he saw [figures of] Guru Sahorma surrounded by the eight manifestations, and on the middle floor, Avalokiteśvara-jinasāgara flanked by the eight Bodhisattva-s, both of which appeared to be statues. Proceeding to the upper floor, he said that he saw [the ultimate nature] as a blue luminescence, and the vision ceased. He said that it was through the meaning of such [experiences] that he was authorised in the transmission of Trengpo Shérab Ösé’s revelations.⁴⁵⁷

Otherwise, I have also heard that he actually encountered the Jñānakāya form of the ‘later’ Ja-tson Nyingpo⁴⁵⁸ at different times and received the blessing of oral transmission of his revelations, as well as reconcealed revelations and visionary transmissions from Taksham Samten Lingpa,⁴⁵⁹ Longsel Nyingpo⁴⁶⁰ and so on, which he passed on to their lineal descendants.

4 The transmission of **profound mental revelations** [gongtér]

Since childhood, many recollections and versified Sādhana-s from previous lives occurred to him spontaneously and unobstructedly, but [considering] such things unimportant, he sealed them in the non-conceptual realm with pure equanimity. While travelling the north road [from Kham] on his way back to the Ü province of central Tibet in the Earth Monkey year [1848] at the age of twenty-nine, he was passing through the Gégyel region [in western Nangchen] when the tenth day of the eighth month came around. He performed the *Secret assembly* [*Lama sangdül*] offering ceremony, and entered a state of mental exhilaration. When he went outside, he came upon a lovely south-west-facing cave, went inside, and in joyful mood performed a Guru-yoga practice. At the end he became a little drowsy, and was startled awake by a loud noise, whereupon he beheld the Guru in Sahorma form flanked by two consorts actually there in the sky before him. Having granted their symbolic blessing, they dissolved into him, and thereafter the basic *Tsokyé nyingtik* cycle shone vividly in his mind, the practice manual of which he transcribed right there.

Then, having reached Samyé, he made extensive offerings on the fifteenth day of the ninth month before the Guru Tsokyé Dorjé [Saroruha-vajra statue] revealed by Nyang[ré Nyimé Ösé], in the local governor’s residence [Samyé Dzong], and when he performed the practice from the transcribed manual, he saw the statue turn into Saroruha-vajra himself, grant the empowerment and instructions, and dissolve into him. The subsidiary cycles also manifested clearly in the expanse of his awareness, but he placed them under seal for a long time to come.

In the first half of the twelfth month of the Fire Dragon year [1856-7], when he was thirty-seven, in response to an insistent request from Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa to be granted the ripening and completion phases of one of the profound teachings in this master's possession, he granted him the basic empowerment and explanation of the practice manual. In his dream that night, the Térchen saw exceptional signs of Guru Rinpoché endorsing him as his own regent, and with the guidance of that blessing he was able to reveal the treasures at Sengchen Namdrak.⁴⁶¹

Later, while offering a tenth-day Gaṇacakra on completion of the preparatory recitations [*nyendrup*], he experienced a mental convulsion and left his Ḍamaru and bell hanging in mid-air, a manifest sign of accomplishment, which was also seen by his attendant. This [revelation] seems to have comprised the completion stage of the Sādhana of Saroruhavajra as Guru, red Viśuddha as Deva, Mandārava as Ḍākinī and Paṇḍaka-mahākāla as Dharmapāla, and accompanying rituals, of which only the practice manuals and empowerment liturgies of the Guru and Ḍākinī were transcribed.⁴⁶²

In the twelfth month of the Wood Tiger year [1854-5], when he was thirty-five, while engaged one-pointedly in the Yoga-s of the Cintāmaṇicakra form of Ārya-tāra from several different traditions, in a luminous visionary state before dawn one morning, the Bhagavatī Cintāmaṇicakra actually appeared to him, accompanied by the sound of the ten-syllable Mantra. Eventually she dissolved into him, whereupon he experienced an unbounded vastness of non-conceptual clarity, and a definite awareness indivisible from the three Vajra-s [of Buddha-body, speech and mind] was born within him. On emerging from that state, he beheld the Vidyādhara Śrīsingha flanked by Vimalamitra and [Guru] Saroruhavajra in space before him, in a joyful mood, and they bestowed upon him the empowerment of familiarisation with the meaning, after which they melted into light and dissolved into him, and having done so his ordinary consciousness entirely vanished into space.

The complete instruction cycles of the *Pakma nyingtik* having arisen in

the unobstructed play of his awareness as clear and distinct as reflections in a mirror, he began the transcription of the practice manual the following day, and by practising them he emerged triumphant over obstacles. In particular, Vimalamitra repeatedly gave his blessing, and even corrected the manuscript.

Then, having remained under seal for five years, the teachings were ‘opened’ in the Earth Horse year [1858], when the ripening [empowerment] was conferred, initially on Chokgyur Lingpa. Gradually he conferred it on the prophesied recipients, such as the fourteenth Karmapa, clearing away critical obstacles to their longevity and augmenting the virtuous factors of interdependent arising like the waxing moon. This teaching also included [further] vast and profound aspects, such as the completion stage practices, but of the basic ritual, empowerment, blessing, instruction and subsidiaries, only the special Sādhana cycle of the three Vidyādhara-s, and Sādhana-s of white Amitāyus and Uṣṇīṣavijaya were transcribed.⁴⁶³

At the age of fifteen, before dawn on the morning of the fourteenth of the middle autumn month of the Wood male Horse year [1834], he dreamt of coming to an elegant temple in an unidentifiable place, and inside, in the midst of beautiful white clouds above a red hemispherical Maṇḍala was the Mahāsiddha Tangtong Gyelpo accompanied by the five Dākinī-s. Having the articles for an empowerment ceremony arranged before him, he conferred empowerment and instruction. On awaking from the dream, the Mahāsiddha actually appeared in front of him and uttered a single Śloka of initiatory instruction:

“The state of naked awareness, where there is neither perceiver/ Nor perception of outer phenomena [as inherently real]/ Free of acceptance and rejection, gathering and dispersal/ This is the secret of all the Buddha-s”

and then dissolved into him, whereupon the cycles of instruction in the ripening and completion aspects of the teaching arose with vivid clarity in his mind, and on the fifteenth day of the month he transcribed the practice manual and so on of the *Siddha’s heartdrop* [*Druptop tuktik*].

Thenceforth, further signs of blessing occurred repeatedly, and having received the continuous transmission of instruction in the five authorisations, view, meditation, conduct, increase and result [*kabap nga*], they became one with the current of the direct transmission. At a time of perfect conjunction of auspices of time and place, in his forty-seventh year [1866-7], at the Dagam Wangpuk cave, supreme sacred place for the accomplishment of longevity, he granted the nectar of the ripening and completion instructions of the teaching for the first time on three of us with the supreme fortune to receive them. Then he gradually transcribed the Vajra verses of the direct oral transmission, the *Five essential Sādhana* cycles and the Sādhana cycles of the *Assembly of blood-drinking Sugata-s*.⁴⁶⁴ Only these Sādhana-s, rituals and minor components were classified as mental revelations, as opposed to the brief and condensed [teachings] of the vast and profound aspects of the Tantra, transmission and instructions, beyond the comprehension of ordinary practitioners, which seem to accord with the teaching of Longchen Rabjampa.

5 The transmission of **revelations through consequent recollection** [*ljédren*]

The principal such revelation was the *Heart essence* of Chétsun Chenpo [Senggé Wangchuk], the story of which was related earlier. Then there were the *Heartdrop of Vairocana* longevity Sādhana [*Tsédrup vairo tuktik*], the profound longevity Sādhana-s requested from Lo-chen Vairocana by Langdro Könchok Jungné, which he recalled from his previous life [as Langdro] and transcribed, and the *Rasāyana of white Simhavaktrā* [*Sengdong karmo chülen*] presented to Gélong Namké Nyingpo by the Ḍākinī-s at Lho-drak Kharchu, which reoccurred to him as a result of the above-mentioned vision he experienced on the night of the sixth day of receiving the Vajrāvalī empowerments.⁴⁶⁵

6 The transmission of **revelations in visions** [*daknang*]

At the age of fifteen, while he was completing the recitations of the profound longevity Sādhana-s in the twelfth month of the Wood Horse year [1834-5], during his recitation session before dawn on the tenth day, there was the sound of a beating Ḍamaru and a pervading scent of perfume in the sky above, and

he saw a bright red luminescence descend onto his ritual implements, from which emerged the Amṛta-dākinī Mandārava in [her Saṃbhogakāya] form of Caṇḍālī, consort of Amitāyus. She taught him the *Single letter 'Hrī'* [*Hrī chikma*] cycle of Amitāyus and the instructions of Caṇḍālī, and granted him the empowerments, and as she concluded with words of benediction, a rain of red flower petals fell. After daybreak, there were a few medicinal red flowers actually lying on the spot [where the goddess had appeared]. He immediately set about transcribing the basic practice manual, and after familiarising himself with the practice, he placed it under seal. Later on, in the summer of the Earth Tiger year [1878], his fifty-ninth, he kindly bestowed the ripening and completion instructions [on myself].⁴⁶⁶

The [visionary transmission of] the Longchenpa Guru-yoga called *Tiklé gyachen* has already been mentioned.

In a vision on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the Iron Horse year [1870-71] he travelled to a vast, lotus-covered pure realm, where he encountered [the late] Térchen Chokgyur Lingpa in the form of the Bodhisattva called 'lotus shoot', and received from him the nectar-like teaching of his own Sādhana, empowerment, and instructions for the six intermediate states [between death and rebirth]. For a month thereafter they remained under the seal of secret Samaya. Then, in conjunction with a Gaṇapūjā on the tenth day of the twelfth month, he put them into writing with myself acting as scribe, and that day an [unseasonal] warmth came over the land, the ice melted, and [frozen] rivers resumed their flow.⁴⁶⁷

In general he experienced visions ceaselessly and thus gained familiarity with endless aspects of Dharma, but in terms of transcribed Sādhana-s and so forth, these are the only ones to have emerged in the practical sphere.

7 The oral transmissions similarly received [*nyengyü*]

At the age of forty-eight, one night in the third month of the Fire Hare year [1867] while staying in the 'palace of assembled Sugata-s' [temple] at Dzongshö, he

travelled in a luminous apparition to the Uḍayanakuṭa Stūpa [in India].⁴⁶⁸ There, in the cardinal and intermediate directions were the eight manifestations of the Guru, Vidyādhara recipients of the eight transmissions, and in the centre their combined form, the ‘lotus skull garland Ācārya’, from each of whom he received teaching on the peaceful and wrathful deity cycles of the Māyājālī-tantra and the scriptures and instructions for each of the eight transmissions. The Mahācārya also granted him instruction in the Anu- and Ati-yoga teachings. Later he transcribed the five transcendental ones of the eight transmissions and the *Mamo Bötong* [from the three mundane ones].⁴⁶⁹

I am not aware of what other oral transmissions there may have been, and the import of an oral transmission is to memorise perfectly the words as they were spoken, take their meaning to heart, and transcribe them from beginning to end without omission or addition. Of course there was also a great deal [of material relating to] each of the physical revelations and so on, the prophecies, the manner in which the treasure-keys came to light, the calls for the *térma* to be revealed, the visions which occurred at the time of revelation and subsequently during their transcription, the manner in which he received the ripening and completion phases of the teachings, and the manner in which they were passed on to fortunate recipients at a time determined by prophecy, having been sealed for long periods, but as this master was very prudent about keeping secrets, it was rare for him to even hint at such things to anyone else, and he appears not to have noted them down. Only on a few occasions when the need arose did he speak to me about them, and these accounts I committed to memory and have written down with neither exaggeration nor depreciation.

As for the transmission of the *Profound path of joy* [*Déchen saplam*], essence of all the secret [teachings of] Vajrayāna, on the night of the twenty-fourth of the eighth month of the Earth Tiger year [1878], in a luminous apparition, this master found himself **wearing only a skirt** and carrying a trident staff hung with a gourd flask and so on in an open expanse of land. There was a meditation hut thatched with fresh green leaves and on reaching

the door he saw red flowers on the roof and various flowers strewn on the ground below, the air was filled with a fine scent, and in the centre was a resplendent Siddha twice the size of an ordinary man, with a beard down to his chest, wearing a silk cap and upper and lower garments of silk. On presenting himself, [the Siddha] asked him “Do you know who I am?”, and he replied that he did not.

“I am the chief of all Sthavira-s, I am in all of your lineages, the one you pray to, known as Saraha.”⁷⁰ He also said that to judge by the attire and so on, he wondered whether it wasn't Indrabhūti.

“I have conferred higher [Bhikṣu] ordination on one hundred million people. You have not ordained anyone to this vow so far, and since you must now ordain fifty people, I will ordain you myself [first].”

As there were no monks present to assist in the ceremony, he was wondering how it would be done, when [the Siddha said] “Here's who will assist”, made the ‘iron hook’ Mudra and fixed his eyes into a gaze, and instantly, in a burst of sound that seemed to shake heaven and earth, and a flash of lightning, a Ḍākinī so lovely that one could never tire of beholding her, wearing gap-tooth [style] bone ornaments, was transported there as if by riding on lightning. Then he conferred an extensive empowerment exclusively in Sanskrit, and the repeated responses were also done in Sanskrit. While conferring the vase empowerment [the Siddha] placed his hand on [this master's] crown, in the secret empowerment the nectar produced from the union of deity and consort appeared spontaneously on his tongue, the wisdom empowerment was given by the Ḍākinī, and fourth was the word empowerment, and a different experience occurred during each of the four. There was an interval between each of them, and finally [the Siddha] announced in Tibetan “With those, you have completed the stages of Upāsaka, Śrāmaṇera, Bhikṣu and Sthavira”, after which his [ordinary] consciousness of perceiver and perceived entirely ceased. In the Mantra he clearly heard ‘Cātarnanda’, but in the others he said there was virtually nothing that corresponded with Tibetan language.

Again, on the night of the fourteenth of the eleventh month of the Wood Bird year [1885-6] he encountered Saraha and the ‘middle Indrabhūti’, known as King Ja, in circumstances similar to the earlier vision, and received teaching on the excellent fourfold path of means [Upāyamārga] in forty verses, and having combined the stages of the path of means from the earlier and later visions, he produced a wonderful definitive version distinguished by many previously unknown points, but mere mention of the existence of the transcribed text was subject to strict secrecy, leave alone the possibility of reading it. By recording it here in order to excite the faith of such disciples with sharp faculties and Dharma vision as may appear henceforth in this most extraordinary of all the transmissions, may the Guru and the Ḍākinī-s grant their forgiveness and absolution.

Śrī Śrī Śrī! Svasti-vijayantu!

All the original wisdom and manifest qualities and activity of the Sugata-s and their spiritual sons, beyond conception

Condensed in a single mass out of compassion for the teaching and living beings at the end of this aeon

Apparent in the form of the incomparable premier among saints, Lama of gods and men

Homage to he whose name alone eliminates the darkness of sin and shows the way to liberation

Whose non-conceptual activity of holding aloft, with the power of wisdom like a mighty turtle

The bearers of the wealth of the supreme Dharma whenever the ocean of disputation threatens to engulf them

Is showered with the flower-rain of the praise of even the universal lords, the Bodhisattva-s and their spiritual sons

Those fully endowed with the might and capacity [of enlightened activity] in the pure realms of the ten directions

Whose overbearing love, [drawing on] the inconceivable unity of original wisdom
Pacifies in the manner of a spiritual guide, and through noble exercise of skillful means
Grants the relief of the dry land of total liberation
To incorrigible beings heinously afflicted by the onslaught of the five
degenerations

To whom the general and specific defining characteristics of any objects of
knowledge whatsoever are apparent
In whose understanding all modes of existence appear exactly as they are
Who is freed from the snares of attachment and contingent obstruction
Incisive as the omniscient Vajra of original wisdom

Who with unwavering altruism like refined gold
Safeguards the welfare of all branches of the teaching without distinction
And of living beings of greater, middle and lesser capacities, without partiality
The loving compassion of Padmākara himself

Who overwhelms the demonic barbarian horde
With spontaneously accomplished hundred-faceted might
Divine lord extolled in Vajra prophecy
Glorious master of secrets, of omnipotent capacity

Who outwardly is the Vidyādhara perfectly steadfast in discipline
Inwardly a Jinaputra, engaged in the Bodhisattva path
Secretly Vajradhara, lord of the Maṇḍala
Ultimate master, encompassing all Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa
Just as all the constellations in the sky
Appear similar when reflected in a mirror
But no amount of clustered stars comes close
To rivalling the great disc of the sun itself

So the life stories of all the spiritual guides on this earth
Radiant with great qualities, whether tangible or hidden
May partially match but never equal
This great ‘companion of the sun’ of Sūtra and Mantra

Thus when even the Vajra tongues of the Buddha-s and Bodhisattva-s
Speaking with one voice cannot muster sufficient praise
The labour of enumerating the wish-fulfilling treasury
Of the way of the sublime ones is a childish fallacy

The lifetime accomplishments of [such] a wondrous and excellent Lama
Being like the immeasurable vastness and profundity
Of the breadth of space or the depth of the ocean
To narrate even a part requires a generous stock of merit

The fingertip’s worth of wisdom and industry that I have obtained
From the treasury of qualities, like the distribution of the riches of a billion worlds
Strung onto the gold thread of my mind
Is the necklace of a fortunate person

Since his very name fulfilled the activity of the enlightened ones
And to hear or recall it is to be granted supreme liberation
The narration of a mere sketch, in the cause of substantiating the truth of this
Is weighty in significance and outcome

Therefore without engaging in the contortions of exquisite language
I pray that from the uncontaminated seed of this composition
Freely expressed in words of my own choosing
A wishing tree of choice composition may spring forth

May it open the eyes of faith for those with devotion
And save living beings at large from the precipice of the lower realms
May it strengthen the resolve to accomplish the great aim
Of entering ourselves and others into the joy of the citadel of liberation

Homage once more to the matchless and glorious Lama
Who has completed the path of renunciation and realisation and actualised
Buddhahood
Source of approaches to the Sūtra and Mantra paths beyond conception
Heruka overlord of the ocean of Tantric Maṇḍala-s

I intone melodious praises to as many of his incarnations as there are atoms in space
Touch the crown of my head to the anthers of his lotus feet
With the certainty of devotion to him as a single sufficient spiritual refuge
And prostrate to him continually

Having arranged throughout space the clouds of offerings
Of the wholesome conduct praised by the Jina-s
And the unsurpassed throne canopy, and respectfully offered these
May the immaculate intention be thoroughly fulfilled

By cleansing well the illusory rust and debris of the [two] obscurations
From the pure gold of the [underlying] virtuous nature
With the water of the four remedial powers, may the pure visage
Of the mental continuum of myself and all beings be revealed
May the lotus flower of rejoicing in an ocean-like lifetime of activity
Conjoining the resolution of illusion in the sphere of Nirvāṇa, the basis of Saṃsāra
And the river of virtuous deeds both worldly and transcendent
Be beautified by opening up

May those in need of instruction be woken from ignorance by the sound of
Dharma

In particular may the melody of the secret Vajrayāna
Continually reach their ears and excite their aspiration
For the effortless, original exposition

The expanse of suchness is primordially free of arising and cessation
The awakened ones rely not on relative truth
[But] as the realm of living beings is not yet empty
We beseech you to remain incarnate in everlasting permanence

In emulation of the Bodhisattva-s
I dedicate [the merit of] all manner of virtuous activity
For all beings, having been swiftly removed from the ocean of existence
To achieve unsurpassed Buddhahood

From here on to the heart of awakening, may all beings
Having been accepted as followers of the noble Lama
Keep him as their inseparable crown ornament
And receive the blessing of the 'three secrets' [of Vajra body, speech and mind]

May they thoroughly accomplish those actions which are pleasing [to him]
And never engage in those inspired by wrong views, which are not
Guard the treasury of his word and distill the essence of his thought
That the non-conceptual activity of his spiritual career be fully accomplished
From the constant fall of the gentle precious rain of benefit and joy
From the massed clouds of perfect blessing
May they be granted all they desire
With the protection of the sovereign Lama's benediction

This biography of the incomparably munificent Lama of the beings of the triple world, the all-knowing all-seeing Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen Pelsangpo, expressed in mere seed form, was composed at the formal request of the master's nephew Subhagavajra [Késang Dorjé], a person of utmost discrimination and virtuous disposition, accompanied by the supporting gift of a silk scarf and gold coins, as well as the insistent request of the master's own ritual assistant and great exponent of the five sciences Jamyang Lekpé Lo-drö, by one whom the master cared for with unique kindness, a vagabond with sincere devotion for the non-sectarian Dharma by the name of Lo-drö Tayé, on the basis of the synopses of the outer, inner and secret biographies, and list of [matters covered in] the outer biography, written by Rinpoché himself. Summaries of documents such as the list of teachings received and of the activities undertaken in commemoration of his death, and the notes I made over time of his verbal accounts of visions and so forth are compiled here, but as the scope of matters to be covered is great and my intelligence dull, it is not an arrangement of words liable to please those of discriminating intellect. However, as the treatment of the subject matter is free from the extremes of exaggeration and depreciation, and unsullied by misunderstanding, I propose the master's learned and accomplished disciples to take it as a foundation to be expanded on and clarified in a further work of perfect composition.

It was put into [final] written form in the third month of the Water Snake year [1893], my eighty-first, at the Kunsang Déchen Ösel Ling hermitage at Tsandra Rinchen Drak, by Karma Tashi Chöpel, a Kalyāṇamitra skilled in the five sciences. Whatever faults have been committed herein, such as publicising what should have remained secret, I confess before the Guru-s, Ḍākinī-s and Dharmapāla-s, and by the virtue of this labour may sentient beings without limit swiftly attain the level of the glorious omniscient Lama!

Sarvata-mangala-kalyāṇam-bhavantu



Chétsun Senggé
Wangchuk

Past Buddha Nageśvara

Nup Namké Nyingpo

Longchen Rabjampa

Guru Padmasambhava

Entrustment of the Sutra and
Mantra teaching from Acarya
Mañjuśrīmitra

Authorisation of the seven trans-
missions from Guru Padma

Nyang-rel Nyima Öser

Guru Chöki Wangchuk

CHÖGYEL
TRISONG
DÉTSEN

Empowerment for the
reconcealed teachings
of past Tertön's from
Sanggyé Lingpa

Receiving the Tsasum gyut-
rul drawa from the treasure
guardian at Seng-ngu Yumtso

Nga-ri Panchen

Jamgön Mipam

Changdak Tashi Topgyé

Lhatsun Namka Jikmé

Rikdzin Jikmé Lingpa





Present Buddha Möpa Rabga



Mahāsiddha Virūpa



Drogön Chögyel Pakpa



Shalu Khyenrab Chöjé



Transmission of
Hevajra Tantra from
Drokmi Lotsäva



Transmission of Lamdré
from Tsarchen Losel Gyatso



Nésar Khyentsé Wangchuk



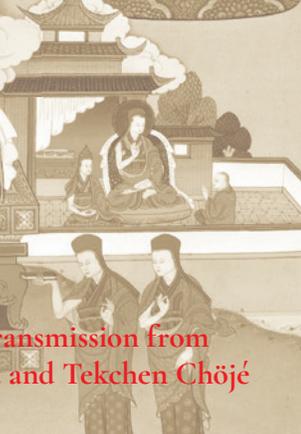
Khenchen Namka Chimé



JETSUN
DRAKPA
GYELTSEN



Lamdré transmission from
Sa-chen Kunga Nyingpo



Hevajra transmission from
Lama Dampa and Tekchen Chöjé

Kaché Pañchen

Sakya Pañḍita



Tangtong Gyalpo



Tertön Nyima Senggé



Jamyang Loter Wangpo



Tertön Kutsa Dawö



Gya Lotsäva Dorjé Sangpo



Future Buddha Gönpo Kuntuzik

Panchen Nāropa

Panchen Vanaratna

Dorjé Tso

Cakrasaṃvara transmission
from Mahāsiddha Lūpa

Six Yoga-s transmission from
'Jasikma' statue of Marpa

Rechungpa Dorjé Drak

Langdro Lotsava Könchok Jungné

DAKPO
GAMPOPA

Kagyü transmission from
'Jakchilma' statue of
Pakmo-drupa

Drikung transmission from
'Serkhangma' statue of Jikten
Sumgön

Seltön Shogom / Dusum Khyenpa

Pakmo-drupa / Dakpo Gompa

Dragom Chöki Dorjé

Jangön Kongtrül

Rashi Terrön Pema
Tsewang Tsel

Döl Letro Lingpa

Garwang Letro Lingpa





Buddha Sakyamuni

Father of the 3rd Karmapa

Panchen Gendun Drup

Jowo Atisa

Blessing from the
'Uyonma'
portrait of Jowoje

Kadam transmission
from Dromtön

Naktso Lotsāva

5th Dalai Lama

Transmission of the
Shangpa Kagyu from
Khyungpo Neljor

DROMTÖN
GYELWÉ
JUNGNÉ

Transmission of the
Orgyen Nyendrup
from Orgyenpa

Chéngawa Tsultrim Bar /
Potowa Rinchen Sel

Puchungwa Shönu Gyeltsen /
Sharawa Yonten Drak

Padampa Sanggyé

Litang Khenchen
Jampa Puntsok

Doban Gyatso Ö

Nyemdo Sonam Pel

Tokden Dawa Senggé

Notes

- 1 *Buddha-avatamsaka-nāma-mahāvaiṣṭya-sūtra/ Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo* Toh 44 bKa' 'gyur/ Phal po che Ka 1b-A363a.
- 2 *dKon mchog sgron me'i mdo* is a citation of the *dKon mchog ta la la'i gzungs/ Ratnokadhāraṇī* Toh 145 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Pa 34a-82a.
- 3 *gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa zhes bya ba'i sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa* (cf. "sGyu 'phrul rgyas pa" in the text) in vol.12 of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (sDe dge edition).
- 4 Slob dpon 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, from north-west India, is generally understood to have been the disciple of dGa' rab rdo rje (Ānandavajra) and Guru of Śrīsiṃha in the rDzogs chen lineage, but his historical identity is vague: according to the *rDzogs chen snying thig gi lo rgyus chen mo* (Kalimpong 1985 p.601-2), he left his physical body in the Sosadvīpa cemetery 830 years after Buddhānirvāṇa, and was miraculously reborn in western India 325 years later as a teacher of Guru Padmasambhava, known as 'the later Mañjuśrimitra'.
- 5 Paṇ chen Dri med bshes gnyen, the great rDzogs chen master from Kashmir (some say 'western India') and disciple of Śrīsiṃha, was invited to bSam yas during Khri srong lde'u btsan's later reign. At that time he was serving as chaplain to King Indrabhūti the younger, also known as Dharmapālanātha, an incarnation of Maitreya, in the city of Kāpilāvastu, where he was the foremost of 500 Paṇḍita-s at court (*rDzogs chen snying thig gi lo rgyus chen mo* p.634 cf. *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.201). The senior minister Nyang ban ting 'dzin bzang po was his principal Tibetan disciple and lineal successor. He proceeded to Wu-ta'i Shan in China, where he is said to remain in an immortal body of light for as long as the teachings endure, projecting emanations every hundred years.
- 6 rDo rje dril bu pa, one of the early Mahāsiddha-s in the Cakrasaṃvara lineage, is said to have renounced the throne of Varendra in eastern India, taken ordination at Nālandā, and received Tantric initiation from Lūpa's disciple Dārikā (e.g., *bDe mchog chos kun gsal ba'i nying byed* by 'Jam mgon A mes zhabs f.82v-84r).
- 7 Paṇ chen sGo mtha' yas pa'i blo gros does not appear in the standard lists of Vasubandhu's disciples (e.g., *Bu ston chos 'byung*), or indeed in Tibetan accounts of Indian Buddhist history generally. Further on, the biography informs us that he was 'a close friend' of Pūrṇavardhana, and since he is presented as a well-known figure here, it seems possible that this is another name for Pūrṇavardhana's teacher Sthiramati a.k.a. Sāramati, the 6th century Paṇḍita who left numerous commentaries on Yogācāra and Abhidharma. He is known to Tibetan tradition as an eminent disciple of Vasubandhu (d.480), although history shows that he lived later. However, in his sketch of the Abhidharma transmission in the *Shes bya kun khyab* for example, Kong sprul refers to this figure in the normal way (Sthiramati/ Blo gros brtan pa), and if the rather unusual name Pratihāramati were used to refer to him in the biography, one might expect a word of clarification.

8 Paṅ chen Nags kyi rin chen 1384-1468, the Vajrayāna master from the royal house of Sadnagar (Arakan), spent much of his later life in Nepal, and visited the Phag mo gru pa court at sNe'u gdong three times between 1426 and 1454. He received the Śaḍaṅga-yoga transmission in a visionary encounter with the Mahāsiddha Śāvarīpa. According to *Lo paṅ rnam kyi mtshan tho* (f.50r): 'Looking for Yoga (instruction), he went to Singhāla, the Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka Stūpa and Śrī Parvata in South India, and there he had a vision of Śāvarīpa. "Go north, and your wish will be fulfilled", he heard him say, and so he headed for Nepal. At Svayambhunāth, Śāvarīpa (appeared and) conferred these instructions on him. His wish was greatly fulfilled.'

9 lHa sras btsan po Khri srong lde btsan 742-97, 38th in the sPu rgyal line, the first Tibetan ruler to establish Buddhism as the state religion, was known as a "Chos rgyal" (Dharmarāja) and an emanation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī by later Buddhist tradition. As the most senior Tibetan disciple of Guru Padma, he became a seminal figure in the rNying ma pantheon.

10 rGyal sras lha rje, one of the five sons of Khri srong's third son Mu tig btsan po (Sad na legs a.k.a. Khri lde srong btsan 776-815), was recognised by Guru Padma as an emanation of Āṛṣadhara (gTsug lag 'dzin), the king of Sahor, according to Kong sprul's *Zab mo'i gter* (f.17v), but was also said to be the immediate reincarnation of his grandfather. He passed away at the age of 15, but through the Guru's kindness was eventually reborn as Sangs rgyas bla ma (and 12 successive gTer ston-s). The *bKa' 'dus chos kyi rgya mtsho* teaching on the combined deities of the Eight precepts entrusted to him by Guru Padma was subsequently revealed as gTer ma by O rgyan gling pa, one of the most accomplished of the 12.

11 Nag 'tsho lotsāva Tshul khriims rgyal ba of Mang yul Gung thang 1011-64 is best known for having travelled to Bengal to invite Jo bo Atiśa on the orders of the Gu ge king (1037), and for producing most of the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works commissioned by Atiśa during his years in Tibet.

12 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas 1004-64, from the pastures of northern dBu ru, was lionised by the tradition as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara and spiritual descendant of King Srong btsan sgam po. He was chiefly responsible for bringing Jo bo Atiśa to central Tibet, served as his principal attendant throughout his time there, and led the formation of the bKa' gdams pa order following the master's death (in 1054).

13 Ras chung pa rDo rje grags 1084-1161 of Mang yul Gung thang, Mahāmudrā master and cotton-clad Yogin was, like his principal Guru Mi la ras pa, a wandering ascetic and charismatic teacher who evolved posthumously into an iconic figure of folklore.

14 sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen 1079-1153 of gNyal, a.k.a. 'the physician of Dvags po', reincarnation of the saint Kumāra Candraprabha (Zla 'od gzhon nu, to whom Buddha Śākyamuni delivered the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*), was another principal disciple of rJe btsun Mi la and founder of the Dvags po bka' brgyud monastic order. *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.12v) recalls that when mKhyen brtse taught the 'Ornament of Liberation' by sGam po pa, mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer saw him as sGam po pa in person and heard his teaching as a 'direct transmission'.

15 rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan 1147-1216, the son of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po and 4th Sa skya throneholder. He is regarded by the tradition as Vajradhara in person.

16 Chos rgyal 'phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan 1235-80, 6th Sa skya throneholder and preceptor of the Yuan emperor Se chen rgyal po (Kublai Khan), acquired the title 'Phags pa ('sublime one') in youth for his extraordinary innate learning abilities.

17 Kun mkhyen Klong chen rab 'byams pa Tshul khriṃs blo gros (a.k.a. Dri med 'od zer) of bSam yas 1308-63, the great Paṇḍita and luminary of the rDzogs chen teachings, who developed a synthetic presentation of the various lineages passed down by Vimalamitra, Vairocana and Padmasambhava, the "rDo rje 'od gsal snying po" system, masterfully expressed in his 'seven treasuries' (*mDzod bdun*) treatises.

18 Paṇ chen dGe 'dun grub pa 1391-1474, disciple of the founders of the dGe lugs pa school, especially rJe Shes rab seng ge, and founder of bKra shis lhun po monastery (1447), was retrospectively designated the 1st Ta la'i bla ma. rJe rin po che Blo bzang grags pa 1357-1419 of A mdo Tsong kha was the great scholar-saint who founded the dGe lugs pa or 'New bKa' gdams pa' order.

19 mKhyen rab chos rje Rin chen mkhyen rab mchog grub 1436-97 of the Zhva lu sku zhang family lineage, emanation of Maitreya and master of the Zhva lu and Ngor pa traditions. Bu ston chen po Rin chen grub 1290-1361 was the great scholar-saint of Zhva lu famed for his codification of the Tantric canon.

20 Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po brTson 'grus bzang po (d.1485), master of the Jo nang, Shangs pa and Byang gter teachings, itinerant Mahāsiddha, visionary and bridge-builder. Kun mkhyen Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan 1292-1361 was the 4th throneholder of Jo nang and figurehead of the tradition, whose reincarnation Thang stong rgyal po claimed to be.

21 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1524-68 of the gNas gsar family lineage (named after the "rTsis gnas gsar" temple they founded in the Nyang valley in the 11th century) was one of the greatest scholastic philosophers in the Sa skya tradition, and an eminent lineage holder of the esoteric Lam 'bras teachings. He is said to have experienced a visionary conversion to the rNying ma teachings of his ancestors, and was a minor gTer ston, in which capacity he was regarded as an emanation of Lang gro lotsāva, '...but spoiled by having lived in a philosophy college and stained his Samaya-s (through scepticism of the rNying ma teachings in early life), he could not reveal many treasures....' (*Zab mo'i gter* f.140v). Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho 1502-64 was the most renowned master of the esoteric Lam 'bras, or 'exposition for the disciples', whose lineage diverged from the Sa skya pa mainstream into a distinct school bearing his name. Tshar chen's reincarnation, the great bKa' 'gyur ba mGon po bsod nams mchog ldan (1603-59) was born into the gNas gsar family, recognised and raised by mKhyen brtse'i dbang phyug's nephew dBang phyug rab brtan. His subsequent incarnations, the "gNas gsar mchog sprul", became the main lineage holders of the Tshar pa school.

22 Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med 1765-1820, the 43rd throneholder of Ngor, disciple of bDag chen Kun dga' blo gros, and one of the great Sa skya

masters of his day. The *Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* collective biography of him and his two nephews (mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's teachers and mentors) is in the *gSung ngag lam 'bras slob bshad chen mo* collection (vol.7), Dehra Dun 1983. This work (p.263-5) affirms that he was a reincarnation of gNas gsar mkhyen brtse, among others. There is a brief biography in mKhyen brtse's *gSang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs Ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal* (gSung 'bum vol.18 p.401-5).

23 The omniscient Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa 1730-98 of 'Phyong rgyas, spiritual heir of Klong chen rab 'byams pa, is generally considered as mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's most significant predecessor (e.g., in the *sKyes rabs rnam thar-s* by dPal me mkhyen brtse and mKhan po Kun dga' dbang phyug), but this is not emphasised by Kong sprul rin po che here, perhaps to avoid contradiction of his assertion that mKhyen brtse was the 13th incarnation of rGyal sras lha rje (see also *Zab mo'i gter* f.17v-18r, f.71v). One of mKhyen brtse's own mental revelations (dGongs gter), the *rTsa gsum 'od gsal snying thig*, is considered to have been the part of the Klong chen snying thig withheld by the wisdom Ḍākinī during the visionary transmission of the treasure scrolls at the Boudhanath Stūpa in 1757 (thanks to Ven. Matthieu Ricard for this information). Presumably because the time for dissemination of this cycle had not yet come, Kong sprul made no mention of it in the secret biography, but it was later taught and appended to the Paro edition of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* by Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che, who emphasised its value.

24 Pha dam pa sangs rgyas a.k.a. Dam pa rgya gar (d.1117?), the great south Indian Siddha who introduced the 'pacification of suffering' (sDug sngal zhi byed) teachings to Tibet.

25 dPyal Amoghavajra (Don yod rdo rje), a cousin of the dPyal Lotsāva Chos kyi bzang po (1163-1230), is best known for his translation of the sByor drug teachings of Paṇḍita Vibhūticandra.

26 Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127-1225), the Mahapaṇḍita of Kashmir, came to Tibet via Bengal in 1204 and taught there for the next decade, to great acclaim. Chos kyi bzang po of the dPyal clan was one of his main Tibetan disciples and translators.

27 bSod nams dpal 1216-77, grandson of Rog Shes rab 'od and master of his eclectic tradition, was known as 'the omniscient one of sNye mdo' (in gYo ru Grva). He was regarded as the rebirth of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po.

28 mNga' bdag Nyang ral pa can Nyi ma'i 'od zer 1124-92 of gTam shul, 'the elder' of the two master gTer ston-s. Short biographies in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.379-83, *Zab mo'i gter* f.47v-52r. Although not mentioned here, mKhyen brtse rin po che did receive visionary transmissions of his revelations as well (e.g., *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.164, p.202, p.228).

29 "Ma chags padma'i spyen" sic for "padma can".

30 Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug 1212-70 of La yag, 'the younger' of the two great gTer ston-s. Short biographies in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.386-93, *Zab mo'i gter* f.52r-55r.

mKhyen brtse rin po che's visions and memories of him are mentioned below (and e.g., *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.274).

31 "Thang yig" (meaning 'testament') refers to the revealed hagiographies of Guru Padmasambhava, either in general, or specifically those revealed by O rgyan gling pa.

32 The *Thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu* revelation is in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer ston mChog gyur gling pa* (vol.29).

33 "sPang rje ston pa" normally refers to Gu ru Chos dbang's father, a Buddhist master of the sPang line known only as sGrub pa'i snying po, but this seems to refer to his son.

34 mNga' ris paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal 1487-1542 of Glo bo, the prodigious non-sectarian master and standard bearer of the rNying ma reformation. The 'biographies' referred to below, with which the author was evidently familiar, are now rarities. mKhyen brtse'i dbang po apparently received a 'direct' (visionary) transmission of his *bKa' bryad yongs 'dus* revelation (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.208). The *bKa' bryad yongs 'dus* empowerments are in the Sambhogakāya division of peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.7) and the Amitābha section of the peaceful Sādhana-s of the Padma series (vol.21), and his *gNod sbyin Tsi'u dmar po rgyud man ngag skor* is in the Dharmapāla section (vol.60).

35 Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal a.k.a. dBang po'i sde (mKha' 'gro yongs grub rtsal is a treasure finder's alias, or "gTer ming") 1547-1602, the immediate reincarnation of mNga' ris paṅ chen and prince of the La stod byang kingdom, came to dBus in exile in the 1570s and began to reestablish the Byang gter school there. His *sKu gsum rigs 'dus* revelation is in the Nirmānakāya section of the peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.8), and his *Karma gu ru* cycle is among the wrathful Guru Sādhana-s (vol.12).

