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Martin · Mandala Cosmogony

Harrassowitz

Dan Martin

# MANDALA COSMOGONY

Human Body Good Thought  
and the Revelation of  
the Secret Mother Tantras of Bon

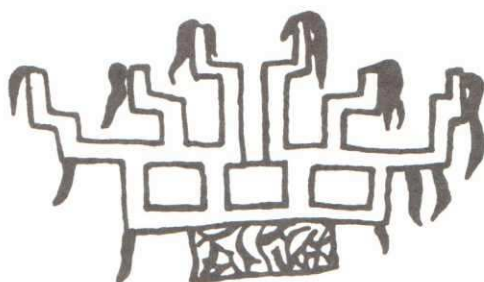


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Human Body Good Thought  
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The signet shows a head-dress of a Bon-priest from a gzer-myig manual.

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## Part I — Introduction, and the Problem of Bon Origins Briefly Considered

One of the most interesting developments affecting the departmentalization of knowledge within the contemporary academic world has been the social sciences' appropriation of domains that have usually been considered more appropriate to the humanities. This trend may be discerned in our recent anthropologies' uses of literary theory, and in their increasing utilization of historical approaches and resources. Often these anthropologies employ literary and historical approaches 'reflexively', as self-critical tools. Most significantly for present purposes, the social sciences have at the same time taken steps to incorporate another traditional preserve of the humanities (and of course also psychology), that of emotion.<sup>1</sup> Curiously, current anthropologies generally have not focussed on human emotion as commanding explanatory powers of its own, have not used emotion-study as a tool for reflexivity.<sup>2</sup> Rather, what we see emerging in the most recent years is a 'social-constructionist' view of emotion,<sup>3</sup> in which the emotions play a role of as little importance to the social structure as they did to the intellectual structure of Lévi-Strauss, who once said, as an afterthought,

Sentiments are also involved, admittedly, but in a subsidiary fashion, as responses of a body of ideas to gaps and lesions which it can never succeed in closing.<sup>4</sup>

It is precisely on this foundational point — the structure's (whether intellectual or social) alleged autonomy from and priority to emotion, making emotions little more than ineffectual responses to structural stresses<sup>5</sup> — that the Tibetan cosmogonies and myths of sociogenesis will be brought to bear.

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1 See survey articles LEIGHTON, 'Modern Theories', LUTZ & WHITE, 'Anthropology', and MIDDLETON 1989; as well as ROSALDO, *Knowledge and Passion* and ROSALDO, 'Grief'.

2 ROSALDO, *Knowledge and Passion* and ROSALDO, 'Grief' being exceptions.

3 See LUTZ & WHITE, 'Anthropology', but especially LYNCH, *Divine Passions*.

4 LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Totemism*, p. 104.

5 The social sciences' preferred usage of the neutered words 'sentiment' and 'affect' is worth noting.

A recent work by Bruce Lincoln has investigated linkages between a certain type of cosmogony common in Indo-European societies and their social orders as well as their preferred systems of classification. These cosmogonies, which are of the 'dismemberment' type, bear certain similarities to the mandala cosmogonies of Tibet, most obviously in the sense that these Tibetan cosmogonies introduce classificatory (or typological) systems that likewise work through a complex system of homologies (correspondences). Still, there are certain interesting differences. Although mandalas can at times be seen to convey a particular kind of 'body politic', the specific bodily metaphors ('the head is the ruler, the warriors are the arms,' etc.) are absent. This is one of the aspects that would suggest that the mandala and cosmogonies employing them ought to be approached on their own terms, explored within their own contexts, until they yield a sense of their own internal logic. We should not work from the assumption that mandala cosmogonies work in the same way as Lincoln's dismemberment cosmogonies. Rather, if we are to make this conclusion, it should be a result of thorough consideration and reconsideration of mandalas themselves. Insights into mandala cosmogonies might just as well lead us to different frameworks for understanding dismemberment cosmogonies, as the *vice versa*.

At present, we have two relatively well known views of mandalas<sup>6</sup> that have never directly confronted each other. The first and most prominent one is the Jungian view, which sees the 'mandala' (as Jung employs the term — many otherwise intelligent people believe Jung coined it) as basic psychic content (archetype) universally embedded in the unconscious.<sup>7</sup> The second, which we might call the Tambian view, sees mandalas as patterns for social organization and 'galactic polities'.<sup>8</sup> A third view, which does not exactly mediate the two preceding views, has been developing in the course of several research efforts.<sup>9</sup> This third view resolutely refuses to start from the prevalent Jungian standpoint, but seeks

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6 There is a great deal of literature on mandalas. I have listed in my bibliography WAYMAN, 'Totemic Beliefs', as the only example of a Durkheimian approach, and MAMMITZSCH, *Evolution*, pp. 15-25, as one of the few attempts to define mandalas without invoking Jung. Also noteworthy are RAY, *Mandala Symbolism* and BRAUEN, *Das Mandala*. Both of the latter works contain interesting critiques of Jung's understanding of mandalas. For still another work filled with interesting speculations about, as well as insights into, mandala symbolism, see BUCKNELL & STUART-FOX, *Twilight Language*.

7 See MOACANIN, *Jung's Psychology*, reviewed in MARTIN, 'Review'.

8 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*.

9 MARTIN, *Human Body*; MARTIN, 'Illusion Web'; MARTIN, 'Anthropology'.

to reclaim the mandala as a thing of cultural substance (thought, classification, ritual, art) with its own rationales within Tibetan life and literature. This third view wants to find out if the Tibetan mandala truly corresponds to the Jungian and Tambian views of it, but only as a result of a thorough study.

The main motivation of Tibetan Buddhism is not mystification in the sense that it is trying to say something very simple that could, therefore, have been simply stated. Rather, it makes a quite conscious attempt to utilize the powers of language, ritual and art in order to point to a 'complex', perhaps even a 'simple complex' however self-contradictory that phrase may seem, that cannot in itself be encompassed by those media. This 'simple complex' is generally indicated by Interdependent Origination or, more specific to the Mahâyâna, Voidness, the central mystery of the Buddhist religion which was revealed to the Buddha at His Enlightenment. The mandala itself serves as an artistic mystery that is capable (under the right conditions) of embodying and revealing this central Buddhist mystery.

Our motive for approaching the mandala, likewise, is not really one of demystification. In any case, our particular motivated approaches can only touch on the more easily intelligible aspects of mandala symbolism. To claim to present to a hopeful readership a whole and seamless picture of what a mandala *truly is* would be tantamount to pretending to penetrate the mystery of the Buddha's Enlightenment, a futile enterprise given the highly exacting standards of the Buddhists on how mystery can be approached without of necessity being compromised.

The social sciences are filled with 'scientists' who take any conceivable fact/factor of social, cultural, and intellectual life as a potentially equal focus for their scrutiny. From the dead-pan gaze of their theories, everything is grist for the mill. Nothing is admitted to lie beyond this scrutiny. There is no further perspective from which they themselves might be observed as the sort of 'objects' into which they construct everything else. The mandala leaves no place for an observer of contingencies (social or otherwise) outside of those contingencies. Everything within it (and everything *is* within it, as the *Guhyagarbha* states<sup>10</sup>) is part of a web of contingencies, of things interdependent from their very origins, with no 'identity' to call their own. Knowledge is itself a mystery that takes place when certain contingencies hold between the knowing subject and the known object. No non-contingent knowledge event is possible.

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10 MARTIN, 'Illusion Web', p. 189.



On another level, even if this is one of the most difficult points to explicate adequately, the mandala is a structure (palace, temple, home) that describes a forcefield of human as well as natural possibilities. The mandala is also employed as a classification system of the polythetic type, a 'typology'. When these basic insights have been achieved, it will then be possible to turn them to good use to better understand the theoretical import of mandalas when they are, whether explicitly or implicitly, employed in myths of sociogenesis (the formation of kingship, social structure, and 'civil society'). We may then learn that, in the theories/ideologies implicit in the cosmogonies, human passions are prior to intellectual (classification, etc.) and social structures. Then, after comparing this very interesting perspective to the Vichian theory of civil society formation,<sup>11</sup> we are better enabled to employ the Tibetan myths reflexively, as a vantage point from which the social constructivist theory of emotion, in particular, might be criticized. Our particular point of departure is a story of sacral kingship and sociogenesis belonging to the current of Tibetan religiosity known as 'Bon'. So we will first spare a few words on Bon and its problematic history.

\* \* \*

There is one major difficulty in beginning to speak about the Tibetan religious phenomenon called Bon.<sup>12</sup> We do not know how it originated. The

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11 See, for instance, VICO, *New Science*, p. 56, as cited below. It is especially interesting to use Vico for comparison, since he is often put forward as one of the most important figures in the development of modern, as well as post-modern, social science.

12 The Tibetan word 'Bon' is pronounced 'Pön'. In actual contemporary usage, it has several meanings. In my discussion, it most often refers to the religious sect, to its scriptures, or to its teachings. In all other usages of the word, I have (as has become standard procedure in Buddhist Studies to distinguish between dharma and Dharma) not capitalized it. Following KVAERNE, 'Aspects of the Origin', I have generally tried to be careful to use the word 'Buddhist' as most of the world understands the term, as referring to something much larger than the localized Tibetan controversies between Bon and Chos. Tibetans still today often lend an unnecessary confusion to the issue by translating the word Chos into English as 'Buddhist', leaving the word Bon untranslated. In order to illustrate the confusion this creates, consider the following, not entirely hypothetical example. An American student travels to India and asks a Tibetan follower of Chos *in English* if Bon is Buddhist. The reply of the Tibetan, since he or she has the word Chos in mind, will be 'Of course not.' Readers not well acquainted with the literature on Bon may be puzzled why writers are sometimes tempted to call Bon a religion, if in actual fact, it is 'Buddhist', and therefore a part of a religion. If this is the case, then it would seem more proper to refer to Bon as a Buddhist sect. One reason for

statements usually supplied in answer to the question of origins, while various, may be reduced to a few types. The first basically says, 'We know that Bon is the pre-Buddhist, primitive shamanism of Tibet.' The second says, 'Bon equals Tibetan folk tradition.' A third group, basically agreeing with Tibetan polemical traditions, says, 'Bon, as it existed during the last millennium, is little more than a deceitful appropriation of Chos scriptures and practices.' A fourth group, which includes most of the adherents of Bon themselves, believes Bon is the original Buddhism, predating Śākyamuni Buddha by thousands of years. The fifth view, and the one I am most inclined to explore as a viable hypothesis, is this, 'Bon as it existed during the last millennium represents an unusual, yet quite legitimate, transmission of Buddhist teachings ultimately based on little-known Central Asian Buddhist traditions.'<sup>13</sup> In any case, no matter what the view, we tend to find our origins of Bon based on what we want Bon to be, on assumptions about what it 'truly' is.