36 The 'Great Fifth' Ta la'i bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1617-82, the spiritual founder of the dGa' ldan pho brang state.

37 Sangs rgyas bla ma of La stod is thought to have flourished in the late 10th century. There is a biographical sketch in *Zab mo'i gter* (f.36r-37r). In the bsTan rtsis section of this work (f.227r), Kong sprul states that the later diffusion of Buddhism began in a Water Ox year 55 years after King Glang dar ma's suppression (Iron Bird 841) and five years before the birth of Lo chen Rin chen bzang po, in an Earth Horse year. Since the Earth Horse year of Lo chen's birth was 958, this assessment has obviously omitted one sexagenary cycle, and the intended Water Ox year is actually 953. It was at that time, he continues, that the first gTer ston-s started to appear, namely Sangs rgyas bla ma, rGya ban rDo rje 'od, gTsong lag dpal dge and rGya lo tsa ba. The ancient dGe dkar temple in Glo bo (Mustang) is considered by the rNying ma tradition as a geomantic device prescribed by Guru Padma.

38 rGya lotsāva rDo rje bzang po of 'Dzum lang (i.e., modern Jumla, in west Nepal). According to *Zab mo'i gter* (f.37rv) he was an ordained Māntrika and a contemporary of Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (1012-90), and was said to have made numerous revelations, none of which had survived in written form. The rediscovered *mThong grol 'od kyi snying*

po summary of this cycle is in the Dharmakāya section of the peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.6).

39 Nyi ma seng ge from the dPal khud mtsho region of upper Mang yul, an incarnation of both rGyal sras lha rje and 'Gos blon rDo rje 'bar, must have lived later than the 1st Rab byung (1027-86 - *Zab mo'i gter* f.39rv) if he was the reincarnation of rGya lotsāva (*Lo paṅ rnam's kyi mtshan tho* f.100v). The 7th century Byams sprin temple is in lower Mang yul, modern sKyid grong. His *Thugs chen padma zhi khro* revelation is in the Avalokiteśvara section of the peaceful Sādhana-s of the Padma series in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.22). "Bla rdzogs thugs gsum", meaning 'teachings on Guruyoga, the Great Perfection and Avalokiteśvara, these three' is a common classification of the scope of the revealed teachings.

40 Ku sa sman pa Padma skyabs of lHo brag is identified with the Bon gter ston Kun spangs zla 'od 'bar and dated to the 2nd Rab byung (1087-1146) by Kong sprul (*Zab mo'i gter* f.42v-43r. Mon sPa gro is in the west of modern Bhutan). His *rTsa gsum spyi spungs chen mo* revelation, in which the 'three roots' are individuated, was the first of three; the second, combined version was revealed by Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po, and the third, condensed version by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (with the assistance of gTer ston Tshe dbang grags pa) at gTer lung Padma shel ri (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.87). The *rTsa gsum spyi 'dus* or condensed version is with the general Sādhana-s of the 'three roots' in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.5).

41 Do ban rGya mtsho 'od of Do in Yar 'brog lived in the 5th Rab byung (1267-1326) according to Kong sprul (*Zab mo'i gter* f.228r), while *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.395) places him in the 6th, on the basis of interpretations of the *bKa' thang* prophecy. Zur pakṣi Śākya 'od and Ye shes khyung grags are said to have revealed a lapis skull cup containing the Amṛta originally consecrated by Guru Padma to prolong the life of King Khri srong lde'u btsan (from Brag rdo rje sra/tshe brtan in gTsang) and presented it to Se chen rgyal po (r.1260-94), 'according to writings from the Sa skya pa tradition' (*rNam thar yid kyi mun sel* by Sog zlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, Delhi 2005 p.101).

42 Grva sgom Chos kyi rdo rje from the Grva valley in gYo ru (opposite bSam yas) lived in the 5th Rab byung (1267-1326) according to Kong sprul (*Zab mo'i gter* f.228r, an assessment challenged by the fact that he was Do ban's reincarnation). 'He seems to have made numerous minor revelations, such as the *rGyal po las rgyud* and *Pe dkar ar gtad'* (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.396).

43 gTer chen O rgyan gling pa (b.1323) of Yar rje in upper Grva (biographical sketch in *Zab mo'i gter* f.65r-67r). The Shel brag cave in lower Yar lung was one of Guru Padma's principal meditation places in Tibet, and the "Padma brtsegs" rock niche is on the nearby mountaintop. The cycle of teachings on the combined form of the bKa' brgyad precepts which he revealed there (*Rin chen gter mdzod* vol.15) was formally considered as the first part of the whole; Sangs rgyas gling pa's *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* is the second, and mNga' ris paṅ chen's *Bla ma bka' brgyad rig 'dzin yongs 'dus* and 'Phreng po gter ston's *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol* are jointly considered the third (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.107). As the auspices for its dissemination were insufficient, it was reconcealed

in the ‘secret treasury of the Ḍākinī-s’ until the time of its second destined revelation, by mKhyen brtse rin po che in 1858 (p.167-8, and below).

44 sNgags ’chang Las ’phro gling pa from the Dol valley in gYo ru was an accomplice (gTer slob) of rDo rje gling pa (1346-1405) (see *Zab mo’i gter* f.118rv).

45 gNas gsar mkhyen brtse’s career as a gTer ston is briefly discussed in *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* p.550-54 (cf. *Zab mo’i gter* f.140rv). The 7th century Grom pa rgyang temple is close to Grom pa lHa rtse rdzong, in the Sa skya region.

46 Gar dbang Las ’phro gling pa of sPe lcog in the E valley in gYo ru, the reincarnation of Lo chung dKon mchog ’od, lived in the 9th Rab byung (1507-66) (*Zab mo’i gter* f.142v-43v). The *Phag dkar ye shes gsal byed* that he reconcealed at Yar lung Shel brag and was later rediscovered by mKhyen brtse’i dbang po is among the Ḍākinī Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.35).

47 gTer ston Padma rig ’dzin from Ra shi/zhi in the sPu/sPo bo region of south-west Khams was active during the early 17th century (*Zab mo’i gter* f.144rv). “gNam lcags brag” of the text is better known as “gNam lcags ’bar ba” (cf. *dNgos grub sgo brgya ’byed pa’i ldé’u mig* p.468), the great mountain at the entrance to the gTsan po gorge on the border between sPo bo and Kong po (described here as a “bDud ri”, or lair of demons), which was later a gTer gnas of Chos rje gling pa. The *Khyung chen rigs lnga’i sgrub thabs gdug pa kun ’dul* that he also revealed there is among the rituals for the pacification of demonic influence in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.46).

48 Chos rje gling pa a.k.a. Rog rje gling pa/ bDe ba’i rdo rje/ ’Dzam gling rdo rje 1682-1725 of the sNyi ba family lineage of Dvags la sgam po was also recognised as the reincarnation of sGam po zhabs drung O rgyan rig ’dzin rdo rje and of the Ras chung phug zhabs drung ’Chi med dbang po (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* p.412). Biographical sketch in *Zab mo’i gter* (f.69v-71v). The Zag med ’ja’ tshon cave is in rMa skung lung in sPo bo, the ‘hidden valley’ opened by Ra shi gter ston. The *rTsa gum ’chi med dril sgrub* is one of the general Sādhana-s of the ‘three roots’ in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.5).

49 This was mKhyen brtse’s usual alias or gTer ming, particularly connoting his prolific revelations of reconcealed treasure (Yang gter). His other secret names were ’Od gsal sprul pa’i rdo rje (dGongs gter) and rDo rje gzi brjid rtsal (Dag snang), and when revealing Bon gter he was Mi shigs gyung drung ’byung gnas rtsal.

50 *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra/ Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma’i bstan bcos* Toh 4024 bsTan ’gyur/ Sems tsam Phi 54b-73a.

51 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-nāma-kārikā/ Theg pa chen po mdo sde’i rgyan zhes bya ba’i tshig le’ur byas pa* Toh 4020 bsTan ’gyur/ Sems tsam Phi 1b-39a

52 i.e., the ‘relative’ and ‘ultimate’ aspects of guiding the Saṅgha.

53 *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-saṅcayagāthā/ ’Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshig su bcad pa* Toh 13 bKa’ ’gyur/ Sher phyin Ka 1b-19b.

54 The core of Sangs rgyas gling pa's *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* is in the Nirmāṇakāya section of the peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.7).

55 rTsis kyi lha khang is the temple attributed to King Srong btsan sgam po in the central Nyang valley in gTsang. Another temple dedicated to Prajñāpāramitā was built next to it during King Ral pa can's reign, and a third (called "gNas gsar") during the 'later diffusion' of the early 11th century. Few gTer ston-s are recorded to have made revelations there (the little known Tshe ring rdo rje is mentioned in *gTer bton chos 'byung* f.72v), but it is listed as the place of one of Guru Chos dbang's 18 major revelations in his biographies.

56 i.e., Rig 'dzin bŕTan gnyis gling pa Padma tshe dbang rgyal po (1480-1537), disciple of Padma gling pa and Lama of the Gung thang kings. His biography (e.g., in *Collected songs of spiritual realisation and visionary writings of bstan-gnyis-gling-pa padma-tshe-dbang-rgyal-po* Dawa Lama, Delhi 1982) identifies him as the gTer ston of rTsis kyi lha khang prophesied in O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang* (p.245), but gives no account of the revelation. Incidentally, mDo sngags gling pa was also the treasure alias of gNas gsar mkhyen brtse, who had ancestral links to the rTsis kyi lha khang temple.

57 The five 'naturally formed' stone Stūpa-s at Zung/ Zur mkhar, a little way west of the great bSam yas temple, are associated with Guru Padma and the construction of bSam yas. O rgyan gling pa's *Thugs rje chen po ye shes 'od mchog* is (not?) with the Avalokiteśvara Sādhana-s in the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.21-3).

58 The *Phyag chen nyi ma'i snying po* cycle revealed by gTer chen Ratna gling pa is in the Sems sde category of the rDzogs chen teachings in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol. 55).

59 dKar mo stag tshang is a cave hermitage in upper Rong rme, a tributary that joins the rMe shod valley below rDzong sar monastery. For the author and his contemporaries, it was counted as one of 13 sanctuaries in Tibet with the name "sTag tshang" ('tiger's lair') where Guru Padmasambhava manifested the wrathful form of rDo rje gro lod, to subdue indigenous spirits and conceal treasures. sTag sham nus ldan rdo rje, for example, revealed his *Seng gdong ma'i chos skor* there in the late 17th century. mChog gyur gling pa and mKhyen brtse'i dbang po made a joint revelation at sTag tshang and the nearby Seng ngu gyu mtsho lake in 1866 in the presence of the sDe dge king (as related in the secret biography), and established the hermitage there. It was enlarged by mKhyen brtse chos kyi blo gros in 1932 (*gNa' gtam rdo la ri mo* p.33).

60 gTer ston Rin chen gling pa, an emanation of Guru Padma's disciple Prajñākara, revealed a major cycle of teachings at 'Bri thang ko ro brag in his native Lo ro early in his career. While meditating on them, he experienced visions leading him to undertake a dangerous journey to the 'black turtle boulder' in India, where he was destined to reveal the *rDzogs chen chig chod kun grol*. He must have been a mature master by the time he met Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje at bSam yas (in 1335?). He was considered the spiritual forebear of the dPa' bo incarnation lineage (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.404-7). The *Chig chod kun grol* cycle belongs with the rDzogs chen teachings of Guru

Padma's tradition (Padma snying thig) in the Man ngag ('direct instruction') section that concludes the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.57).

61 The great Lotsāva Pa gor Vairocana of sNye mo, one of the first seven Tibetans to receive monastic ordination (in the 760s), the first Tibetan master of (Buddhist) rDzogs chen, and the most illustrious of Guru Padma's Tibetan disciples, who is said to have been exiled to Tsha ba rong for displeasing the non-Buddhist ministers at King Khri srong's court (biographical sketches in *Zab mo'i gter* f.23r-24v, and *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* p.18-21). Kong sprul himself was the foremost emanation of this figure during mKhyen brtse's lifetime.

62 The 9th dPa' bo mchog sprul gTsong lag nyin byed (d.1909)

63 The 8th rBa kha sprul sku Rig 'dzin khams gsum yongs grol?

64 The *Zab pa skor bdun* revelation is in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* (vol.s 12-20).

65 Padma bde chen gling pa's *Grub thob bka' brgyad* revelation is with the collective Sādhana-s of the bKa' brgyad in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.16).

66 gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po (747-818) was one of the first seven Tibetans to receive Buddhist ordination, after the foundation of bSam yas, and one of the eight closest Tibetan disciples of Guru Padma, who received and perfected his instructions on Yang dag thugs (the 'mind' category of the bKa' brgyad - *Zab mo'i gter* f.19r-20v).

67 dKon mchog 'byung gnas a.k.a. Lang gro sNang bzhed of rTa nag was one of King Khri srong's ministers before he took Buddhist ordination and became a disciple of Guru Padma, both a learned translator and a powerful Yogi (*Zab mo'i gter* f.29v-30r). As mentioned below and in *Zab mo'i gter* (p.677), mKhyen brtse rin po che had visionary recall of his *Tshe sgrub Bai ro'i thugs tig* sufficient to commit it to writing. This was his principal revelation in the Bon tradition as far as we know, which he signed with the alias Mi shigs gyung drung 'byung gnas rtsal, and was included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (see *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.390-95, and *Mkhyen-brtse'i dba'i po: La biographie de Padmasambhava selon la tradition du bsGrags pa bon, et ses sources* by Anne-Marie Blondeau, in *Serie Orientale Roma* 56 vol.1. ISMEO 1985. Some non-revealed works in this cycle are signed "gYung drung gling pa rtsal"). mKhyen brtse noted (*Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.89r) that the Ko chag 'gro mgon, the distinguished sNgags pa family lineage affiliated with Sa skya, were regarded as Lang gro's descendants.

68 The four rivers are (from west to east) the rGyal mo dngul chu (Salwin), rDza chu (Mekong), 'Bri chu (Yangtse) and Nyag chu (Yalong). The six ranges are Zal mo sgang, Tsha ba sgang, sMar khams sgang, sPo 'bor sgang, dMar rdza sgang and Mi nyag ra ba sgang (e.g., *Dam pa'i chos kyī byung bar brjod pa las gtso bor brtsams pa'i gtam skal bzang rna ba'i bcud len* f.5r).

69 The name "sDe dge" is supposedly a contraction of "sDe bzhi dge ba bcu ldan", or

‘kingdom of four divisions and ten virtues’, or simply means ‘domain of virtue’. It is said to have originated with the founder of the royal house, bDe chen bsod nams bzang po, in the 15th century (e.g., Kong sprul’s *Thub dbang rten gsum mthong grol lha khang ’dzam gling bkra shis ’od ’bar kyi dkar chag rDzogs ldan dpyid kyi dbyangs snyan* in gSung ’bum vol.10 p.331).

70 The name gTer klung/lhung/lung or ‘treasure valley’ refers to the populated middle reaches of the rTing chu, an eastern parallel and tributary of the rMe chu, and is actually a eulogism for “rTing lung”.

71 The Ri bo dbang zhu mountain is near mKhyen brtse’i dbang po’s birthplace on the lower west side of the gTer lung valley. It was recognised, or ‘opened’ as a sacred place by mKhyen brtse and mChog gyur gling pa, who revealed a gTer from the “dKar ’dzang brag” rock on the summit in 1854/5, including ancillary sections of the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel*. mChog gling is said to have composed a guidebook (gNas yig) to the site at mKhyen brtse rin po che’s request. He had a visionary encounter with Vimalamitra during the opening of the sanctuary, and the *Bi ma la’i zab tig* he composed as a result is in the Amṛta series (of the bKa’ bgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.29, and in vol.34 of the collected works). He also revealed sacred substances from a “meditation cave of Nam mkha’i snying po” at the foot of the mountain. Kong sprul also meditated there and composed a guide in 1854 (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.172). The dKar ’dzang brag cliff (mentioned below) is described elsewhere in their writings as a meditation place of Guru Padma.

72 The ‘25 great holy places in Khams’ that emerged from the revelations of mChog gyur gling pa (e.g., *Bod kyi gnas chen rnams kyi mdo byang dkar chag O rgyan gyi mkhas pa Padma ’byung gnas kyis bkod pa* (in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* vol. 30 p.1-40), *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.263-82) are further defined in the *mDo khams gnas chen nyer lnga yan lag dang bcas pa’i mdo byang gi gsal byed zin thung nyung ngu* in vol.7 of Kong sprul’s collected writings. The 25 places are divided into five groups corresponding with the aspects of body, speech, mind, qualities and activity, each sub-divided into the same aspects. In addition, each group is headed by one ‘principal place’ (“gNas kyi gtso bo”, making 30), and then by a place ‘combining all the others’ (“gNas thams cad ’dus pa”). In the case of the activity aspect, this constitutes a group of ‘eight places for the conversion of beings’ (making a total of 42), which is divided into four places corresponding with the four classes of ritual (peaceful, expansive, magnetising and subjugating), and four places corresponding with the Vajra, Padma, Ratna and Karma types of sentient beings.

73 rDzong shod bde gshegs ’dus pa is a sanctuary set among limestone cliffs in a steep northern tributary of the ’Dzing chu, east of Rag chab and not far south of gTer lung. mKhyen brtse rin po che ‘opened’ the site and revealed treasures there in association with mChog gyur gling pa (in 1859), and encouraged the establishment of a hermitage. One was built in 1878 under the auspices of dPal spungs (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.277), of which it became a branch, and was mainly associated with Kong sprul himself, who spent much time there in retreat. According to Kong sprul’s brief mystic description of the site (*rDzong shod bde gshegs ’dus pa’i gnas yig* in vol.7 of his collected writings), it

comprises five natural rock ‘citadels’ (rDzong) of the assembled Sugata-s in its outer aspect, combines the qualities of all five in the ‘qualities’ category of the 25 holy places in its inner aspect, and resembles a natural Maṇḍala of the Eight transmitted precepts (bKa’ brgyad) in its secret aspect. See also *Yon tan yongs rdzogs rDzong shod bde gshegs ’dus pa’i gnas mchog gtsso bo rnam gyi dkar chag mdo byang ’Od kyi snying po* (in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* vol.30 p.129-38).

74 mChod rten dgu brtsegs, ‘stack of nine Stūpa-s’, is one name for the mountain on the watershed between the rTing chu (east of gTer lung) and ’Dzing chu valleys, considered sacred in Bon po tradition. According to *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.253), it was known locally as “Bu la’i mchod rten”. The name “Ka ye rgyal mo” is cited in *A survey of Bonpo monasteries and temples in Tibet and the Himalaya* (S.G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano, ed.s, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka 2003). mKhyen brtse and mChog gling had revealed a hidden guidebook to the area, but eventually deputed Kong sprul to ‘reopen’ the site, due to his Bon po credentials, which he did in company with the Lama and monks of lCang lung monastery, at the western foot of the mountain in gTer lung, in the summer of 1872 (see *gYung drung rnam par bkod pa’i gnas mchog chen po’i mdo byang gSal byed snying por bsdus pa* in Kong sprul’s *gSung ’bum* vol.11). Two guides, *gYung drung rnam par bkod pa’i zhing khams chen po’i gnas kyi mdo byang mThong bas grol ba’i yi ge* and *Shar phyogs ’Dzing yul gYung drung dpal ri gtsso ’khor rnam gyi gnas yig mdo byang Don gyi snying po*, and a map are reproduced in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* (vol.30 p.231-55).

75 The De’u/Dil mgo tshang house was in the present village of that name, situated on the snout of a lateral ridge on the west bank of the gTer lung valley, opposite lCang lung monastery.

76 Grub chen/sPyan snga Byang chub gling pa left his native Khams at the age of 13 to travel to central Tibet and the ’Bri gung monastery, where he swiftly became one of the chief disciples of the founder. After ’Jig rten sum mgon’s death, he meditated at Gangs ti se (Kailāsa) and won such renown that his countrymen invited him to return. He founded numerous monasteries of the ’Bri gung tradition there, chiefly Byang chub gling, later known as dPal spungs, and passed away at the age of 47 (date unknown). The continuity of his family lineage there into the 15th century is attested in *lHo rong chos ’byung* (Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang 1994 p.424).

77 sKyob pa ’Jig rten gsum mgon Rin chen dpal 1143-1217 of Khams lDan ma, leading disciple of Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po and founder of the ’Bri gung bka’ brgyud tradition.

78 dPal spungs monastery in sDe dge was famously reestablished by Si tu paṇ chen Chos kyi byung gnas in 1727 as a major centre of learning and seat of his lineage. It also became the author’s principal residence once he was recognised as the incarnation of a dPal spungs Lama (the Kong po Bam steng sprul sku). There is a full description of the site based on a quotation from Byang chub gling pa in section 5 of Kong sprul’s *Thugs kyi gnas mchog chen po de bi ko ta tsa ’dra rin chen brag gi rogs pa brjod pa’i yid kyi rgya mtsho’i rol mo* (gSung ’bum vol.11). Byang chub gling pa is also said to have founded

the dPe war monastery near dPal spungs and the bSam 'grub rtse monastery at lCags ra, a seat of the Gling tshang kings, and later summer palace of the sDe dge kings.

79 Shar chen Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan (b.1717), the 37th Ngor throneholder, was responsible for the mid-18th century expansion of Klu sdings bla brang. He was invited to sDe dge by Sa skyong Blo gros rgya mtsho, where he spent much of his later life, founding the lHa rgyal monastery in the pastoral district of Yid lung in 1767.

80 This was the Sog mo family of rMe shod, one of the sDe dge "mDun 'khor" whose sons traditionally served as royal ministers.

81 'Jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer, the first rDo grub chen 1745-1821, most senior disciple of Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa and Guru of mDo mkhyen brtse (see *Zab mo'i gter* f.223v-25v). Like mChog gyur gling pa, he was regarded as an emanation of Mu rub btsan po and gTer chen Sangs rgyas gling pa.

82 gTer chen mChog gyur bde chen gling pa 1829-70 of Nang chen, emanation of Prince Mu rub btsan po and last of the great gTer ston-s of prophecy, was mKhyen brtse rin po che's spiritual son and colleague, who revealed that they had been 'linked like father and son through 13 lifetimes' (e.g., *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.69-72, *The Life and Teaching of Chokgyur Lingpa*, Orgyen Tobgyal Rinpoche, Rangjung Yeshe Publications 1982). The treasures they revealed in partnership are listed below in the secret biography. The *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* 'secret biography' of mChog gyur gling pa (collected works vol.38) is based in part on mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's *gTer chen rnam thar las 'phros pa'i dri len bKra shis dbyangs snyan bskul ba'i dri bzhon* summary (gSung 'bum vol. 24). There is also a brief biography in *Zab mo'i gter* (f.177r-184v).

83 Khyung tshang brag ('Garuda's nest cliff' a.k.a. Ri bo khyung lding, 'Hovering Garuda mountain') is on the watershed between gTer lung and rMe shod, north of the Ri dvags la pass. The revelation is described below in the secret biography (and in *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.404).

84 gTer ston Guru Jo tse Tshe dbang dar po, the reincarnation of mChims rDo rje spral chung, supposedly an illiterate shepherd, revealed a cache of treasure at Zangs yag brag, near Shel grong in the lower lHa sa valley, in the mid-13th century (e.g., *Lo pan rnam kyi mtshan tho* f.103v, *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.394). His *Sha brgya zan brgya* revelation is among the mDos glud (ransom rituals) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.44), and his *Rlung zhags kun gyi zab tig* is in the magnetising (dBang) class of rituals (vol.52).

85 i.e., the Lam 'bras master gNas gsar mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug.

86 Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin 1776-1862, nephew and disciple of Nam mkha' 'chi med and 46th Ngor throneholder. He and his younger brother 'Jam dpal bzang po were the young mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's chief mentors. mKhyen brtse's *Byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i sprin mdzes* supplicatory verse biography is in the first volume of his collected works (p.328-31), and there is a brief biography in *gSang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs Ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal* (gSung 'bum vol.18 p.405-8).

87 There is a similar description of this encounter in the *Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* biography (p.234-5).

88 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-nāma-kārikā/ Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa* (Toh 4020 bsTan 'gyur/ Sems tsam Phi 1b-39a).

89 i.e., Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med - see earlier note.

90 "lHun grub steng" is a decorative name for the great monastery attached to the palace of the sDe dge kings at rNgu mda', generally known as sDe dge dgon chen. It was originally founded by Thang stong rgyal po in 1446, with the patronage of King Bo thar bkra shis seng ge, on the site of a small lake inhabited by a Nāga spirit, which he miraculously dried up (e.g., Kong sprul's *rDzogs ldan dpyid kyi dbyangs snyan dkar chag* p.331). The first temple on the shady side of the gully (Srib dgon) was joined by a second, on the sunny side (Nyin dgon), built by Bo thar's son dPal ldan seng ge. The complex was expanded in the mid-17th century by King Bla chen Byams pa phun tshogs, who is usually credited with the great "bSam 'grub mthong grol chen mo" temple hall (mKhyen brtse rin po che specified in *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba* (f.25v) that it was founded by his brother Grub thob Kun dga' rgya mtsho). The abbots were typically members of the royal family. The complex was damaged by fire during the expulsion of Nyag rong troops in 1864 (e.g., *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.214), although the famous Par khang chen mo, the greatest library of printing blocks in the country (founded by Chos rgyal bsTan pa tshe ring in 1729) was saved, supposedly through a trick played by the then Ru dpon Padma legs grub on the Nyag rong commander A mchog lu gu tshe ring.

91 Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa rnal 'byor 'jam dpal bzang po 1789-1864, younger brother of Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin and 50th Ngor throneholder. mKhyen brtse's *Byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i chu gter* supplicatory verse biography is in the first volume of his collected works (p.332-5). There is a brief biography in *gSang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs Ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal* (gSung 'bum vol.18 p.408-10).

92 There is a similar discussion with respect to Kong sprul's own previous lives in *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* (p.6-11).

93 rDzong sar bkra shis lha rtse monastery in the rMe shod valley was founded by Chos rgyal 'phags pa in 1275. It was thus the oldest Sa skya pa monastery in sDe dge, and later became a centre of the Ngor pa school patronised by the royal family (see *rDzong sar bkra shis lha rtse'i sngon gyi lo rgyus gtam du gleng ba Ngo mtshar dpyid kyi pad tshal* by mKhan chen Blo gros phun tshogs (1991), and his *gNa' gtam rdo la ri mo*, 2006). It was restored under mKhyen brtse rin po che's direction after the Nyag rong war (1862-5 e.g., *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* f.37r), with the addition of the mNgon byang lha khang (see below), followed by rebuilding of the main assembly hall in 1890.

94 Ka thog monastery was founded in 1159 by Dam pa bde gshegs (Shes rab seng ge), on a mountain ridge shaped like the letter 'Ka', high above the village of Hor po in southern sDe dge. It was the oldest and foremost monastic centre of the rNying ma tradition in Khams, reestablished in the mid-17th century by the great treasure revealers Rig 'dzin bDud 'dul rdo rje and Rig 'dzin Klong gsal snying po, with the support

of the rulers of sDe dge.

95 rMog ston 'Jigs bral chos dbyings rdo rje, the 2nd rMog tsha incarnation of Ka thog, had received the transmission of 'Jigs med gling pa's *Klong chen snying thig* from the 1st Ka thog si tu O rgyan bsam 'grub 'jigs med chos kyi seng ge.

96 The *Tshe dpag med lcags sdong ma* empowerment of the Byang gter tradition, as mentioned below. Grub dbang Byang chub chos kyi nyi ma, presumably a Ka thog Lama, cannot be further identified.

97 Rong btsan kha ba dkar po, the holy mountain in Tsha ba rong regarded as a manifestation of Cakrasaṃvara, was first 'opened' for Buddhist meditation and pilgrimage by the 2nd and 3rd Karma pa-s (*bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.266). It is classified as the body aspect among the five places in the 'speech' category of the 25.

98 The sGang sna bla brang, the oldest at rDzong sar, was the seat of a hereditary lineage (Chos rje) from the sGang sna tshang family in the lCags zam kha area of rGyal rong. It was formally affiliated with the Khang gсар bla brang at Ngor monastery. The family lineage came to an end with the 29th incumbent, and subsequent appointments were based on merit. The last (34th) sGang sna chos rje 'Jam dbyangs shes rab chos kyi seng ge (1924-2003), who was apparently considered the rebirth of the first rDzong sar mkhyen brtse incarnation 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi dbang po (1894-1909), followed mkhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros into exile in the 1950s.

99 Zhe chen monastery in northern sDe dge, on the edge of the rDza chu kha grasslands, was founded in 1735 by the 2nd Rab 'byams incarnation Kun bzang rnam rgyal as a branch of nearby rDzogs chen. The Padma 'od gling hermitage above the main monastery had been established by his successor, Rab 'byams dPal 'byor rgya mtsho, in 1796.

100 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal (1787-1855), the 1st Zhe chen dbon sprul incarnation, premier disciple of dGe rtse paṇ chen 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub and early mentor of Kong sprul, to whom the 14th Karma pa gave the title 'Mahapaṇḍita'. His biography, *mKhas shing dngos grub brnyes pa'i rdo rje slob dpon 'Jam dbyangs dgyes pa'i blo gros mtsho skyes bshad pa'i sgra dbyangs kyi rtogs brjod mdor bsdu pa skal bzang mgul rgyan* by rDo rje rab brtan (Shechen Publications, Delhi 2000) was composed at the behest of mkhyen brtse'i dbang po ('the brightest star in the constellation of his disciples'), who also gave the work its title, according to the colophon.

101 The three classical treatises on Sanskrit grammar cited here are *Sarasvatīvyākaraṇasūtra/ brDa sprod pa dbyangs can gyi mdo* by Anubhūti (Toh 4297 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Se 1b-9a), *Kalāpasūtra/ Ka lā pa'i mdo* by rGyal po'i lha (Toh 4282 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Le 1b-20a) and *Candravyākaraṇasūtra/ Lung ston pa candra pa'i mdo* by Candragomin (Toh 4269 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Re 1b-29a).

102 *Kāvyaḍarśa/ sNyan ngag me long* by Daṇḍin (Toh 4301 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Se 318b-341a); *Amarakoṣa-nāma/ 'Chi ba med pa'i mdzod* by Amarasimha (Toh 4299 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Se 126b-243a). The canonical commentary on the latter is the *Amara-*

koṣaṭīkākāmadhenu-nāma/ 'Chi ba med pa'i mdzod kyi rgya cher 'grel pa 'Dod 'jo'i ba mo by Subhūticandra (Toh 4300 bsTan 'gyur/ sGra mdo Se 244b-318a).

103 *Rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sDom pa gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos* (e.g., Kagyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Darjiling 1978).

104 rDza Khra ma grub chen 'Jigs med rgyal ba'i myu gu (1765-1843), senior disciple of Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa and Guru of rDza dPaḷ sprul. It was primarily from him that mKhyen brtse received the *Klong chen snying thig* transmission.

105 Gling sras rig 'dzin (Gling tshang gter ston) Padma 'gro 'dul rtsal (1845-1902) was the brother of mGon po dar rgyas, the king of Gling tshang. He turned to the religious life after receiving the teachings of Padma rnam rgyal, a descendant of gTer chen bDud 'dul rdo rje, became a rNying ma pa master and teacher of many high Lama-s, and later founded the rDzong mgo monastery in Gling. (The site was presented to him by the Gling tshang "rDzong mgo gter ston" Padma dbang phyug, of whom there is a biographical sketch in *Zab mo'i gter* f.166v-67r). He was known as the first Gling rje drung, a title inherited by his subsequent incarnations, the throneholders of rDzong mgo.

106 gTer ston bDud 'dul rdo rje 1615-72, the great gTer ston of sDe dge, emanation of 'Brog ban khye'u chung lotsāva (Tshul khriṃs 'od zer), disciple of Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po and Lama of the sDe dge king Bla chen Byams pa phun tshogs. He led the restoration of Ka thog monastery (1659) and originated the Dri med zhing skyong incarnation lineage.

107 Ngor monastery, south of gZhis ka rtse in gTsang, was established by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po in the 1430s as the 'mother' monastery of his school, to which rDzong sar later belonged. Thar rtse was the first of four great monastic colleges that grew up there during the 16th and 17th centuries (the other three were Khang gsar, Phan bde and Klu sdings). These were the seats of hereditary lineages and known as "Bla brang" (Lama palaces).

108 *Damo-murkha-nāma-sūtra/ mDzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* Toh 341 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde A 129a-298a.

109 *Bodhicaryāvatāra/ Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa* (Śāntideva), Toh 3871 bsTan 'gyur/ dBu ma La 1b-40a.

110 The great monastery of sMin grol gling in the Grva phyi valley in lHo kha, central Tibet, was founded in 1676 by gTer bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje, with the patronage of the new Tibetan state, as a monastic centre for the hitherto diffuse and non-institutionalised rNying ma tradition, particularly the lineage teachings of gTer chen Ratna gling pa.

111 Grub chen Me long rdo rje 1243-1303 of sGrags yul, a great Siddha learned in the rNying ma and bKa' brgyud teachings, was the disciple and successor of 'Khrul zhig Seng ge rgyab pa in Vimalamitra's rDzogs chen lineage. He meditated in many of the holy places of southern Tibet, especially lHo brag mKhar chu, where he passed away

(e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.208-9). Little seems to be known of his descendants, except that they remained in lHo brag.

112 'Jam mgon Ngag dbang rdo rje rin chen 1819-67 was the son of sNgags 'chang Kun dga' rin chen, founder of the Phun tshogs pho brang branch of the Sa skya hereditary line, and served briefly as 34th Sa skya khri chen 1843-45.

113 Byams pa ngag dbang bstan 'dzin snyan grags (d.1884), the 4th gZim 'og mchog sprul of Na lendra monastery in dBus. There are supplicatory verses in his honour in the first volume of mKhyen brtse's collected writings (p.383-4).

114 'Gyur med sangs rgyas kun dga' was the 7th hereditary throneholder of sMin grol gling, son and successor of 'Gyur med padma dbang rgyal (d.1824). He was regarded as an emanation of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes.

115 Zhva lu mchog sprul Rin chen blo gsal bstan skyong 1804-64, reincarnation of the Zhva lu ri sbug bla ma Blo gsal bstan rgyas, was an outstanding scholar, translator and non-sectarian Vajrayāna master, sometimes referred to as the “second Bu ston”. According to his *Shel dkar me long* autobiography (*History of Zhva lu*, sMan rtsis shes rig dpe mdzod, Leh 1971 vol.9 p.600), mKhyen brtse rin po che (to whom he refers deferentially as the “sDe dge sprul sku”) first came to receive his teachings in the summer of 1842 (notably, he exchanged teachings with several of mKhyen brtse's other Lama-s that summer, including Brag dgon rin po che, Sog po lha btsun, Thar rtse mkhan chen and bSam sdings rDo rje phag mo). A second, more intensive meeting took place in the spring of 1843, involving empowerments of the lower Tantra-s (p.605). They next met when mKhyen brtse stopped at Zhva lu to greet his teacher on return from Khams in the autumn of 1848, and the most significant interaction took place in the autumn and winter of 1850, starting with the 'Sindūra' Vajrayoginī empowerment and culminating in mKhyen brtse's request for the Kālacakra empowerments and instructions (p.629-32). There are supplicatory verses in his honour in the first volume of mKhyen brtse's collected writings (p.376-82).

116 “Lo bo Blo gros mtha' yas” is the “Dus zhabs pa 'jam pa'i dbyangs Blo gros mtha' yas” mentioned below as the Zhva lu bla ma's ritual assistant. “Lo bo” seems to be a mis-spelling of “Glo bo”, meaning that he was a native of Glo bo in mNga' ris smad, but I have not been able to confirm this.

117 Brag dgon dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1801-66, the 2nd Brag dgon incarnation and 49th abbot of Bla brang bKra shis dkyil, disciple of dBal mang paṇḍita dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, non-sectarian scholar and Vajrayāna master, and author of the *mDo smad chos 'byung* history of Buddhism in A mdo.

118 *Ārya-aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* / 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa, Toh 12 bKa' 'gyur/ Sher phyin Ka 1b-286a.

119 *Jātakamālā* / sKyes rabs kyi rgyud, Toh 4150 bKa' 'gyur/ sKyes rabs Hu 1b-135a.

120 i.e., dBon sprul 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal.

121 “Ka thog paṇḍita” is a reference to ‘Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 1761-1829, the first dGe rtse incarnation of Ka thog, and one of the great rNying ma scholars of that age. He was born into the Khro shul dpon tshang house of dGe rtse, and recognised as the rebirth of dBon po Tshe dbang ‘phrin las, who had succeeded rGyal sras bsod nams lde’u btsan on the Ka thog throne. His principal mentors there were rMog ston rig ‘dzin Nam mkha’ chos dbang and ‘Khrul zhig dBang drag rgya mtsho. He became known as ‘Mahāpaṇḍita’ for the extent of his learning in both the ordinary sciences and Buddhist scripture.

122 The *sGra’i bstan bcos ka la pa’i mdo’i rnam bshad Legs sbyar rab gsal snang ba* commentary by Sa bzang mati paṇ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1294-1376).

123 Si tu paṇ chen Chos kyi ‘byung gnas (1700-74), the 8th and most celebrated Ta’i si tu incarnation, was an influential figure in the religious and cultural flourish of 18th century sDe dge. Chaplain of King bsTan pa tshe ring and founder of the new dPal spungs monastery, his learning and erudition, especially in the ‘mundane sciences’ of grammar, medicine and astrology, were legendary. His career was devoted to restoring the Karma bka’ brgyud tradition after a period of decline and persecution. The *Legs par sbyar ba’i sgra’i bstan bcos Tsandra pa’i rnam bshad brda sprod gzhung lugs rgya mtshor ‘jug cing legs bshad rin chen ‘dren pa’i gru gzings* commentary is in the first volume of his collected works (Delhi 1990 p.326-753).

124 Like the ‘Si’ and ‘Ti’ above, these seem to be classes of suffixes as presented in Pāṇini’s grammar (thanks to Mattia Salvini for clarifying this).

125 The *Slob dpon dbyug pa can gyis mdzad pa’i sNyan ngag me long ma zhes bya ba skad gnyis shan sbyar* commentary by Si tu paṇ chen is in vol.6 (p.630-731).

126 *Chandoratnākara-nāma/sDeb sbyor rin chen ‘byung gnas*, Toh 4303 bsTan ‘gyur/ sGra mdo Se 351b-360b. The ‘great Lotsāva of sMin grol gling’ Dharmasrī (Chos kyi dpal 1654-1717), Paṇḍita and Tantric master, was the younger brother of gTer bdag gling pa ‘Gyur med rdo rje. His *sDeb sbyor ‘grel ba don gsal* commentary is in vol.5 of his collected writings.