Tibetan polemical tradition, since the early 13th century, has had its own preferred answer to the problem of Bon origins. They divide Bon history into three phases:

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this ambivalent status is the belief of Bonpos that their religious teachings had a different founder, a different Buddha, than *Chos*. They call this other Buddha Shenrab Miwo (Gshen-rab-mi-bo), and say that he lived many thousands of years before Gautama Buddha. As background, I strongly suggest the reading of works by KARMAY, KVAERNE and SNELLGROVE listed in the bibliography. The problem of defining Bon has been confounded throughout classical non-Bonpo Tibetan literature (but especially in non-Tibetan literature about Tibet) by the tendency to ascribe to it any aspect of Tibetan culture that seems to be (in the eyes of the beholder) 'primitive' or outside the mainstream. That an analogous situation held in China with regard to Taoism has been pointed out by STEIN, 'Religious Taoism and Popular Religion,' p. 53.

A note on formal aspects of presentation: I have often chosen to render proper names in English translations, but only in cases where the material is legendary and the meaning of the name is itself a part of the story. Even in these cases, generally on first occurrence, I have supplied the Tibetan form in parentheses. Note also that for Tibetan language books, both page and line references are generally given. The page numbers follow the Arabic numerals added to the reprint edition, if available. Example: p. 537.6 means page 537, line six.

<sup>13</sup> The two main avenues for this transmission I believe would have followed the migration of certain families important to later Bon history, the 'Bru and Gshen, from Gilgit and the borderlands of northeastern Tibet respectively. This transmission, through external influence or immigration, might possibly have occurred as early as Kushan times, although for the 10th to 13th centuries we are supplied with better historical evidence. (See the chapter, 'Bon Transmission Arguments' in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*.)

1. *Brdol Bon*, 'Outbreak' Bon (a popular religion without any 'theological' or 'philosophical' component, and without any real historical background).
2. *'Khyar Bon*, 'Straying' Bon (the phase in which Bon was mixed with 'erroneous' philosophical ideas).
3. *Bsgyur Bon*, 'Translating' Bon (the phase during which Chos scriptures were 'translated' or 'transformed' [*bsgyur*] into Bon scriptures by changing a word here and there).

According to Tucci's interpretation, these stand for, respectively:

1. The primitive, unlettered phase of the religion.
2. The period of the (legendary) Emperor Gri-gum, with strong influence from foreign priests and funerary rites.
3. The period of adaptation of Buddhist (Chos) elements, presumably reaching its height in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>14</sup>

It is essential to understand that the source of this scheme is a religious polemical work quite hostile to Bon,<sup>15</sup> and therefore will be handled very carefully, if at all, by critical historians. Although the three-phase scheme is

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14 TUCCI, *Religions*, p. 224; KHANGKAR, *Tibetan History*, vol. 1, pp. 104 ff. THU'U-BKWAN, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, pp. 407-19, identifies the first phase with the 'Bon of Cause' or 'Black Waters' (*chab-nag*), diagnostic and prognostic techniques with folk medical and ritual diagnostics and treatments, etc. (SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, p. 18). The second phase Thu'u-bkwan identifies with the emergence of a doctrinal system associated with the visit of three foreign Bonpos to Tibet. This he identifies with 'White Water' (*chab-dkar*, SNELLGROVE, *ibid.*, p. 16 ff). The third phase, Thu'u-bkwan claims, began in imperial times when Bonpos allegedly altered the Chos scriptures to suit their own usage. The recent Bonpo writer DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS (*History*, vol. 2, p. 535) rightly points out that the idea of these three phases was introduced by Dbon Sher-'byung in the early 13th century, and I have dealt with this issue in some detail in my dissertation (MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*).

15 In another place I have studied this polemical tradition in greater detail. See MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*, for a study of the anti-Bon passage from the *Dgongs-gcig Yig-cha* (set down in the early 13th century by Dbon Sher-'byung), and so forth.

the most generally known, the Chos historians had quite a range of views and attitudes about Bon.<sup>16</sup> As an example, here is one of the stronger Chos statements, that of Kun-mkhyen Sher-'od, a student of Red-mdā'-pa (1349-1412), cited, although not with complete agreement, by Spyān-snga-ba Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>17</sup>

Up to the time of Srong-btsan-sgam-po<sup>18</sup> there was no Bon. Then the Bon of their own invention emerged. While the Hwa-shang was expelled in the time of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan,<sup>19</sup> some of his students composed Great Completion [works].<sup>20</sup> Having stolen these, the Nine Vehicles were composed by Bon.

Bon responses to Chos polemics are rare. The most fervently anti-Chos tract I have seen reputedly comes from the pen of the young Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig, wellknown to Tibetans as a scholar of the Sa-skyā-pa sect in the time of Tsong-ka-pa. The title is *Bon Chos-kyi Bstan-pa Shan-dbye: 'Distinguishing the Teachings of Bon and Chos'*.<sup>21</sup> The first part of this work details the origins of Bon. The last half is mainly occupied with a long list of Chos scriptures which, as improbable as this may seem to

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16 Some of the more interesting views are those of Stag-tshang Lo-tā-ba and the leaders of the non-sectarian movement (Ris-med) in the late 19th century. These and others have been studied in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*.

17 SPYAN-SNGA-BA, *Collected Works*, vol. 5, pp. 464-6. I have translated the passage about Bon in its entirety in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*.

18 Srong-btsan-sgam-po (early 7th century) is sometimes considered by critical scholars to be the first 'historical' Tibetan emperor, although his father Gnam-ri-slong-btsan would also be a solid candidate for this honor, and archaeological excavations may eventually lead our cautious scholars to accept the reality of still earlier emperors.

19 Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, 755-97 A.D. (?), according to TUCCI, *Religions*, p. 249.

20 Great Completion, Rdzogs-chen, is the highest level of Buddhist teachings according to both the Rnying-ma-pa and Bon schools. The debate, whether historical or not, between the Indian master Kamalaśīla and the Chinese Ch'an monk Hwa-shang Ma-ha-yan, has become symbolic of the official rejection by Tibetans of all Buddhist teachings that did not come directly from India. Hence, the Hwa-shang himself has come to symbolize all real or suspected Chinese (or other?) influences on Old Tibetan Buddhism and, according to this idea, all Chinese influences are bad.

21 This has been published in NGAG-DBANG-CHOS-GRAGS, *Gsung-ngag Lam 'Bras*, pp. 511-541. I also have in my possession a photographic copy of a variant cursive manuscript of this work in eight leaves, the location of the original unknown. I have said much more about this work in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*.

Buddhologists and Indologists, he claims are mere 'transformations' of older Bon scriptures. These scriptural fabrications included, among others, the *Avataṃsaka* and *Bhadrakalpa* sūtras. Some of the alleged agents of these scriptural conspiracies are named: Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Padmasambhava, the Kashmiri Jñānamitra, Gnubs Nam-mkha'-snying-po, and so on. Our first reaction to these statements would perhaps be simple disbelief. One may wish to pass them off as the product of a young, hot-headed believer from one of the more isolated areas of Tibet's easternmost cultural borderlands, Gyarong (Rgya-rong, Rgyal-mo-rong), although Rong-ston later went on to become one of the greatest Chos intellectuals of his age. On the other hand, there may be some truth to Rong-ston's accusation, at least in the sense that the Bon versions of these sūtras might, as far as we know, be older than the present Chos versions. To follow this line of reasoning a little further, it may be that during the imperial as well as post-imperial times some Buddhist scriptures were translated from certain Central Asian (also, Indian and Chinese?) languages employing the terms 'Bon' and other words especially associated with the Bon scriptures now available to us. These would have been quite 'original' translations, accomplished with no dependence on the more 'standard' Chos translations of the same or variant texts. They may have been prior to the Chos translations which they resemble. We do know that an Old Tibetan word, *bon*, was used to mean 'invoke, petition, call on, etc.',<sup>22</sup> but these meanings cannot directly account for the Bon usages of the word such as *Bon-sku*, 'Bon Body'; *Bon-nyid*, 'Bon Proper', or *Bon-dbyings*, 'Realm of Bon', in every way equivalent to the corresponding Chos terms *Chos-sku*, *Chos-nyid*, and *Chos-dbyings*. The *Biographies of the Lineage Lamas of the Zhang-zhung Oral Transmission of Great Completion* by Spa-ston Bstan-rgyal-bzang-po says,

Generally speaking, if one wants to know something about what *bon* means, "*Bon* is all appearances and transformations of knowable objects. There are no appearances and transformations whatsoever which are not embraced by Bon," says the *Nāga Collection* (*Klu-'bum*)...

As for the usage of the word *bon*, it is used for the five objective spheres of the senses. It is also used for knowable objects, virtues, passing beyond suffering, the contemplative concentration

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22 See especially URAY, 'The Old Tibetan Verb *Bon*', and other works cited in SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, p. 1 note 1.

in which there are no classifications of thoughts or *bons*,<sup>23</sup> the sensory spheres, and [therefore also] the number 'five'. To give examples of [some of] these usages from scriptures, in like order,

"The *bons* which are included [in the class of] knowable objects" (from the *Dbal-mo Las-thig*).

"*Bon* and non-*bon*" (from the *Mdo*).

"*Bon* is a word meaning unwavering, protecting", and, also from the same source,

"That which is called *g.yung* is unwavering in its purpose.

That which is called *drung* is not transformed into 'signs'.<sup>24</sup>

That which is called *bon* is receptive center where Mind Proper spreads out."

"Mind and *bon* and..." (from the *Bsdud-pa*).

But the Old Tibetan usage of the word *bon* was still remembered by Bonpos, as the same work later says,

Since the sayings of the Teacher [Lord Shenrab] were pronounced (*bon-pa*) into the ears of those attending, it is called Bon.<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Christopher I. Beckwith (Indiana University, Bloomington) has commented in a privately circulated draft that a logical Iranian translation for *Dharma* as 'construct' (this being the meaning behind the Tibetan term *Chos*), would be *bwn*<sup>26</sup> (to be read either *bun* or *bon*), and that the Tibetan word *bon* might be a borrowing from Iranian Buddhists. Whatever may ultimately be decided about the probability of this theory, it does fit nicely with the Bon claim that their religion originated in Stag-gzig (Tazig), i.e., generally speaking, the areas of Persian-dominated Central Asia settled by Arab conquerors.

23 Here *bon* is used in one of the senses of the word *chos*, as 'knowable objects' (*shes-bya*).

24 The syllables *g.yung* and *drung* together make up the word *g.yung-drung*, which sometimes refers to something 'unchanging', and sometimes to the svāstika as a symbol of permanence or continuity. Bon texts often speak of "G.yung-drung Bon," 'unchanging Bon', as a synonym for Bon teaching. For Old Tibetan meanings of the word *g.yung-drung*, see STEIN, 'Tibetica Antiqua I', p. 169.

25 These two passages are taken from my own draft translation of this work, since the original Tibetan text is not presently available to me for reference.