127 i.e., Kumāra-śaḍānana, divine inspiration of the Kalāpa grammar (e.g., *Shes bya kun khyab* vol.1 p.560). The young mKhyen brtse signed some of his poetic compositions with this title (*Tshangs sras dgyes pa’i blo ldan gdong drug dga’ ba’i lang tsho*), such as his verses in praise of the poetic accomplishment of fellow student dPon slob Ngag dbang legs grub (in *Legs ‘bul dang chab shog thor bu sna tshogs*, gSung ‘bum vol.20 p.83-5), which could be the intended reference here. mKhyen brtse also composed a brief history of the transmission of Sanskrit grammatical treatises to Tibet, probably during this period, based on the work of Si tu paṇ chen’s disciple ‘Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab, entitled *Legs par sbyar ba’i bstan bcos kyi byung tshul cung zad bshad pa Ngo mtshar zla zhun gsar pa’i ‘dzum phreng* (it is appended to the *Ngo mtshar lha’i pad tshal* history of the transmission of Buddhism in gSung ‘bum vol.18).

128 *Pramāṇasamuccaya-nāma-prakarāṇa/ Tshad ma kun las brus pa zhes bya ba’i rab tu byed pa* (Dignāga), Toh 4203 bsTan ‘gyur/ Tshad ma Ce 1b-13a.

129 *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā/ Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi tshig le'ur byas pa* (Dharmakīrti), Toh 4210 bsTan 'gyur/ Tshad ma Ce 94b-151a. rGyal tshab rje Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432) was the leading disciple of rJe Tsong kha pa, who succeeded him on the dGa' ldan throne and became known as his 'regent'. His massive *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i rnam bshad thar lam phyin ci ma log par gsal bar byed pa* commentary (436 ff.) constitutes vol.6 of his collected writings.

130 *dPal ldan zur mkhar ba'i khyad chos man ngag Bye ba ring bsrel pod chung rab 'byams gsal ba'i sgron me by* Zur mkhar ba mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439-75), founder of the Zur medical tradition (S.W.Tashigangpa, Delhi 1974, 2 vol.s).

131 The *gSo ba rig pa'i man ngag kun gyi gces bsdus Phan bde'i snying po* was composed by dKon mchog 'gro phan dbang po, disciple and physician of Rig 'dzin Chos grags, in 1661. The *Zhal shes snying gi khu ba bdud rtsi'i thig pa Phan bde'i snying po'i gab pa mngon du phyung ba'i lde mig* and *Glo bur nad lnga'i dgra la skyel ma bsten tshul dang bcas pa Zhal lung bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* are also attributed to him, and the *gSo ba rig pa'i gdams pa kun gyi yang snying gces bsdus Phan bde'i char rgyun* to one 'Brom Ye shes bsam gtan (in 'Bri gung gso rig gces bsdus, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1999).

132 lHa lung pa unidentified.

133 The *gCes bsdus 'chi med nor bu'i phreng ba* by Karma ratna a.k.a. Karma nges don bstan 'dzin phrin las rab rgyas (b.1770) of sDe dge is a compilation of medical techniques and recipes from all traditions.

134 *Yogaśataka/ sByor ba brgya pa* Toh 4306 bsTan 'gyur/ gSo rig pa He 1b-8b.

135 The 'sealed instructions' (bKa' rgya ma) of Dar mo sman rams pa (Blo bzang chos grags b.1638) is a two-volume work entitled *Man ngag zab mo kun gyi snying khu bsdus pa* (T.S.Tashigangpa, Delhi 1978).

136 i.e., the *Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs zug rngu'i tsha gdung sel ba'i katpura dus min 'chi zhags gcod pa'i ral gri* commentary on the third chapter of the rGyud bzhi (S.W.Tashigangpa, Delhi 1970), and *Man ngag lhan thabs kyi sman ming ngo sprod lag len gyi rgyun mi nyams pa'i phyir zin bris su bkod pa* notes on the identification of medicinal plants and substances (manuscript of 20 folia in the LTWA collection acc. no. Nya 1/14/1158).

137 The *mKha' 'gro gtad rgya'i rgya mdud* is one section from a supplementary work on the above commentary, by the sDe srid's disciple 'Phyong rgyas Ngag dbang sangs rgyas dpal bzang, entitled *Man ngag rgyud kyi lhan thabs kyi gsang sman rnams lhug par bkrol ba'i lde mig*.

138 *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud*, attributed to gYu thog Yon tan mgon po (e.g., Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1993 is a reproduction of the sDe dge edition).

139 mKhyen brtse'i dbang po also composed a number of medical works, notably the comprehensive *Man ngag gces btus sna tshogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa 'Dod rgu kun 'byung*

dbang rgyal nor bu'i phreng ba (84 ff. in vol.20 of the collected works), the *Srog rlung gi bcos tshul Phan bde'i do shal* guide to curing mental illness (136 ff. in volume 17), the *Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po'i lugs kyi nad brgya sman gcig ril bu dkar dmar gyi gzhang gsal byed dang bcas pa* and *Rin chen ril bu rnams kyi phan yon dang bsten tshul snying por dril ba bdud rtsi'i zla snang* on precious pills (both 8 ff. in vol.21). Among the medical writings not included in the *gSung 'bum* are the *sMan ming dang ngos 'dzin skor bDud rtsi zags ma* guide to the identification and properties of medicinal plants and substances, *Khrag rlung stod 'tshangs kyi bcos tshul Ngo mtshar srog gter* work on the condition known as 'blood wind', and *rTsa dkar gyi bcos tshul snying por dril ba phan bde'i phreng ba* notes on curing nerve disorders. According to 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter (f.3v) 'It is said that the medicinal plant *sNgo 'jam dpal rtag ngu*, found all over the upper and lower regions of mDo khams was not there before the appearance of this noble master, which is confirmed by one of the dialogues of Si tu Chos (kyi) 'byung (gnas).' (The dialogues e.g., *Dris len sna tshogs nor bu ke ta ka'i phreng ba* are in vol.8 of Si tu paṅ chen's collected writings, but I have not identified the intended passage.)

140 Rong ston shes bya kun rig Śākya rgyal mtshan 1367-1449 of rGyal mo rong was one of the great masters of the Sa skya pa philosophical tradition, and particularly the Prajñāpāramitā. He founded the Na lendra monastery in 'Phan yul in the 1430s. Asaṅga's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-sāstrakārikā/ Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa* (Toh 3786 bTan 'gyur/ Sher phyin Ka 1b-13a) is attributed to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, of whom Rong ston was considered an emanation.

141 *Vinaya-sūtra/ 'Dul ba'i mdo* by Guṇaprabha (Toh 4117 bTan 'gyur/ 'Dul ba Wu 1b-100a).

142 The Wa shul chos rje Byams pa phun tshogs (b.1812), prodigious non-sectarian scholar and 42nd abbot of Li thang monastery with whom mKhyen brtse rin po che had connections from past lives. Biographical sketch in *Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.217v-19v. mKhyen brtse's 'Chi med rtag pa dam pa'i mchod sprin verses of praise to him are in vol.1 (p.371-4) of the collected works, and the *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor byin rlabs snying po* in vol.22 (p.251-60) is a Guru Yoga Sādhana in his honour.

143 *Madhyamakāvātāra/ dBu ma la 'jug pa* (Toh 3861 bTan 'gyur/ dBu ma 'A 201b-219a) by Candrakīrti; the *dBu ma la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad dgongs pa rab gsal* commentary (ff.267) is in vol.16 of Tsong kha pa's collected works.

144 *Abhidharmakośakārikā/ Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa* (Toh 4089 bTan 'gyur/ mNgon pa Ku 1b-25a) by Vasubandhu. The definitive Tibetan commentary by mChims Nam mkha' grags (1210-85) is simply titled *mNgon pa'i rgyan*, 'Ornament of Abhidharma'.

145 The *rTsa rgyud gSang ba snying po'i 'grel ba gSang bdag dgongs rgyan* is in vol.8 of the collected works. The *rTsa rgyud gSang ba snying po'i spyi don gSang bdag zhal lung* constitutes vol.s 9 and 10.

146 The *dPal gsang bdag dgongs rgyan gyi spyi don yan gyi bshad pa'i zin bris bla ma'i man ngag rin chen phreng ba* by Rab 'byams pa O rgyan chos grags (*rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* vol.32 p.463-715) is an exegesis of Dharmasri's classic commentary. The author was one of the 21 Rab 'byams pa (comprehensive masters) among Dharmasri's disciples (e.g., *Shes bya kun khyab* vol.1 p.500).

147 *dPal ldan gsang ba snying po'i spyi don gyi bshad pa'i zin bris bla ma'i man ngag don gsal snying po legs bshad rol mtsho* (*rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* vol.35 p.153-349).

148 *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba'i snying po 'grel ba* (*rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* vol.23 p.389-619). Ācārya Lalitavajra is said to have received the Mahāyoga transmission of King Ja from Kukkurāja the later, and passed it on to Buddhaguhya, making this the earliest known commentary.

149 Rong zom lotsāva Chos kyi bzang po of gTsang rong, the great rNying ma pa Paṇḍita of the 'later diffusion', an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana, sometimes said to have been the immediate reincarnation of the Indian master Smṛtijñānakīrti (although it is pointed out in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.316) that since he follows the latter rather closely in the transmission lineage of the mDo mang (section) of the bKa' 'gyur, this is in doubt). His commentary entitled *rGyud rgyal gsang ba snying po dkon cog 'grel* (240ff.) opens the first volume of his collected works (e.g., *Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang* 1999 p.31-250, a reproduction of the 1904 rDzogs chen edition prepared by dGe mang mchog sprul and Mi pham rin po che).

150 gYung ston rDo rje dpal (1284-1365) of gTsang rong was a most influential figure in the transmission of the rNying ma Tantra-s. The *dPal gsang ba snying po'i rgyud don gsal byed me long* commentary (*rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* vol.28 p.5-589) is one of his only surviving works.

151 All of these works are to be found in Bu ston Rin chen grub's *gSung 'bum* (vol. 4 p.1-867 of the Delhi 1965 edition), and the *gSung sgras zin bris chen mo* notes by "Thugs sras lo tsa ba" sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal in vol. 21 p.121-380).

152 Ngor dpon slob Ngag dbang legs grub (b.1811 a.k.a. Ngag dbang blo gros snying po gzhan phan mtha' yas pa'i 'od zer), fellow star disciple of mKhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin and co-founder of the Rig gnas slob grva at Thar rtse bla brang (1840). Biographical sketch in *Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.194v-96v, *Byin rlabs myur 'bebs* supplicatory verse biography in the first volume of the collected works (p.357-62), and *Ye shes mchog sbyin* Guru Yoga in vol.22 (p.242-4).

153 "Tshul gsum" is another name for the *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhags* (74ff. in vol.3 of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, sDe dge edition), which has three divisions, 'general explanation of the Tantra', 'spoken instructions on teaching the Tantra', and 'the meaning of terms in the Tantra'. *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* (139ff.) by rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan is in vol.6.

154 Ngor chen dKon mchog lhun grub 1497-1557 composed a pair of classic commentaries on the Lam 'bras path, the *sNang gsum mdzes rgyan* ('beautiful ornament of the

three visions') on the preparatory stage and *rGyud gsum mdzes rgyan* ('beautiful ornament of the three continua') on the main practice. They are reproduced, for example, in the *gSung ngag lam 'bras tshogs bshad* collection (Dehra Dun 1983 vol.4 p.75-493).

155 The "Kun tu dgos pa'i gzhung bdun" or seven essential treatises for the study of the Hevajra-tantra include the already mentioned *Rin po che'i ljon shing* and *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam bzhags*, Sa chen's *rGyud sde dum bu brgya cu gsum pa* (29ff. in vol.6 of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*), the *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i stong thun sa gcad* (48ff. in vol.6), the *dPal Kye rdo rje'i bstod pa danḍaka* and *bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan* (11ff. in vol.7) all by rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, and the *bDag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel* commentary on the latter by Sa skya paṅḍita (not included in *Sa skya bka' 'bum*?). Thanks to Gong dkar mKhan po 'Jam dpal chos bzang for clarifying this.

156 The *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgya cher bshad pa sgron ma gsal ba* commentary compiled from four previous commentarial traditions. The extensive version in 476ff. constitutes vol.4 of Tsong kha pa's collected works.

157 *'Khor lo sdom pa bde mchog bsduḥ rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa sBas don kun gsal* (238 ff.) is in vol.7 of Tsong kha pa's collected works.

158 *rGyal ba dGe 'dun rgya mtsho* of rTa nag (1475-1542), the retrospective 2nd Ta la'i bla ma. His *mTshan brjod kyi rgya cher bshad par do rje'i rnal 'byor gyi de nyid snang byed nyi ma* commentary (141ff.) is in the first volume of his collected writings.

159 Of all these teachers, mKhyen brtse rin po che considered four as his 'root Guru-s' (e.g., *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.281): these were Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin, Thar rtse dpon slob 'Jam dpal bzang po, Zhwa lu Blo gsal bstan skyong and Kong sprul himself.

160 Khri chen Ngag dbang kun dga' bkra shis rin chen 1824-65 was the son of Padma bdud 'dul dbang phyug and founder of the sGrol ma pho brang branch of the Sa skya hereditary line. He succeeded rDo rje rin chen as the 35th throneholder in 1846, and remained in office until his death. The *Byin rlabs myur 'bebs* Guru Yoga in vol.22 (p.260-63) of the collected works is devoted to him.

161 The 'Mahāsattva' Mus chen dKon mchog rgyal mtshan 1388-1469, foremost disciple and colleague of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, teacher of Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge among others, and founder of the rTa mo gling ka monastery in the upper Mus valley in western gTsang. This incident is also recounted in *Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* (p.302).

162 According to the mKhan chen's biography (*Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* p.267-8, p.271), he devoted the years 1839-43 to the education of mKhyen brtse'i dbang po and dPon slob Ngag dbang legs grub (whose praises are sung on p.283-6).

163 *rGyal tshab Kun dga' dbang phyug* 1424-78, nephew and close disciple of Ngor chen, 4th throneholder of Ngor, and Lama of the kings of Glo bo (Mustang), where he passed away.

164 Ngag dbang legs grub had received the Vajrāvalī empowerments from mKhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin at Ngor in 1844, in mKhyen brtse's absence (*Ngomtshar me tog gyo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* p.272).

165 This is another name for the Gangs ri thod dkar hermitage of Klong chen pa above Shug gseb monastery in the lower sKyid chu valley, near lHa sa.

166 gTer sgrom (or Ti sgro brag dkar) is a holy place in the 'Bri gung region of central Tibet associated with Vajrayoginī and Ḍākinī activity, and known for its hot spring.

167 mChims phu is the mountain hermitage above the great bSam yas temple, centred on meditation caves associated with Guru Padmasambhava and his Tibetan disciples. Dri med 'od zer is a 'secret' name of Kun mkhyen Klong chen pa, who passed away there in 1363. He is presumably the 'Lama Vagindra' mentioned here and below.

168 Unidentified.

169 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang 1310-91, eclectic master of the 'Brug pa tradition, prolific academic scholar and author, and accomplished Yogi. His distinctive system of Vajrayāna Yoga, borrowing elements from the Shangs pa bka' brgyud and Zhi byed traditions, was known as the " 'Ba' ra bka' brgyud", after the master's hermitage in the Shangs valley, and was once an active school in western Bhutan, before the formation of the modern state.

170 The *Phreng ba skor gsum* of Paṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta are the *Vajrāvalī* cycle of Maṇḍala rituals (rDo rje phreng ba), the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* cycle of Sādhana-s (sGrub thabs rnal 'byor rdzogs phreng) and the *Jyotimañjarī* cycle of fire rituals (sByin sreg 'od kyī phreng ba).

171 The *dPal de kho na nyid 'dus chen* by Bo dong paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375-1450) is an encyclopaedic presentation of the branches of worldly and religious knowledge comprising 110 volumes. It is divided into four 'entrances', of which the first, dealing with elementary subjects (Byis pa la 'jug pa'i sgo), is mentioned here.

172 gYo ru Khra 'brug in the lower Yar lung valley was supposedly the first Buddhist temple built by King Srong btsan sgam po, in the 630s. Paṇḍita Vanaratna stayed and taught in the area during his visits to the sNe'u gdong court in the mid-15th century, and notably conferred the Vajrāvalī empowerments on the Tibetan ruler Gong ma Grags pa 'byung gnas there in 1437 (*Deb ther sngon po*, trans. G. Roerich and dGe 'dun chos 'phel, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1976 p.800).

173 This is a well-known stanza from Sa skya paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*: ' 'On kyang so so thar pa ni/ Nub kyang gzugs brnyan tsam zhig snang/ rDo rje theg pa'i bstan pa ni/ gZugs brnyan tsam yang mi snang ngo' ('At least a reflection of the Pratimokṣa is still apparent even when (the teachings) decline, but as for the Vajrayāna teachings, not even a reflection will remain').

174 Vanaratna received the *Padma tshe khrid* longevity Sādhana from Guru Padma in a direct visionary transmission (e.g., *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.218, *Zab mo'i*

gter f.203r), in Mon sPa gro in the early 1430s. Kong sprul noted (*Zab mo'i gter* f.203v) that as a rebirth of Vanaratna, mKhyen brtse seemed to have visionary recollection of this teaching, perhaps referring to this episode.

175 “mKhas dang grub pa'i gtsug rgyan” dGe 'dun rgya mtsho is described below as dPal ldan phrin las's nephew, and was thus also a chaplain of the sDe dge royal family. The Thar rtse mkhan chen brothers also received teachings from him during their time at court (*Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* p.198, p.445).

176 “Grub mchog” dPal ldan phrin las is referred to below as the Lama of the sDe dge king (Dam tshig rdo rje). Thar rtse mkhan Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin received numerous empowerments from him in the 1830s, and his brother in the 1840s (*Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i 'khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* p.198, p.445). There is a supplicatory verse biography and longevity prayer, composed in mKhyen brtse's youth, in the first volume of his collected writings (p.339-41, p.343-4).

177 A Lama of the sDe dge royal family listed among Thar rtse mkhan chen's disciples (p.293, p.472).

178 A Lama of the sDe dge royal family listed among Thar rtse mkhan chen's disciples (p.293, p.472). The *Dad pa'i me tog* supplicatory verses in his honour are in the first volume of mKhyen brtse's collected writings (p.341-3).

179 The Ri sbug mchog sprul's massive history of the successive abbots of Zhva lu, the *dPal ldan Zhva lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus Ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jug ngogs* (*History of Zhalu Tashi Yangphel Tashigang*, Leh 1971 p.1-471) was composed at the request of Brag dgon dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (another of mKhyen brtse's principal Guru-s and author of the even more massive *mDo smad chos 'byung*) in 1835.

180 This refers to the Tshe smon gling incarnation Ngag dbang 'jam dpal tshul khrim (1792-1862) who served as regent of the 10th and 11th Ta la'i bla ma-s 1819-44, and as dGa' ldan throneholder 1837-43. mKhyen brtse rin po che encountered him in lHa sa in the summer of 1843 en route to Khams with Thar rtse mkhan chen, when they also had an audience with the young Ta la'i bla ma mKhas grub rgya mtsho.

181 The 3rd Rva sgrenng Khri chen Ngag dbang ye shes tshul khrim served as regent 1845-62. mKhyen brtse rin po che would have met him with Thar rtse mkhan chen in the autumn of 1848, on their return from Khams, when they had a second audience with the Ta la'i bla ma.

182 Sog po tho yon Ye shes don grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1792-1855 was born into the Mongolian nobility but renounced high office at the age of 25, took ordination, and spent much of his life in central Tibet and mDo smad as a non-sectarian Vajrayāna master, studying with the likes of dNgul chu Dharmabhadra, Gung thang bsTan pa'i sgron me and dBal mang paṇḍita dKon mchog rgyal mtshan. His codification of 108 Tantric Maṇḍala-s is said to have been the basis for the *rGyud sde kun btus*.

183 The bo mchog sprul Ye shes thub bstan rgya mtsho 1804-46 was a dGa' ldan shar rtse Lama, known to be the author of a history of the abbatial succession (gDan rabs) at sKu 'bum monastery (in A mdo Tsong kha), notes for students of the Lam rim teachings, and a biography of his teacher (lHa rtse ba) Ye shes bstan 'dzin.

184 dGe bshes Ye shes gong 'phel later served as abbot of the prestigious Lower Tantric college in lHa sa, according to gNas gsar bKra shis chos 'phel's *rJe kun gzigs 'jam mgon ngag gi dbang phyug Yon tan rgya mtsho'i zhabs kyi 'das rjes kyi rnam thar Ngo mtshar nor bu'i snang ba* (Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1997 p.409-10), where he is listed among Kong sprul's students.

185 rJe btsun 'Gyur med phrin las chos sgron, daughter of sMin gling khri chen Phrin las rnam rgyal (1765-1812) and sister of the 6th Khri chen 'Gyur med padma dbang rgyal.

186 This event took place (presumably at sMin grol gling) in the spring of 1849, according to rJe Blo gsal bstan skyong's *Shel dkar me long* autobiography (p.619).

187 i.e., Khri 'dzin 'Gyur med don grub of sMin grol gling.

188 bKa' 'gyur ba rGyal sras gZhan phan mtha' yas 'od zer of dGe mang (1800-55), the reincarnation of 'Gyur med bkra shis rgya mtsho (a disciple of the 2nd rDzogs chen sprul sku), disciple of rDo grub chen and colleague of the 4th rDzogs chen sprul sku, was a famous scholar and monastic reformer. He travelled widely in central and east Tibet seeking and compiling rare teachings and texts, especially the rNying ma bka' ma tradition, and was thus an important influence on mKhyen brtse'i dbang po. He founded the Śrīsingha philosophy college at rDzogs chen in 1848. mKhyen brtse's *Byin rlabs snang gter* supplicatory verse biography is in the first volume of his collected works(?).

189 mKhan chen Padma dam chos 'od zer a.k.a. Padmavajra (d.1884), the 7th abbot of rDzogs chen, disciple of the 4th rDzogs chen sprul sku and rGyal sras gZhan phan mtha' yas, was a brilliant scholar and a master of the Guhyagarbha-tantra. He also received a visionary transmission of Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa's teachings. Many of mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul's notable contemporaries studied with him.

190 Gling sprul Thub bstan nyin byed rgyal mtshan was recognised by the 4th rDzogs chen rin po che Mi 'gyur nam mkha'i rdo rje as the reincarnation of Grub thob bSod nams sbyin pa (a disciple of his predecessor), and thus the 2nd Gling sprul incarnation of rDzogs chen monastery. He was a close contemporary of mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, and preceded mKhan chen Padma badzra in the mKhan po lineage.

191 sGrol ston 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan, evidently one of mKhyen brtse's most important rNying ma teachers in central Tibet, belonged to the sGrol ma ba family lineage from rTa nag, once important lineage holders of the bKa' ma tradition. Unfortunately, there is no record of the later members of this lineage, and even his name seems to be known only by association with mKhyen brtse'i dbang po. One predecessor, sGrol ma ba Padma kun gsal, possibly his grandfather, is mentioned in *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* (p.117, p.201). Ka thog rig 'dzin's meeting with

this figure in 1735 is recorded in his *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* biography (Damchoe Sangpo, Dalhousie 1976 p.166).

192 Karma kun bzang gsang sngags bstan 'dzin is identified as the dPal yul rgya sprul in *Ngo mtshar nor bu'i snang ba* (p.409), and reference is made in part 7 below to a "dPal yul sprul sku Karma kun bzang bstan 'dzin", also indicating rGya sprul. The teacher in question here, however, cannot be rGya sprul, whose teachings are listed separately below. It is almost certainly Yol mo sprul sku gSang sngags bstan 'dzin, whose name is so recorded in *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* (p.140-2, p.215) for having given mKhyen brtse rNying ma teachings, including some from the Byang gter tradition, in which the holders of that title were expert. The later Yol mo sprul sku-s are not easily identifiable, as the lineage seems to have fragmented after the 4th incarnation Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647-1716): one of his recognised reincarnations was mThu stobs rdo rje, whose successor Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1773-1836) established a seat at gTing skyes dGon pa byang (see the *Khrungs rabs bcu'i rnam thar mdo tsam brjod pa* history of this line - Kunzang Tobgyal and Mani Dorje, Thimphu 1979). Another incarnation of Zil gnon rdo rje was recognised, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms of sKyid grong (1726-89), but he apparently disavowed the title. A slightly older contemporary, the gSer bzang sprul sku, son of gSer bzang ras chen 'Gyur med klong grol of sKyid grong, was recognised by Ka thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu as the reincarnation of the great Yol mo sprul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (d.1644) during a 1728 visit to sKyid grong (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* p.126-35). It is not known whether there were subsequent gSer bzang incarnations (thanks to Professor Franz-Karl Ehrhard for these references). mKhyen brtse rin po che's Byang gter Lama, however seems to have belonged to yet another branch, for his *Ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal* genealogy of the eight practice lineages (gSung 'bum vol.18 p.324) records a monastery in the upper Nyang valley in gTsang called O rgyan 'gro 'dren gling, which he says was "founded by the gTsang pa grub chen Padma bshes gnyen, a reincarnation of Rig 'dzin Yol mo ba" (presumably bsTan 'dzin nor bu - the term "rNam sprul" does not imply a temporally successive reincarnation) and presently "occupied by his reincarnation Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med dpa' bo". It is mentioned below that mKhyen brtse received the *Yang tig gces sgron* teachings (from Yol mo sprul sku) at a hermitage called lHa ri gzims phug, and this passage states that the monastery was "in the vicinity of lHa ri sgron ma gzims phug". In the absence of further information (there is a comparable passage in Ka thog si tu's *Gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig Nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do* - gSung rabs nyams gso rgyun 'phel par khang, Palampur 1972 p.384), one could suppose that "Jigs med dpa' bo" and "gSang sngags bstan 'dzin" were one and the same, but I have not been able to confirm this.

193 mChog sprul mKhyen brtse'i dbang phyug Phrin las rnam rgyal rdo rje is another name for the great 4th rDzogs chen rin po che (1793-1870), more usually known by his Bhikṣu ordination name Mi 'gyur nam mkha'i rdo rje tshe dbang grub pa rtsal. He studied with virtually all of the rNying ma masters of his day, especially the rDzogs chen Grub dbang Nam mkha' tshe dbang mchog grub and the rDo grub chen 'Jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer, and largely rebuilt rDzogs chen monastery following the 1842 earthquake, with the support of the sDe dge king Dam tshig rdo rje. There is a brief biography in *Lo pañ rnam kyī mtshan tho* (f.145r-156r), and a longer one by the 2nd Zhe chen dBon sprul entitled *rNam thar sgra dbyangs rgya mtsho*.

194 The 2nd Dri med zhing skyong incarnation of Ka thog, whom mKhyen brtse also met as a boy.

195 i.e., his uncle rMog tsha rin po che 'Jigs bral chos dbyings rdo rje.

196 dGe mang rje dbon sprul sku O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu (1829-88), a nephew of rGyal sras gZhan phan mtha' yas and abbot of the dGe mang hermitage in rDza chu kha, was a late student of rDza dPal sprul and mentor of mKhan chen gZhan dga' (gZhan phan chos kyi snang ba 1871-1927). Kong sprul and Mi pham rin po che were among his other teachers.

197 The 4th Zhe chen Rab 'byams incarnation Gar dbang chos kyi rgyal mtshan bsod nams stobs kyi dbang phyug, an unconventional figure who spent his later life wandering in the eastern Himalaya. His successor 'Gyur med kun bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma (b.1864) was one of mKhyen brtse's protégés.

198 The 3rd Zhe chen rGyal tshab incarnation O rgyan rang byung rdo rje tshé dbang grub pa rtsal.

199 rGya rong rnam sprul Kun bzang theg mchog rdo rje of rDzogs chen.

200 'Dzar ka mchog sprul Kun bzang rnam rgyal, the 2nd incarnation of Rig 'dzin Klong gsal snying po's nephew bKra shis phun tshogs and master of the Ka thog tradition. 'Dzar/Dza ka dgon, in the uplands south of dPal yul, was established in the 15th century as a branch of Ka thog.

201 rGya sprul Karma kun bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma (a.k.a. Padma mdo sngags bstan 'dzin) 1830-92, reincarnation of Rig 'dzin Kun bzang shes rab and 7th throneholder of dPal yul monastery, an eminent disciple and colleague of mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul. He founded the mDo sngags bshad sgrub gling monastery at Dar thang in 'Go log in 1882.

202 The 5th dPal ri mchog sprul Kun bzang 'jigs med chos kyi nyi ma phrin las rgya mtsho (b.1788). There is a longevity prayer in his honour entitled *Phyin drug 'chi med grub pa'i bden tshig* in mKhyen brtse's collected writings (vol.1 p.397-9).

203 The 6th Pad gling sprul sku, or "sBud sde sgom chen" (b.1807).

204 Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po 1774-1853, the 9th dPal spungs Si tu incarnation, was a non-sectarian Vajrayāna master, principal Guru of the 14th Karma pa, and of Kong sprul himself. mKhyen brtse's *Mos gus grub pa'i rgyud mang* supplicatory verse biography is in the first volume of his collected works (p.299-309), and there is a biographical sketch in *Zab mo'i gter* f.215r-18r.

205 The 14th Karma pa Theg mchog rdo rje 1798-1868, an important mentor and collaborator for mKhyen brtse, Kong sprul and mChog gling. Born in Ngom stod in Khams, he is described below as an emanation of rGyal ba mchog dbyangs. Like some of his predecessors, he was also a renowned painter and statue maker.

206 The 2nd Ma sprul Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma (1788-1856), an emanation of Lotsāva sKa ba dpal brtsegs and incarnation of Zhabs drung bsTan 'dzin rnam rgyal, who reestablished Byang stag lung in the early 18th century. Unfortunately his biography has been lost. He was the author of definitive works on the sTag lung pa Mahāmudra tradition, and of a history of sTag lung (*dPal sTag lung pa'i chos srid kyi byung tshul zur tsam brjod pa Ngo mtshar kun gsal me long*). He gave novice vows to the young mChog gyur gling pa in 1840 while visiting Nang chen (e.g., *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.53). mKhyen brtse rin po che certainly met him at sTag lung, in the autumn of 1848 on arrival in central Tibet with Thar rtse mkhan chen's party, and presumably on other occasions. There is a long life prayer in his honour in the first volume of the collected works (p.313-15).

207 The 3rd sTag lung rTse 'phags sprul sku a.k.a. Ngag dbang grags pa don gnyis lhun grub of Ri bo che (b.1786), also known by the Manchu title 'Nominhan' (Chos rgyal).

208 Karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas 1808-67, the 9th (?) Zla bzang sprul sku, a lineage supposedly originating with the Indian Bodhisattva Kumāra Candraprabha (Zla 'od gzhon nu) and his Tibetan reincarnations gNyags Ye shes gzhon nu and rJe sGam po pa. He was recognised by Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po, but as this was not accepted by the community at the seat of his predecessors (Dud brgya dgon), he was educated at dPal spungs, and eventually established a new seat, the Dil yag E wam dpal ri monastery in Nang chen. He was an important mentor and colleague of mKhyen brtse, Kong sprul and mChog gling. mKhyen brtse's 'Chi med grub pa'i rgyud mang long life prayer for him is in the first volume of the collected works (p.309-13).

209 The 4th Karma chags med incarnation Padma 'chi med nges don grub pa'i dbang po a.k.a. Karma bstan 'dzin phrin las?

210 Ri pa mchog sprul Karma mkhas mchog grub pa'i dbang po a.k.a. Dar rgyas rgya mtsho (1813-82), the second incarnation of Se ba rtogs ldan, belonged to the 'middle' Ri pa monastery (Ri bar bSam 'grub chos 'khor gling) of the 'Ba' rom bka' brgyud tradition in Nang chen. He was one of Kong sprul's teachers and later tutor of the young 15th Karma pa (see *A historical account of the 'Brong pa tribe of the lDong clan of Khams Nang chen* by Lamchen Gyalpo Rinpoche, Amnye Machen 2003 p.333-38 cf. *rDza stod rdzong sde dgon lo rgyus*, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1999 p.257-9).

211 Karma nges don, abbot of the ancient sPang phug monastery in 'Dab pa (south of Li thang), was recognised as an emanation of one of the first Karma pa's disciples, 'Ba' tsha rtags 'debs pa. He studied with Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po at dPal spungs and was one of Kong sprul's close associates (e.g., *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.106, p.188). The main object of worship at sPang phug was a likeness statue of Dus gsum mkhyen pa that spoke.

212 Blo bzang chos dbyings bde chen mtsho mo, the 11th bSam sdings rdo rje phag mo incarnation (d.1854), was born into the Yab gzhi lHa klu family in lHa sa. Her principal teacher in the Bo dong tradition was the nominal head of the school, the sByor ra thams cad mkhyen pa 'Phrin las lhun grub. mKhyen brtse rin po che's ardent devotion

for her is evident from the longevity prayers and verses of supplication he composed in her honour while staying at bSam sdings (collected writings vol.1 p.382-97).

213 bsTan 'dzin mkhyen rabs mthu stobs (b.1796), the 8th mChog sprul incarnation of lCags zam Chu bo ri, successor of the great bsTan 'dzin ye shes lhun grub, a teacher of Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa.

214 The little known lCags zam sprul sku Nyi ma chos 'phel, from whom mKhyen brtse received teachings of the Jo nang tradition, is also listed as a teacher of Zhva lu Blo gsal bstan skyong in *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* (p.601). It seems possible that he was the reincarnation of lCags zam pa Blo bzang dpal grub, whom Ka thog rig 'dzin encountered in gTsang in 1749-50. The latter's *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* biography (p.214) describes him as '...a monk and retreatant at (Jo nang) Phun tshogs gling who latterly became renowned as a Siddha and was famed for having built four iron bridges.'

215 The 2nd Ka thog si tu incarnation Chos kyi blo gros o rgyan bstan pa rnam rgyal (1820-78?).

216 i.e., Kong sprul himself.

217 Drawing on his extensive travels in central Tibet 1840-43 and 1848-51, mKhyen brtse later composed a guidebook, the *dBus gtsang gi gnas rten rags rim gyi mtshan byang mdor bsdu Dad pa'i sa bon* (gSung 'bum vol.24) a novel genre, that became a popular classic, and was emulated by later authors (first English translation by Alphonsa Ferrari (Serie Orientale Roma vol.16 1958), see *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*, Serindia 2016).

218 *Daśacakraṣṭigarbha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Dus pa chen po las sa'i snying po'i khor lo bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 239 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Zha 100a-241b.

219 *Ārya-ghanavyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa rgyan stug po bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 110 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Cha 1b-55b.

220 Ye shes rgya mtsho - unidentified.

221 *Ārya-pitāputrasamāgamana-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa yab dang sras mjal ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 60 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Nga 1b-168a.

222 rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog 1507-66, the great non-sectarian Siddha scholar, Jo nang lineage holder and predecessor of Tāranātha. His *Zab khrid brgya dang brgyud* makes up the final volume (vol.18) of Kong sprul's *gDams ngag mdzod*.

223 Bram pa grub chen Kun dga' bzang po's revelation was included by rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog in the *Zab khrid* collection (no.107). It is described as the essential thought of eight Siddha-s (Saraha, Śāvarīpa, Mitrāyogi, Padmasambhava, and their four Jñāna-ḍākinī counterparts) in Tāranātha's *Khrid brgya'i brgyud pa'i lo rgyus kha skong* (*gDams ngag mdzod* vol.18 f.9r). It had hitherto been transmitted through the rNgog pa bka' brgyud lineage (e.g., mKhyen brtse's *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde mig* p.456).

mKhyen brtse estimated that he lived in the late 14th century (*Lo pañ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.6r).

224 Chu bo ri is a holy mountain on the south bank of the gTsang po and sKyid chu river confluence, south of lHa sa. It is also called “lCags zam” chu bo ri after the iron bridge built there by Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po in 1445. The Tshe chu cave is thought to have been occupied and blessed by Guru Padma.

225 This Stūpa was one of three in the Yar lung valley supposed to have been founded in the imperial era, and much visited by pilgrims. It was believed to secrete water of longevity at full moon.

226 mKhyen brtse’s prayer to the lHa sa jo bo, the *Jo bo rin po cher gsol ’debs smon lam dang bcas pa Phan bde’i sgra dbyangs* is in *gSung ngag rin po che’i lam rim gsol ’debs smon lam mdor bsdus pa byin rlabs dpal gter* (gSung ’bum vol.23 p.215-16). According to *’Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* (f.11v): ‘On entering the presence of the Jo bo rin po che statue in lHa sa, he was overcome with an unwavering devotion as if meeting a great living incarnation of the Buddha. He never once went before the Jo bo without offerings to make, and he said that on each encounter he prayed with all his might to emulate the faultless career of the bKa’ gdams pa masters.’

227 The statue of Mahākāraṇika ‘self-manifest in five aspects’ in the north chapel of the main gTug lag khang temple in lHa sa was the first to be installed there, and traditionally regarded as the first Buddhist statue manufactured in Tibet.

228 dPal sprul O rgyan ’jigs med chos kyī dbang po 1808-87 of rDza chu kha, main disciple of ’Jigs med rgyal ba’i myu gu and master of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Klong chen snying thig* teachings.

229 The rDo ’bum chen mo shrine and mKhyen brtse rin po che’s consecration are described in Ra hor sprul sku’s *mTshungs bral rgyal ba’i myu gu O rgyan ’jigs med chos kyī dbang po’i rtogs brjod phyogs tsam gleng ba bDud rtsi’i zil thigs* short biography of dPal sprul (f.8v-10r).

230 Sa skya dgon chen, original centre of the Sa skya order, was founded in 1073 by ’Khon dKon mchog rgyal po in the Phru ma valley south of Grom pa lHa rtse in upper gTsang. The ‘cave’ of Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092-1158), the son of dKon mchog rgyal po and founder of the order, was an earth hollow below the original temple, where he received the visionary transmission of the *Zhen pa bzhi bral* instruction directly from Mañjuśrī.

231 See *Tshar chen chos kyī rgyal po la lam zab bla ma’i rnal ’byor dang ’brel bar gsol ’debs pa’i rdo rje’i glu byin rlabs bdud rtsi’i char ’bebs* (gSung ’bum vol.23 p.68-9).

232 A lo is the valley on the west side of the Go se la pass, not far south of the sDe dge capital. Zhe dga’ was one of the larger villages in the valley.

233 i.e., Ge sar of Gling, the warrior king and hero of the great epic. Zhal lu (or Zhal dkar) is his elder half-brother, one of the warriors of Gling, and Khro thung is his wicked paternal uncle.

234 rGya bza' and Bal bza' are the quasi-mythical foreign brides of King Srong btsan sgam po (617-50), the Chinese (T'ang) princess Wen-ch'eng Kongjo and the Nepalese (Licchavi) princess Bhṛkūṭī, who are supposed to have brought the first Buddha statues to Tibet in their royal dowries. 'Brug mo is the queen of Gling Ge sar, sometimes regarded as the original narrator of the epic.

235 dPal 'byor sgang is a forested hillside on the south side of the lower A lo valley. The dPal 'byor monastery, high up on the hillside, was founded by the 7th Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho in the late 15th century, and long associated with the Si tu lineage before the establishment of their seat at dPal spungs.

236 i.e., the 'hidden valleys' of the eastern Himalaya: 'Bras mo ljongs is Sikkim, Padma bkod is the lower gTsang po or upper Siang valley south of the great gorge, and sMad gYu lung gangs ra (see above), further east, is yet undiscovered.

237 mChog gyur gling pa travelled to central Tibet in 1867-68. Some sources suggest that the failure to reveal this treasure contributed to his premature death, not long after his return. dKar mo brag is in sPa gro (western Bhutan) according to Orgyen Topgyal (1982).

238 rDo kho ma was a little way north of the capital, on the west bank of the river. The foundation of a temple there had been recommended to the sDe dge king bSod nams phun tshogs by the great Ngor abbot Sangs rgyas phun tshogs in the early 18th century, and was eventually undertaken in 1743, during the reign of Khri chen bla ma Phun tshogs brtan pa. An inventory for the temple composed by Ngor mkhan chen dPal ldan chos skyongs (*ICang lo can gyi pho brang chen po dang tshul mtshungs pa'i gtsug lag khang zhing khams rgya mtsho zhes bya ba'i dkar chag mthong ba don ldan*), who presided over the consecration ceremony, is included in the second volume of his autobiography (p.1-41).

239 rGyal yum Chos dbyings bzang mo (d.1892), widow of the 11th king of sDe dge Dam tshig brtan pa'i rdo rje tsho ring rnam rgyal (1811-53) and mother of his heir 'Chi med rtag pa'i rdo rje (cf. *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba* f.27v). She was the queen mother abducted by Nyag rong invaders in 1862 (e.g., 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter f.36v, *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.214), and an active player in court politics thereafter.

240 'Dzam/Dzam nang Padma shel phug ('lotus crystal cave') is at the head of the 'Dzam valley, a minor tributary which joins the rMe chu above rDzong sar monastery. mKhyen brtse'i dbang po and mChog gyur gling pa revealed the *rDzogs chen sde gsum* here (1857), and established the temple and hermitage around the cave. The main image there was the 'Guru Mahāsukha' of the *Thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu* revelation. They regarded it as foremost among the sacred places in Khams, a Tibetan incarnation of the Sosadvīpa cemetery in India, and its marvellous features are described e.g., in the *dBang gi gnas mchog Padma shel phug gi dkar chag* included in the *rDzogs chen sde gsum* (*The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* vol.30 p.101-7), and the *Padma shel phug gi gnas bstod* from Kong sprul's collected writings.

241 Padma shel ri, 'lotus crystal mountain', on the west flank of Ri bo dbang zhu, directly opposite Khang dmar, is classified as the speech aspect among the five places

in the ‘speech’ category of the 25. There is the “O rgyan gsang phug” meditation cave where Guru Padma, Ye shes mtsho rgyal, Lo chen Vairocana, Chos rgyal Khri srong lde’u btsan and Prince Mu ne btsan po supposedly received the blessing of the five wisdoms of Vajrasattva. mKhyen brtse and mChog gling ‘re-opened’ the cave in 1867 (e.g., *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.231), and subsequently a hermitage was established there (although according to *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* (p.266) the mountain itself has yet to be opened). There are several other caves associated with these figures in the vicinity, including the Zla gsum phur pa cave at Khang dmar monastery, and the ‘secret cave of Vairocana’ mentioned below. The ‘*Chi med padma shel ri’i gnas kyi mdo byang nyi ma’i snying po* revealed by mKhyen brtse and mChog gling is in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* vol.30 p.139-45).

242 King Ja (Dza) is the semi-legendary Indian ruler granted divine transmissions which were codified as the 18 Mahayoga Tantra-s. He is said to have meditated on Vajrasattva in order to purify obstacles to his comprehension of this material. He is also regarded as the originator of Yoga-tantra in the new translation tradition, which identifies him with a 7th century Bengali king Prakāśacandra (e.g., Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byung* p.244, p.273, *King Tsa/Dza and Vajrayāna* by Samten Karmay, in *Tantric and Taoist studies in honour of R.A.Stein*, M. Strickmann (ed.) Bruxelles 1981). Further on, Kong sprul identifies him with ‘the middle Indrabhūti’, a ruler of Za hor (Bengal) and contemporary of the Mahāsiddha Kukkurāja (cf. *rTogs pa brjod pa’i dum bu smig rgyu’i bdud rtsi* p.17), following *rGyud ’bum rtogs brjod* and *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* (p.96). This seems vaguely compatible with the new translation version.

243 *bKra shis zla gam dbang phug*, the ‘half-moon power cave’ associated with Buddha Amitāyus, is up on a north-east spur of the Ri bo dbang zhu mountain, clearly visible from mKhyen brtse rin po che’s birthplace and childhood home. He established the hermitage there in association with mChog gyur gling pa. The mystic description of the site has not survived, but it was said to be an effective place for the performance of the ‘dominance’ (dBang) class of rituals. “Zla gam dbang phug” is something of a generic name for mountaintop caves associated with Guru Padma (see the *Dad gsum rgya mtsho ’phel ba’i zla ba gzhon nu* biography of Khams sprul bsTan pa’i nyi ma (p.81) for a relevant example).

244 “Yang khrod”, or ‘outer hermitage’, refers to the newly built temple at Tsa ’dra rin chen brag above dPal spungs monastery, consecrated that year. This mountainside sanctuary where Kong sprul established a retreat centre and spent much of his later life, was ‘opened’ by mChog gyur gling pa in 1859, and recognised as the mind aspect of the qualities category of the 25 holy places in Khams. The Kun bzang ’od gsal bde chen gling temple was founded there the same year. mChog gling cited prophecies that an emanation of Zur chen Śākya ’byung gnas (i.e., Kong sprul) would erect a statue of Yang dag heruka there to neutralise certain threats facing dPal spungs monastery (see Kong sprul’s *dPal spungs yang khrod kun bzang bde chen ’od gsal gling rten dang brten par bcas pa’i dkar chag Zhing khams kun tu khyab pa’i sgra snyan*, gSung ’bum vol.11, 127ff.) There is an English translation of his *Thugs kyi gnas mchog chen po de wi ko ti tsa ’dra rin chen brag gyi rtogs pa brjod pa Yid kyi rgya mtsho’i rol mo* guidebook in *Sacred Ground: Jamgon Kongtrül on pilgrimage and sacred geography* by Ngawang Zangpo, Snow Lion 2001.

245 According to a similar passage in *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.212) the vision occurred in 1861, and the door to the ‘fifth treasury’ was in the dome of the Stūpa. This event led Kong sprul to greatly expand the scope of his gTer ma collection and undertake the other works foreseen by mKhyen brtse.

246 The *Yang phur sbrags ma'i zab thig* is in the Viśuddha series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.27). The incident is mentioned above, when ‘both his hands slipped into the furnace of a large stove and he was in great pain’. According to *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.235-6) this was one of several visionary encounters with Ye shes mtsho rgyal he experienced at that time.

247 Ru dam/Khro ri rDo rje zil phrom, the snow-covered peak which overlooks rDzogs chen monastery and dominates the northern part of sDe dge, is classified as the primary sacred place in the ‘qualities’ category of the 25. It is known locally as the residence of the territorial deity rDo rje gyung drung, and its northern and eastern slopes are believed to enclose a “sBas yul” or ‘hidden valley’ (see *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.269-70).

248 The then crown prince 'Chi med rtag pa'i rdo rje (1840-1896) was regarded as an incarnation of Khri srong lde'u btsan's son Mu tig btsan po (e.g., *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.270, p.494). He formally assumed power after the conclusion of the Nyag rong war in 1865, and married a lHa sa bride, Tshe brtan sgrol dkar of the Ra kha shag house, in 1870.

249 Khro khog is the steep valley behind 'Khor lo mdo, on the southern slopes of rDo rje zil phrom.

250 Zang zang lha brag is a hill on the banks of the upper mDog gzhung gtsang po in La stod byang, western gTsang, formerly a Bon po sanctuary, where Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can revealed the Byang gter teachings in 1366.

251 Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can dNgos grub rgyal mtshan 1337-1408 of La stod byang, revelator of the Byang gter tradition.

252 The *Yang tig gces sgron* belongs to the propitiation of the wrathful Guru from the ‘golden treasury’ (lHo gser mdzod ser po) section of the Byang gter revelation. mKhyen brtse received the transmission of Rig 'dzin Padma phrin las' guiding instructions from (Yol mo sprul sku) gSang sngags bstan 'dzin (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.142). These are included in the relevant section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.12).

253 This meeting took place in the 9th month of the Water Ox year (October/November 1853), according to *Zab mo'i gter* (f.179r). Also on that occasion, according to 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter (f.17v), he granted mChog gling the empowerment of Ekajaṭī, and the goddess appeared to them both, foretelling their revelation of the *rDzogs chen sde gsum* (in January 1857).

254 This seems to refer to lHa ri rtse lnga, the holy mountain behind 'U shang do in the lower sKyiid chu valley (referred to below as 'lHa ri rol pa brag' in connection with

lHa btsun sngon mo), which mKhyen brtse rin po che described as ‘the Wu-ta’i Shan of Tibet’ in his guidebook (f.17v).

255 Rig ’dzin Legs ldan rdo rje 1488-1569, the younger brother of mNga’ ris pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal, was regarded as the reincarnation of Rig ’dzin rGod ldem can, Lama to the kings of La stod byang and mentor of Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal. Yar rgyab thang is the broad, sandy plain on the south-east side of the mountain.

256 The Gu ru lha khang temple at rDza ri in the La yag valley in western lHo brag was supposedly founded by Guru Chos dbang, near his birthplace, and maintained by his descendants until the 17th century. mKhyen brtse visited it in the course of his first pilgrimage in central Tibet in 1840.

257 Perhaps the dBon ’Chi med sprul sku (Karma nges don dpal bzang) of dPal spungs with whom Kong sprul studied astrology (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.106), and who was a confidant of mKhyen brtse rin po che (e.g., p.166). mKhyen brtse’s visionary redaction of Gu ru chos dbang’s *Drang srong dri med* and the transmitted version of the *Drang srong loktri Sādhana-s* are in the wrathful Mantra series (of the bKa’ brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.34).

258 Mi pham ’Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal rgya mtsho of ’Ju 1846-1912, famously versatile scholar and emanation of Mañjuśrī, is counted among mKhyen brtse’s most illustrious disciples and successors. According to *bKa’ babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.12v), ‘Both the empowerment ritual and authorisation from the direct transmission of the Kālacakra empowerment he received from Rigs ldan dPal skyongs during his (visionary) journey to Śambhala are in the *rGyud sde kun brus*, and the explanation of the Tantra (given on that occasion) was written down in two volumes by the omniscient Mi pham rin po che...’

259 The corresponding passage in *’jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* (f.37v) adds that ‘In the first year of the 15th sexagenary cycle (1867) at Khang dmar mdo, when he was considering (means of) safeguarding the teachings and living beings, he said “This is an effective time to perform a lot of collective Sādhana rituals (sGrub chen). In the past much damage and offence was inflicted on this religious kingdom of sDe dge by the doings of some highly placed people of evil intent, and even now, with the connivance of many people of evil intent, things have scarcely improved, but through the force of these current protection (rituals) I am confident that stability will prevail for the (next) two annual cycles (i.e., 24 years)”, and just so, from that time until the Iron Tiger year (1890), known as “rNam ’gyur” (i.e., ‘change’), the political situation remained smooth. Starting the following year, so many inauspicious things occurred, such as internal dissension among the king and ministers, and the truth of his prophecy became directly visible.’ The substance of this ‘internal dissension’ is uncertain, (*Khams sde dge rgyal po’i srid don lo rgyus* p.162-4 mentions a revolt by the ministers against the authority of the queen mother and her lover dBal shul bKra bsam), but according to Kong sprul’s autobiography (p.342), it had become serious enough by the middle of 1893 to warrant intervention by the Nyag rong governor. Tibetan peacekeeping troops stationed in sDe dge remained there until the withdrawal of the Nyag spyi authority in 1903, but by that time there was open dispute over succession to the sDe dge throne. In brief, the royal family had been abducted once again

in 1896 following an incursion by lCags la troops, supported by the Szechwan governor. King 'Chi med rtag pa'i rdo rje and his queen Tshe brtan sgröl dkar died in captivity in Ch'eng-tu, but their sons rDo rje seng ge (the elder, a.k.a. "A ja") and Ngag dbang 'jam dpal rin chen (the younger, a.k.a. "Ba ba") were released under the terms of the peace negotiated by the lHa sa government. rDo rje seng ge succeeded his father on the throne, but was challenged by a faction of ministers ("Ba bya bre gsum") who supported his younger brother's claim. The dispute simmered for a decade, fuelled by the territorial speculations of neighbouring powers, until the dissident faction was expelled by Cha'o Erfeng's militia in 1907-08, and took refuge in lHa sa (e.g., *mDo khams sa skyong sde dge chos rgyal chen po'i rgyal rabs kyi lo rgyus dNgul dkar me long* p.48-51, *Khams sde dge rgyal po'i srid don lo rgyus* p.165-70, *Mun nag khrod kyi bod mi zhig gi mi tshe* by Shrir la lHun grub dbang rgyal, Dharmshala 2004 p.48-63).

260 Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1829-70, nephew of mKhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin and 55th throneholder of Ngor. He composed the collective biography of Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med and nephews cited above, to which his own biography (by 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po) was later appended.

261 The 7th Paṅ chen rin po che bsTan pa'i nyi ma 1782-1853. mKhyen brtse met him in the summer of 1843 when departing from Ngor with Thar rtse mkhan rin po che, and perhaps on other occasions.

262 However, mKhyen brtse rin po che was evidently still determined to distance himself from any formal rank or office at the monastery. The *Yon tan mtha' yas pa'i rgya mtsho dngos grub kyi rba rlabs rnam par gyo ba* biography of the Thar rtse zhabs drung Byams pa kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (p.585) recounts how in 1851, when the pressure was on to appoint a new Ngor abbot, he pointedly refused (and indeed took the next opportunity to return to sDe dge): 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po was by that time commonly recognised by all discerning observers to be a master of learning and accomplishment unrivalled throughout dBus, gTsang and Khams, utterly indistinguishable from the forefathers of Buddhism in Āryadeśa, and moreover one of Thar rtse (bla brang)'s own hierarchs, and was thus prevailed upon by all means to accept the office of throneholder, but he firmly refused, declaring incontrovertibly that "If there were no Lama of the Thar rtse family line among us, some other appropriate (candidate), even myself, could certainly do so, but in the presence of this noble and precious treasure of wisdom (i.e., Thar rtse zhabs drung) it would hardly be suitable for me to become abbot, and in view of the interests of those who will benefit from his teaching activity, he is solely qualified and bound to take the throne".

263 *Ārya-sāgaramatipariṭṛccha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa Blo gros rgya mtshos zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 152 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Pha 1b-115b.

264 The Zhabs drung or "dBon rin po che" 'Jam dbyangs nam mkha' rgyal mtshan was also a nephew and close disciple of mKhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin, and served as his representative in sDe dge 1837-43. He is referred to below as one of mKhyen brtse rin po che's teachers.

265 *Ārya-MaitreyamahāSiṃhanāda-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa byams pa'i seng ge'i sgra chen po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 67 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Ca 68a-114b.

266 The three daughters of sNgags 'chang Kun dga' rin chen by his second wife Nyi zla dbang mo, of whom the eldest, rJe btsun rTa mgrin dbang mo 1836-96, was a great Tantric practitioner. She received empowerments and teachings from mKhyen brtse at rDzong sar in 1875 (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.266).

267 The 4th gNas gсар mchog sprul Byams pa dngos grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan of Yar lung bKra shis chos sde (b.1820s). There is a longevity prayer in his honour in the first volume of mKhyen brtse's collected writings (p.399-400).

268 The 6th Ri bo che rJe drung Grags pa rgya mtsho (d.1877?).

269 The 4th Ri bo che Zhabs drung sprul sku Ngag dbang 'jam dpal snyan grags (b.1813).

270 'Phags mchog Grags pa legs grub?

271 Referred to below as “Karma pa'i rje dbon rnam gnyis”, the two nephews of the 14th Karma pa, rJe dbon Don grub sprul sku (d.1898) and rJe dbon Chos dbang sprul sku (d.1894), whom he jointly entrusted as regents of mTshur phu monastery before his death.

272 i.e., sPang phug bla ma?

273 sByor ra thams cad mkhyen pa Phrin las lhun grub (1766-1815 a.k.a. bKa' brgyud bstan 'dzin padma rol ba rtsal), the fifth of Bo dong paṅ chen's prophesied seven reincarnations, was a teacher of the 11th bSam sdings rdo rje phag mo. If he met mKhyen brtse rin po che (in the 1840s), he must have lived to a great age. He is described in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.726) as a fully fledged rNying ma pa, 'guardian and practitioner of the revelations of Kun mkhyen mkhyen brtse (i.e., 'Jigs med gling pa), gTer chen Kun bzang 'od zer and sGam po sprul sku.'

274 The 6th Che tshang Blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med chos kyi rgya mtsho 1814-57, a noted statesman, remembered for leading Brag gyab troops against the Gorkha invasion of 1855-6 (e.g., *Brag gyab bla dgon gyi lo rgyus*, Chab mdo sa khul chab gros rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha 'tshol bsduḍ u yon lhan khang 1987 p.267-318).

275 At least one Tibetan minister, Phu lung ba Tshe dbang rdo rje, is said to have become mKhyen brtse's disciple. A bKa' blon in the lHa sa government, he successfully led Tibetan forces in Nyag rong 1862-5, and remained in government service in the region subsequently, when he turned towards the religious life and took ordination, apparently out of devotion to mKhyen brtse rin po che. The circumstances of his untimely death are related in *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* (f.37v) as an instance of mKhyen brtse's clairvoyance: 'After he took monastic ordination, the Tibetan government cabinet minister Phu lung ba came under threat from dGa' ldan “long ear” (i.e., dGa' ldan dPal ldan don grub). (This master) performed a ritual devoted to the the three longevity deities (on his behalf), but said that nothing could be done. Not long after that, he was thrown into the river. “He will be reborn as a sheep in Yar 'brog”, (this master) said,

“After that, he will be reborn as a Sa skya dignitary.” Due to his efficient conduct of the campaign, Phu lung ba was feared as a potential rival by the new sPyi khyab chen po in lHa sa, dPal ldan don grub, who sent a false dispatch recalling him to lHa sa in the Ta la’i bla ma’s name. Sensing trouble, he was already on his way back, against mKhyen brtse rin po che’s advice, when he was handed the dispatch at a military post by a bridge near lHo rdzong. Reportedly, he told the emissaries “You do not have to incur the sin of killing an (innocent) man, I will resolve this myself”, and after saying his prayers, threw himself off the bridge to his death (thanks to Tashi Tsering for this information). This is thought to have taken place soon after dPal ldan don grub came to office in 1868 (e.g., *Bod kyi lo rgyus rags rim gYu’i phreng ba* by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, *Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang* 1991 vol.3 p.521; the wording of this passage, however, suggests murder rather than suicide).

276 mKhyen brtse’s enthusiasm for the Bon teachings was surely driven by his Rimed convictions, but the connection was a deeper one: his principal and only surviving work in that tradition is the *Bairo’i thugs tig Dran pa che sgrub* cycle revealed as dGongs gter from a previous life as the imperial minister and Siddha Lang gro lotsava, teachings of Dran pa nam mkha’ that he transmitted to Kong sprul, who included them in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.40). The largest monastery in his native valley, lCang lung, on the east bank of the river, belonged to the Bon school, and in later life, mKhyen brtse ‘reopened’ the holy mountain below which it was built, with the assistance of his arch-collaborators. He had significant interaction with Bon po masters in the region, of whom Kong sprul’s ‘heart son’, the gTer ston Tshe dbang grags pa, features most prominently in their writings. gYung drung bstan rgyal of lCang lung was another contributor to the Bon transmissions included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Their liberal, ecumenical approach to Bon was not universally admired, and the inclusion of Bon texts became the subject of polemical attack (see *La controverse soulevee par l’inclusion de rituels bon-po dans le Rin-chen-gter-mdzod. Note preliminaire*, by Anne-Marie Blondeau, in *Proceedings of the 4th IATS seminar* (J. Panglung, H. Uebach ed.s) Munich, 1985 p.55-67). Kong sprul had already preempted such attacks with the contempt they deserved, in his introduction (*dNgos grub sgo brgya ’byed pa’i lde’u mig* p.394-5): ‘Generally, the scope and activity of the Jina-s’ mercy is beyond the measure of those who oppose Buddhism to Bon as “inside” to “outside”, under the delusions and biases of ordinary thinking. Just as (the Buddha) took on the guise and attributes of (Hindu) deities in order to convert the Hindus, the faintest appearance of a wholesome spiritual path anywhere in the three realms of existence is a point of application for the enlightened activity of the Jina-s, and in particular, in this land of snows, there is no one outside the scope of Ārya Avalokiteśvara and Gu ru rin po che Padmakara’s teaching activity, direct or indirect. As it says in the *Thang yig*, A ya bon po lha ’bum, also known as Gu ru rnon rtse of rTa nag, Ku sa sman pa, also known as Ku tsha zla ’od, Bon po brag tshal and so on chiefly pursued the Bon gter, following specific prophecies and injunctions, and Gu ru chos dbang, Rig ’dzin rgod ldem, bsTan gnyis gling pa, and in later times Klong gsal (snying po), Chos (rje) gling (pa), Yongs dge (Mi ’gyur rdo rje) and so on, had both revealed and transmitted Bon teachings and benefitted the tradition greatly. Some Bon revelations appear in conjunction with Buddhist ones, which gives us conviction in the inconveivably secret wonders worked by the second Buddha of Oḍiyāna to train those in

need of training without distinction, wondrous and excellent, and it is as an auspicious condition for the impartial opening of the door of unconstrained enlightened activity that they have been included here, in essential form.’

277 Actually, mKhyen brtse seems to have been known for displays of temper, or at least forthright attitude. One striking instance in Kong sprul’s autobiography is the advice he gave when Kong sprul and dPal spungs dbon rgan faced hostile accusations from ‘badly motivated’ members of the dPal spungs community during 1874: ‘After all (you have done for the monastery), these allegations are heinous. That Lama should just be killed, there is nothing else for it. As Jo bo rje (Atiśa) said, “From a place where strife occurs/ One should distance oneself by one hundred Yojana-s”....’ (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.260).

278 A reference to the events of 1862-5, when sDe dge was invaded by Nyag rong, and mKhyen brtse rin po che effectively assumed political authority in the absence of the abducted royal family (see ‘*Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* f.36v-39r; *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.217-24; *Dad gsum rgya mtsho ’phel ba’i zla ba gzhon nu* p.61-77; E. Gene Smith’s introduction to the *Shes bya kun khyab*, Sata-pitaka series Delhi 1970; *Nyag rong mGon po rnam rgyal: a 19th century Khams pa warrior*, by Tashi Tsering in *Soundings in Tibetan civilization*, Aziz and Kapstein (ed.s) Delhi 1985). ‘When the Nyag rong ruler A mgon (mGon po rnam rgyal)’s appetite for war increased, he invaded the kingdom of sDe dge. The king, queen and prince were captured, and once there was no more hope of their court or subjects being able to free them, this noble Lama performed the rituals of Tārā who frees prisoners, and foresaw that they would be freed unharmed, and it came to pass. On a later occasion, he said that “Nyag rong A mgon and I have a connection from past lives due to which we will not be able to meet in this one, but were we to meet, there is a potential for him to benefit from my teaching.” Even such heinous characters as the Nyag rong minister Lu gu tshe ring, with the capacity for serious malice, who do not even recognise the difference between good and bad Karma, were somewhat reformed when touched by the nectar of hearing this compassionate master’s name, and honoured him with gifts. Later on, in response to the misdoings of the rMe shod people, his army burned down the rDzong sar monastery, but far from abusing this noble Lama even slightly, his commanders took great care to move the library out of danger and so on, and rendered him greater service than his own (rMe shod) people’ (*Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* f.36v-37r).

279 mKhyen brtse rin po che left a brief account of these events in his preface to the bCa’ yig, or monastic charter, for the rebuilt rDzong sar (one of the collected ‘dGon sde bca’ yig khag’ in vol. 23 of the gSung ’bum), apparently composed in 1869, but undated. It is an address in which mKhyen brtse gives us a piece of his mind, and therefore worth quoting at length, despite some uncertain readings: ‘...this rDzong sar monastery is number two among the 39 Sa skya pa monasteries under the lord (the sDe dge king)’s dominion, with a recorded population of 200 monks, and (to this noble institution?), I too have (contributed), with genuine altruism focussed on perfecting the two accumulations (merit and wisdom) for oneself and others, beautifying the Sa skya Ngor pa Dharma and offering religious service to the lord, had the ‘great marvellous paradise of the all-seeing’ two-storey chapel of the Buddha and 16 Arhat-s constructed at a cost

of over 30 rDo tshad of Chinese silver, as well as the Lam 'bras lha khang chapel, the regular means of support for both, and in particular, the propagation of the teachings, empowerments, transmissions and instructions, chiefly of the precious bKa' 'gyur, at my own and others' initiative, honouring and serving the monastic community through diverse means in religious and material aspects to the best of my ability. With the monastic community in permanent residence at the monastery, the rules on contact with women and so forth were strictly enforced. The more intelligent study the outer and inner branches of learning, and even the less intelligent learn the performance of ritual. For over 15 years, I have taught until my tongue was word perfect and you have listened until your ears ached that having for once gained the freedom and capacity to do so, joining the monkhood and performing Sādhana in retreat and so on is the greatest gift one can give to oneself for this life and the next, in order not to return empty handed from such a rare opportunity. However, perhaps under the influence of our (degenerate) times, the Samaya-s of spiritual commitment and the discipline encouraged by shame at accumulating (negative) Karma in this and future lives are declining from one year to the next, dissipating like the barren clouds of autumn, generally and in virtually all aspects. Rather than being incarnated in a place and time of perfect good fortune, there was the rise of the Nyag rong pa, chief among the Dam sri (demon) destroyers of Tibet, and through the combination of conditions in many ways, inner and outer, for a period of 16 hours on the 14th day of the 3rd lunar month of the ill-appointed Water Pig year (1862), we were faced with the unbearable sight of the monastery under terrifying attack, engulfed in flames and reduced to a smoking pile of ash. Nonetheless, we found our courage, appealing for vindication to the (three) supreme jewels of refuge, and the main temple was spared. Having appeased the great Vināyaka-s, the Nyag rong leaders, with protestations of truth and wealth offerings, we managed not only to save the sacred images and objects, and utensils of worship, but also keep the "sPyi khang" ('common hall') which, as the name suggests, is the great treasury of the whole monastery, in one piece. A few people possessed by the Dam sri said "If you remain here, the Nyag rong pa will lock you up, and eventually throw you in the river", but refusing to even hear such things, we were undaunted, with the disciplinarian Blo gros grags pa commanding perfect obedience. Immediately thereafter, on the 13th of the 4th month, when I performed the (necessary) ritual for procuring wood (for construction), a great commotion of the forces of darkness caused my arm to be smitten with palsy. Although close to death, I forced myself to ignore it, and made requests accompanied by formal gifts up to the two Chos rje-s, since the gifts offered at different times to the Nyag rong pa with requests for protection need not be regarded as free(?), and for the sake of re-establishing the monastery and of the religious life there, be it even the virtue produced by reciting Maṇi, I provided 400 sixpacks of tea by way of material, and that year about 40 new monastic residences, chiefly for the two Bla brang, were built. The following Wood Mouse year (1864) I was indisposed, and with the outbreak of hostilities between Tibet (the lHa sa government) and Nyag rong, everything was left on hold. Resuming in the fifth month of the Wood Ox year (1865), work was largely completed, including on the boundary wall. Then, successive orders were given by the mDa' dpon (commander) Pad tshal ba, the great bKa' blon (cabinet minister) Phu lung ba and Zhol gnyer (head of civilian administration) Brag dkar po, an edict issued on the arrival of bDag po rin po che (the sDe dge king?), and detailed arrangements made

by steward bKra (shis) don (grub), and after that, in Fire Tiger (1866), the honourable lord cabinet minister, the representative despatched by the emperor, Ma Dalaoye, and the sDe dge Dharmarāja presented me with a major ordinance bearing their authority, which I touched to the crown of my head with reverence. There was repeated discussion of the details, and on the 14th of the 9th month of the Fire Tiger, after an introductory instruction in the Sādhana of orange Mañjuśrī, I carefully read out the formal monastic charter (bCa' yig), with much spelling out of the intended meaning, such as I understand it, a speech that rang in the 600 ears of the gathered laypeople and assembled monks, no less than 300 in number. Its principal points were 1) strict enforcement of the rules on contact with women 2) proper observance of tax obligations, old and new, (on households to send boys) to the monastery 3) proper conduct of scriptural study, training in chant, music and so on 4) the registration (of novices) at the monastery upon coming of age and 5) their occupation with major and minor liturgy on arrival 6) and otherwise, observance by the monkhood of monastic rules and conduct, right down to tying the belts of their robes in the prescribed manner. Such are the requirements on staff to manage a somewhat orderly and restrained assembly of menfolk, yet three full years have gone by without my becoming aware that much has been done about it, and without a word said about it in either direction. Even with respect to the observance of rules on contact with women, the more outspoken members of the public have a saying "Like the sexual discipline of rDzong sar monastery, tight in winter, loose in summer"...behaving like temporary visitors, and continually requesting leave. Anyone who can grant such leave should be seated above the Buddha himself! Last year a major ordinance was received from the general council of the great monastic centre of Ngor, and presented even to his majesty, insisting on the sending of select monk students there from rDzong sar for higher studies, but I have not heard that so much as a reply was sent. If we treat the orders even of our root monastic institution, not to mention others, like a gust of wind against the ear (i.e, if we ignore them), one might well wonder if we can keep religious discipline.

It is not to harp on being right all along that I have repeated this account, for I am one who owns not even a handful of land, much less 'cattle in the high pastures, fields in the valley mouth and a settlement of followers', a humble mendicant monk wanderer, and such altruistic deeds as I accomplished were solely in the spirit of keeping faith with the Sa skya pa Dharma of the Ngor tradition, honouring the king's name(?) and so on, serving the teachings in this and future lives. From my own side, I have not entertained the slightest ambition for control of rDzong sar monastery, even earlier on, so how else could it be now? When this old, ailing monk on the verge of death (gives such advice), like the proverbial old father lovingly passing on his final counsels to his son, I do so hoping that those with the merest ability to judge the faults and virtues of red-robed consumers of alms might draw their own conclusions. I spoke at some length, not making any exaggerated claims to have done things I had not, but objectively and sincerely, it was not a scolding, and if you cannot tolerate this, it is as they say, "If living beings will indulge in bad behaviour, even the Buddha-s can do nothing to stop them", and in that case, what is there to do but sit and recite Mañi?"

280 *Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* (f.35v) gives the following example of mKhyen brtse's concern for conflict resolution: 'When differences between the sDe dge chief minister Padma legs grub and the king threatened a grave dispute between Khams Brag gyab and sDe dge, knowing that this would lead to a dreadful carnage, he resolved the dispute with unstinted amounts of (his own) wealth. To avert the signs of impending misfortune for the teachings and living beings, he performed ransom offerings in which he dispatched the value of three or four Nepalese Tong tse (coins) every single day. In view of such things, Khyab bdag (Kong sprul) Blo gros mtha' yas wrote, quite literally, 'Homage to you who, for the sake of the teachings and living beings/ Liberally distributes even his most treasured possessions.' Padma legs grub, the founder of the Bya rgod tshang house (and grandfather of Bya rgod sTobs ldan 1898-1960), was awarded high office (gNyer chen) by King 'Chi med rtags pa'i rdo rje for his role in the 1865 defeat of Nyag rong, subsequently led ministerial opposition to the queen mother, and is said to have been murdered by poisoning (e.g., *dNgul dkar me long* p.108-9, *Khams sde dge rgyal po'i srid don lo rgyus* p.176-8).

281 This sentence is an oblique reference to the wellknown story that while teaching at lHun grub steng in later life, mKhyen brtse rin po che knowingly accepted a bowl of poisoned curd offered him by a malicious individual, and never fully recovered from the effects (e.g., *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* f.27r).

282 Apparently a reference to the behaviour of mDo mkhyen brtse Ye shes rdo rje (1800-66).

283 *Ārya-sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa chos thams cad 'byung ba med par bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 180 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Ma 267a-296a.

284 *Ārya-dharmasaṃgīti-nāma-mahāyānasūtra/ 'Phags pa chos yang dag par sdud pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Toh 238 bKa' 'gyur/ mDo sde Zha 1b-99b.

285 There is no authoritative list of the 13 temples mentioned in the autobiographical verses, but presumably they included the mNgon byang, gNas bcu and gNas ra temples at rDzong sar, the Kham bye rigs gsum lha khang, the rDor sems lha khang at Khang dmar, and the temples at the Padma shel phug, dKar mo stag tshang, Padma shel ri, Zla gam dbang phug and rDzong shod hermitages. A temple in gDong thog village, near his birthplace in the gTer lung valley, is also said to have been one of them.

286 The mNgon byang lha khang was built (in the late 1860s) at the apex (dBu rtse) of the complex, on the site of the former gYag ze pho brang, which had been destroyed during the Nyag rong army's 1863 sack of rDzong sar (e.g., *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* f.37r). It is said that this palace dominating the monastic buildings was originally a stronghold of the kings of Gling tshang, and became a seat of the sDe dge royalty in the 1640s, following the expansion of the kingdom by Bla chen Byams pa phun tshogs. The rTse lha khang, just below mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's mNgon byang lha khang, was added by his successor rDzong sar mkhyen brtse Chos kyī blo gros in the early 20th century, and later adjoined by the Bla brang gsar ma (described in the *Ngo mtshar yongs 'dus dga' tshal* biography f.114r-16v).

287 mKhyen brtse rin po che is said to have sponsored a Vajrasattva chapel (rDor sems lha khang) at the Khang dmar monastery in lower gTer lung, presumably the one mentioned here (the monastery is again referred to incorrectly as “Khang dmar mdo” in the following chapter). The rock mountain on which the monastery stands was regarded by mKhyen brtse and mChog gling as an abode of rDo rje gro lod, known as Brag dmar zangs yag nam mkha’ rdzong. “Khang dmar mdo” is the riverbank area below the monastery, a location he chose for the performance of rituals (sGrub chen) to promote peace and national security (in 1867 e.g., *’Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* f.37v). It was also one of several confluences (mDo) in central sDe dge where mKhyen brtse, Kong sprul and mChog gyur gling pa had Stūpa-s constructed to pacify negative forces in the same period, sponsored by the sDe dge government (the others included rTse zul mdo, at the mouth of the A lo valley (1877), gSas mkhar mdo in ’Dzings (1879) and Ri mo mdo, below dPal spungs). At Khang dmar mdo there was an ancient temple built around a rock with carved images of the five Buddha-s (Pañcakula), locally associated with Princess Wen-ch’eng Kongjo. Khang dmar monastery is said to have been founded by Rig ’dzin Kun bzang shes rab of dPal yul (mid-17th century).

288 Kham bye thang is the riverside plain at the foot of rDzong sar monastery. *’Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* (f.37r) recalls: ‘In front of the (rDzong sar) bKra shis lha rtse monastery was a large wood infested with snakes, so fearsome that hitherto no one dared to cut so much as a twig there, but at that time this noble Lama had a tree cut there, and ever since then the movement of snakes through that wood was stopped, and people could cut the trees as they pleased.’ The foundation of a temple of the three Bodhisattva-s there to counteract three negative auspices in the landscape is mentioned in *bKa’ babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.65v): ‘At the Me ’tsher ma meadow above the bKra shis lha rtse monastery, he gave a long discourse expressing realisation equal to that of the 84 Mahāsiddha-s of ancient India, (identifying) the Me chu sgang rise as the tail of a cockerel representing craving, the hillocks in the rTses dong valley as the head of a snake representing aversion, and the bKag nag ridge as the snout of a pig representing ignorance, and prescribed the construction of the Rigs gsum sprul pa’i lha khang temple on the Kham bye thang plain to overcome the geographical portents of the three poisons, saying that the main image should be a Mañjuśrī statue facing towards the pig snout. Later on, the Kham bye college (bShad grva) became a place frequented by many learned scholars from mDo khams, from the main Sa skya monastery in gTsang, Khumbu in east Nepal and so on’ (cf. *rDzong sar lo rgyus* f.89r-90v. The foundation is dated to 1871 in *gNa’ gnam rdo la ri mo* p.22). The famous Kham bye bshad grva institute established by mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros (1917) was built around the earlier Rigs gsum temple.

289 bKra shis ’chi med grub pa’i dga’ tshal, the apartments and shrine rooms on the upper floor of the mKhyen brtse bla brang at rDzong sar monastery. According to *bKa’ babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.65v): ‘Having seen a display in the sky to the north-east of rDzong sar bkra shis lha rtse of the faces of the 16 Arhat-s, he had a temple of the 16 Arhat-s built (at the monastery), and the images of the Buddha accompanied by the 16 Arhat-s in his bKra shis ’chi med grub pa’i dga’ tshal apartment being the third occurrence, he used to tell his inner disciples “this meditation hut of mine has a greater blessing, unlike any other building”.’

290 mKhan chen chos rje gNas gsar ba Karma bkra shis 'od zer of dPal spungs 1836-1910, Kong sprul's close disciple and aide, who produced the final version of this biography. He made dPal 'byor dgon his principal residence and received mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul there on numerous occasions.

291 i.e., the mNga' ris and sGang sna bla brang-s, and the new gNas ra'i lha khang at rDzong sar monastery (on the upper floor of the gNas ra'i tshang residential building; see *rDzong sar lo rgyus* f.18r). The mNga' ris bla brang was originally an offshoot of sGang sna bla brang, and office holders (Chos rje) used to be appointed by Ngor. It was rebuilt by mChog sprul Byams pa kun bzang shes rab (1877-1942), the first mNga' ris incarnation, who was recognised by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (e.g., *gNa' gtam rdo la ri mo* p.16).

292 This Stūpa stood at the head of the dGon chen assembly hall, alongside an earlier Stūpa of similar proportions commissioned by Ngor mkhan chen dPal ldan chos skyong.

293 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter (f.33v-34v) adds: 'For the implementation of such works, he attracted an endless flow of artisans, scribes, painters, carpenters, carvers, metalworkers, tailors and so on, and through the force of his aspiration that even people such as these should reap spiritual gain from the interaction, his enlightened activity for the benefit of others in such ways was unfathomable, and these were no regular commissions. Thus, he provided for the feeding of some workers for many months on end from his own means, and whether they worked hard or did as they pleased and passed time, it never disturbed him, and finally he would delight in presenting each one with a gift. He would find ways for those humble souls who knew no skill to join the workers by paying them a token wage or meal, and in every way he was as loving and affectionate as a mother, so that artisans came to him from all quarters without being summoned, like bees attracted by the scent of a lotus. He would simply tell each one the work they had to do, without imposing any discipline or oversight whatsoever, and they would get on with it wholeheartedly and carry on untiringly for long periods. When it was finished, they were rewarded slightly more than the local norm, with a bonus to make them happy, and much fuss made over the finest work, so that each one was not only satisfied but enthusiastic, through which he saw the work accomplished with a powerful merit. Whenever he saw others willing and ready to manufacture sacred objects but lacking the means, he would go to present them with a cup full of precious stones or some such (gift), or when ordinary monks were making a clay statue, or even a bookcase, he would present them with materials such as paint and praise them for their efforts. He would even gild the faces of the statues that people left with him to be consecrated, or provide robes for them and so on. (Whether providing) living beings of all capacities with regular objects of worship, or getting them to manufacture others, he gave rise to a vast array of rare and special symbols of body, speech and mind. Whatever books (he produced) were of a size which all could see and read, and he treated rare texts as a great opportunity for the advancement of the (accumulations of) merit and wisdom, putting to shame those who saw them only as stuffing for statues and Stūpa-s, or suitable contents for wealth vases and other flashy displays, and those who kept them hidden away out of meanness.'