26 This same word is used in the title of the Bundahisn, the famous Iranian cosmological work.

About the ultimate 'unity' of the Bon and Chos traditions, we can do little better than cite the words of the 19th century Bonpo scholar Dkar-ru Grub-dbang.<sup>27</sup> He enumerates a long list of religious figures, "the eight hundred thousand Vinaya-following elders (*gnas-brtan*), the sixty-three great ones, the four scholars, the eight translators," etc., and then comments,

They blessed, spread the teachings and converted beings within the [Eighteen] Great Countries of Gods (*lha*), Tazig (Rtag-gzig), Oḍḍiyâna (U-rgyan), Tokharistan (Tho-gar), Câmara (Rnga-yab), Rnga-yab-zhan (?), Za-hor,<sup>28</sup> Turkestan (Gru-gu),<sup>29</sup> Little Balûr (Bru-sha),<sup>30</sup> Kashmir (Kha-che), Khotan (Li), Nepal (Bal), India, China, Nan-chao ('Jang), Hor Ge-sar,<sup>31</sup> snowy Tibet, and Zhang-zhung. Ultimately, they all visibly entered Bon Proper (*bon-nyid*). Whatever philosophical systems are now called 'Chos' and 'Bon' — whatever preparatory steps and entrances into the Vehicles, Paths, Levels and scriptural traditions there are — there is no one thing

27 DKAR-RU GRUB-DBANG, *The Autobiography of...* The translated passage is taken from pp. 154.5-155.1:

*gghan yang gang-zag dam-pa gang dang gang //*  
*Lha dang Rtag-gzigs U-rgyan Tho-gar dang //*  
*Rnga-yab Rnga-yab-zhan dang Za-hor dang //*  
*Gru-gu Bru-sha Kha-che Li dang Bal //*  
*Rgya-gar Rgya-nag 'Jang-dang Hor Ge-sar //*  
*Gangs-can Bod dang Zhang-zhung yul chen dbus //*  
*de rnams 'gro 'dul bstan spel byin-brlabs-shing //*  
*mthar thug thams[-ca]d Bon-dbyings mngon-par chub //*  
*da-ltar Bon dang Chos zhes grub-mtha' gang //*  
*gzung-lugs Sa Lam Theg-pa sngon 'jug gang //*  
*ston-pa gcig-gi bstan-pa ma gtog-pa //*  
*gcig la Bon dang gcig la Chos zhes med //*  
*yul chen bco-brgyad so-so'i skad rigs la //*  
*brda-skad so-sor bsgyur-ba'i bye-brag-go //*

- 28 For the problematic identification of this country, see PETECH, 'Alcuni nomi', p. 82.
- 29 See PETECH, 'Alcuni nomi', pp. 53-4, and references supplied there; STEIN, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 39, 57.
- 30 See references in JETTMAR, 'Bolor' (his note 85) for this identification; also, HOFFMANN, 'An Account of the Bon Religion in Gilgit'.
- 31 I take the Hor to be a modifier of Ge-sar, in order to make it clear that it is the geographical designation and not the name of the famous hero of Tibetan and Mongolian epic. According to E. Gene Smith, this refers to [the area of] the "pre-Mongolic peoples" but, as he notes, the question is very complicated (DON-DAM-SMRA-BA'I-SENG-GE, *A 15th Century*, introduction, p. 13).

called 'Bon' and another called 'Chos' apart from the teachings of a single Teacher. They [represent] distinctions of translations into sign-expressions appropriate to the language types of the corresponding Eighteen Great Countries.<sup>32</sup>

Throughout Tibetan history, many followers of both Chos and Bon have perceived the essential identity of their religious traditions, while others have emphasized real or perceived differences, often reducing their counterparts into mere 'copyists' in order to explain away the obvious similarities. The actual historical development of Bon was undoubtedly quite complex, and no one would deny that there was some amount of interaction between Chos and Bon over the centuries. For the present, I remain a semi-agnostic on the question of Bon origins, even if I tend toward the view that Bon is 'Buddhist' in its origins. Few Bonpos will agree with this assessment, however, since for them Bon is itself the source of all that is 'Buddhist' about 'Chos' in Tibet and 'Dharma' in India.<sup>33</sup> It may indeed be best to leave the question of origins to one side, and go on to try and learn as much as possible about the various aspects of this very old tradition as it has existed in historical times until the present. If this brings no immediate conclusions about the questions of origins, it will certainly bring us a clearer picture of the entity whose origins we might wish to trace.

Accordingly, what we offer here are only some modest preliminary investigations into the history of a particular lineage and system of rituals, religious thought, and practice called 'Mother Tantras,' (Ma-rgyud), focussing on the revelation of the *Secret* Mother Tantras. This system, its rituals and dances, are still very much alive at the Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, in the hills about ten kilometers from the town of Solan in the province of Himachal Pradesh, India. No doubt it is also in use in the other pockets of Bon religion in Nepal and Tibet. In November of 1983, a group of monks of the Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre performed the traditional Mother Tantra dances at the 'Festival of Liturgy and Ritual' in Lille,

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32 A more usual listing of the Eighteen Great Countries includes Khitan (Khri-gtan) to the east of Tibet and others not so easily identified (*THREE SOURCES*, p. 10.3, ff.). They are all said to lie east of 'Ol-mo-lung-ring (note 44, below). The "eighteen major border regions" are listed in *SKC*, pp. 74.6 ff. For Tazig, see HOFFMANN, 'Probleme und Aufgaben', p. 366. The Eighteen Great Countries is a natively Tibetan geographical conception, on which there are many variations. I plan to return to this subject in another place.

33 On the portrayal of Gautama Buddha in Bon tradition, see now KVAERNE, 'Śākya-muni in the Bon Religion'.



France.<sup>34</sup> These sacred dances have a history which may most definitely be traced back to the year 1406 A.D. Their *ultimate* origins cannot be dated. As a chain of repeat performances, they have already outplayed Shakespeare by *at least* two hundred years. It is with this sense of perspective that the Bon religion can and should be appreciated, whatever its origins might have been.

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34 See CECH, 'The Bonpo Monks' Tour of Europe'.

## Part II — The Mother Tantras: Narrative and Historical Contexts

The story of Human Body Good Thought (Mi-lus-bsam-legs) to be translated and interpreted in the following pages is the second of three parts which together make up the fourth and final major division of a work entitled, *Meditation Commentary: Solar Essence* (*Sgom 'Grel: Nyi-ma'i Snying-po*).<sup>35</sup> By the position of the *Meditation Commentary* in the larger collection of commentaries, it would appear that his work is meant to be a commentary on the first chapter of the first tantra<sup>36</sup> (the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra*), but this commentary, unlike many of the subsequent works,<sup>37</sup> is not ascribed to Human Body Good Thought. Also, the final division of the *Meditation Commentary* is devoted to the earliest transmissions and excavations of the Mother Tantras. Thus, it is necessarily the work of a Tibetan from the twelfth century or later. I will return to the problem of authorship later in this section.

After a short introduction, the *Meditation Commentary* outlines its discussions into four major divisions, which will be paraphrased presently. These major divisions are:

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- 35 M, pp. 207-237. For a translation of a particular Bon Mother Tantra text (although not one discussed in these pages), see WALTER, 'Tantra'.
- 36 In actual fact, it is arranged in the form of a commentary to the first chapter, but it does not cover any more than the second line of the text.
- 37 The commentaries on the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra* end on M, p. 413.2, where Human Body Good Thought is named as the author. The commentary immediately following the *Meditation Commentary* is on the second chapter of the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra*, and so on, in order, up to page 413, where the commentary to chapter 9 of the tantra ends. Apparently, there is no commentary to chapter 10. I am strongly inclined to assume that the title *Meditation Commentary: Solar Essence* properly belongs to the entire collection of chapter commentaries on the *Basis Totally Buddhaized*, and that the 'commentary' presently under consideration is not properly part of the collection of commentaries, but rather an added 'preface' (as NAMDAK, *History*, pp. 32 and 38, calls it, *dbu-chad*, 'preface, introduction'). Version G calls the *Meditation Commentary* the *Solar Mandala*, and this confusion of names will be discussed further on. Version G also calls the introductory text a 'preface' (*dbu-'chad*). Most likely M is mistaken, and the correct title of the set of commentaries available to us should be *Solar Mandala*. A listing of the three Mother Tantras and their chapter commentaries may be found in a separate publication (*MDO 'BUM*, pp. 181-2, with the transmission lineages supplied on pages following).

1. The languages in which [the tantras] occurred and spread (*gdal 'jal skad-kyis sbyor-ba*).
2. The explanation of the title (*mtshon-byed mtshan-gyis sbyor-ba*).
3. The practice of the accumulation of Merit and Total Knowledge (the actual subject being 'worship'; *tshogs bsags phyag-gis sbyor-ba*).
4. The compilation and transmission [of the tantra] (*sdud-byed rgyud-pa'i sbyor-ba*).

The first major division, on languages, has three sub-divisions:

- 1.a The necessity [of language].
- 1.b The enumeration [of languages].
- 1.c The real significance [of those languages].

Part 1.a (M 209.4-210.5) says that these teachings were given in words (making language necessary!) and that the words from the strange language (Zhang-zhung) given in the beginning assure us of the authenticity of the scriptures, and so on.

Part 1.b (M 210.5-211.5) says that, generally speaking, there are more than 360 languages,<sup>38</sup> but that for the present purposes there are five important ones: the 'Eternal Divine language' (*G.yung-drung Lha'i skad*), the Sanskrit language (*San-kri-ta'i skad*), the Tazig Bon language (*Stagzig Bon-gyis skad*), the Zhang-zhung Mar language (*Zhang-zhung Smar-gyi skad*)<sup>39</sup> and the Pugyel Tibetan language (*Spu-rgyal*<sup>40</sup> *Bod-kyi Skad*). The

38 A listing of these languages may be found in DON-DAM-SMRA-BA'I-SENG-GE, *A 15th Century* (introduction by E. Gene Smith, p. 28). India, China, and Ge-ser (Ge-sar) have one hundred languages each. Tazig (Stag-gzigs) has fifty-three languages, while there are seven 'Mon-Tibetan' languages.

39 Smar (Smar, Smrang, Smra, etc.) means 'good' in Zhang-zhung language, as noted in DON-DAM-SMRA-BA'I-SENG-GE, *A 15th Century*, introduction, p. 28.

40 On Spu-rgyal as an ancient name for Tibet, see BECKWITH, *A Study*, pp. 120 ff., 177.

first, the Eternal Divine language, is used by the sky-goers<sup>41</sup> when addressing Total Good (Kun-tu-bzang-po) and others in the Realm of Bon Proper. This was the original language of the Mother Tantras. Sanskrit is the language of these tantras as they were transmitted to Goodwife Longexcellence<sup>42</sup> in the land of the Thirty-three [Gods]. From Sanskrit, the tantra came to be in the Tazig Bon language, in which language the tantra was taught to Secret Gathering<sup>43</sup> in 'Ol-mo-lung-ring.<sup>44</sup> Then it was taught to Human Body Good Thought at Rgya-mkhar Ba-chod<sup>45</sup> in the Zhang-zhung Mar Language. Finally, it was translated into Tibetan by Sad-ne-ga'u.<sup>46</sup> The text hastens to add that the Mother Tantras passed through other languages as well,<sup>47</sup> but that it was through these five languages that the *Tibetan* version came down to us, and so these are the ones important for present purposes. The Tibetan translation was made directly from the Zhang-zhung; but still it is through the Tibetan language that the tantra is of great benefit to people and is easy for them to understand.