294 The only Chinese dignitary mKhyen brtse rin po che is recorded to have met was the “rGya dpon Ma dalaoye” (e.g., *Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* f.28v, and the *rDzong sar bca’ yig* cited earlier), the Chinese ‘Dalaoye’ being a general term for ‘local leader’, equivalent to the Tibetan ‘dPon’. He is said to have led an inspection tour of Nyag rong in 1866, after the cessation of hostilities, on behalf of the imperial government, and presumably encountered mKhyen brtse rin po che in that capacity (*dNgul dkar me long* p.47). This figure has yet to be identified precisely, but seems to have been a powerful governor in Szechwan.

295 Kong sprul makes no mention of it here, but mKhyen brtse rin po che is generally supposed to have foretold his return as five emanations, as in the last words of the autobiographical verses: ‘May I dissolve into the heart of Vimalamitra/ In the emanation field of the five-peaked mountain/ As soon as I depart from this life/ And through the power of aspiration for five reincarnations to appear/ May there be benefit for all schools of Buddhism without distinction’ (cf. *Jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gter* f.47v). The five emanations are usually regarded as ‘Jam dbyangs chos kyi dbang po of rDzong sar (1894-1909) (body); Karma mkhyen brtse’i ‘od zer of dPal spungs (1896-1945), a.k.a. Be ru/ri mkhyen brtse (speech); Dil mgo mkhyen brtse bKra shis dpal ‘byor (1910-91) (mind); dPal me mkhyen brtse Kun bzang ‘gro ‘dul (1897-1946) (qualities); mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros of Ka thog (1893-1959), who eventually inherited the mKhyen brtse bla brang at rDzong sar after Chos kyi dbang po’s untimely death (activity). According to Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che (*Ngo mtshar yongs ‘dus dga’ tshal* f.22r-26r), Grub dbang Śākyaśrī’s son ‘Phags mchog rdo rje was another mind emanation, and further emanations included the “rDzogs chen mkhyen brtse” Gu ru tshe brtan (b.1897) and the Sa skya throneholder Ngag dbang mthu stobs dbang phyug (1900-1950), and if there were really one for each of the major schools, he felt that the Bis mdo mkhan chen Blo bzang bstan ‘dzin rgya mtsho was mKhyen brtse’s gift to the dGe lugs tradition. On the sectarian rivalry surrounding the succession to the mKhyen brtse bla brang at rDzong sar after Chos kyi dbang po’s death, see Chos rgyal Nam mkha’i nor bu’s biography of his incarnation, Chos kyi dbang phyug (recently translated into English as *The lamp that enlightens narrow minds*, Berkeley: North Atlantic books 2012).

296 The three Jo bo ‘brother’ statues are the Jo bo rin po che in the gTzug lag khang, the Jo bo Mi skyod rdo rje in Ra mo che, and the ‘Phags pa lokaśvara in the Potala palace.

297 i.e., the 13th Ta la’i bla ma Thub bstan rgya mtsho 1876-1933.

298 The 9th De mo incarnation Phrin las rnam rgyal 1855-99 was the third to serve as regent (1886-95).

299 The 9th Paṅ chen bla ma Thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma 1883-1937.

300 The 84th Khri chen Blo bzang tshul khriims, in office 1890-96.

301 Khri chen ‘Jigs med rgyal dbang rdo rje (1850-94), the son of Khri chen rDo rje rin chen of sGrol ma pho brang.

- 302 The 15th Karma pa mKha' khyab rdo rje 1871-1922. He first met and received teaching and counsel from mKhyen brtse rin po che at rDzong sar in 1887-8 (*dPal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng bcu drug pa tshun rim par byon pa'i rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* p.246-9).
- 303 The 10th 'Brug chen Mi pham chos kyi dbang po 1884-1930.
- 304 The 3rd sTag lung Ma sprul Theg mchog 'jigs med dpa' bo 1856-1916.
- 305 i.e., 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po 1847-1914.
- 306 Name unknown, the reincarnation of Kong sprul's mentor dBon rgan Karma theg mchog bstan 'phel a.k.a. Nges don bstan 'phel (d.1843).
- 307 bsTan 'dzin phrin las dbang phyug, the 5th incarnation of gTer ston Nyi ma grags pa at rDzogs chen monastery.
- 308 "dGe mang sku zhabs" is a reference to mChog sprul gZhan phan chos kyi snang ba, the reincarnation of mKhan chen gZhan phan mtha' yas (d.1855) at rDzogs chen (not to be confused with his younger and better known contemporary mKhan chen gZhan dga').
- 309 O rgyan mdo sngags chos kyi nyi ma (b.1854), the 8th throneholder of dPal yul.
- 310 The 6th Khams sprul Mi pham bstan pa'i nyi ma (1849-1907). His *Dad gsum rgya mtsho 'phel ba'i zla ba gzhon nu* biography describes him as a close disciple who visited rDzong sar six times 1877-92 to receive mKhyen brtse rin po che's teachings.
- 311 Unidentified (gTsang sar was a Sa skya pa monastery in Brag gyab). The 5th gDong kong sprul sku Ngag dbang dam chos rgya mtsho (d.1897), who served as sPyi mdzod (elected governor) of Brag gyab during the Nyag rong war, was a disciple of mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul.
- 312 The 11th Si tu Padma dbang mchog rgyal po 1886-1952.
- 313 The 3rd Dri med zhing skyong 'Jigs med yon tan mgon po 1837-97, and the 3rd Ka thog si tu O rgyan chos kyi rgya mtsho 1880-1925, who was mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's nephew.
- 314 The 5th rDzogs chen rin po che Thub bstan chos kyi rdo rje 1872-1935.
- 315 The 5th Zhe chen Rab 'byams pa 'Gyur med kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1864-1909, and the 4th Zhe chen rGyal tshab 'Gyur med padma rnam rgyal 1871-1926.
- 316 i.e., Gling tshang gter ston Padma 'gro 'dul rtsal. Notably, his grand-nephew, the Gling tshang rgyal po dBang chen bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po (1873-1942) was also a gTer ston and a late disciple of mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul. mKhyen brtse appointed him as a custodian (gTer bdag) of his own *Tshe yum caṅḍālī* revelation (e.g., *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.58r), and is said to have recognised him as a reincarnation of sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, meaning that there were Karmic connections

between them from his previous life as the 5th Ta la'i bla ma. He therefore ordained (shortly before his death) that the Gling ruler should establish a great golden reliquary Stūpa for him, as the sDe srid had done for the Ta la'i bla ma. The Stūpa was of course to be more modest than the great " 'Dzam gling rgyan gcig" ('ornament of the world') reliquary in the Potala palace, and was thus named "mDo khams rgyan gcig" ('ornament of Khams province'). It was enshrined in the dGon gzig's palace monastery of the Sa skya school in the Gling tshang capital, and later joined by eight smaller gold Stūpa-s commissioned to honour Kong sprul's death in 1899 (thanks to Ringu Tulku for this information).

317 i.e., 'Phreng po gter ston Shes rab 'od zer 1518-84, the great treasure revealer and eclectic scholar, regarded as an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana, and a reincarnation of gYag sde paṅ chen (brTson 'grus dar). A major disciple of 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs, he was a leading non-sectarian figure in an era of factional conflict and civil war in central Tibet. He founded the dPal ri theg chen gling monastery in 'Phyongs rgyas with royal patronage shortly before his death. He is thought to have produced three great reincarnations: rGod tshang pa sNa tshogs rang grol (body), gTer bdag gling pa (speech) and Padma bde chen gling pa (mind e.g., *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* p.11, where his previous lives are also listed. Biographical sketches in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.544-50, *Zab mo'i gter* f.135r-37r). The *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol* cycle is in the *Nirmāṇakāya* section of the peaceful *Guru Sādhana-s* in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.8).

318 mKhas grub Khyung po rnal 'byor of sNye mo lived through the late 11th century and the first half of the 12th. His esoteric transmission based on the 'Six Yoga-s' of Niguma, which he acquired on one of his journeys to India, became known as the Shangs pa bka' brgyud, because he settled and taught in the Shangs valley in gTsang in later life.

319 'Brog mi lotsāva Śākya ye shes (993-1077?) of Mang mkhar was one of the great translators of the 'later diffusion' of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tantric teachings he received from the Paṇḍita Gayadhara in Tibet, after his return from India, became the core of the Lam 'bras tradition of the Sa skya school.

320 Mar pa lotsāva Chos kyi blo gros (1000-81/1012-93) of lHo brag, another of the great translators of the 'later diffusion' of Buddhism in Tibet, was regarded as a rebirth of the Mahāsiddha Ḍombhi Heruka. He studied with Tantric masters such as Nāropa and Maitripa on his several journeys to India, and his transmission of their teachings, through disciples such as rNgog ston Chos sku rdo rje and rJe btsun Mi la ras pa, became the esoteric core of the Dvags po bka' brgyud school.

321 Gyi jo lotsāva Zla ba'i 'od zer of mNga' ris, the great translator credited with rendering the Kālacakra Tantra and its commentary into Tibetan, was active through the first half of the 11th century. Little is known of his life.

322 O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal 1230-1309, a master of both Kālacakra-tantra, which he studied with Bo dong Rin chen rtse mo, and Mahāmudrā, which he studied with rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, is said to have received the *bsNyen sgrub* (Sevasādhana) teachings from Vajrayoginī in person on his famous journey to Oḍiyāna.

323 This quotation is from his *Gangs ri'i khrod kyi spong ba bsam gtan pa rnams kyi snyan su springs pa sGom pa 'chi med bdud rtsi* ('Epistle to the renunciate meditators of the land of snows, entitled Immortal nectar of meditation', *Collected writings of 'Phreng po gter ston Shes rab 'od zer*, Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten 1977 p.243-66), a text of seminal importance for mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul. The non-sectarian schematisation of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition into 'eight practice lineages' that its premise stands in a longer intellectual tradition, of which the *Deb ther sngon po* of 'Gos lotsāva (1478) is the clearest extant example. Shes rab 'od zer employed it here to frame a summary and advocacy of the path of accomplishment addressed as an appeal for integrity to his religious contemporaries, at a time of mounting sectarian intolerance and dissension in central Tibet. mKhyen brtse rin po che wrote an expanded commentary on these lines, largely consisting of interlinear notes on the transmission of each lineage, which seems to be a prototype for his longer works on Buddhist history, although the date of composition cannot be ascertained. In any case, upholding the 'eight great chariots' of Tibet's Vajrayāna legacy, enunciated so clearly in Shes rab 'od zer's epistle, became the *Ris med* mission statement under mKhyen brtse's guidance, and the citation of the passage here reflects its central influence. The epistle was prefaced by a shorter one, entitled *Gangs ri'i khrod kyi klog pa snyan bshad pa rnams kyi snyan du springs pa Thos bsam 'chi med bdud rtsi*, ('Epistle to the students of the teachings in the land of snows, entitled Immortal nectar of listening and reflection') dealing with the transmission of canonical scripture from India to Tibet. mKhyen brtse also wrote an expanded version of this, and both works were included in his *gSung 'bum* (vol.6), but under their original titles, and in the latter case, with Shes rab 'od zer's original colophon, confirming the sense that these were his supplementary notes to the texts, rather than a separate composition.

324 The dPal chen statue and temple above the village of Sram pa in the lower Shangs valley was established by Zur chen in the mid-11th century.

325 Zur chen Śākya 'byung gnas (a.k.a. lHa rje Zur po che 1002-1062) and his disciple Zur chung Shes rab grags (1014-74), the founders of the Zur lineage of the transmitted teachings (bKa' ma) of the rNying ma school. Zur chen's teacher was Ye shes 'byung gnas, the disciple of Myang Shes rab mchog, who received the teachings from gNubs chen's closest disciples, gNubs Yon tan rgya mtsho and So Ye shes dbang phyug (e.g., *Deb ther sngon po* p.109, *Shes bya kun khyab* vol.1 p.514).

326 *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.11v-12r) notes that this transmission was the inspiration for the Guhyagarbha summaries and commentaries by mKhyen brtse's disciples: Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho (*sPyi don 'od gsal snying po*), rDo grub chen bsTan pa'i nyi ma (*sPyi don rin chen mdzod kyi lde'u mig*), Zhe chen rgyal tshab Padma rnam rgyal (*gSang snying tshogs bshad*) and Tsha ba lotsāva Rin chen rnam rgyal (*gSang snying mchan 'grel*).

327 i.e., rDzogs chen mkhan chen Padma dam chos 'od zer – see earlier note.

328 So Ye shes dbang phyug was one of four key disciples of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in the transmission of the rNying ma Tantra-s, 'to whom he taught the view aspect', and therefore lived in the early 10th century.

329 Ngan lam rGyal ba mchog dbyangs of 'Phan yul was supposedly one of the first seven Tibetans to receive Buddhist monastic ordination, and one of the eight senior Tibetan disciples of Guru Padma, gaining accomplishment in the Hayagrīva teachings (the 'speech' category of the bKa' brgyad). However, he is best known for performing protective rites for the last Yar lung ruler dPal 'khor btsan (who came to the throne in the 890s), and probably lived a century after Khri srong lde btsan's reign. The so-called "rJe 'bangs nyer lnga" group of Guru Padma's disciples is thus more hagiographical than historical.

330 The Dha he na assembly hall, somewhere in India (rGya gar Za ha bu ta'i yul), appears in the accounts of Lo chen Vairocana's journey in search of the rDzogs chen teachings (e.g., *mKhas pa lde'u chos 'byung*, Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang 1987 p.307-9; *'Dra 'bag chen mo*, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1995 p.115-30; *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.180-82), where it is described as a nine-storey treasury in the form of a Stūpa, occupied by Paṇḍita-s and Siddha-s, including Mañjuśrimitra and Śrīsiṃha. The account in *'Dra 'bag chen mo* suggests a populated centre of learning, where the council of Paṇḍita-s plot to prevent Vairocana from spreading the secret rDzogs chen teachings in Tibet. It has been suggested that 'Dhahena' refers to Dhānyakaṭaka, the great Stūpa and university at Amaravati (e.g., A.W. Barber in *Buddhism in the Krishna river valley of Andhra* SUNY 2008 p.159). Incidentally, the great translator also had an initiatory experience on the threshold of the building, where a woman water-carrier cut open her chest to reveal the 37-deity Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and granted him the name 'Vairocana'.

331 Wa seng ge brag, the hermitage where sPang Mi pham mgon po and his successors Ngan lam Byang chub rgyal mtshan and Za dam Rin chen dbyig meditated on the *rDo rje zam pa* instructions, is said to have been in the Tsha ba rong region of south-west Khams.

332 It is said that sPang Mi pham mgon po received Lo chen Vairocana's teachings as a decrepit old man, and had to rest his chin on a staff (sGom shing) in order to meditate on them. The master pointed a monastic staff (Tshul shing) at him to make sure the instructions stuck in his mind (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.188-9). This appears to be a play on *bsGom tshul bla ma'i byin rlabs*, the title of the ripening stage empowerment of the Klong sde teachings.

333 See *Yang gsang bla ma'i sgrub pa'i thig le'i rgya can gyi rgyud 'debs byin rlabs char 'bebs* in vol. 16 of the collected works. According to the colophon, it took place on the 25th of the fourth month of the year called "rNam phyang" (i.e., Earth Dog 1838) but his first visit to Gangs ri thod dkar was in 1840.

334 rDza ra is a cave in the upper 'O yug valley in gTsang which mKhyen brtse rin po che recognised as the meditation place of lCe btsun on the strength of this vision, and where his disciples subsequently established a temple. lCe btsun Seng ge dbang phyug, a master of the Bi ma snying thig lineage, dissolved into light here sometime in the mid-11th century (e.g., *Zab mo'i gter* f.99v-100v). The *lCe btsun snying thig* is in the rDzogs chen (Man ngag sde) section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.56).

335 Rva sgreng monastery in dBu ru byang was founded by 'Brom ston in 1057 as the seat of the bKa' gdams school and repository of Jo bo Atiśa's legacy. Atiśa Dīpaṃ-karaśrījñāna, the great Bengali Paṇḍita and luminary of Vikramaśīla came to Tibet in 1042 following a prophecy that he would spread Buddhādharma in the land of snows, and passed away there 12 years later.

336 The brief *Jo bo bka' gdams pa'i gzhung gdams man ngag mtha' dag gi brjod bya mdor bsdus pa'i glu dbyangs phan bde'i shing rta* is included in *Tshar chen chos kyi rgyal po la lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang 'brel bar gsol 'debs pa'i rdo rje'i glu byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i char 'bebs* (gSung 'bum vol.23 p.66-8). On the first occasion in 1843, mKhyen brtse rin po che was returning to Khams in the company of Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa rnal 'byor bzang po, and the second time, in 1851, he was returning in the company of the sDe dge prince Bla chen Byams pa kun dga' 'jam dpal phan bde'i snying po. According to mKhyen brtse's *sGom pa 'chi med bdud rtsi*, "gZhung" refers to the view and activity prescribed in the canonical scriptures, "gDams ngag" is the union of these as prescribed in Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, and "Man ngag" is the 'secret' teachings of the bKa' gdams glegs bam. Their transmission is attributed to Po to ba, sPyan snga ba and Phu chung ba respectively.

337 See *Tshar chen chos kyi rgyal po la lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang 'brel bar gsol 'debs pa'i rdo rje'i glu byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i char 'bebs* (gSung 'bum vol.23 p.2-6).

338 The Mu gu lung caves, which became the residence of 'Brog mi lotsāva after his return from India in 1041, are in the Mang mkhar valley west of Sa skya. The Thub bstan dge 'phel monastery associated with Tshar chen is nearby.

339 The famous nine-storey tower, built by rJe btsun Mi la ras pa according to legend, is in the Chu 'khyer valley of western lHo brag, below Mar pa's Gro bo lung residence.

340 sPre zhing is the ancestral temple of the rNgog family lineage, the descendants of Mar pa's eminent disciple Chos sku rdo rje (1023-1090/ 1035-1102), in the gZhung valley in lHo kha, central Tibet.

341 Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-93) of Khams Tre shod, the first Karma pa, disciple of rJe sGam po pa and founder of the Karma bka' brgyud school, established the mTshur phu monastery in sTod lung (central Tibet) in 1189.

342 Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110-70) of 'Bri lung in Khams, another leading disciple of rJe sGam po pa, established his meditation hut on a mountainside in Ngam shod (central Tibet) in 1158, and the site was developed by his disciples into a monastic centre of the Dvags po bka' brgyud school, called gDan sa thel, after his death.

343 sTag lung thang pa bKra shis dpal (1142-1210) of sMar khams, leading disciple of Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po established the Byang stag lung monastery north of 'Phan yul (central Tibet) in 1180 as the seat of his order, which became known as the sTag lung bka' brgyud.

344 'Gro mgon gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161-1211), Mahāmudrā master and disciple of Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje, established a temple at Rva lung in his native Khu le (in the upper Nyang valley in gTsang) shortly before his death. It was developed by his successors into the seat of his school, which was named after his main residence at 'Brug, in the lower sKyid chu valley ('Brug pa bka' bgyud).

345 Zhang/Zhong zhong was the principal temple established by mKhas grub Khyung po rnal 'byor during the second quarter of the 12th century in the central Shangs valley.

346 rTse/rTsi khog is a cave associated with Dam pa sangs rgyas in the Go 'jo region of Khams.

347 Zangs ri mkhar dmar is the temple founded by Pha dam pa's famous disciple Ma gcig lab sgron, sometime in the early 12th century, on the north bank of the gTsang po in Ngam shod, opposite the Lab valley where she was born.

348 Not found in the collected works?

349 The great Stūpa built by Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan at Jo nang in upper gTsang in 1333.

350 Ri sbug is the hermitage established by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) in the hills behind the great monastery of Zhva lu in gTsang.

351 rTogs ldan Zla ba seng ge was a disciple of O rgyan pa and early codifier of the bsNyen sgrub teachings (e.g., *Deb ther sngon po*, trans. G. Roerich and dGe 'dun chos 'phel, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1976 p.823). His surviving works include an instruction on the Sevasādhana practice (*gDams ngag mdzod* vol.15) and a biography of O rgyan pa.

352 *sGom pa 'chi med bdud rtsi* p.263.

353 The *rDzogs chen sde gsum* revelation is in *The collected revealed teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* (vol.s 21-23), and was also included in the supplements to the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.

354 "lHa sras dam 'dzin (rol pa ye shes rtsal)" was another name for Khri srong lde'u btsan's second son "Mu rub btsan po", (also "Mu rum/rug") who is known to history for having been sent into exile in Mon (e.g., mKhyen brtse's *gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa'i skyes rabs gol 'debs Mu tig dmar po'i phreng ba'i zin thun baidurya'i mdo 'dzin* (gSung 'bum vol.24 f.4r), Kong sprul's *Zab mo'i gter* f.17rv).

355 It seems there is no account of this episode in his writings. Pañ chen Śākyasi is said to have received the "Me gcig" instructions on Yang dag heruka from Guru Padma in a visionary transmission (e.g., mKhyen brtse's *dNgos grub sgo brya 'byed pa'i lde mig* p.380).

356 Ācārya Buddhaguhya of Magadha studied the Māyājālī Tantra with Lalitavajra in Oḍiyāna, and is said to have taught Pañḍita Vimalamitra. According to the *sBa bzhed* chronicle, he was staying in meditation at Kailāśa-parvata during the reign of Khri lde gtsug btsan (728-55), but declined the Tibetan king's invitation. According to Kong

sprul (*Shes bya kun khyab* vol.1 p.462), it was Khri srong lde'u btsan who despatched dBas Mañjuśrī to invite him to Tibet, and he declined, but taught the translator his own commentaries on the three lower classes of Tantra to present to the king. (Biographical sketch in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.100-101).

357 Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros 1349-1412, one of the masters of scholastic philosophy in the Sa skya tradition, and a famous proponent of the "dBu ma thal 'gyur" school of Madhyamika, he was a prolific author and teacher of disciples including rJe Tsong kha pa.

358 i.e., the Kun bzang bde chen 'od gsal gling temple at Tsa 'dra rin chen brag (see note above).

359 The Sa skya throneholder and Lam 'bras lineage holder Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan 1312-75, and his eminent disciple and successor Theg chen chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis 1349-1425.

360 Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-94) of La stod byang, leading disciple of Tshar chen, was one of the scholastic masters of the Sa skya tradition, as well as a lineage holder of the esoteric Lam 'bras teachings. mNyan yod bya rgod gshong was the monastic seat to which he was heir, in the Bo dong region of gTsang.

361 According to *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.10v-11r), mKhyen brtse's exegetical transmission of the Hevajra Mūlatantra, Pañjara and Sampuṭa Tantra-s and Kīlaya Mūlatantra constitute the Tshogs bshad ('explanation for the assembly') version of the Lam 'bras teachings compiled in the *gDams ngag mdzod* (vol.5), while the Slob bshad ('explanation for the disciples') later taught by rDzong sar mkhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros was based on mKhyen brtse'i dbang po's visionary transmissions from Bla ma dam pa, 'Brog mi lotsāva and Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho.

362 Ācārya Kamalaśīla, the Kashmiri Mahāyāna master and disciple of Śāntarakṣita, was summoned to King Khri srong's court following his Guru's death (c.790), and is said to have led the Indian side to victory in a philosophical debate with the Chinese 'instantanealists'. His *Bhāvanākrama/ sGom pa'i rim pa* is included in the bsTan 'gyur (Toh 4567 Jo bo'i chos chung 206b-219a).

363 Ye shes dbang po was the ordination name of the nobleman sBa/ dBa' gSal snang, the young King Khri srong lde'u btsan's envoy and first Tibetan disciple of Śāntarakṣita (according to the *sBa bzhed* chronicle).

364 rDo rje rgyal mtshan was the nephew of rGya Ye shes mgon po, a disciple of sKyi Chos kyi seng ge (to whom this miracle is credited in *Blue Annals* p.154) and Glan bSod nams rgyal po in the lineage of the bKa' ma teachings of the Zur tradition. Ye shes mgon po succeeded the former as throneholder of rDo thog thel, a rNying ma temple in the rGyas sman valley in 'Phyongs rgyas (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.295-7). His successor rDo rje rgyal mtshan was therefore active in the early 14th century.

365 This story also appears in the biographical sketch of Mi pham in Zhe chen rgyal tshab's *sGrub brgyud shing rta brgyad kyi byung ba brjod pa* (p.332), but presented as one of Mi pham's own former lives. The passage seems to have been truncated, since in *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* (f.10v) and *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.9rv), mKhyen brtse is also said to have received visionary instruction in the Byams chos from Asaṅga himself (there identified as the figure with the robe dyed in mineral pigment), complementing the transmission from Kamalaśīla. The latter work explains 'Thus, following the intention of the omniscient Klong chen pa, the single eye of the old translation tradition, he proclaimed the lion's roar of eloquent exposition of the non-contradictory views of the two 'chariots' of the Madhyamika teachings (i.e., Mañjuśrī/ Nāgārjuna and Maitreya/ Asaṅga) which, through the efforts of many of his foremost disciples....and at present those of mKhan chen Kun bzang dpal ldan, is still being taught.' The two 'distinguishing' treatises are the *Madhyānthavibhāṅga* (Distinguishing the centre from the extremes) and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāṅga* (Distinguishing phenomena from their nature).

366 Mahāsiddha Lūipa, disciple of Śāvaripa and master of the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra, is considered as one of the earliest of the 84 Mahāsiddha-s (none of whose dates are known). He is said to have been a scribe at the court of King Śrīdharmapāla of Varendra before renouncing worldly concerns, and then famously lived on the fish entrails discarded by fishermen as a way of cutting attachment to alms.

367 Bag ston gZhon nu tshul khrim was an early 14th century Sa skya pa master associated with sNar thang monastery, and a native of the Shab valley (east of Sa skya). He is remembered as a key figure in the transmission of the bKa' 'gyur (e.g., *Shes bya kun khyab* vol.1 p.503, *Lo paṅ rnam s kyi mtshan tho* f.41v-42r).

368 i.e., rJe btsun Tāranātha a.k.a. Kun dga' snying po 1575-1635, the great master of the later Jo nang tradition and founder of the rTag rten phun tshogs gling monastery (biographical sketch in *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* p.35-8).

369 Zab bu lung, 'chief among the holy places in gTsang' according to the *bKa' thang* literature, is a hanging valley high in the mountains of upper lHa bu, the eastern branch of the Shangs valley. It was visited by numerous historic gTer ston-s, notably Kun skyong gling pa (1406-87).

370 The Brag dmar mGrin bzang temple near bSam yas marks the site of the palace where King Khri srong lde'u btsan was born (in 742). It is said that mChog gyur gling pa, then aged 20, revealed the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* (at Kha la rong sgo in Nang chen) at the same time on the same day, as a result of aspirations made in his previous life as Khri srong lde'u btsan's son Mu rub btsan po (e.g., *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* f.17v).

371 The main empowerment of the *Thugs chen sems nyid ngal gso* cycle is in the Avalokiteśvara section of the peaceful Sādhana-s of the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.25).

372 lCags mdud Nyag rked mGon po rnam rgyal (1799-1865), the powerful warlord of Nyag rong, was inviting Karma pa to perform rituals for him, including death rites for his son (e.g., *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.208).

373 The 10th dPal spungs si tu Padma kun bzang 1854-85 was born near the gNam mtsho lake in central Tibet and had recently arrived in sDe dge, escorted by Karma pa's party.

374 *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.19rv): 'Although on that occasion he conferred the empowerment from the treasure scroll, the basic outline was written down later. rJe bla ma (rDzong sar mkhyen brtse) 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi blo gros received the transmitted empowerment from Nyag bla A stobs, otherwise known as mKhan Thub bstan rgyal mtshan 'od zer, but when teaching the entire *gTer mdzod* he couldn't find the written outline, and graciously conferred the empowerment saying that it was identical to the *Sems nyid ngal gso* of the 5th Ta la'i bla ma's *rGya can* visions. He asked me to write an empowerment, and not daring to disobey the Lama's request, I wrote one with all the intelligence I could muster, which he approved. Ta'i si tu Padma dbang mchog published a basic practice manual as a supplement to the dPal spungs edition of the *gTer mdzod*, and I included the annotated empowerment ritual that I composed at 'Jam mgon bla ma's request in the Padma series for the Indian edition. When 'Jam mgon rdo rje 'chang Chos kyi blo gros was on pilgrimage in central Tibet in later life (1956), he performed the Gaṇacakra rite of the *Sems nyid ngal gso* at Brag dmar mgrin bzang and had the impression of 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse in Jñānakāya form giving the empowerment. He made notes but they were not transcribed....' (cf. the *Ngo mtshar yongs 'dus dga' tshal* biography f.183rv).

375 *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.21r) adds: 'The five-part supplication to Guru rin po che, including the *bSam don myur 'grub* prayer for renewing the essentials of meditative devotion to Guru rin po che which was composed on that occasion, were reproduced in a short-format prayer text at rDzong sar. As these were each enunciated during successive visions of Guru rin po che, their blessings are very powerful, and (the Guru) pledged that their recitation would remove obstacles, so I heard from Zhe chen rgyal tshab rin po che.'

376 The Yon po lung cave at Grom pa rGyang, near lHa rtse rdzong, is associated with Guru Padma's disciple gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po. It is the site of numerous revelations, most famously the Byang gter *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma* cycle of Mang lam ri khrod pa bZang po grags pa (mid-14th century).

377 The account of mKhyen brtse rin po che's first encounter with the *bSam pa lhun grub* cycle (omitted here) is given in his own words in *Lo pañ rnam kyī mtshan tho* (f.65v-66v): 'First of all, before dawn on the 10th day of the eighth month of the Wood Horse year (1834), when I was 15, I dreamt of arriving at a temple I knew to be Brag dmar mgrin bzang. A red woman beautifully dressed in the apparel of a goddess, in silks and jewels, was holding a red flower bud in her right hand. As soon as she gave it to me, the flower opened and a small red volume appeared inside. I tried to read it, but it was all written in symbolic script, so I could not. Then she passed me the Kapāla in her left hand, filled with Amṛta, and upon drinking it, the appearances of ordinary deluded awareness became shrouded in mist, while the symbolic script became easily legible, and there with mounting joy I found the voluminous outer, inner, secret and ultrasecret cycles of the *bDe gshegs 'dus pa* Guru Sādhana. That woman spoke many pro-

phetic things, but apart from the words “In future, near this very temple/ A precious wish-fulfilling (treasure) will materialise”, and a few others, I did not remember them. Then that volume melted into red light and dissolved into me, and as the entirety of the literal meaning shone clearly in my mind, I awoke. Thereupon I wrote down an extensive practice manual for the outer cycle, identical in form to the *Bar chad kun sel* Sādhana but with eight complete sections. The brief daily practice of the inner cycle which I wrote out was principally identical with the present *bSam pa lhun grub ma*, also with a 13 Guru body Maṇḍala arrangement, but as the time for disseminating these teachings had not yet come, I just practised them a little myself and reconcealed the texts. The peaceful and wrathful Mahākāraṇika of the secret cycle and the Vārāhī and so on of the ultrasecret cycle appeared clearly in mind, but I did not write them down.’

378 This was a ten-day ritual conducted in the first half of the second month (March/April 1859) by ‘an assembly of Vajra Vidyadhara-s’ including mChog gyur gling pa and Thar rtse zhabs drung ‘Jam dbyangs nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan in the Phan bde kun khyab gling hermitage at lHun grub steng (*bKa’ babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.23r).

379 The account in *Lo pañ rnam kyī mtshan tho* (f.67v) adds that while relating his premonition of the *bSam pa lhun grub* cycle to mChog gyur gling pa, mKhyen brtse rin po che first made a Tsakli (a painted card for practical reference) of the bDe ba chen po form of Guru Padma (prescribed in this cycle), which was then refined into a Thang ka (scroll painting), and later, in the waxing phase of the tenth month of that year, a gilt copper statue made to the measure of the master’s own body, which was then installed in the Padma shel phug. According to *bKa’ babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.22rv): ‘There was a sKu tshab (representative figure) of the Guru for each of the ten main custodians of the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel*, and ‘Jam dbyangs bla ma mkhyen brtse’i dbang po’s, painted on (Ye shes) mtsho rgyal’s skirt in the ‘Bodhicitta’ (combined sexual fluids) of the Guru and his consort, was placed at the heart of this statue. On the 11th day, when the consecration of the Dhāraṇī scrolls (to fill the statue) was completed, the face was found to be a little crooked. rJe bla ma sat in meditation posture focussing his concentration on the statue, and with a ‘snap’ sound it was miraculously corrected, so I heard from the all-seeing (rDzong sar mkhyen brtse) Chos kyī blo gros rin po che.’

380 cf. *bKra shis dbyangs kyī yan lag gsal byed* p.313-22, *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.203-4). In this account, indications emerged during the deciphering of the treasure at lHun grub steng in early 1859 that a temple on the Khro maṇḍala thang (at the western foot of the Khro la pass in northern sDe dge) would benefit the religious polity. mKhyen brtse, mChog gling and Kong sprul went there to approve and prepare the site, but the project did not come about due to sectarian sentiments among the Sa skya clergy (particularly the dGon chen treasurer bKra shis rgya mtsho). mKhyen brtse rin po che subsequently declared that had a four-pillar temple with a statue of Maitreya been built there in time, the Nyag rong war could have been averted (see also the *Yon tan rgya mtsho’i gter mdzod* autobiography of mChog gling’s disciple Rag shu gter ston ‘Bar ba’i rdo rje p.47-8). Apparently, when the nearby Sa skya pa monastery of rDzong chen mgo ba burned down in 1883, it was rebuilt on the Maṇḍala thang (1886) following mKhyen brtse rin po che’s advice, and henceforth known as “Maṇḍala dgon” Phun tshogs dga’

tshal bkra shis chos gling (e.g., rDzong sar Blo gros phun tshogs in *Nang bstan gsal ba'i me long* p.446). It was one of the six branches of the royal lCags ra monastery.

381 Seng ngu/rgod g.yu mtsho, 'lion cub turquoise lake', a glacial tarn at the head of the Rong rme valley best known for the revelation described here. It was said that the stone huts on the shore were occupied by mKhyen brtse, Kong sprul and mChog gling in their previous lives as Bon practitioners.

382 cf. bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed p.369-86. The *Dam chos snying po skor lnga* is in volume 31 of *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa*, and the *Lam rim ye shes snying po* is in volume 32. bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod (f.25rv) adds: 'Some of the gold revealed (on that occasion) was given for the mural paintings in the rTse lha khang at (rDzong sar) bKra shis lha rtse, but he (i.e., rDzong sar mkhyen brtse) said that when they were restored later on (with ordinary gold) the colour was no match for the original, even after repeated applications. Of the eight treasure scrolls of the amazing *Thugs sgrub rdo rje drag rtsal* and *rTsa gsum sgyu 'phrul drva ba* series, the *rDo rje drag rtsal* and its practice manual are with mChog gling's revelations, although there is some doubt that this is the same thing. Once the *Lam rim ye shes snying po* had been decoded and taught a few times, it was mainly passed on in the extensive and eloquent form of the *Ye shes snang ba* commentary. The outlines by Mi pham rin po che are (written) in secret Vajra wording amazing and superb, hardly rivalled by any revelator of profound teachings, containing the entire meaning of the three Yoga-s of the 'inner' Tantra-s of the early translations, free of any ignorant partiality for any particular experiential instruction, and to hear and reflect upon them is to imbibe the concentrated essence of the 'mDo sgyu sems gsum' (Mahāyoga and Anuyoga Tantra-s), just like the *gSang ba snying po* Mūlatantra in the appendices of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. There is also an abridged commentary by Tsha (sgang lo tsā) ba Rin chen rnam rgyal, and the verbally transmitted notes by mKhas dbang 'Jam grags rin po che. It is said that the treasure scroll of the *rTsa gsum sgyu 'phrul drva ba*, the condensed intent of the 18 Mahāyoga Tantra-s, in the form of a talisman (bTags grol), square and with many leaves, was seen by a few fortunate ones, including (mKhyen brtse's) heart-disciple, the incomparable Rig 'dzin 'Gyur med tsho dbang rgya mtsho. The nine-deity Vasudhāra Sadhana from that cycle with practice manual and empowerment ritual was transcribed, and the ripening and completion instructions conferred by gTer chen mChog gling on his daughter dKon mchog dpal sgron are still current, but apart from the ritual arrangement by the 15th Karma pa and the daily practice taught by the 'all seeing Lama' (rDzong sar mkhyen brtse), nothing more has fallen to ordinary recipients.'

383 gNyan chen thang lha is a powerful territorial deity associated with the great mountain of that name on the south shore of the Byang gNam mtsho lake in central Tibet. sNying drung is the site of an imperial-era settlement at the southern foot of the mountain, sometimes identified in rNying ma tradition as a place where Guru Padma concealed treasure.

384 According to *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* (f.20r), the Zhi khro shel phug cave was a long forgotten holy place 'reopened' by mKhyen brtse rin po che on this occasion.

'He is said to have decoded a few sacred guidebooks, but these are not now available to general readership' (*bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.27r).

385 Kun grol gsang ba rtsal is another name for the Bon po gter ston Tshe dbang grags pa a.k.a. bDe chen gling pa (1833-92), who came from Kong sprul's native Rong rgyab, and is mentioned frequently in his autobiography (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* e.g., p.193, p.255, p.261, and this event on p.264). It seems that he was regarded as an emanation of gYu sgra snying po, and therefore as Kong sprul's spiritual son (e.g., *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.275). mKhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros offered half of the 'hundred blessed materials' from Tshe dbang grags pa's revelations, which had been presented to mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, to the Bon po master Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan during the latter's visit to rDzong sar in 1914 (*dPal Shar rdza ba chen po bKra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar Ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba thar 'dod mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan* by dBra ston sKal bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang 1990 p.259).

386 The sKu tshab image mentioned here was one of five revealed by mKhyen brtse rin po che (categorised as Zhi, rgyas, dbang, drag and mchog) corresponding with the 'dominance' (dBang) class of ritual, and it was the only one made of bronze, the others being made of earth or clay (Bye ma a krong). It was one of the precious relics in the mThong grol chen mo Stūpa at sDe dge dgon chen, which was destroyed in 1966 (thanks to Pekar Rinpoché for this information). *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.36v-37r): 'As a sign of rJe bla ma (mKhyen brtse)'s status as the king of gTer ston-s, he came into possession of the 'supreme' (mChog) representative image of Guru rin po che called "dNgos grub dpal 'bar", and four others corresponding with the peaceful, expansive, dominant and and wrathful (classes of ritual). The 'supreme' image was recovered by mChog gling with the *Thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu* treasure (see above). Like the saying 'The regent (image) is left as a symbol to benefit beings', it remained in the possession of 'Jam mgon mchog sprul rin po che 'Jam dbyangs thub bstan chos kyi rgya mtsho, and gTer chen mChog gling declared that having been blessed as representative in the presence of the precious omniscient Lama (mKhyen brtse), it was no different than Guru rin po che in person for all those who beheld it, and its blessing would prevent them from descending to the lower realms even if they had committed the five irreparable sins, and this was stated in the story of the statue accompanying the revelation. There is also the story that Grub dbang Śākyaśrī was granted the (rDzogs chen) awareness empowerment by this statue and thus achieved the level of realisation. It is also said that for every syllable of symbolic script in the handwritten treasure scroll accompanying the "mThong grol" Guru statue, a hundred thousand can be extrapolated, containing many teachings to be decoded by gTer ston-s of the future. The 'dominance' (dBang) representative statue was revealed at Padma shel ri by Kun grol gsang ba rtsal on the master's instruction, and when the golden reliquary at sDe dge lhun grub steng was destroyed by the invaders, it became a support of faith for the Karmically destined dPe war mchog sprul. The wrathful representative image from the *Bla ma bstan gnyis skor gsum* revelation was rescued by the rDzong sar monk rNam grol after the destruction of the golden reliquary at rDzong sar by the invaders, and entrusted to mChog sprul rin po che. The fate of the peaceful and expansive representative images is unknown.'

387 gTer ston bSod nams rgyal po a.k.a. Las rab gling pa 1856-1926 of Nyag rong was another of mKhyen brtse rin po che's gTer ston disciples and collaborators.

388 Kong sprul's autobiography mentions only a visit to the bKra shis brtsegs rdzong in gTsang rong (in Gling) in early 1879 to perform offering ceremonies (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.286). According to *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* (p.53-4), he discovered 'special substances sacred to each of the eight great Bodhisattva-s, and the scrolls with their Sādhana-s' at the bKra shis brtsegs pa'i rdzong, described as auxiliary teachings to mKhyen brtse's *Thugs rje chen po sems nyid ngal gso* revelation.

389 Kong sprul wrote (*rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* p.54) that since his first visit to rDzong shod, the existence of concealed substances blessed by the eight Vidyādhara-s of India was apparent to him there, but having initially ignored them, the timing for their removal was spoiled, and it became harder to achieve. Eventually, with mKhyen brtse rin po che's blessing, he engaged the help of Las rab gling pa, and together they revealed Sādhana-s for each of the eight, and the corresponding sacred substances, from the dPal de'u cave at rDzong shod. These were considered to be auxiliaries to the *rTsa gsum bka' 'dus chen mo* which mKhyen brtse had been destined but unable to reveal.

390 The *sGrol gzhung rgyas pa'i rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* is with the Tāra Sādhana-s in the Ḍākīnī section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.36)

391 The *sGrol ma zab tig* is the mental revelation that occurred to mChog gyur gling pa in the Padma shel phug cave at the moment the statue spoke to him. It was recorded by mKhyen brtse rin po che and included in mChog gyur gling pa's collected writings (vol.33).

392 Jo mo kha rag is the holy mountain on the south bank of the gTsang po on the border between dBus and gTsang. There is no other record of mKhyen brtse rin po che's visit there. The guardian mentioned here is the territorial goddess (brTan ma) sMan btsun rdo rje khyung btsun ma (e.g., *Brilliant Moon: the autobiography of Dilgo Khyentse*, Ani Jinba Palmo (trans.) Shambhala Publications 2008 p.104, p.148).

393 This refers to the previously mentioned *rTsa gsum bde gshegs 'dus pa* cycle which mKhyen brtse revealed at the age of 16. Since this was identical to mChog gling's later revelation, he favoured adopting the latter (e.g., *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter* f.18r, *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.132, *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.23v-24r). The teachings of the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* cycle are distributed through mChog gyur gling pa's collected writings (especially vols.2-11), and the *Zhal gdams snying byang* summary is in volume 1.

394 Seng ge/chen gnam brag, 'sky-leaping lion cliff', is a cave hermitage in 'Dzam thog phu on the west bank of the 'Bri chu. It is classified as the 'activity' aspect of the 'qualities' group among the 25 holy places. It was 'opened' by gTer chen bDud 'dul rdo rje, and associated with the practice of Vajrakīlaya.

395 Ye rgyal nam mkha' mdzod is a sacred mountain near the gNas brtan sgang monastery in southern Nang chen, where mChog gyur gling pa made several revelations.

According to his writings, the place was initially recognised by 'Bri gung Rig 'dzin Chos grags (1595-1659). It is classified as the 'qualities' aspect of the 'speech' group among the 25 holy places. The *Rigs gsum snying thig* is in *The collected rediscovered teachings of gTer chen mChog gyur gling pa* (vol.20).

396 Kong sprul mentions his revelation of the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* at lHa mdo 'bur mo bde chen padma bkod, which he described as 'containing the entirety of the five treasures', in *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* (p.133), and *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* (p.52). *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.32v) adds: 'While 'Jam dbyangs 'chi med bstan gnyis gling pa (Kong sprul's treasure alias) had gained authorisation to reveal the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus*, gTer ston Kun grol gsang ba rtsal had revealed the treasure key from lHa mdo 'bur mo brag following instructions from the all-seeing Lama (mKhyen brtse), and presented it to the latter. Following many visions of his own, this master (Kong sprul) revealed the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* teachings, personal effects of Ārya Ānanda, undergarments of Ācārya Hūmkara and so forth from lHa mdo 'bur mo bde chen bkod pa in the Wood Dog year (1874). There was contained the entirety of this vast and profound teaching, and in a similar multitude of symbolic scripts, which he went to show rJe bla ma mKhyen brtse rin po che in order to clarify the distortions of confidence and doubt....'

397 In *dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* (p.107), the 13 volumes of Sangs rgyas gling pa's revelation are considered the first of three parts of the *dGongs 'dus* cycle, sTag sham bSam gran gling pa's *Yi dam dgongs 'dus* (9 vol.s) is the second, and Gro shul bDe chen gling pa's *mKha' gro dgongs 'dus* (6 vol.s) is the third. The 'five treasures' contained in the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* are listed in *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* (f.33v) as a 'Treasury of scripture' (Tantra), 'Treasury of revelation' (prophecy), 'Treasury of oral transmission' (instruction), 'Treasury of common ritual' and a 'Treasury of the uncommon'.

398 They are related in *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* (p.56-7 cf. *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.33v-34r) as follows: 'After that, in sequential visions, the Mantra guardianship clarified the symbolic script on two occasions, the time for the seal of secrecy to be opened became clear, and so on. In particular, on the evening of the 29th he travelled in the luminosity of a vision to a wide open landscape he thought to be in India where there was a village of grass huts inhabited exclusively by women wearing conch shell ornaments, and he saw many scenes of women offering him fish from pools. Then he found himself at once in the hermitage at dPal spongs, where there were also only women present. Entering the temple, he found 'Jam mgon bla ma (Kong sprul) seated on the hide of a black Kṛṣṇasāra deer, on a fine and solid throne of stone. After a while the location shifted, and he saw a middle-aged Lama with a slight beard wearing a maroon lotus hat and a cloak speaking copiously in Sanskrit, and since he could not understand, a woman translated for him. When it was related that the Lama was the Vidyadhara Hūmkara, he made supplication with great reverence, and the Lama conferred on him the basic empowerment of the four transmissions of the *Rig 'dzin mchog sgrub* (section of) the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* in its entirety, starting with the ground preparation ritual, as if granting transmissions and guiding instructions. The materials used for the empowerment and the Maṇḍala seemed to be in the sky above, and as soon as the words of the empowerment liturgy were uttered, the (corresponding) action was performed there automatically, and he said that the wisdom empowerment

and so on were given only in cursory form, with no substantial conferral(?). After that, he said, the entire meaning of the treasure scrolls shone clearly in his mind, and he even listed the contents of the *Rig 'dzin mchog sgrub* teaching, from the four cycles of the three roots plus Dharmapāla in the 'Treasury of revelations', the most important of the 'five treasures'. He said that if the symbolic Ḍākini script were decoded in full, it would amount to about the same as Sangs rgyas gling pa's *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, but an intermediate level of decoding, either long or short as appropriate, would be fine, and it was decoded in six sections (the *Rig 'dzin mchog sgrub*, practice manual of supplication, practice manual of recitation, regular ritual, regular Yoga and longevity Sādhana.)'

399 Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che added (*bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.34v-35r): 'When the omniscient (rDzong sar mkhyen brtse) Chos kyi blo gros rin po che was copying out the decoded list of contents of the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* collection from the personal copy of the previous 'Jam mgon (kong sprul) of Tsa 'dra, I saw that it contained an unimaginable range of vast and profound teaching cycles. Given the insistence by his father the Vidyādhara king 'Gyur med tshe dbang rgya mtsho that since 'Jam mgon rin po che was of the same emanational field as Lo chen Vairocana there was a duty to edit and publish his profound revelations in their entirety, rJe bla ma rin po che (rDzong sar mkhyen brtse) gleefully received the kindness of (his transmission of) all the teachings of the ripening and completion stages so far decoded, with their appendices, and their histories. It is said that when 'Jam mgon (kong sprul) Guṇasamudra gave the meaning empowerment of the *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* to mChog gling gter sras sprul sku 'Gyur med tshe dbang bstan 'phel, while he was still in the lap of his mother, dKon mchog dpal sgron, he was also passing him the entrustment for the entirety of ripening and completion teachings in the Five Treasures.'

400 gTer chen Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-96) of Long po Gying in upper Kong po, master revelator of the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* cycle, was a prodigy who was said to have made 18 major revelations by the age of 32. He won recognition from the great Lama-s and rulers of his day, especially the 4th Karma pa, and founded the bDe chen bsam 'grub monastery in his native region, where he was succeeded by his descendants and several incarnations (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.341-8).

401 It is with the general Sādhana-s of the 'three roots' in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.4).

402 The *Padma mkha' 'gro ma rig byed rtsal* empowerment and instructions are in the magnetising (dBang) class of rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.52). The Rong Brag dmar cave, associated apparently quite retrospectively with sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms, is near the western shore of the Yar 'brog lake, on the route to gTsang rong.

403 gTer ston Zhig po gling pa Gar gyi dbang phyug rtsal a.k.a. sNang rtse gter ston 1524-83, Guru of Sog zlog pa and Gong ra lo chen. He is counted among mChog gyur gling pa's previous rebirths, and the *sKyes rabs gsal ba'i sgron me* from his *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba las sgröl* revelation forms the basis of mKhyen brtse rin po che's *sKyes rabs gsol 'debs* account of these rebirths (biographical sketches in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.447-8, *Zab mo'i gter* f.191v-93v).

404 i.e., lCags mdud Nyag rked mGon po rnam rgyal.

405 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter (f.39v) adds: 'After that, the Nyag rong chieftain mGon po rnam rgyal was routed by the dGa' ldan pho brang army. On this master's recommendation, the army paymaster Phun rab pa (Tshe ring dpal ldan) was appointed sPyi khyab dpon (the lHa sa government representative in Nyag rong). Once more, in accord with a prophecy he had given that another disturbance was imminent, the Nyag rong pa rebelled again, and were besieged by the army, which surrounded them at 'Brug (mo) rdzong in Ri nang. The occupiers of the rDzong were like peas dropped into a roasting pan, and while they remained in that uncomfortable position, this master performed an invocation of rNam sras rta sngon can (Vaiśravaṇa riding a blue horse) in favour of the allied forces of national unity. One night, the sPyi khyab dpon dreamt that on a grassy mound on the hill in front of Ri nang was a black figure holding a flagged spear, taller than a Sala tree and most fearsome, and when it pounded three times on the ground with the butt of the spear, he felt the earth shake. "Hey, Phun rab pa, don't you be afraid!", the figure bellowed, "I have been sent by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po at sDe dge dGon chen!", and he awoke with these words ringing in his ears. They say it was three days later that the Nyag rong forces surrendered in remorse.'

406 Jo mo sman mo Padma mtsho skyid (1248-83?), incarnation of Ye shes mtsho rgyal and consort of Guru Chos dbang (*Zab mo'i gter* p.510). The *mKha' gro'i gsang ba kun 'dus* is with the Vajravārāhi Sadhana-s in the Ḍākini section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.34).

407 gNyags Jñānakumāra (Ye shes gzhon nu) of Yar lung was one of the eight chief Tibetan disciples of Guru Padma, who gained accomplishment in the *bdud rtsi yon tan* teachings on Che mchog heruka. A distinguished translator and physician, he is said to have transformed his body into light at the time of death through mastery of the rDzogs chen teachings (brief biography in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.242-5).

408 Ra mo shel sman Ye shes bzang po of upper Yar lung, a descendant and emanation of gNyags Jñānakumāra, is said to have lived through most of the 12th century. He revealed the Vajra-amṛta cycle of teachings at the Yar lung Shel brag cave, and gained accomplishment, but since he restricted his teaching activity to the medical sphere, he was not considered to have benefitted the teachings much. His medical teachings however, particularly on the treatment of dropsy and gout (*Rin chen gter mdzod* vol.46), remained popular (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.384, *Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.103r). The *rDo rje bdud rtsi'i bla sgrub* cycle is in the Amṛta series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.29).

409 The Somapurī Mahāvihāra, a principal centre of Buddhist learning in Pāla Bengal, much visited by Tibetan scholars and pilgrims up to the 13th century. According to Tāranātha, it was founded by King Devapāla during a military campaign against Oḍiṣā, on the site of a temple he had excavated from the sand following the instructions of Mahākāla, who appeared to him there. The protector told him that if his army encircled the temple and played their horns and drums, all the temples of the Tirthika enemy would be destroyed, and he went on to conquer the territory (*rGya gar chos 'byung* p.255). Devapāla ruled 821-60 by most accounts, but his father Dharmapāla (r.780-820)

is usually considered the founder of the monastery. dPa' bo gTsong lag 'phreng ba's history (*Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang Beijing 1986 p.99) notes that Grub chen O rgyan pa found Dharmapāla's name recorded in a pillar inscription at the royal cemetery in 'Phyong rgyas, which describes him as a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri lde srong btsan (r.805-15).

410 i.e., the Ri bo che monastery, also known as "sTag lung ma thang", in Khams dByi shod.

411 Rong sman Nyi ma 'od gsal's *Dug srung rin chen srog gi rdzong chen*, with a Sādhanā arrangement by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, is in the section on protection against poisons in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.35).

412 gTer ston Dri med kun dga' of Grva phyi, reincarnation of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, received visionary blessings from Guru Padma at mChims phu near bSam yas and revealed gTer ma-s there. He went on to establish a famous Māntrika community at lHun brag in Kong po. According to the brief account of his life (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.465-6, *Zab mo'i gter* f.120v-21v) he was born in a Fire Pig year, presumably 1347, and made the revelation mentioned here at the age of 27. If so, the 'Iron Ox' of the text should be Water Ox 1373/4.

413 gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes of sGrags yul, one of the last masters of the 'early diffusion', was particularly known for his accomplishments in wrathful Mantra and Guru Padma's teachings on 'Jam dpal gshin rje (the 'body' category of the bKa' brgyad – *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.246-9). He is popularly depicted as one of the "25 disciples" and an antagonist of King Glang dar ma, but was more definitely involved in resistance to the popular revolts of the early 10th century (when the gNubs clan shifted to gTsang) and therefore lived later. His birth can be dated to 844, based on the short biography by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las in *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*.

414 The biography relates that Dri med kun dga' was born with an Uṣṇīṣa (crown protuberance), and his followers took to tying their long hair in a topknot resembling his. After his death, the wisdom Ḍākinī gSang ba ye shes appeared to his disciple mTshan ldan gzhon nu sangs rgyas in a dream and told him that they should also wear white. At that time there was no such custom in that region, and he decided to ignore the advice. The same thing happened again three months later, but when she came a third time, he tried wearing a white cloak to the tenth-day Pūjā. The Ḍākinī then showed herself to him directly, and explained that if he had listened to her the first time, the whole land of snows would have been filled with white-clad Māntrikas, and if he had done so on the next occasion, there would have been as many as the white hairs on a dappled horse. From now on, she said, the white clad Māntrika -s from Gangs ti se in the west down to Kong po rgya la in the east would be as many as the hairs in a horse's mane (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.466). Kong sprul added 'His disciple and successor mTshan ldan gzhon nu sangs rgyas changed the colour of his clothes and those of the community to white on the strength of successive prophecies from the wisdom Ḍākinī, and as a result they were known as 'the white ones of lHun brag', and their influence became widespread' (*Zab mo'i gter* f.121r).

415 gTer ston rGya Zhang khrom rDo rje 'od 'bar of gTsang rong, the reincarnation of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes and master of wrathful Mantra, lived in the first half of the 11th century (e.g., *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.369). His principal revealed teachings on 'Jam dpal gshin rje are in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.17).

416 A similar passage, attributed to Kong sprul, was included in the sKyes rabs section of the *sKal bzang mgul rgyan* biography of Zhe chen dbon sprul (f.16v-19r). The *Ye shes 'od kyi snying po* and 'Gro 'dul 'phags pa'i thugs tig are in the Avalokiteśvara section of the Padma Sādhana-s (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.21). His *Thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu* is in the Saṃbhogakāya division of peaceful Guru Sādhana-s (vol.6).

417 gTer ston gTsug lag dpal dge of Glo bo, a reincarnation of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, who revealed wrathful Mantra-s from the E yi gtsug lag khang temple (in the Nepal valley) in the late 10th century. He is identified with a Newari noble or 'Bharo', but mKhyen brtse clarified (*Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.101r) that he was the reincarnation of the Newar Ācārya of that name. Kong sprul noted that the written transmission died out early on, but that "through the blessing of gNubs chen", mKhyen brtse rin po che came by his *Them yig bdun ma* ('Wrathful Mantra in seven headings') revelation (*Zab mo'i gter* f.42r).

418 Nyang Sha mi go cha the Lotsāva appears as a Buddhist scholar at Khri srong lde'u btsan's court in the *sBa bzhed* chronicle. He is also described as the younger brother of Nyang ban Ting 'dzin bzang po (d.836), the great minister of Khri srong lde btsan and his successors in Ne'u paṇḍita's *sNgon gyi gnam me tog phreng ba* (Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang 1990 p.27).

419 gTer ston Sha mi rDo rje rgyal po of Shangs, the reincarnation of Lotsāva Sha mi go cha, revealed the extensive *dGongs don zab tig 'gro ba kun sgrol* exposition of the stages of the path according to the Guhyagarbha-tantra, which did not survive in written form. The abbreviated version (*sGrub thabs snying po skor lnga*) was revealed by Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po, also at mChims phu, and "through his blessing", occurred to mKhyen brtse as a *dGongs gter* (*Zab mo'i gter* f.44rv). He lived in the late 10th century according to *Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* (f.102r).

420 E yul is the territory on the south bank of the gTsang po between Yar lung to the west and Dvags po to the east, historically the fief of the lHa rgya ri nobility. The valley earned its title "Rig pa'i 'byung gnas" for producing generations of sharp-witted officials for the government and monastic bureaucracies. It was also renowned for its painters.

421 rGya ston Padma dbang phyug of Byar yul, emanation of rGyal ba mchog dbyangs, is said to have made his great revelation around the time of the sack of 'Bri gung by Sa skya's Mongol army (1290). The *Dregs pa zil gnon* Sādhana for Pañjara-mahākāla composed by Guru Padma (*Rin chen gter mdzod* vol.37) has been passed down through the Sa skya tradition ever since (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.394-5, *Zab mo'i gter* f.56rv). His Cakrasaṃvara revelation is in the Nirmāṇakāya section of the peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.6).

422 Khri chen Ngag dbang kun dga' blo gros 1729-84, the great Sa skya throneholder, was said to be an emanation of the Indian Mahāsiddha Jetāri, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po and others. He was a non-sectarian master, associated with the rehabilitation of the Tshar pa school into the Sa skya mainstream, and teacher of Thar rtse mkhan chen Nam mkha' 'chi med (mKhyen brtse rin po che's previous incarnation). There is a brief biography in *Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* (f.156r-59v).

423 Ye shes rol pa rtsal is one of the 'secret' names of Prince Mu rub btsan po (see note above), of whom lHa btsun sngon mo and mChog gyur gling pa were successive emanations. sGrags yang rdzong is a cave complex in the sGrags valley near bSam yas, regarded in rNying ma tradition as the place for accomplishment of the wrathful Mañjuśrī (the first division of the bKa' brgyad), and associated with gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. The *Zhi byed lha mo bdun* (*Rin chen gter mdzod* vol.46, collected works of mChog gyur gling pa vol.33) are the pacifications by seven goddesses of illness (Nad zhi byed sangs rgyas spyān ma), epidemics (Rims zhi byed lo gyon ma), enemies (dGra rkun zhi byed 'od zer can ma), harmful spells (Byad phur zhi byed gdugs dkar mo), mental distraction (Sems kyī rnam gyengs zhi byed shes phyin dkar mo), the eight fears ('jigs brgyad zhi byed sgrol ma dkar mo) and untimely death (Dus min 'chi ba zhi byed rma bya chen mo).

424 Bal po Ā Hūm 'bar is mentioned only briefly in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.513-14). His black Jambhala revelation is in the enrichment (rGyas) class of rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.51).

425 mNga' bdag Mol mi 'khyil belonged to the ruling family from the southern borderland of upper gTsang (i.e., eastern Nepal), and is supposed to have been the reincarnation of Guru Padma's disciple Mon sgom Haminātha. The information in this passage and in *Zab mo'i gter* (f.103rv) is presumably due to mKhyen brtse rin po che's insight, since earlier accounts (such as Karma mi 'gyur dbang rgyal's *gTer btton chos 'byung* p.83 and *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.495) associate his revelation with sPa gro stag tshang. Byang Pra dun rtse is the site of an imperial-era temple in west Tibet, not far north of Glo bo (Mustang). Kong sprul estimates (f.227v) that he lived in the 12th century. The *rTa mgrin nam lcags me 'khor* is in the wrathful section of the Sādhana-s of the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.26).

426 The "gYag sde" of the text is mistaken: according to *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.396-7, quoting Sog zlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan), gYag lce is an old name for the branch of the upper Nam stong (= Nang gong?) valley in 'O yug later known as Khra chung. These names are given with even greater precision in *Zab mo'i gter* (f.59r). (gYag sde is in Rong, south of the gTsang po river).

427 gTer ston gYag phyar sngon mo rDo rje 'bum a.k.a. Rin chen rgyal po was an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana who revealed both Bon po and Buddhist teachings. He is said to have been born in gYag sde, but Kong sprul states that he was born into a Bon po Māntrika family in 'O yug, near the site of his major revelation (*Zab mo'i gter* f.59r), sometime in the 3rd Rab byung 1147-1207 (f.228r). 'He seems to have been skilled in both Bon and Buddhist doctrine, and so accomplished in conduct that he could bind the protectors to his service, but the current of his teachings no longer exists' (*Gu ru*

bkra shis chos 'byung p.396. The lineage holders of dByang chos dgon in lower rTa nag claimed to be his descendants). The *sGrol ma 'jigs pa kun skyob* is with the Tārā Sādhana-s in the Dākinī section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.35).

428 bDud 'dul gling pa rdo rje gro lod rtsal of gTsang rong, an emanation of rGyal ba mchog dbyangs, was the immediate predecessor of gTer ston Dri med gling pa (*Zab mo'i gter* f.171v), and lived in the later 17th century. According to *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.581), 'He had the signs of great accomplishment, control of Prāṇa and so on, but since the auspices were confounded, he was obstructed by rGyal po lha bzang (i.e., Lhazang Khan r.1705-17) and achieved no benefit for living beings, so there is not much to write about him.' It is clarified in Rig 'dzin Kun bzang nges don klong yangs' *Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim byon gyi rnam thar Nor bu'i do shal* (Dalhousie 1976 p.327-30) that bDud 'dul gling pa was destined to be the Guru of the 6th Ta la'i bla ma Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho, but this relationship was disrupted by obstacles and insufficient collective merit, leading to the premature deaths of both. After deposing the young Ta la'i bla ma, Lhazang Khan imprisoned bDud 'dul gling pa for spreading maligned prophecies, and eventually had him murdered.

429 dBu ru ston pa Śākya 'od of lHa sa, combined emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and Lang gro lotsāva, also said to be the reincarnation of sNgags 'chang Śākya 'od, lived in the 1st Rab byung 1027-86 (*Zab mo'i gter* f.39v-40r). The *Phyag rdor rdo rje me 'bar* is with the supplements to the Viśuddha series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.28).

430 Bon po Brag tshal/ Drag rtsal a.k.a. rDo rje 'bar of gTsang rong, combined emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and Shud bu dPal gyi seng ge, revealed rDzogs chen teachings at rTsis lung in Mon Bum thang, among others. "Bon po" was his clan name (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.371, *Zab mo'i gter* f.40rv, *Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.100v). His *bDud rtsi bum chen* is among the rituals for the pacification of disease in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.35), and the *bTsan mdos* is with the ransom rituals (vol.44).

431 Nyang po bSam gtan gling pa a.k.a. bSam gtan bde chen gling pa, an emanation of gYu sgra snying po. The *bKa' brgyad yang gsang dregs 'dul* cycle is one of the collective Sādhana-s of the bKa' brgyad in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.15).

432 gTer ston mChog ldan mgon po of Ban pa in lHo brag 1497-1531, an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana, was a late disciple of Padma gling pa (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.422-4). His "Rim gro chen mo" performance of rituals for national security and prosperity in the Tibetan capital in the 1520s is one of the deeds for which he is most remembered. Kong sprul's observation (*Zab mo'i gter* f.185v) that mChog ldan mgon po was destined to be the 'fifth discoverer king' mDo sngags gling pa (but this did not come to pass, and mKhyen brtse eventually took his place) refers to a prophecy of dKar chen kun grags and Padma gling pa, and is not to be confused with the list of five 'royal' gTer ston (see above note on bStan gnyis gling pa and rTsis kyī lha khang). The *rTa mgrin gnyen po lha lnga* is with the rituals for the pacification of demonic influence in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.46).

433 sNa nam Thub pa rgyal po of Nang chen dGe rgyal, an emanation of Lo chen

Vairocana, revealed hidden teachings at the Klong thang sgröl ma temple in Khams in the early 11th century: ‘He extracted many beneficial teachings on Dharma, medicine, astrology and so on from a pillar capital, but apart from the ‘cycle of a hundred aversion rites’, none have endured until the present’ (*Zab mo’i gter* f.38r). The *rTen ’brel yang snying ’dus pa* is with the amulet and Mantra diagrams in the ordinary series of specific rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.42), and his *Dug bcos sha mo las dkyus* is among the rituals for the pacification of disease (vol.46).

434 dPon gsaṣ khyung thog gYung drung ’bar, an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana, revealed both Bon and Buddhist gTer, notably from rGyang lha khang and Yon po lung in the Grom pa region of gTsang. mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul (*Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.102v-103r, *Zab mo’i gter* f.50v-51r) did not acknowledge that “dPon gsaṣ khyung thog” was the alias given to the Bon po gter ston dByil ston Khyung rgod rtsal of Zang zang in Buddhist tradition, but noted that this alias belonged to Rig ’dzin rGod ldem can in Bon po tradition. They assumed (cf. *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* p.384) that he was active in the mid-11th century (as indicated in the prophecy from *Padma bka’ thang*), while the biography of dByil ston shows that he was born in 1235 and interacted with Gu ru Chos dbang (see R. Vitali, *Accounts of the journey to the Western Regions*, IATS seminar, Bloomington 1999, and A-M. Blondeau (1985) p.132).

435 gTer ston Khyung po dpal dge of Mang yul Gung thang, who revealed both Bon po and Buddhist teachings, was said to be a contemporary of the heretical Ar tsho ban de bco brgyad (i.e., early 11th century – *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* p.375), but mKhyen brtse rin po che noted that he was more likely a contemporary of Nyang ral (i.e., mid-12th century – *Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.101v). His *Ma mo’i khrag mdos* is with the mDos glud (ransom) rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.44).

436 Zhu yas gNod sbyin ’bar belonged to the Bon po family lineage of that name in gTsang sNye mo, and was said to be the reincarnation of sNa nam Thub pa rgyal po. He made a major revelation of rDzogs chen teachings from the Shel ma brag cliff at sNying drung in ’Dam, the key to which had been given him by Bon po Drag rtsal. Some of these were preserved in the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum* (*Zab mo’i gter* f.41r). Confusion over his identity and dates is mentioned in *Gu ru bkra shis chos ’byung* (p.372): mKhyen brtse and Kong sprul considered him a contemporary of Nyang ral (*Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.103r, *Zab mo’i gter* f.227v, in which case their dating of Drag rtsal is at least one Rab byung too early).

437 In mKhyen brtse rin po che’s formulation, A ya bon po lHa ’bum is the name given by Buddhist tradition, which regards him as an emanation of Dran pa nam mkha’, from ‘the south’, a contemporary of ’Brom ston rGyal ba’i ’byung gnas, who revealed both Buddhist and Bon teachings on medicine and astrology from ‘gTsang gi ru mtshams’ (i.e., the sNye mo gzhu area). In Bon po tradition he was Gu ru rNon rtse of rTa nag, an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and contemporary of Gu ru Chos dbang, who revealed extensive teachings on the Bon Mother Tantra-s from Dung phor brag near his birthplace (*Lo paṅ rnams kyi mtshan tho* f.101rv). Kong sprul (*Zab mo’i gter* f.43rv) proposed a synthesis of these two versions, and identified the reconcealed teaching recovered by mKhyen brtse as a *bDe*

mchog snying po cycle. His *Mi kha dgra bsgyur* is with the ransom rites in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.44), and *sMan dpyad bdud rtsi gal phreng* is with the rituals for the pacification of disease (vol.46).

438 Bla ma Grum pa and Yon bdag Nag po mkhar revealed wrathful Mantra-s of gZa' bdud, concealed in a leather amulet inside the beak of a Garuda figure in the sPa gro sKyer chu lha khang, during the 4th Rab byung 1207-66 (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.398, *Zab mo'i gter* f.228r). They are in the 'protective' category of wrathful rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.53).

439 O rgyan bde chen gling pa 1502-32 of Gro shul, a reincarnation of 'Brog mi dPal gyi ye shes, was a younger kinsman of Ratna gling pa. He also made revelations at Khyung chen brag, and numerous other sites in their native lHo brag, but is named for his discovery of the *bKa' brgyad dregs pa 'joms byed* cycle on the Jo mo kha rag mountain (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.449-50, *Zab mo'i gter* f.93v-95r). His *gSo dpyad bdud rtsi tshе bum* is with the rituals for pacification of disease in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.46).

440 Mi 'gyur Las 'phro gling pa Kun dga' dpal bzang of dBu ru rGya ma, emanation of Shel dkar bza' mGon skyid, was one of four gTer ston-s prophesied in the revelations of mNga' ris pañ chen. He was both teacher and disciple of 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs (1509-57) and made his major revelation at Mi 'gyur chos 'byung brag (location unknown) (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.463, *Zab mo'i gter* f.133v-34r). The *Padma gtum po* is with the wrathful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.12).

441 sTag mo gter ston dPon gsaс khyung thog of Grom pa was an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and self-proclaimed reincarnation of dPon gsaс khyung thog. He revealed the *Kun bzang snying thig* at Yon po lung (in the late 17th century e.g., *Lo pañ rnamс kyi mtshan tho* f.104v-105r, *Zab mo'i gter* f.157rv) from which this teaching is taken, and entrusted it to Chos rje gling pa. At least one other dPon gsaс khyung thog is mentioned in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.589), a contemporary of sTag mo gter ston from Kong po, but the auspices for his activity were confounded, apparently by the political events of Lhazang Khan's reign. The *Tshe sgrub ye shes srog thig* is with the Amitāyus Sādhana-s in the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.21).

442 Rog rje gling pa of Ta'u is described (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.214) as a mind-emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and immediate reincarnation of (Rong ston) Padma bde chen gling pa (1663-1713). The revelations of both gTer ston-s had also been transmitted through a lineage starting with Ka thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. The *Tshe sgrub gsang ba rmad byung* is with the Amitāyus Sādhana-s in the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.21).

443 O rgyan gling pa was banished in the 1350s after displeasing the recently victorious Phag mo gru pa ruler of sNe'u gdong, Byang chub rgyal mtshan, supposedly by propagating subversive prophecies. He is usually said to have died in exile in the Dvags po region.

444 Ra shag Chos 'bar (a.k.a. bSod nams rdo rje) of gNyan in Yar 'brog was a combined emanation of Lo chen Vairocana and 'Brog mi dPal gyi ye shes who revealed the *Ma mo*

sgang shar teaching at gCal in the sPa gro valley. According to the prophecy in *Padma bka' thang*, he was a contemporary of Dvags sgom (Tshul khriims) snying po (1116-69), but he is also said to have presented the young Mi la ras pa (1040-1120) with a revealed Sādhana of the goddess Tshe ring ma. *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.378-9) notes that although the bKa' brgyud pa historian dPa' bo gTsong lag phreng ba declared that Mi la's benefactor was another Ra shag gter ston, Ra shag Chos 'bar was also said to have been personally entrusted with the Caturmukha Sādhana-s revealed by gNyan lo tsa ba (Dar ma grags), who was a contemporary of Mi la ras pa. Further, Ka thog paṇḍita's *rGyud 'bum rtogs brjod* (p.409) states that Nyang ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer (1124-92) received apparently visionary transmissions of lists of treasures awaiting discovery from Grva pa mngon shes (1012-82) and Ra shag gter ston, which would seem to confirm that the latter lived before the 12th century. Meanwhile, the *rGyal po dkar po drug mdos* rituals included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.43) are said to have been jointly revealed at bSam yas by Ra shag gter ston and Grva sgom Chos kyi rdo rje (who seems to have lived in the 14th century). It seems possible that there were two or more Ra shag gter ston-s, whose identities became confused. The tall woman in mKhyen brtse rin po che's dream was the treasure-guardianess called "Bya rog gdong ma", or 'raven-beaked'. The rediscovered *Ma mo sgang shar* cycle is in the Mātrikā series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.32), and the *mDos bcu* are with the mDos rituals (vol.43).

445 These words are attributed to Guru Chos dbang's father in *rGyud 'bum rtogs brjod* (p.419 = *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.389): 'Even in the old days, some small minded gTer ston-s indulged in their own self-importance without regard for the Dharma, and did not accomplish much for the sake of all beings. rGya Zhang khrom propagated harmful Mantra from the beginning, which defeat the common good. Ku tsha ston pa concentrated on medicine, neglecting the interests of Dharma. Ra shag gter ston did so many mDos rituals that he ended up as a mDos ritualist. Bon po Drag rtsal can started out propitiating Pe har, and thus never became anything more than a caster of spells. Such cases are endless...'

446 Byang chub gling pa dPal gyi rgyal mtshan of mNga' ris, who revealed his *Kun bzang thugs gter rDzogs chen* cycle at Bya mang phug on the dPal khud lake in upper Mang yul, was regarded as an emanation of gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po. He was a contemporary of the gTer ston-s Sangs rgyas gling pa and Tshe brtan rgyal mtshan i.e., later 14th century (see *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.479-80). The core empowerments of the *Kun bzang thugs gter 'khor ba rang grol* cycle rediscovered by mKhyen brtse rin po che are in the Nirmāṇakāya series of peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.6), the *Thugs rje chen po lha drug gi dbang* is in the Avalokiteśvara section of the peaceful Sādhana-s of the Padma series (vol.22), the *Yang dag zhi khro phur gsum* is in the peaceful Viśuddha series (of the bKa' brgyad - vol.27), and the *bKa' nan rab brjid* from this cycle is among the consecration rituals (vol.43).

447 cf. *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.302), Sangs rgyas gling pa also recommended the performance of rituals and offerings at holy places to remove obstacles, leading Kong sprul to undertake 13 successive sGrub chen-s in the sDe dge region over the following year. Ba so Chos bzang was a Sa skya Lama contemporary with Sangs rgyas gling pa who is counted among Kong sprul's previous births (e.g., *The Ri-me Philosophy*

of Jamgon Kongtrül the Great by Ringu Tulku, Shambhala Publications 2006 p.45).

448 rDo rje yang dbang/wam rtsal of Khams Gru gu is considered one of the great early gTer ston-s. It is said that three emanations of Khri srong lde'u btsan appeared around the same time (e.g., *Zab mo'i gter* f.103v), of whom sNye mo zhu yas bore the authorisation of the texts (rGyud) concealed by the king, mNga' bdag Nyang the authorisation of the transmissions (Lung) and Gru gu Yang dbang the authorisation of the instructions (Man ngag). According to *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.479), the 'Joms byed rtsal chen nyi zla nag po cycle of wrathful Mantra which he revealed near bSam yas was passed down as an unbroken transmission by his family descendants until at least the 5th Ta la'i bla ma's time, who received it from one sNgags 'chang Don grub bkra shis, and used it to come to power. The *rTa mgrin dregs pa kun grol* is with the wrathful Sādhana-s of the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.25), and the 'Joms byed rtsal chen nyi zla nag po is in the general category of wrathful rituals (vol.53). Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che noted (*bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.49v) that this rTa mgrin cycle was popular among the Māntrika-s of A mdo Reb kong.

449 Mu nang rdo rje brag dmar is in the rMe shod valley. It seems that the identification of the place as a gTer gnas of Gru gu Yang dbang was made by mKhyen brtse rin po che as a result of this vision. It was visited, for example, by Kong sprul in 1884, to perform a sGrub chen ritual based on the *Dregs pa kun grol* revelation (*Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.308).

450 cf. *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* p.233-5. On rDo rje gling pa, see *Zab mo'i gter* f.79v-83r. gTer ston mChog gyur gling pa also enjoyed clear visionary transmissions of rDo rje gling pa's revealed teachings on the strength of impressions from a previous life as the gTer ston's close disciple 'Brom ston bKa' shis 'byung gnas (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.144-5).

451 mNga' ris grub chen Tshul khriims bzang po's Ṣaḍakṣarilokeśvara Sādhana and prayer is in the Avalokiteśvara section of the peaceful Sādhana-s of the Padma series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.23). Nothing more seems to be known of this figure. The practice was widely taught by the previous Zhva de'u 'Khrul zhig rin po che and his disciple rDza sprul bsTan 'dzin nor bu, and thus gained popularity in the Himalayan borderlands in the 20th century (e.g., *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.50v).

452 'Gro 'dul las 'phro gling pa (a.k.a. Nam mkha' rdo rje) of gNyal, combined emanation of Lo chen Rin chen bzang po and lHa lcam Legs bzher, belonged to the sNyi ba family lineage of rJe sGam po pa. He was a prolific gTer ston who made discoveries at many of the sacred places in southern Tibet and Bhutan, and lived out his full potential lifespan. The revelation of the *Thugs chen don gsal sgron me* at Glang ma brag in Nepal is described in *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* (p.462). According to *Zab mo'i gter* (f.130v), Padma gling pa (1458-1520) recognised him as one of his prophesied 'three heart sons' or disciples (although they are named elsewhere (f.87r) as Jo gdan mkhan chen Tshul khriims dpal 'byor, Nang so rGyal ba don grub and sPrul sku mChog ldan mgon po). The *Thugs chen don gsal sgron me* is with the Avalokiteśvara Sādhana-s in the Padma series in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.23).

453 *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* informs us that 'His lineal successors have continued to greatly benefit living beings up to the present (i.e., the early 19th century), and both the lineage of the teachings (i.e., through his nephew lHa'i zla ba, who produced several reincarnations) and the family lineage flourished greatly' (p.463 cf. *Zab mo'i gter* f.131r), but these words are actually repeated from *gTer bton chos 'byung* (p.193), which was written in the mid-17th century.