Part 1.c (M 211.5-212.5)<sup>48</sup> adds that there are several similar types of languages from the land of Zhang-zhung, that the words [that appear at the beginning of the first Mother Tantra] are from Zhang-zhung Smar, a very strict language, easily pronounced, with clear vocabulary in both

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41 This is a translation for Mkha'-'gro[-ma], generally a rendering for the Indian Dâkinî, usually considered as initiation goddesses, although they may be 'tutelaries' (*yi-dam*) in their own right.

42 Bzang-za Ring-btsun, on whom, see below.

43 On Gsang-ba-'dus-pa, see below. In *SFHB*, p. 641.4, it is said that the Bon scriptures were for the most part translated from Tazig into Zhang-zhung, and then from Zhang-zhung into Tibetan (also, *THREE SOURCES*, p. 106).

44 The text has 'Ol-mo-lus-ring (sic!). The best scholarly discussion of 'Ol-mo-lung-ring is to be found in KARMAY, 'General Introduction', pp. 171-175.

45 This place is quite important in the following story, and will be discussed further. As spelled here, the name would seem to mean 'Chinese Fort Cattle Enclosure'. It may be the more correct spelling. *KHRO*, p. 79.3, says that Rgya-mkhar means something similar to the word *mkhar* ('fort') itself. It means 'border fort' (*dmu rdzong*), one of the four outlying forts [of Zhang-zhung]. *Chod*, according to the same source, means, like Mouse Fort, having a tiger or yak dome (? the text reads: *chod ni Byi-ba Mkhar ltar stag.yag ba-gam yod-pa'o ll*). Evidently, we are to understand from this that the *ba* in Ba-chod means 'dome' (*ba-gam*), rather than 'cow' (also, *ba*).

46 On whom, see note 61 below.

47 The text lists Divine (Lha), Serpent-spirit (Klu), Dbal (?), Indian, Chinese, Tokharian (Tho-gar) and Khrom languages.

48 The preceding part, as well as the part following, is slightly paraphrased, due to some difficulties in the translation, although I have, as far as possible, given word-for-word translations due to the importance of the material.

spoken and written forms. Besides this, there are in Zhang-zhung the speech of Dar-ma, the speech of Dar-ba, the speech of Dar-ma-dir, the speech of Gu-ge, the speech of the 'common cattle', and Ldem-ma.<sup>49</sup>

The words of the title in Zhang-zhung Smar have the following Tibetan equivalents.

<i>Zhang-zhung</i>	<i>Tibetan</i>	[ <i>English</i> ]
U-ye	Gsang-chen	[Supreme Secret]
Tha-tshon <sup>50</sup>	Mthar-thug	[Actualized]
Ma-tra	Ma-rgyud	[Mother Tantras]
Shes-rgya <sup>51</sup>	Thugs-rje	[Compassion]
Nyi-ri	Nyi-ma	[Sun]
Ku-shu	Kun-gzhi	[All Basis]
Na-sangs-kyin <sup>52</sup>	Ye-sangs-rgyas	[Totally Buddhaized]
Stan-tra <sup>53</sup>	Rgyud	[Tantra]

49 Dar-ma is the name of a district in 'Phan-yul with a small fort (DAS, *Dictionary*, p. 621). For Dar-ma and Dar-pa, see LALOU, 'Catalogue des principautés', p. 204. Dar-ma is also an Old Tibetan transliteration for Sanskrit Dharma (STEIN, 'Tibetica Antiqua I', p. 182 ff.). In later literature, *dar-ma* generally means 'young man', and as such frequently occurs as a part of personal names. Dar-ma-tir is name of a Khotanese monastery according to EMMERICK, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (index of proper names). Gu-ge is, of course, one of the three main divisions of Mnga'-ris Skor Gsum province in western Tibetan, the old center of the Zhang-zhung Empire (HOFFMANN, *Tibet*, p. 50). The language of the 'common cattle' translates Phal-po-che'i Glang (see NAMDAK, *History*, p. 37, for an alternative discussion of these same language names). I could find no clear-cut identification for Ldem-ma, but it may be meant to represent 'Dan-ma which, as it occurs in Old Tibetan documents, has been identified with Karashahr (PETECH, 'Alcuni nomi', p. 83, and references supplied there). It also occurs in lists of countries in Bon historical works (see SKC, p. 25.2, for example, where it is also said to have its own language; the same list of countries found in SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, p. 15, note 2). 'Dan-ma, usually spelled Ldan-ma, is also the name of two districts in Tibet, one in Gtsang, and the other in Khams. Most of the preceding place/language names are mentioned by HAARH, 'Zhang-zhung Language', p. 9. Note his Dal-ma and Dir-ma for my Dar-ma and Dar-ba. The present version may be considered more authoritative, since it is one of the texts on which the recent Tibetan author of Haarrh's text based his description of the Zhang-zhung language (notice "Ma-rgyud Thugs-rje nyi-ma'i rgyud" on p. 10).