454 Parts of the *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol* cycle were revealed in six different locations, and it was the *Yang dag thig le gcig ma* that 'Phreng po gter ston found at Zab bu lung (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.279). mKhyen brtse'i dbang phyug made no mention of 'Phreng po Shes rab 'od zer in his autobiography, and their collaboration seems to have been otherwise unknown. In the account in *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.168), the gTer ston in mKhyen brtse rin po che's dream turns into Kong sprul himself before reading the scroll, emphasising that this was an interaction from their previous lives.

455 This episode is also related in *Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can* (p.183-4). Śāntapuri, the paradise of dPa' bo thod pa'i dum bu rtsal, of whom Kun mkhyen Shes rab 'od zer was considered an emanation, is apparently situated to the west of Cāmara. This figure is described in *rTogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi* (p.11) as 'an emanation of Lo chen Vairocana who achieved the final fruition'. Once in later life the gTer ston had a vision of the paradise in the delirium of a fever, in which he was told that at the time of death he would return there and dissolve into the dPa' bo's heart (e.g., *rGyud 'bum rtsog brjod* p.465-6, *Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.550).

456 "Phe hrang 'phrul 'khor": 'Phe hrang' is a Tibetan borrowing of the originally Persian 'Farangi', variants of which were in colloquial use across south and south-east Asia to mean 'European' or 'Western' (e.g., 'Phe reng ba' in Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa's *lHo phyogs rgya gar gyi gtam brtag pa brgyad kyi me long*, 1789). In central Tibet at least, it seems to have become largely replaced by the term 'dByin ji' (English) following increased contact with British India at the turn of the 20th century. The information that mKhyen brtse rin po che was familiar with the sound of a phonograph or gramophone is not corroborated elsewhere, as far as I know, and is intriguing at least in the sense that such machines had not yet been invented at the time of the vision related here, and did not become widely known in mainland China before the early 20th century.

457 Kong sprul noted elsewhere (*dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig* p.116) that mKhyen brtse and mChog gling received direct transmissions of Shes rab 'od zer's *Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol* from the gTer ston himself in Jñānakāya form.

458 Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po a.k.a. O rgyan las 'phro gling pa a.k.a. Hūm nag me 'bar 1585-1656 of Kong po, emanation of Nyang ban Ting 'dzin bzang po, a powerful and accomplished treasure revealer, was also a monk and a scholar whose teachers included the hierarchs of the 'Brug pa and Dvags po bka' brgyud schools. He is best known for his *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* revelation, which enjoyed wide dissemination, and was famously taught at the Manchu imperial court by the 5th Ta la'i bla ma, one of his many eminent disciples. He founded the Bang ri 'jog po hermitage near Zho kha rdzong in Kong po, which remained the seat of his descendants (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.442-6, *Zab mo'i gter* f.88r-91r).

459 Rig 'dzin sTag sham bsam gtan gling pa a.k.a. Nus ldan rdo rje 1655-1708 of Tsha ba dpag shod, emanation of A tsa ra sa le, was a prodigious gTer ston and influential teacher who settled in sPo bo in later life and pioneered the opening of the 'hidden valley' of Padma bkod in response to the political crises of his times, in which he was followed by his foremost disciple Chos rje gling pa (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.574-5, *Zab mo'i gter* f.157v-59v).

460 Rig 'dzin Klong gsal snying po 1625-92 of Sa ngan was the main disciple of gTer chen bDud 'dul rdo rje and a leading religious figure in the rise of the sDe dge kingdom. He is said to have made 16 major treasure discoveries, and is particularly associated with the re-establishment of Ka thog monastery, where he installed his nephew rGyal sras bSod nams lde'u btsan, the rebirth of his teacher, as the 1st Dri med zhing skyong incarnation (*Gu ru bkra shis chos 'byung* p.571-4, *Zab mo'i gter* f.148r-50v).

461 i.e., the *mTsho rgyal snying thig* cycle mentioned above (see *bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* p.227-8).

462 These are with the Nirmāṇakāya class of Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.10).

463 The main empowerment of the '*Phags ma'i snying thig* is in the Dakinī section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.36), the Sādhana-s of the three Vidyādhara-s are in the Amṛta series (of the bKa' brgyad - vol.29), and the Uṣṇīṣavijaya offering rite is in the longevity category of the enrichment (rGyas) class of rituals (vol.49).

464 The main empowerment and instructions of the *Grub thob thugs thig* are with the supplements to the peaceful Guru Sādhana-s in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.11), and the *Khrag 'thung bde gshegs 'dus pa* Sādhana-s are in the collective category of the bKa' brgyad (vol.16). The two other recipients on that occasion were mChog gyur gling pa and (Gling sprul) Thub bstan rgyal mtshan.

465 mKhar chu, a famous place of pilgrimage in lHo brag, on the border with modern Bhutan, the site of many gTer ma revelations, is known to rNying ma tradition as the 'sanctuary of the Guru's mind' (Thugs kyi dben gnas), for it was here that gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po perfected the meditation on Yang dag thugs. mKhyen brtse rin po che visited in 1840, on his first tour of central Tibet. The *Seng gdong dkar mo bcud len* is with the Rasāyana practices in the Amṛta series (of the bKa' brgyad) in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.30).

466 The *Tshe yum tsaṅḍalī* empowerment is in the longevity category of the enrichment (rGyas) class of rituals in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.49). It was given for the second time in the winter of 1886 to a group of Lama-s from Nang chen, including Khams sprul bsTan pa'i nyi ma (*Dad gsum rgya mtsho 'phel ba'i zla ba gzhon nu* p.200). mKhyen brtse noted elsewhere of Mandāra: 'Khyung po (rnal 'byor) encountered her as Niguma, gNyan lo (tsa ba) encountered her as Ri sul gyi rnal 'byor ma ('Mountain Yogini'), rJe Mar pa (lo tsa ba) encountered her as (the Dākinī) 'wearing human bone ornaments', or 'with a banana flower', and Ras chung pa encountered her as Grub pa'i rgyal mo ('Queen of attainment'), which is her real name. Blessed by Amitāyus, granted

the extended longevity of the fortunate, in a body not subject to karmic fruition, they are said to be still living even now' (*Lo paṅ rnam kyī mtshan tho* f.55rv).

467 The *mChog gling bla sgrub padma'i myu gu'i dbang* was subsequently included in the supplements to the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.11), together with a ritual arrangement by gNas gsar ba bKra shis 'od zer.

468 mChod rten bde byed brtsegs pa, at the Śītavana charnel ground near Vajrāsana in India, was where the 'eight precepts' of Mahāyoga were concealed in eight precious caskets by the Dākinī Karmeśvari. They were later revealed simultaneously by the eight Vidyādhara-s: the iron casket with the Mañjuyama teachings went to Mañjuśrimitra, the copper casket with the Hayagrīva teachings to Nāgārjuna, the silver casket with the Viśuddha teachings to Hūṃkara, the hide casket with the Mahottara teachings to Vimalamitra, the turquoise casket with the Vajrakīlaya teachings to Padmasambhava, the hide casket of the Mātṛkā-s to Dhanasamskṛta, the offering casket of 'worldly praise' to Rombughya, and the gZi stone casket with wrathful Mantra to Śāntigarbha.

469 In other words, mKhyen brtse received visionary oral transmissions of the bKa' brgyad from each of the corresponding eight forms of Guru Padma, the bDud rtsi transmission from Guru Padmasambhava, the Phur pa transmission from Guru Śākya seng ge, the Ma mo transmission from Guru Nyi ma'i 'od zer, and so on. The *'Jam dpal gshin rje'i thugs thig* of Ācārya Mañjuśrimitra is in the wrathful Mañjuśrī series in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (vol.17), the *rTa mchog rol pa'i snying thig* of Ācārya Nāgārjuna is in the wrathful Padma series (vol.26), the *Yang dag zab thig* of Ācārya Hūṃkara is in the Viśuddha series (vol.27), the *Yon tan bdud rtsi'i mchog thig* of Ācārya Vimalamitra is in the Amṛta series (vol.30), the *Phur pa'i gnad thig* of Ācārya Prabhāhasti in the Kīlaya series (vol.32), and the *Srid pa ma mo'i gnad thig* of Ācārya Dhanasamskṛta in the Mātṛkā series (vol.32).

470 The historical identity of the famous Indian Mahāsiddha/Mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha is unclear. Dil mgo mkhyen brtse rin po che described him as the 'godfather' (sPyi mes) of the hundred Mahāsiddha-s of ancient India (*bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod* f.61r). In the Tibetan tradition he is the progenitor of Mahāmudra, and primarily associated with the *Dohakośa* ('treasury of songs of realisation') collection.

Bibliography

Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs, Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje (ed.s): *Bod dang bar khams rgya sog bcas kyi bla sprul rnams kyi skye phreng deb gzhung* in *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs*
Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang 1991.

Dil mgo mkhyen brtse Ngag dbang blo gros dga' ba'i go cha: *bKa' babs bdun gyi gsang mdzod thun mong gdul bya'i snang ngor ji tsam bzhugs pa'i dkar chag* Ngo mtshar nor bu'i *phreng ba* (gSung 'bum vol.4)
Delhi: Shechen Publications 1994.

- *Rigs dkyil rgya mtsho'i khyab bdag rje btsun bla ma 'jam dbyangs chos kyi blo gros ris med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan gtsug lag lung rig nyi ma smra ba'i seng ge dpal bzang po'i rnam thar cha shas tsam brjod pa* Ngo mtshar yongs 'dus dga' tshal (gSung 'bum vol.1)

rDo grub chen 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma: *Bho ta'i yul gyi slob dpon chen po mandzhu shri dharma mi tra'i zhabs kyi rtogs pa mdo tsam du brjod pa 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gter*
(gSung 'bum vol.4) Gangtok 1975.

Gu ru bkra shis Ngag dbang blo gros: *gSang sngags rnying ma'i chos 'byung Legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*
Beijing: Bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang 1990.

'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub: *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'Dzam gling mtha'i gru khyab pa'i rgyan*
(in *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*) Thimpu: Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché 1974 vol.34.

'Jam mgon kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho: *Phyogs med ris med kyi bstan pa la 'dun shing dge sbyong gi gzugs brnyan 'chang ba Blo gros mtha' yas pa'i sde'i byung ba brjod pa Nor bu sna tshogs mdog can*
Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1997.

- *'Du shes gsum ldan spong ba pa'i gzugs brnyen Padma gar gyi dbang phyug phrin las 'gro 'dul rtsal gyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i dum bu smig rgyu'i bdud rtsi*
Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1997.

- *Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa Rin chen bai durya'i phreng ba*
Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro 1976 vol.1.

- *Rin chen gyi gter mdzod chen por ji ltar bzhugs pa'i dkar chag dang smin grol rgyab brten dang bcas pa'i brgyud yig dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig*
Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro 1976 vol.2.

- *Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcas Shes bya kun khyab*
Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1982 (3 vol.s)

'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po: *Collected works* (gSung 'bum - 24 vol.s),
Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten 1977.

- *Gangs can bod yul du byon pa'i gsang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdus Ngo mtshar padmo'i dga' tshal*

- *mDo sngags bstan pa rin po che'i chos kyi byung tshul las brtsams pa'i lo rgyus dang rnam thar shin tu mang po Ngo mtshar lha'i pad tshal*

- *Gangs can gyi yul du byon pa'i lo pañ rnam kyi mtshan tho rags rim tshig bcad du bsdebs pa*
(in gSung 'bum vol.18)

- *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba brjod pa las gtso bor brtsams pa'i gtam sKal bzang rna ba'i bcud len*
(in gSung 'bum vol.19)

- *Gang shar rdo rje'i glu phreng skal bzang rna ba'i dga' ston*
(in gSung 'bum vol.22)

- *Nang rgyud sde gsum gtso bor gyur pa'i zab rgyas chos tshul rab 'byams kyi gleng ba dNgos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde mig*
(in gSung 'bum vol.23)

- *dBus gtsang gi gnas rten rags rim gyi mtshan byang mdor bsdus Dad pa'i sa bon*
(in gSung 'bum vol.24)

Karma mi 'gyur dbang rgyal: *gTer bton brgya rtsa'i mtshan sdom gsol 'debs chos rgyal bkra shis stobs rgyal gyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa lo rgyus gTer bton chos 'byung*
Darjiling 1978.

mKhan chen Blo gros phun tshogs: *rDzong sar bkra shis lha rtse'i sngon gyi lo rgyus gтам du gleng ba Ngo mtshar dpyid kyi pad tshal*
rDzong sar 1991.

- *rDzong sar dgon gyi lo rgyus 'bring du byas pa gNa' gтам rdo la ri mo*
Chengdu 2006.

mKhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan: *mKhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med khu dbon gsum gyi thun mong pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa Ngo mtshar me tog g.yo ba'i khri shing byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i 'byung gnas* (Sa skya lam 'bras literature series vol.7) Dehra Dun 1983.

mKhan chen Khra 'gu rin po che: *dPal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng bcu drug pa tshun rim par byon pa'i rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*
Sarnath: Vajravidhya Publications 2008.

mKhan po Kun dga' dbang phyug: *rJe btsun bla ma 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi blo gros kyi skeyes rabs rnam thar Rin chen bang mdzod*
Collected works of rDzong sar mkhyen brtse Chos kyi blo gros (vol.9)
Gangtok: Khyentse Labrang 1985.

Khams phyogs dKar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa Nang bstan gsal ba'i me long
Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig 'zhig lte gnas 1995 (3 vol.s).

dKon mchog 'gyur med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan: *gTer chen mChog gyur bde chen gling pa'i rnam thar bKra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed*
(*'The collected rediscovered teachings of gter-chen mchog-gyur-gling-pa'* vol.28)
New Delhi: Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltzen 1977.

lHa lung 'Chi med rdo rje, Zla gyang: *Khams sDe dge rgyal po'i srid don lo rgyus*
Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang 2009.

Nang chen rdzong srid gros rig gnas lo rgyus gzhung don khang: *Khams sgom sde nang chen pa'i dgon khag rnam kyi byung ba phyogs bsgrigs Rin chen sgrom brgya 'byed pa'i deb ther gser gyi lde mig*
Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1999.

Ngag dbang chos dpal rgya mtsho: *rJe btsun bla ma mdo khams pa chen po Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma'i thun mong gi rnam thar Dad gsum rgya mtsho 'phel ba'i zla ba gzhon nu*
Tashi Jong (Palampur): Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang 1985.

rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa
Kalimpong: Dupjung Lama 58 vol.s 1982-87.

dPal me mkhyen brtse Kun bzang 'gro 'dul: *sKyes rabs rnam thar dad pa'i sgo 'byed U dum ba ra lta bu'i do zhal*
Bir (Palampur): Sonam Topga 1975.

Rig 'dzin Chos kyi dbang phyug: *dPal rig 'dzin chen po rDo rje tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa'i cha shas brjod pa Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*
Ka thog rig 'dzin gsung 'bum vol.1
Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo 1976.

rJe btsun Tāranātha: *rGya gar chos 'byung*
Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1986.

bsTan 'dzin kun bzang lung rtogs bstan pa'i nyi ma: *sNga 'gyur grub dbang rgyal
ba rdzogs chen pa'i gdan rabs chos brgyud dang bcas pa'i byung ba brjod pa'i gtam Yid bzhin
dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*
Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang 2004.

gTer chen 'Bar ba'i rdo rje: *sKu bzhi'i dbang phyug bDe chen 'bar ba'i rdo rje'i rtogs
brjod Yon tan rgya mtsho'i gter mdzod*
Delhi: Aogen Sheza, 1984.

Hakuji Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanekura, Tokan Tada (ed.s): *A Complete
Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*
Sendai: Tohoku Imperial University 1934.

Yang gling rdo rje: *mDo kham sa skyong sde dge chos rgyal chen po'i rgyal rabs kyi lo
rgyus dNgul dkar me long*
Chengdu: sDe dge rdzong rig gnas lo rgyus rgyu cha bsdu sgrig u yon lhan khang
1995.

Zhe chen rgyal tshab 'Gyur med padma rnam rgyal: *sGrub brgyud shing rta brgyad kyi
byung ba brjod pa'i gtam mdor bsdus Legs bshad padma dkar po'i rdzing bu*
Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1994.

Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (ed.): *Ngor mkhan chen dPal ldan chos skyong zhabs kyi
rnam thar sNa tshogs ljon pa stug po'i 'khri shing*
Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang 1974.

INDEX OF NAMES

Alo Penjor-gang	A lo dPal 'byor sgang	p.165, 201, 247
Alo Shéga	A lo zhe dga'	p.164
Aya Bönpö Lhabum	A ya bon po lha 'bum (a.k.a Gu ru rnon rtse)	p.264, 269
Ba Yéshé Wangpo	sBa Ye shes dbang po	p.234
Bakha Tulku	rBa kha sprul sku	p.82, 211
Baktön Shönu Tsultrim	Bag ston gZhon nu tshul khrim	p.235
Bamlha	'Bam lha	p.95
Barawa Gyeltsen Pelsang	'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang	p.117, 124, 129. n.169
Barché Kunsel	Bar chad kun sel	p.84, 240, 249, 250
Baso Chösang	Ba so Chos bzang	p.272. n.447
Belpo Ā Hūṃ Bar	gTer ston Bal po Ā Hūṃ 'bar	p.266. n.424
Bönpo Draktsel	gTer ston Bon po Brag tshal	p.268. n.430
Bumdrup	Bum sgrub	p.277
Bütön Chenpo Rinchen Drup	Bu ston chen po Rin chen grub	p.73, 107, 124, 197, 228 n.19, 350
Chakdor Dorjé Mébar	Phyag rdor rdo rje me 'bar	p.60, 268. n.429
Chaksam Chuwo-ri	lCags zam Chu bo ri	p.163, 174 n. 213, 224
Chaksam Nyima Chöpel	lCags zam Nyi ma chos 'phel	p.184. n.214
Chaktsé Drigu	lCags rtse gri gu	p.211

Chamchö Nga	Byams chos (sde) lnga	p.202. n.365
Chamtrin	(Mang yul) Byams sprin lha khang	p.253
Chang Minyak	Byang mi nyag	p.74
Changchub Lingpa	Grub thob chen po dPal ldan byang chub gling pa	p.88
Changchub Lingpa	Byang chub gling pa dPal	p.61, 272. n.446
Pelki Gyeltsen	gyi rgyal mtshan	
Changlung	lCang lung	p.214. n.74, 75, 276
Chang Tradüntsé	Byang Pra dun rtse	p.267-8. n.425
Chel Amoghavajra	dPyal Amoghavajra (Don yod rdo rje)	p.73, 233. n.25
Chelki Drak	gCal gyi brag (in Mon sPa gro)	p.75. n.40
Chétsun Nyingtik	lCe btsun snying thig	p.62, 224, 237
Chétsun Senggé Wangchuk	lCe btsun Seng ge dbang phyug	p.224. n. 334
Chéwa Ringsel	Bye ba ring bsrel	p.105
Chim Namka Drak	mChims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs Nam mkha' grags	p.106. n.144
Chimé Nortreng	'Chi med nor phreng	p.106. n.133
Chimé Takpé Dorjé	(rGyal sras) dPal ldan 'chi med rtag pa'i rdo rje	p.171. n.248, 259, 280
Chimé Tuktik	'Chi med thugs thig	p.62, 143
Chöchung Gyatsa	Jo bo'i chos chung brgya tsha	p.202
Chödong Tongdröl	mChod sdong mthong grol	p.203
Chenmo	chen mo	

Chödrak Gyatso	Chos grags rgya mtsho	p.92, 105-6
Chöjé Lingpa	O rgyan chos rje gling pa bDe	p.52, 76. n.47, 48, 441,
Déwé Dorjé Tsel	ba'i rdo rje rtsal	459
Chokden Gönpö	gTer ston mChog ldan mgon po	p. 52, 60, 268. n.432, 452
Chokgyur Lingpa	mChog gyur bde chen gling pa	p. 60, 62, 83-4, 89, 165- 7, 173, 177, 184, 198, 231, 239-40, 246-50, 265, 282-5. n.59, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 81, 82, 206, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 287, 370, 378, 379, 382, 391, 393, 395, 403, 423, 450, 464
Chokro Lu'i Gyeltsen	Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan	p.197
Chöten Gütsek	mChod rten dgu brtsegs	p.88. n.74
Chöying Sangmo	(rGyal yum) Chos dbyings bzang mo	p.166. n.239
Chöyul	gCod yul	p.43, 122, 132, 133, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 184, 226
Dabsang Tulku	Zla bzang sprul sku Karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas	p.146, 182-3, 278. n.208
Dagam Wangpuk	Zla gam dbang phug	p.168, 201, 237, 247, 249, 284. n.243
Dakpo Lhajé Dawö Shönu	Dvags po lha rje Zla 'od gzhon nu	p.56, 72, 197, 198. n.14

Damchö Nyingpo Kor Nga	Dam chos snying po skor lnga	p.240
Damshö Nyingdrung	Dam shod snying drung	p.59, 241
Damsi	Dam sri	p.255. n.279
Darmo Menrampa	Dar mo sman rams pa Blo bzang chos grags	p.106. n.135
Déchen Saplam	bDe chen zab lam	p.286
Dége	sDe dge	p.39, 52, 90, 92, 166, 186, 201, 204, 214. n.69, 78, 80, 90, 259, 278
Deltsé	rDel tshad	p.199, 203, 213-15
Densa-til	gDan sa thel/mthil	p.211, 226. n.342
Depjor Metok Trengdzin	sDeb sbyor me tog phreng 'dzin	p.107
Dési Sanggyé Gyatso	sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho	p.106
Dilgo	Dil/ De'u mgo	p.53, 90
Do-ben Gyatso Ö	Do ban rGya mtsho 'od	p.75. n.41
Doe Drupchen Jikmé Trinlé Ösé	rDo grub chen 'Jigs med 'phrin las 'od zer	p.97, 139. n.81, 193
Doe Khyentsé Yéshé Dorjé	mDo mkhyen brtse Ye shes rdo rje	n.282
Doe-kham	mDo khams	p.52, 57, 85-7, 109, 160, 182, 184, 203, 211, 219, 255, 277. n.68, 72, 139, 316
Doe-ngak Lingpa	mDo sngags gling pa	p.81. n.56, 432
Doetoktelpa Dorjé Gyeltsen	rDo thog thel pa rDo rje rgyal mtshan	p.234. n.364

Dokhoma	rDo kho ma	p.166. n.238
Döl Ngakchang	Dol sNgags 'chang Las'	p.76. n.44
Létro Lingpa	phro gling pa	
Dolpopa Sherab Gyeltsen	(Kun mkhyen) Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan	p.73, 149. n.20, 349
Domsum Namngé	sDom gsum rnam nges	p.96, 133, 141
Dorjé Drakpo Tsel	rDo rje drag po rtsal	p.240
Dorjé Dütsi	rDo rje bdud rtsi	p.60. n.408
Dorjé Lingpa	gTer ston rDo rje gling pa	p.52, 61, 73, 83, 274-5. n.44, 450
Dorjé Tso	lHo brag rDo rje 'tsho	p.73, 274-5
Dra-chi	Grva phyi	p.99
Dra-gom Chöki Dorjé	Grva sgom Chos kyi rdo rje	p.75, 269. n.42, 444
Dra-gyur Gyakar Puk	(Mu gu lung) sGra bsgyur rgya gar phug	p.225
Drak Dorjé Sa-ten	Brag rdo rje sra brtan	p.75. n.41
Drak Yangdzong	sGrag Yang rdzong	p.265
Drakgön Könchok	Brag dgon dKon mchog	p.105-6, 125 n.115, 117,
Tenpa Rabgyé	bstan pa rab rgyas	179
Drakmar Drinsang	Brag dmar mGrin bzang	p. 59, 236, 260. n.370, 374, 377
Drak-ngak Temdün	Drag sngags thems bdun	p.269
Drangsong Drimé	Drang srong dri med	p.174-5
Drangti	Brang ti	p.73
Dra-rik Khépe Ka-gyen	sGra rig mkhas pa'i kha rgyan	p.107

Drayab Nominhan Chenpo	Brag gyab No min han chen po	p.184. n.274
Drayab Tsangsar Trülku	Brag gyab gTsang sar sprul sku	p.213. n.311
Drekpa Silnön	Dregs pa zil gnon	p.264
Drémojong	'Bras mo ljongs	p.165, 247
Drikung Jikten Sumgön	'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum gyi mgon po	p.88. n.77
Drilbu Rim-nga	Dril bu rim lnga	p.264-5
Drimé Kunga	gTer ston (O rgyan) Dri med kun dga'	p.60, 237, 260-63. n.371, 412
Drimé Öki Gyen	Dri med 'od kyi rgyan	p.107
Drimé Shakgyu Choka	Dri med bshags rgyud cho ga	p.269
Drokmi Lotsäva	'Brog mi lo tsa ba Shākya ye shes	p.197, 219, 225. n.319, 338,361
Drölma Drak	sGrol ma brag	p.249
Drölma Jikpa Kunkyop	sGrol ma 'jigs pa kun skyob	p.267. n.427
Drölma Saptik	sGrol ma zab tig	p.248. n.391
Dröltik Gongpa Rangdröl	Grol thig dgongs pa rang grol	p.279. n.43, 317, 454, 457
Dröltik Korsum	Grol tig skor gsum	p.247
Droltön Jamyang Chöki Gyeltsen	sGrol ston 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan	p.135, 166, 270. n.191
Drondül Létro Lingpa	'Gro 'dul Las 'phro gling pa	p.61, 277. n.452
Drondül Pakpé Tuktik	'Gro 'dul 'phags pa'i thugs tig	p.260, 262. n.416
Drompa Gyang	Grom pa rGyang	p.76
Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné	'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas	p.72, 190, 197, 219, 224. n.12, 437

Drugu Yangwang	gTer ston Gru gu Yang dbang/ rDo rje yang dbang rtsal	p.61, 273. n.448
Drukpa	'Brug pa	p.54, 73, 109. n.344
Drupchok Tsultrim Sangpo	(Gu ge) Grub mchog Tshul khrim bzang po	p.277. n.451
Druptop Orgyenpa	Grub thob O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal	p.56, 197, 219, 228. n.322
Druptop Tuktik	Grub thob thugs thig	p.58, 283
Drupkhang Labrang	sGrub khang bla brang	p.92
Druptap Kuntü	sGrub thabs kun btus	p.182
Drupwang Changchub	Grub dbang Byang chub	p.94. n.96
Chöki Nyima	chos kyi nyi ma	
Dün Drakar	gNas mdun brag dkar	p.240
Dündül Dorjé	(gTer ston) bDud 'dul rdo rje	p.52, 83, 97, 249. n.106
Düpa Korshi	'Dus pa skor bzhi	p.276
Düpado	'Dus pa mdo	p.221
Düsum Khyenpa	(Karma pa) Dus gsum mkhyen pa	p.226. n.341
Dütsi Yönten	bDud rtsi yon tan	p.257-8
Dza Paltrül Jikmé	rDza dPal sprul 'Jigs med	p.163. n.228
Chöki Wangpo	chos kyi dbang po	
Dza'i Rawa	('O yug) rDza'i ra ba	p.224. n.334
Dzam nang Drakar Yangtsé	'Dzam nang Brag dkar yang rtse	p.250
Dzam nang Pema Shépuk	'Dzam nang Padma shel phug	p.167, 200, 240, 250. n.240

Dzarka Choktrül Kunsang Namgyel	Dzar ka mchog sprul Kun bzang rnam rgyal	p.141, 204, 213. n.200
Dzarong Bi	(Yar 'brog) rDza rong bhi	p.260
Dzin Takmo-gang	'Dzin sTag mo sgang	p.214
Dzokchen (monastery)	rDzogs chen (Ru dam bSam gtan gling)	p. 214, 249
Dzokchen Chikchö Kundröl	rDzogs chen chig chod kun grol	p.61, 82, 276. n.60
Dzokchen Désum	rDzogs chen sde gsum	p.57, 60, 231, 260. n.353
Dzokchen Guru Shipa	rDzogs chen gu ru bzhi pa	p.268. n.430
Dzokchen Pa-gyü	rDzogs chen pha rgyud	p.134, 274
Tawa Longyang	lTa ba klong yangs	
Dzokchen Pema Nyingtik	rDzogs chen padma snying thig	p.75
Dzokrim Kor-nga	rDzogs rim skor lnga	p.226
Dzongpa Kunga Namgyel	rDzong pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal	p.197
Dzongsar (monastery)	rDzong sar bkra shis lha rtse	p.94, 95, 98, 160, 163, 182, 196, 201, 210, 214, 222. n.93, 279, 286, 289
Dzongshö	rDzong shod (bde gshegs 'dus pa)	p.62, 87, 248-9, 285. n.73, 285, 389
Éh Péchok	E sPe(l) lcog	p.76, 269. n.46
Éh-yul	E yul	p.264. n.420
Gangna Chöjé	sGang sna chos rje	p.95 n.98
Gar Tongtsen	mGar sTong btsan	p.197

Garab Dorjé	dGa' rab rdo rje	p.250. n.4
Garab Nyingtik	dGa' rab snying thig	p.250
Garwang Létro Lingpa	Gar dbang Las 'phro gling pa	p.61, 76, 269. n.46
Gégyel	(Nang chen) dGe rgyal	p.61, 281
Gémang Shenpen Tayé	rDzogs chen pa/ rGyal sras/ dGe mang gZhan phan mtha' yas	p.133, 177, 198. n.188, 189, 196, 308
Gémang Kushap	dGe mang sku zhabs	p.213. n.308
(Jé) Gendun Gyatso	rJe dGe 'dun rgya mtsho	p.108. n.158
Gendun Gyatso	dGe 'dun rgya mtsho	p.183
Géshé Champa Puntsok	(Wa shul chos rje) dGe bshes Byams pa phun tshogs	p.106, 108, 130, 176, 184, 198. n.142
Golé Namshak	Go la'i rnam bzhag	p.107
Gompa Chakchen Ga'uma	sGom pa phyag chen ga'u ma	p.226
Gongdzö Chenmo	dGongs mdzod chen mo	p.263
Gongdzö Nyingtik	dGongs mdzod snying tig	p.269
Gongdzö Saptik	dGongs mdzod zab tig	p.264
Gongpa Sangtal	dGongs pa zang thal	p.172
Gönpo Ma-ning	mGon po ma ning	p. 129, 277
Gönpo Tséring	dGe rab gnyer chen mGon tshe	p.88
Gurdrak Yéshé Rangsel	Gur drag ye shes rang gsal	p.269
Guru Chöki Wangchuk	Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug	p.47, 52, 73-4, 166, 173-4, 256, 270, 279. n.30, 33, 256, 406, 434, 437, 445
Guru Jotsé	Gu ru Jo tse	p.89, 266, 269. n. 84

Guru Nöntsé	(rTa nag) gTer ston Gu ru rnon rtse a.k.a A ya bon po lha 'bum	p.269. n.437
Guru Tséten Gyeltsen	Gu ru Tshe brtan rgyal mtshan	p.53
Guru Tsokyé Dorjé	Gu ru mtsho skyes rdo rje	p.61, 270, 281
Gyakar Chöjung	rGya dkar chos 'byung	p.202, 212
Gya Lotsāva Dorjé Sangpo	rGya lo tsa ba rDo rje bzang po	p.60, 75, 253. n.38
Gya Shangtrom	gTer ston rGya Zhang khrom	p.135, 263. n.415, 445
Gyatön Pema Wangchuk	rGya ston Padma dbang phyug	p.60, 264. n.421
Gyang Yönpö-lung	rGyang Yon po lung	p.238. n.376
Gyarong Wöntrül	rGya rong dbon sprul	p.213
Gyelpo Doeche Choka	rGyal po mdos bcu'i cho ga	p.269
Gyelsé Lhajé	rGyal sras lha rje mchog	p.72, 74, 253. n.10
Chokdrup Gyelpo	grub rgyal po	
Gyelsé Tokmé	rGyal sras thog med	p.202
Gyelsen	rGyal bsen	p.266-7
Gyeltsap Jé	rGyal tshab rje Dar ma rin chen	p.105
Gyelwa Kesang Gyatso	rGyal ba sKal bzang rgya mtsho	p.198
Gyijo Lotsāva	Gyi jo lo tsa ba Zla ba'i 'od zer	p.197, 219. n.321
Gyurmé Döndrup	Khri 'dzin pa 'Gyur med don grub	p.99
Gyurmé Kunden	dBu mdzad 'Gyur med kun ldan	p.99
Gyurmé Rikdzin Sangpo	mKhan po 'Gyur med rig 'dzin bzang po	p.99
Gyurmé Sanggyé Kunga	(sMin grol gling khri chen) 'Gyur med sangs rgyas kun dga'	p.39, 53, 100. n.114

Gyurmé Tutop Namgyel	(Zhe chen dbon sprul) 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal/ 'Jam dbyangs dgyes pa'i blo gros	p. 53, 96, 104, 107, 260-63. n.100, 120
Gyüshi	rGyud bzhi	p.106 n.138
Hrampa	(Shangs mda') Sram pa	p.220
Hrī Chikma	Hri gcig ma	p.285
Hūṃkor Nyingtik	Hūṃ skor snying thig	p.275-6
Jakchil	'Jags spyil	p.226
Jashong	(Bo dong) Bya rgod gzhong	p.234
Jamgön Amé Shap	'Jam mgon A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams	p.110-11, 200
Jamgön Dorjé Rinchen	dPal Sa skya pa chen po 'Jam mgon rDo rje rin chen	p.100. n.112
Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Tayé	'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas/ Yon tan rgya mtsho	
Jamgön Tendzin Nyendrak	'Jam mgon bsTan 'dzin snyan grags	(see Simwok Choktrül)
Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo	'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po Kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan	
Jamyang Lekpé Lo-dro	'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros	p.210, 293
Ja-tśön Nyingpo	gTer ston 'Ja' tshon snying po	p.281. n.458
Jétsun Drakpa (Gyeltsen)	rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan	p.52, 72, 108. n.15, 153, 155
Jétsun Milarepa	rJe btsun Mi la ras pa	p.72. n.339

Jétsunma Tamdrin Wangmo	rJe btsun ma rTa mgrin dbang mo	p.183. n.266
Jikmé Gyelwé Nyugu	Khra ma grub chen 'Jigs med rgyal ba'i nyu gu	p.96
Jikmé Khyentsé Dokar	'Jigs med mkhyen brtse'i zlos gar	p.94
Jomo Menmo Pema Tso-kyi	Jo mo sman mo Padma tsho skyid	p.60, 256, 261. n.406
Jomo Gyakarma	Jo mo rgya gar ma	p.272
Jonang Jétsun Jo nang Kunga Drölchok	rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog	p.56, 162. n.222
Jonang Kumbum Chenmo	Jo nang sKu 'bum chen mo	p.227. n.349
Jonang Rinjung Gyatsa	Jo nang rin 'byung brgya tsha	p.202
Jora Tamché Khyenpa	sByor ra thams cad mkhyen pa	p.184. n.273
Jowo Jampé Dorjé	Jo bo 'Jam pa'i rdo rje	p.224
Jowoje Palden Atiśa	Jo bo rje dpal ldan A ti sha	p.56, 72, 119, 126-7, 130, 153, 197-8, 202, 212-13, 224. n.335
Ka-chen	dKa' chen	p.52
Kadampa	bKa' gdams pa	p.40, 43, 54, 56, 72-3, 109, 162, 184, 188, 191, 199, 224. n.336
Kadü Chöki Gyatso	bKa' 'dus chos kyi rgya mtsho	p.60, 72, 75-6, 81-2, 91, 253-5. n.10
Kadü Nyintzen Gyüнки Neljor	bKa' 'dus nyin mtshan rgyun gyi rnal 'byor	p.269
Ka-gyé Drekpa Kundül	bKa' brgyad dregs pa kun 'dul	p.268

Ka-gyé Sangwa Yongdzok	bKa' brgyad gsang ba yongs rdzogs	p.256
Ka-gyé Yongdü	bKa' brgyad yongs 'dus	p.82
Kagyü	bKa' brgyud	p.40, 42-3, 54-6, 72, 109, 182-4, 225
Kamalaśīla		p.234. n.362, 365
Kamtsang	Kam tshang bka' brgyud	p.54
Ka-né Gépong	dKa' gnad 'gal spong	p.107
Kangyur	bKa' 'gyur	p.54, 184, 198, 200
Kangri Tökar	Gangs ri thod dkar	p.223
Kardzang Drak	dKar 'dzang brag	p.90
Karling Shi-tro	Kar gling zhi khro	p.260
Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé	Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje	p.73, 228
Karmapa Tekchok Dorjé	Karma pa Theg mchog rdo rje	p.145, 183, 198, 228, 283. n. 205
Karmo Drak	(Mon) dKar mo brag	p.165. n.237
Ka-tok monastery	Ka thog rdo rje gdan	p.84, 94, 214, 248. n.94, 200, 460
Ka-tok Pañchen Gyurmé	Ka thog Mahāpaṇḍita 'Gyur	p.104, 107. n.121
Tséwang Chokdrup	med tshe dbang mchog grub	
Ka-tok Rikdzin	Ka thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang	p.146. n. 191, 192, 214,
Tséwang Norbu	nor bu	442
Ka-tok Shingkyong	Ka thog Shing skyong	p.213. n. 313
Kawa Karpo	Kha ba dkar po	p.95 n.97
Kawa Peltsek	sKa ba dPal brtsegs	p.197. n.206
Kesang Chödrön	bsKal bzang chos sgron	p.183. n.266

Kesang Dorjé	sKal bzang rdo rje	p.210, 292
Khaché Paṅchen Śākyaśrībhadra	Kha che paṅ chen	p.73, 197, 233
Khamjé Tang	Kham bye thang	p.201. n.288
Khamsum Silnön	Khams gsum zil gnon	p.226
Khandro Kadü	mKha' 'gro bka' 'dus	p.276
Khandro Nyingtik Nyingpo	mKha' 'gro snying thig snying po	p.270
Khandro Yangtik	mKha' 'gro yang tig	p.166, 223
Khandro Sangwa Kundü	mKha' 'gro gsang ba kun 'dus	p.60, 256
Khandroma Rikché Tsel	(Padma) mKha' 'gro ma rig byed rtsal	p.60, 254. n.402
Khangmar-doe	Khang dmar mdo	p.201, 214, 249
Kharak Déchen Lingpa	(Kha rag) gter ston bDe chen gling pa	p.270. n.439
Khatö Kangbar Pukmoché	(E) Kha stod gangs bar phug mo che	p.264
Khépa Ga-ché	mKhas pa dga' byed	p.106
Khenlop-chösum	mKhan slob chos gsum	p.56
Khyungnak Śākya Dar	Khyung nag Shākya dar	p.76, 270
Khyungpo Neljor	Grub chen Khyung po rnal 'byor	p.56, 197, 226. n.318, 345, 466
Khyungpo Pelgé	gTer ston Khyung po dpal dge	p.269. n.435
Khyungtra	Khyung khra	p.270
Khyungtsang Drak	Khyung tshang brag/ Ri bo khyung lding/ Khyung chen brag	p.89, 247

Kundröl Sangwa Tsel	gTer ston Kun grol gsang ba rtsal/ Tshe dbang grags pa	p.247. n.385
Kunsang Shenpen	Grub chen Kun bzang gzhan phan	p.186
Kunsang Tuktér	Kun bzang thugs gter 'khor	p.272
Khordé Rangdröl	'das rang grol	
Kuntup Gyelmo	Kun thub rgyal mo	p.255
Kunyön Lhakhang	Kun yon lha khang	p.201
Kusa Menpa Pema	Ku sa sman pa Padma skyabs/	p.75, 269, 272. n.40
Kyap/ Kutsa Dawö	Khu tsha zla 'od	
Kusum Nyinda Barwé Nangwa	sKu gsum nyi zla 'bar ba'i snang ba	p.269
Kusum Rikdü	(Bla sgrub) sKu gsum rigs 'dus	p.62
Kusum Tönpé Gongdzö Ringmo	sKu gsum ston pa'i dgong mdzod ring mo	p.263
Kyormolungpa Donyö Pelsang	sKyor mo lung pa Don yod dpal bzang	p.107
La-drup Korshi	Bla sgrub skor bzhi	p.60, 249
La-drup Yishin Norbu	Bla sgrub yid bzhin nor bu	p.262
La-dzok-tuksum	Bla rdzogs thugs gsum	p.60, 253, 260, 264, 276. n.39
Lama Dampa Sonam Gyeltsen	dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan	p.233
Lama Demchok Khorlo	Bla ma bde mchog 'khor lo	p.60
La-drup Yishin Norbu	Bla sgrub yid bzhin nor bu	p.262

Lama Drum	Bla ma Grum	p.270
Lama Druppa	Bla ma sgrub pa	p.223
Lama Gongdü	Bla ma dgongs 'dus	p.209, 250
Lama Kadü	Bla ma bka' 'dus	p.275-6
Lama Kushi	Bla ma sku bzhi	p.59, 241
Lama Sangdü	Bla ma gsang 'dus	p.281
Lama Tennyi Korsum	Bla ma bstan gnyis skor gsum/ Bla ma bstan gnyis sku gsum bde gshegs 'dus pa'i zab tig mthong ba rang grol	p.60, 75
Lama Yongdzok	Bla ma yongs rdzogs	p.76
La-menpa Karma Tséwang	Bla sman pa Karma tshe dbang	p.106
Lamrim Yéshé Nyingpo	Lam rim ye shes snying po	p.240
Lamsap Lamé Neljor	Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor	p.225
Lamsap Le'u Dünma	Lam zab le'u bdun ma	p.26 Mutik Tsenpo
Langdro Könchok Jungné	Lang gro dKon mchog 'byung gnas	p.62, 86, 284. n.67
Laru Sérka	La ru'i gser kha	p.266
Latsé Wanggyé	La btsas dbang rgyal	p.93
Lekden Nakpo	Legs ldan nag po	p.277
Lérab Lingpa	gTer ston Las rab gling pa	p.248
Lhari Rolpa Drak	lHa ri rol pa brag	p.264. n.254
Lhari Simpu	lHa ri gzim phug	p.173. n.192
Lhasé Murub Tsenpo	lHa sras Mu rub btsan po/ Ye shes rol pa rtsal	n.81, 82, 354, 370, 423

Lhasé Mutik Tsenpo	lHa sras Mu tig btsan po	p.72. n.248
Lhatsün Chenpo	lHa btsun chen po	p.47, 52
Namka Jikmé	Nam mkha' 'jigs med	
Lhatsün Döndrup Gyeltsen	Sog po tho yon Ye shes don grub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan	p.184, 198. n.182
Lhatsün Ngönmo	lHa btsun sngon mo lHa dbang rgya mtsho blo gros	p.60, 265. n.254, 423
Lhentap Shalshé	lHan thabs zhal shes	p.106
Nyingi Yangchü	snying gi yang bcud	
Lho-drak	lHo brag	p.73, 99, 221, 225, 256, 274, 284
Lho-drak Mawochok	lHo brag sMra'o lcog	p.221
Lho-drak Sékar Gutok	lHo brag Sras/gSas mkhar dgu thog	p.147, 225. n.339
Lho-drak Tuktrül	lHo brag (pad gling) thugs sprul	p.211
Lhundrup Teng	dPal lHun grub steng	p.55, 92, 203, 210, 214. n.90
Lingsé Rikdzin Pema Drondül	Gling sras rig 'dzin Padma 'gro 'dul	p.97. n.105
Litang Champa-ling	Li thang Byams pa gling	p.106
Lobur Né-nga Chö	Glo bur nad lnga'i bcos	p.105
Lo-chen Rinchen Sangpo	Lo chen Rin chen bzang po	p.197. n.37
Longchen Nyingtik	Klong chen snying thig	p.62, 97, 162, 184
Longchen Rabjampa	Klong chen rab 'byams bzang po	p.150, 166-7, 200, 203, 223, 284-5. n.17
Longsel Nyingpo	Rig 'dzin Klong gsal snying po	p.281. n.460

Lopön Kunga Jampel	'Dar Brang chen slob dpon Kun dga' 'jam dpal	p.183
Lopön Sonam Tsémo	Slob dpon bSod nams rtse mo	p.108
Losang Gélek	(bKra shis lhun po) Blo bzang dge legs	p.105
Losang Norbu	Blo bzang nor bu	p.97
Losel Tenkyong	Zhva lu mchog sprul Blo gsal bstan skyong	p.100, 101, 107, 177, 198. n.115
Lowo Gékar	mNga' ris Glo bo dge skar/ dkar	p.75
Lowo Lo-dro Tayé	(Dus zhabs pa 'Jam pa'i dbyangs) (G)lo bo Blo gros mtha' yas	p.100
Lupa	(Yar klung) Klu pa	p.264
Machik Lapdrön	Ma gcig Lab sgron	p.197, 226-7. n.347
Ma-gyü Longsel Barma	Ma rgyud klong gsal 'bar ma	p.276
Ma-gyü Sapmo Kundü	Ma rgyud zab mo kun 'dus	p.269
Mamo Bötong	Ma mo rbod gtrong	p.286
Mamo Gangshar	Ma mo sgang shar	p.61, 270-71
Mangkar Tubten Gempel	Mang mkhar Thub bstan dge 'phel	p.225
Mangtö Ludrup Gyatso	Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho	p.234
Mañjuśrimitra	Slob dpon 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen	p.44, 52, 71, 82, 94, 222, 250. n.4, 330, 468, 469
Mapja Changchub Tsöndru	rMa bya Byang (chub) brtson (grus)	p.202
Melong Dorjé	Grub chen Me long rdo rje	p.99. n.111

Méngak Yönten Gyüki Lhentap	Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs	p.106
Menki Dزونgtrang Chenmo	sMan gyi rdzong 'phrang chen mo	p.258-9
Menki Dزونgtrang Nyingtik	sMan gyi rdzong 'phrang snying thig	p.259
Menming Ngotrö	sMan ming ngo sprod	p.106
Mentsün Dorjé Yarmo Sil	sMan btsun rdo rje dbyar mo bsil	p.171
Mentsün Dorjé Yudrön	sMan btsun rDo rje gyu sgron	p.267
Méshö	rMe (sMad) shod	p.250. n.59, 80, 83, 93,278, 449
Mi-pam Namgyel Gyatso	Pañdi ta Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho	p.176, 234-5. n.258
Mindro-ling	O rgyan smin grol gling	p.39, 53, 99, 130, 140, 188 . n.110
Mingyur Létro Lingpa	Mi 'gyur Las 'phro gling pa	p.61, 270. n.440
Mingyur Namké Dorjé	(rDzogs chen sprul sku) Mi 'gyur nam mkha'i rdo rje	p.137, 263. n.193
Minling Lo-chen Dharmaśrī	sMin (grol) gling lo chen Dharma shri	p.107, 132-3, 135. n.126, 145
Minyakpa Prajñājvala	Mi nyag pa Pradznya dzva la (Shes rab 'bar)	p.233
Moktön Jikdral Chöying Dorjé	rMog ston gsang bdag chen po 'Jigs bral chos dbyings rdo rje	p.94, 188. n.95
Molmikyil	gTer ston Mol mi 'khyil	p.60, 267. n.425

Mönmo Tashi Khyédren	Mon mo bKra shis khye'u 'dren	p.249
Munang Dorjé Drakmar	Mu nang rDo rje brag dmar	p.273
Mutik Pama Gong	Mu tig spa ma gong (in Yar 'brog)	p.75
Naktso Lotsäva	Nag 'tsho lo tsa ba Tshul	p.72, 127, 130 n.11
Tsultrim Gyelwa	khirms rgyal ba	
Namchak Drak	gNam lcags brag ('bar ba)	p.76
Namka Ding	(Chu bo ri) Nam mkha' lding	p.238
Namké Nyingpo	(gNubs) Nam mkha'i snying po	p.82, 86, 284. n.66
Nanam Dorjé Düjom	sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms	p.266
Nanam Tuppa Gyelpo	gTer ston sNa nam Thub pa rgyal po	p.136, 269. n.433, 436
Nédong Tsé Tsokpa	sNe'u gdong rTse tshogs pa	p.211
Nésar Jamyang	gNas gsar ba 'Jam dbyangs	p.73, 76, 90, 254,
Khyentsé Wangchuk	mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug	279. n.21, 22, 45, 56, 85
Ngadü Drachen Dangché	lNga bsdus sgra gcan dang bcas	p.107
Ngakchang Létro Lingpa	sNgags 'chang Las 'phro gling pa	p.60, 76, 270. n.44
Ngakpa Chokdrup Gyelpo	sNgags pa mchog grub rgyal po	p.75
Nga-rab Gyurmé Garwang	sNgags rab 'Gyur med gar dbang	p.99
Nga-rab Gyurmé Pelsang	sNgags rab 'Gyur med dpal bzang	p.99
Nga-ri Pañchen	mNga' ris pa..ita chen po	p.52, 76, 82-3. 93, 96,
Pema Wanggyé	Padma dbang gi rgyal po	133, 136, 141, 173-4, 235. n.34, 35, 43, 255, 440
Nga-ri Rikdzin	mNga' ris Rig 'dzin Legs ldan	p.137, 174. n.255
Lekden Dorjé	rdo rje	

Ngawang Lekdrup	dPon slob Ngag dbang legs grub	p.108, 113, 129, 182-3. n.127, 152, 162, 164
Ngawang Losang Gyatso	(rGyal ba lnga pa) Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho	p.74, 130, 137, 141. n.36, 316, 374, 458
Ngédön Nyéma	Nges don snye ma	p.107
Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang	Ngan lam rGyal ba mchog dbyangs	p.221, 273. n.329
Ngensong Kunkyop	Ngan song kun skyob	p.276
Ngodrup Pelbar	(sKu tshab) dNgos grub dpal 'bar	p.60, 239
Ngok Chöku Dorjé	rNgog Chos sku rdo rje	p.226
Ngok Lotsäva Lo-den Shérab	rNgog lo chen po Blo ldan shes rab	p.192, 197
Ngönjang Lhakhang	mNgon byang lha khang	p.196
Ngor Éwam Chöden	Ngor e wam chos ldan	p.98, 101, 112, 160, 182-3, 211. n.98, 107, 261, 262, 279
Ngorchen Könchok Lhundrup	Ngor chen dKon mchog lhun grub	p.108, 212. n.154
Ngorchen Kunga Sangpo	Ngor chen (rdo rje 'chang) Kun dga' bzang po	p.73, 183, 197. n.161,163
Ngülchu Tsotru Chenmo	dNgul chu btso bkru chen mo	p.106
Nominhan Pakchok	(Ri bo che) No min han 'Phags mchog	p.183
Norbu Punsum	rTsi rke Nor bu spun gsum	p.60, 237
Nupchen Sanggyé Yéshé	gNubs chen/ ban Sangs rgyas ye shes	p.260. n.325, 413, 415, 417, 423
Nyak Jñānakumāra	gNyags Ye shes gzhon nu	p.257. n.407, 408
Nyaké Pön	Nyag sked dpon mGon po rnam rgyal	p.237. n.278, 372, 404, 405

Nyang Shami Go-cha	Nyang Sha mi go cha	p.263. n.418
Nyangpo Samten Lingpa	Nyang po bSam gtan gling pa/ bSam gtan bde chen gling pa	p.60, 268. n.431
Nyangré Nyima Ösé	mNga' bdag Nyang ral (pa can) Nyi ma'i 'od zer	p.52, 61, 73-4, 80, 82, 88, 110, 131-2, 135, 140- 41, 147, 150, 154, 163, 249, 264, 270, 281. n.28, 444, 448
Nyemdo Sonam Pel	sNye mdo thams cad mkhyen pa bSod nams dpal	p.73, 233
Nyenchen Tanglha	gNyan chen thang lha	p.59, 241
Nyidrak Choktrül	Nyi grags mchog sprul	p.123. n.307
Nyima Senggé	(gTer ston) Nyi ma seng ge	p.60, 75, 253. n.39
Nyingi Melong	(Lung byang) sNying gi me long	p.84
Nyingpo Chikdril	sNying po gcig dril	p.237
Nyingpo Nangwé Ösé s	Nying po snang ba'i 'od zer	p.107
Nyingtik Kordün	sNying thig skor bdun	p.250
Nyö	gNyos	p.53, 57, 86, 88
Oḍiyāna		p.44, 256. n.276, 322, 356
Ölmo-lung	'Ol mo lung	p.176
Orgyen Chödrak	Rab 'byams pa O rgyan chos grags	p.107. n.146
Orgyen Nangsi Silnön	O rgyan snang srid zil gnön	p.266
Orgyen Nyendrup	O rgyan bsnyen sgrub	p.43, 228
Ösel Trülpe Dorjé	'Od gsal sprul pa'i rdo rje	p.86. n.49

Padampa Sanggyé	Pha dam pa sangs rgyas	p.73, 197, 212, 219, 226-7, 233. n.24
Padmasambhava	Slob dpon Padma 'byung gnas	p.56, 68, 72, 120, 197-99, 212, 220, 223, 227, 238, 253, 263, 265, 267. n.4, 17, 31, 57, 59, 67, 141, 142, 143, 148, 149, 150, 151, 158, 159, 160, 167, 170-1, 223, 468, 469
Pakar Yeshé Selché	Phag dkar ye shes gsal byed	p.61. n.46
Pakma Nyingtik	'Phags ma('i) snying thig	p.61, 163, 166, 208, 249, 282
Pakmo-drupa Dorjé Gyelpo	'Gro mgon Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po	p.197, 226. n.342
Pakpa Lo-dro Gyeltsen	'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan	p.72. n.16
Palden Trinlé	dPal ldan phrin las	p.183. n.176
Palpung (monastery)	dPal spungs	p.88, 163, 170, 182, 201, 213-4, 227, 233. 248, 274. n.73, 76, 78, 123, 208, 211, 235, 244, 257, 277, 287, 290, 295, 398
Palpung Wön-gen	dPal spungs dbon rgan	p.213. n.277, 306
Pañchen Gendun Drup	Pañchen dGe 'dun grub	p.73. n.18
Pañchen Tenpé Nyima	Pañchen bsTan pa'i nyi ma	p.182. n.261
Pang Mi-pam Gönpö	sPang Mi pham mgon po	p.223. n.331, 332
Pangjé Tönpa	sPang rje ston pa (sPang ston grub pa'i snying po)	p.74. n. 33, 445

Pawo Töpé Dumbu Tsel	dPa' bo thod pa'i dum bu rtsal	p.280
Pel De'u	dPal de'u	p.249
Pelki Lo-drö	(mKha' 'gro) dPal gyi blo gros	p.224
Pemakö	Padma bkod	p.165. n.236
Pema Öling	Padma 'od gling	p.96. n.99
Pema Ösel Do-ngak Lingpa	Padma 'od gsal mdo sngags gling pa	p.52, 76, 85. n.49
Pema Śāvāri Marpo	Padma sha ba ri dmar po	p.270
Pema Shéri	gTer lung Padma shel ri	p.59, 167, 247, 249. n.241
Pema Tashi	Padma bkra shis	p.91
Pema Tötrenḡ	Padma thod phreng	p.44
Pema-tsek	Brag padma brtsegs pa (at Yar lung Shel brag)	p.76, 258
Pema Tumpo	Padma gtum po	p.61, 270
Pendé Chargyun	Phan bde'i char rgyun	p.105
Pendé Nyingpo	Phan bde'i snying po	p.105
Péri	('Phyong rgyas) dPal ri	p.184
Péyul Gyatrül Rinpoché a.k.a Péyul Tülku Karma Kunsang Tendzin	dPal yul rGya sprul rin po che/ dPal yul sprul sku Karma kun bzang bstan 'dzin	p.142, 204, 213. n.201
Péyul Karma Gyurmé Trülku	dPal yul Karma 'gyur med sprul sku	p.213
Prajñāraśmi	see Trenggo Tértön Shérab Ösé	
Pratihārāmati	sGo mtha' yas pa'i blo gros	p.47, 52, 72, 175. n.7
Prince Damdzin	lHa sras dam 'dzin (see Lhasé Murub Tsenpo)	

Pomdzang	sPom 'dzang	p.214
Pönsé Khyungtok	dPon sras khyung thog Ye shes 'bar	p.61, 269. n.434
Pūrṇa Dzari	Purna rdza ri	p.75, 253
Ramo Shémen	Ra mo shel sman	p.61, 258, 261. n.408
Yéshé Sangpo	Ye shes bzang po	
Rangjön Nga-den	(Thugs rje chen po) Rang byon lnga ldan	p.163
Ranta	('Dzin) sBra mtho	p.213
Rashak Tértön	Ra shag gter ston Chos 'bar/ bSod nams rdo rje	p.61, 131, 155, 270-72. n.444, 445
Rashi Tértön Pema	sPo bo Ra zhi gter ston Padma	p.76, 270. n.47
Rikdzin	rig 'dzin/ tshe dbang rtsal	
Ratna Lingpa	gTer chen Ratna gling pa	p.82, 89. n.58
Ratna Tselchen Düpa	Ratna rtsal chen 'dus pa	p.265
Réchung Dorjé Drak	Ras chung rDo rje grags	p.52, 72, 144-7, 153, 226. n.13, 466
Réchung Puk	Ras chung phug	p.211
Rendawa Shönu Lo-dro	Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros	p.202, 233. n.357
Reteng (monastery)	Rva sgreng	p.211, 224
Rikdzin Chokdrup	Rig 'dzin mchog sgrub	p.250
Rikdzin Gyéki Gödrup	Rig 'dzin brgyad kyi sgos sgrub	p.248
Rikdzin Jikmé Lingpa	Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa	p.73, 96. n.23
Riksum Nyingtik	Rigs gsum snying thig	p.250

Rikdzin Yongdzok Tuktik	Rig 'dzin yongs rdzogs thugs tig	p.89
Rinchen Chépe Démik	Rin chen gces pa'i lde'u mig	p.107
Rinchen Lingpa	(Chos rgyal/ gTer ston) Rin chen gling pa	p.52, 61, 82, 276-7. n.60
Rinchen Rilnak Chenmo	Rin chen ril nag chen mo	p.106
Rinchen Térpung	Yaksha dzam bha la rin chen gter spungs	p.60, 265
Rinchen Wanggyé	Rin chen dbang rgyal	p.53, 88, 93
Riwo Wangshu	Ri bo dbang zhu	p.87, 90. n.71, 241, 243
Rokjé Lingpa	Rog rje gling pa	p.61, 270. n.442
Rolpé Dorjé Drak	Rol pa'i rdo rje'i brag	p.83
Rongmé Karmo Taktsang	Rong rme dkar mo stag tshang	p.82, 201, 240. n.59
Rongmen Nyima Ösel	Rong sman Nyi ma 'od gsal	p.259, 269. n.411
Rongpa Dündül Lingpa	Rong pa bdud 'dul gling pa	p.267. n.428
Rongtön Chenpo	Kun mkhyen Rong ston pa Śākya rgyal mtshan	p.106, 202. n.140
Rongzom Lotsāva Chöki Sangpo	Rong zom lo tsa ba Chos kyi bzang po	p.60, 107, 254. n.149
Sa-chen Kunga Nyingpo	Sa chen Kun dga' snying po	p.164, 233. n.230
Sa-chen Kunga Lo-dro	Sa skya khri chen Ngag dbang kun dga' blo gros	p.110, 265. n.22, 422
Sakmé Ja-tson (cave)	Zag med 'ja' tshon phug	p.76
Sakya (monastery)	dPal Sa skya	p., 164, 211. n.230
Sakya Ganden Pönlop	Sa skya dga' ldan dpon slob	p.183

Sakya Pañchen	Sa skya pañ chen Kundga' rgyal mtshan	p.104, 207. n.173
Salmo Gang	Zal mo sgang	p.87. n.68
Samding Dorjé Pakmo	bSam sdings rdo rje phag mo	p.148, 184. n.115, 212, 273
Samdrup Dorjé	bSam 'grub rdo rje	p.272
Sampa Lhundrupma	bSam pa lhun grub ma	p.238. n.377
Samyé (monastery)	bSam yas mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa/ Brag dmar zan yangs	p.61, 75, 177, 211, 236, 252, 254, 263, 281. n.5, 57, 60, 66, 444, 448
Samyé Chimpu	bSam yas mChims phu	p.167, 211, 253, 260, 262. n.167
Sanda-tsang	Sa mda' tshang	p.165
Sang	Srang	p.199, 212-14
Sangdak Dukpa Kunjom	gSang bdag gdug pa kun 'joms	p.270
Sangdrup Lha-nga	gSang sgrub lha lnga	p.254
Sangri Kharmar	Zangs ri mkhar dmar	p.227
Sanggyé Döndrup	Sangs rgyas don grub	p.97
Sanggyé Lama	gTer ston Sangs rgyas bla ma	p.52, 60, 75, 252, 263. n.10, 37
Sanggyé Lingpa	gTer chen Sangs rgyas gling pa	p.60, 252, 272. n.400
Sanggyé Pel	sKyed tshal pa Sangs rgyas 'phel	p.202
Sanggyé Séchiki Gyü	Sangs rgyas sras gcig gi rgyud	p.209
Sangmen Chikgyü	gSang sman chig rgyud	p.106
Sang-ngak Lungi	gSang sngags lung gi bka'	p.275
Katoe Chenmo	tho chen mo	

Sangsang Lha-drak	Zang zang lha brag	p.172
Śāntapuri		p.280. n.455
Śāntarakṣita	mKhan chen Zhi ba'i mtsho	p.56, 72, 197-8, 203, 220, 234. n.362, 363
Sapa Kordün	Zab pa skor bdun	p.83
Sapdön Kundril Yishin Norbu Tongwa Rangdröl	Zab don kun 'dril yid bzhin nor bu mthong ba rang grol	p.253
Sapdön Nyingpo Chüdril	Zab don snying po'i bcud 'dril	p.264
Sapsang Nyingpo Yangchü	Zab gsang snying po'i yang bcud	p.265
Sapulung	(Shangs) Zab bu lung	p.76, 236, 248, 278-9. n.369, 454
Sarmolung	(E yul) gZar mo lung	p.256
Saroruhavajra	mTsho skyes rdo rje	p.45, 231, 282
Śāvaripa		p.72, 152. n.8, 223, 366
Sazang Pañchen	Sa bzang (ma ti) pañ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan	p.202
Sendarka	(Mon gyi rgyal po) Se 'dar kha	p.267
Sengchen Namdrak	Seng chen gnam brag	p.282
Sengdong Karmo Chülen	Seng gdong dkar mo'i bcud len	p.62, 284
Senggé Namdrak	Seng ge gnam brag	p.250
Seng-ngu Yumtso	Seng ngu gyu mtsho	p.59, 240, 249
Séwalung	(Yer pa) Se ba lung	p.267
Shalshé Nyingi	Zhal shes snying gi	p.106
Kuwa Gambhira	khu ba gambhi ra	
Shalu Khyenrab Chöjé	Zhva lu mKhyen rab chos rje	p.73. n.19

Shalu Ribuk	Zhva lu Ri sbug	p.228. n.350
Shami Do(rjé) Gyel(tsen)	gTer ston Sha mi rdo rgyal	p.263, 269. n. 419
Shanglön Dorjé Trelchung	Zhang blon rDo rje sprel chung	p.254
Shang Tselpa	Zhang Tshal pa	p.197
Shang Yéshé Dé	Zhang Ye she'i sde	p.197
Shangshong	(Shangs) Zhang zhong	p.226
Shapdrung Namka Gyeltsen	Zhabs drung Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan	p. 198
Shar Lama Kunga Pelden	Shar bla ma mkhas dbang Kun dga' dpal ldan	p. 183
Sharchen Rinchen Mingyur Gyeltsen	Shar chen Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan	p.88. n.79
Shasa Khamoché	Sha za kha mo che	p.167
Shéchen (monastery)	Zhe chen bstan gnyis dar rgyas gling	p.96, 214. n.99
Shédam Nyingjang	Zhal gdams snying byang	n.393
Shéja Kunkhyap	Shes bya kun khyab	p.155
Shiché	Zhi byed	p.43, 73, 132, 150, 226-7. n.24, 169
Shiché Kordün	Zhi byed (lha mo) skor bdun	p.60, 265. n.423
Shikpo Lingpa	gTer ston Zhig po gling pa	p.254. n.403
Shi-tro Shépuk	Zhi khro shel phug	p.247
Shotö Tidro Drakar	gZho stod Ti sgro brag dkar	p.115, 223. n.166
Shuchen Tsultrim Rinchen	Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen	p.121, 122, 200
Shung Péshing	gZhung sPre zhing	p.225

Shungdam Méngak	(bKa' gdams) gZhung gdams man ngags	p.224
Shuyé Nöchin Bar	gTer ston (sNye mo) Zhu yas gNod sbyin 'bar	p.269. n.436, 448
Situ Pañchen Chöki Jungné	Si tu pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas	p.104. n.78, 123, 125, 127, 139
Situ Pema Nyinché Wangpo	Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po	p.144. n.204, 208
Simchil	gZim spyil	p.226
Simwok Choktrül	gZim 'og mchog sprul bŕTan 'dzin snyan grags	p.100, 106, 122. n.113
So Yéshé Wangchuk	So Ye shes dbang phyug	p.221. n.325, 328
Sokmo	Sog mo	p.53. n.80
Somapuri		p.258. n.409
Sonam Tso	bSod nams 'tsho	p.53, 88
Songtsen Gampo	Chos rgyal Srong btsan sgam po	p.197
Sungdrö Sintri Chenmo	gSung sgros zin bris chen mo	p.107
Sungtrül	(mChims phu) Zung sprul	p.211
Surkarwa	Zur mkhar ba mNyam nyid rdo rje	p.105
Ta-pel	gTa' spel	p.278
Taklung Tangpa Rinpoché	sTag lung thang pa (bKra shis dpal)	p.146, 226. n.343
Takmo Tértön Ponsé Khyungtok	sTag mo gter ston dPon sras khyung thog	p.270
Taksham Samten Lingpa	sTag sham bSam gtan gling pa/ Nus ldan rdo rje	p.147, 155, 281. n.59, 397, 459

Tamdrin Déshek Düpa Drekpa Kundröl	rTa mgrin bde gshegs 'dus pa dregs pa kun sgrol	p.273
Tamdrin Namchak Khorlo	rTa mgrin nam lcags 'khor lo	p.60, 266
Tamdrin Nyenpo Lha-nga	rTa mgrin gnyen po lha lnga	p.60, 268
Tāranātha	Jo nang rje btsun sGrol ma mgon po/ Kun dga' snying po	p.149, 151-2, 202, 212, 274. n.222, 223, 242, 368
Tangtong Gyelpo	Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po	p.52, 57-8, 73, 163, 198, 226, 277, 283. n.20, 90, 139, 224, 419
Tartsé Khenchen Champa Kunga Tendzin	Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa kun dga' bstan 'dzin	p.53, 90, 92, 100, 101, 112, 164, 183. n.86, 91, 152, 159, 164, 176, 260, 264
Tartsé Khenchen Champa Naljor Jampel Sangpo	Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa rnal 'byor 'jam dpal bzang po	p.53, 101, 112. n.86, 91, 159, 336
Tartsé Khenchen Champa Namka Chimé	Thar rtse mkhan chen Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med	p.92, 98, 186-7, 197. n.22
Tartsé Khenchen Jamyang Rinchen Dorjé	Thar rtse mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs/dpal rin chen rdo rje	p.182, 209
Tartsé Shapdrung Champa Kunga Tenpé Gyeltsen	Thar rtse zhabs drung Byams pa kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan	p.182 n.260
Tartsé Shapdrung Jamyang Namka Gyeltsen	Thar rtse zhabs drung 'Jam dbyangs nam mkha' rgyal mtshan	p.183. n.264
(Changdak) Tashi Topgyé	Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal mkha' 'gro yongs grub rtsal	p.74, 135-6. n.35, 255
Tashi Chöpel	Karma bkra shis chos 'phel/ 'od zer	p.201, 293. n.184, 290

Tashi-lhunpo (monastery)	bKra shis lhun po	p.105, 184, 211. n.18
Tashi Rinchen	Sa skya khri chen bKra shis rin chen	p.110, 183. n.160
Tawu Rokjé Lingpa	Ta'u (gTer ston) Rog rje gling pa	p.61, 270. n.442
Tendrel Yangnying Düpa	rTen 'brel yang snying 'dus pa	p.269
Tekchen Chöjé	Theg chen chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis	p.233-4
Tendzin Wangmo	bsTan 'dzin dbang mo	p.183
Térjung Chenmo	gTer 'byung chen mo	p.252
Térlung	gTer lung	p.39, 52, 87, 90, 97, 167, 237, 247
Tiklé Gyachen	Thig le'i rgya can	p.62, 223, 285. n.333
Tokden Dawa Senggé	rTogs ldan Zla ba seng ge	p.228. n.351
Tongku Lama	Tong ku bla ma	p.176
Tönpa Śākya Ö (dBu ru) s	Ton pa shakya 'od	p.268. n.429
Tönpé Dzéggya s	Ton pa'i mdzad brgya	p.202
Tötrenng Tsel	Gu ru Thod phreng rtsal	p.239
Tramo Drak	('U yug gyag lce) Khra mo brag	p.159
Trampa Kunga Sangpo	Bram pa Kun dga' bzang po	p.162
Trengpo Térton	'Phreng 'go/po gter ston	p.219, 229, 279-80.
Shérab Ösé	Shes rab 'od zer (Prajñāraśmi)	n.317, 323, 454, 455, 457
Tri Répa-chen	mNga' bdag Khri ral pa can	n.55
Trisong Détsen	lHa sras btsan po Khri srong lde'u btsan	p.52, 56, 72, 74, 80, 197-8, 220, 264, 267. n.5, 9, 10, 41, 61, 67, 356, 362, 363, 370, 418, 448

Tro Siltrom	Khro zil phrom	p.171, 249. n.247, 249
Tro-kok	Khro khog	p.171, 174. n. 249
Troepu	Khro phu	p.162
Troepu Lotsäva	Khro phu lo tsa ba Byams pa dpal	p.129
Tro-tral Déchen Gödrup	sPros bral bde chen sgos sgrub	p.248
Tsandra Rinchen Drak	Tsa 'dra rin chen brag	p.293. n.244, 358, 399
Tsang	gTsang	p.62, 95, 108, 150, 164, 182, 248-9, 267
Tsangpa Gyaré	gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje	p.226. n.344
Tsangrong Tashi Lhatsé	gTsang rong bKra shis lha rtse	p.248. n.388
Tsarchen Losel Gyatso	Tshar chen (chos rje) Blo gsal rgya mtsho	p.73, 110, 125, 197, 225-6. n.21, 231, 338, 360
Tsasum Chindü	rTsa gsum spyi 'dus	p.59, 247
Tsasum Chimé Drildrup	rTsa gsum 'chi med dril sgrub	p.76
Tsasum Chi-pung	rTsa gsum spyi spungs	p.269
Tsasum Déshek Düpa	rTsa gsum bde gshegs 'dus pa	p.236
Tsasum Drildrup Ngodrup Tensik	rTsa gsum dril sgrub dngos grub brtan gzigs	p.75
Tsasum Gongdü	rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus	p.250-51
Tsasum Gyütrül Drawa	rTsa gsum sgyu 'phrul drva ba	p.59, 221, 240, 250
Tsasum Kadü Chökor	rTsa gsum bka' 'dus chos skor	p.81
Tsasum Ösel Nyingtik r	Tsa gsum 'od gsal snying thig	n.23
Tséchu Bumpa	Tshe chu 'bum pa	p.163. n.225
Tsédrup Sangwa Méjung	Tshe sgrub gsang ba rmad byung	p.61, 270

Tsédrup Vairo Tuktik	Tshe sgrub Bai ro'i thugs tig	p.62, 284. n.67
Tsédrup Yéshé Söktik	Tshe sgrub ye shes srog tig	p.61, 270
Tsédü Dokpé Doe Sapmo	Tshe bdud bzlog pa'i mdos zab mo	p.268
Tségang	rTse sgang	p.52, 81, 88
Tségur Drakma	Tshe gur sbrags ma	p.268
Tsékok	rTse khog	p.227
Tséring Döndrup	Tshe ring don grub	p.90
Tsétang	rTses dang/thang	p.211
Tsi-ki Lhakhang	rTsis kyi lha khang	p.81, 248. n.21, 55, 56
Tsokyé Nyingtik	mTsho skyes snying thig	p.61, 237, 249, 281
Tsonawa Shérab Sangpo	mTsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po	p.202
Tsongkapa Losang Drakpa	rJe rin po che Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa	p.106, 108, 126, 128, 130, 197-8, 235-6. n.156
Tsuklak Pelgé	gTer ston gTsug lag dpal dge	p.263, 269
Tsultrim Gyatso	Tshul khriims rgya mtsho	p.99, 157, 237, 248
Tsurpu (monastery)	mTshur phu	p.109, 226, 228. n.341
Tukdam Sapa Kordün	Thugs dam zab pa skor bdun	p.76
Tukdrup Barché Kunsel	Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel	p.84, 249, 250. n.71, 370, 377, 379, 393
Tukdrup Yishin Norbu	Thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu	p.61, 74, 167, 240. n.32, 240, 386
Tukjé Chenpo Dönsel Drönmé	Thugs rje chen po don gsal sgron me	p.61, 277. n.452
Tukjé Chenpo Gyalwa Gyatso	Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho	p.60

Tukjé Chenpo Pema Shi-tro	Thugs rje chen po padma zhi khro/ padma rgyal po	p.60, 253
Tukjé Chenpo Semnyi Ngelso	Thugs rje chen po sems nyid ngal gso	p.59, 85, 237. n.371, 374, 388
Tuksé Lotsāva	Thugs sras lo tsa ba (sGra tshad pa) Rin chen rnam rgyal	p.107
Ü	dBus	p.95, 99, 108, 150
Uḍayanakuṭa	mChod rten bde byed brtsegs pa	p.62, 285
Ushangdo	'U shang rdo	p.265
Ütsé Lhakhang	dBu rtse lha khang	p.199
Uyuk Dingma	'O yug sDings ma	p.224
Uyukpa Rikpé Senggé	'O yug pa Rig pa'i seng ge	p.203
(Pagor) Vairocana	Pa gor (Lo chen) Bai ro tsa na	p.46, 82, 138, 197, 249- 50, 254, 263, 284. n.17, 61, 241, 330, 332, 399
Vairo Nyingtik	Bai ro snying thig	p.250
Vairo Tuktik	Bai ro'i thugs thig	p.60
Vajraghaṅṭapāda	Grub chen rDo rje dril bu pa	p.47, 52, 72, 265. n.6
Vajrāsana	rDo rje gdan	p.44, 58, 221. n.468
Vanaratna	Paṅ chen Nags kyi rin chen	p.47, 52, 72, 119. n.8, 172, 174

Vimalamitra	Paṅ chen Dri med bshes gnyen	p.68, 71, 82, 84, 86, 142, 147, 150, 162, 197, 208-9, 222, 224, 241, 250, 263, 282-3. n.5, 17, 71, 111, 295, 356, 468, 469
Wa Senggé Drak	Wa seng ge brag	p.223
Wu-t'ai Shan	rGya nag ri bo rtse lnga	p.241
Yakchar Ngönmo	gTer ston gYag phyar sngon mo	p.60, 267. n.427
Yakṣa Mépel	Yakṣa me dpal	p.97, 141
Yangdak Méchik	Yang dag me gcig	p.233
Yangtik Chédrön	Yang tig gces sgron	p.173
Yangtrö (hermitage)	(dPal spungs) Yang khrod Kun bzang bde chen 'od gsal gling	p.168, 248, 274. n.244
Yarjé Orgyen Lingpa	Yar rje O rgyan gling pa	p.60, 76, 81, 82, 254, 269, 271. n.10, 31, 43, 443
Yarlung Shédrak	Yar klung Shel brag/ bSam 'grub shel gyi brag phug	p.76, 211, 269. n.43, 46, 408
Yarlung Wön Rinpoché	Yar klung dBon rin po che	p. 183. n.267
Yégyel Namka Dzö	Ye rgyal nam mkha' mdzod	p.250. n.395
Yéshé Khorlo Sangwa	Ye shes 'khor lo gsang ba chen Chenpo Tuktik po'i thugs tig	p.269
Yéshé Öki Nyingpo	Ye shes 'od kyi snying po	p.260
Yolmo Tulku Sang-ngak Tendzin	Yol mo sprul sku gSang sngags bstan 'dzin	p.136-7. n.192, 252

Yöndak Nakpo Khar	Yon bdag Nag po mkhar	p.270
Yöru Trandruk	gYo ru Khra 'brug	p.119, 238, 253. n.172
Yulung Kang-ra	sMad gYu lung gangs ra	p.95, 165, 247
Yungdrung Bön	gYung drung bon	p.42, 55, 176, 185, 214 n.40, 49, 67, 74, 250, 276, 381, 385, 427, 434, 435, 436, 437
Yungtönpa	gYung ston pa rDo rje dpal	p.107
Zungkar	Zung/Zur mkhar	p.81
Zur Pakshi Śākya Ö	Zur pakshi Shakya 'od	p.75

Jamgön Kongtrul's biography of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo is the definitive account of a giant among spiritual masters, composed by his closest friend and colleague. It is one of the most informative sources on the Rimé or nonsectarian movement in 19th century eastern Tibet, and for its stylistic combination of artful organisation, scholastic acuity and earthy directness, can be considered as one of the literary manifestoes of that movement.

Matthew Akester's unabridged and annotated English translation makes this fascinating work accessible to a world readership for the first time.

“For those of us who have had a little glimpse of emptiness, compassion and the wisdom of the Buddha, it is inspiring to learn what the great masters of the past have done and how they spent their time and energy. And among these masters, Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo shines like the Morning Star... Matthew Akester's translation of Jamgon Kongtrul's Life of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, offered by Khyentse Foundation to celebrate the master's 200th Anniversary, must really be treasured.”

—Dzongsar Khyentsé Rinpoché

“Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché once told us that rather than attempting to translate teachings that should really be transmitted directly from master to disciple, it would be a great service to dharma practitioners to translate inspiring life stories of great masters from the past. We are therefore delighted and honoured that the biography of Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo is now being presented to readers ... we would like to express our deep appreciation for the dedicated work that Matthew Akester has pursued over many years spent researching Khyentsé Wangpo's life and translating this landmark biography.”

— Shechen Rabjam Tulku and Matthieu Ricard