50 The form Thâ-tson occurs in the text of the tantra itself (M, p. 4.1.).

51 She-rkya in M, p. 4.1.

52 Na-sangs-gyin in M, p. 4.1.

53 Tan-tra in M, p. 4.1.

Even though the types of Zhang-zhung languages are many, they may be reduced to three: 1. The Innermost Language stems from the Kapita<sup>54</sup> 'gods'. It is the 'Divine Language'. 2. The Intermediate Language stems from Sanskrit (Sang-tri-ta). It is the language of the Thirty-three [Gods]. 3. The Gateway Language stems from the Sgra-bla (Sgra-sla) of the good aeon.<sup>55</sup> This last is the language of Mar (Smar-gyis Skad). If explained according to their most essential features, there did exist in the different areas of Gateway [Zhang-zhung] the languages of Khyung-lung, Ting-tog<sup>56</sup> and so forth, but it cannot be said that they are all Mar language. Generally, all three of the great places where this teaching spread have that same language: 1. Shampo Lhatse in Tazig;<sup>57</sup> 2. Royal Fort Cattle Enclosure in Intermediate Zhang-zhung;<sup>58</sup> 3. Khyung-lung Dngul-mkhar in Gateway (Zhang-zhung).<sup>59</sup> It is the language common to these [three] places.<sup>60</sup>

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- 54 Ka-pi-ta, 'Kapistan', or the area of Kapisha, now in Afghanistan. It was once a flourishing cultural center in Gandhara and the Kushan Empire. See HOFFMANN, 'Zur Literatur der Bon-po', pp. 184-185; HOFFMANN, *Quellen*, p. 222.
- 55 Or, alternatively, 'of good fortune'. For the Sgra-bla, see SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, p. 57 ff., where he calls them 'genies'. They are identified with the Dgra-bla, or Dgra-lha. HOFFMANN, *Quellen*, pp. 161, 171; HOFFMANN, *Symbolik*, pp. 73-4.
- 56 Khyung-lung. The ruins of the fort at 'Garuda Valley' were visited by G. TUCCI. See his *Santi e briganti*, pp. 130-137. I could find no other references to Ting-tog, although this Zhang-zhung name might possibly be translated into Tibetan as G.yu-thog (name of famous physicians in Tibetan history). Another translation, perhaps more probable, would be Sngo-thog (cf. the Bla-ma Sngo-thog-pa in the biography of O-rgyan-pa by KUN-DGA'-DON-GRUB, *Grub-chen O-rgyan-pa'i Rnam-par Thar-pa...*, p. 147.6).
- 57 "Stag-gzig na Sham-po Lha-rtse." This is the administrative center of 'Ol-mo-lung-ring, the place of origin of Bon religion. See KARMAY, 'General Introduction', pp. 171-175; STEIN, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 236.
- 58 "Zhang-zhung Bar-pa na Rgyal-mkhar Ba-chod." See note 45, above.
- 59 "Sgo-pa na Khyung-lung Dngul-dkar." Same as the Dngul-mkhar in Khyung-lung, note 56, above. For Khyung-lung and a discussion on the historical geography of the Zhang-zhung Empire, see URAY, 'Narrative of Legislation', p. 44, and especially his note 95. In the context of the *Meditation Commentary*, we are led to understand that the name Zhang-zhung applies to a much larger sphere than the known extent of the Zhang-zhung Empire (perhaps more accurately described as a 'confederacy') as a political entity. It appears that the term Zhang-zhung is used to refer rather to a 'Greater Zhang-zhung', or Zhang-zhung as a cultural entity. Otherwise it will be difficult to explain how the language of Intermediate Zhang-zhung could be said to stem from Sanskrit, or how Innermost Zhang-zhung could stem from 'Kapita' in the area of Tazig. There seem to be echoes of a

The Zhang-zhung scholar Sad-ne-ga'u<sup>61</sup> was a Gateway Bonpo whose lineage descended from the gods.<sup>62</sup> When he met with the great scholar of Intermediate Zhang-zhung, A-nu 'Phrag-thag,<sup>63</sup> he cultivated the art of translation and requested this tantra.

Part 2 — The second major division, on the meaning of the title of the tantra (M, p. 212.5-214.4) generally discusses such things as, "It is called *Compassion Sun* because compassion, like the sun, shines equally on all," and so forth.

Part 3 — The third major division, on worship, discusses the appropriate objects of veneration (these include Goodwife Longexcellence and Human Body) and the spiritual benefits to be derived from worshipping them.

Part 4 — The fourth and final major division of the *Meditation Commentary* is on the history of the revelation, compilation and transmission of the tantra. It is divided according to a seemingly esoteric, but actually quite common, analysis of the opening words of the tantra, "These words were heard by me at one time," into three parts:

- 4.a "These words" or, that which [the one who] was heard. The story of the mother Goodwife Longexcellence and her son Deathless Headcrest.<sup>64</sup>

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time when there were Indic and Iranian cultural areas in especially close relations with western Tibet.

60 I have taken the *de nas su* of the text to be a mistake for *de[i] gnas-su*.

61 His name may be translated into Tibetan from the Zhang-zhung as Lha-yi-dga'-ba, 'Delight of the Deities', but see note 103 below.

62 Evidently, 'gods' (*lha*) here, as previously, refers to Tazig or Kapita, or their populations.

63 See note 103, below

64 Their names in Tibetan (presumably representing translations from Zhang-zhung) are Bzang-bza' Ring-btsun and 'Chi-med-gtsug-phud. These and other names for them, as well as the father, are explained also in *KHRO*, p. 50. Deathless Headcrest appears in HOFFMANN, *Quellen*, p. 252, and a bronze image of him is reproduced in KARMAY, *Treasury*, plate iv. It is said that Deathless Headcrest was a prior incarnation of Lord Shenrab, thus placing his life somewhere in the neolithic. The story of Goodwife Longexcellence and her son Deathless Headcrest is essentially the story of the revelation of all the Bon tantras. It is quite intriguing, and should be the subject of further investigation, that both Deathless Headcrest and Dga'-rab-rdo-rje (the revealer of the tantras according to the Old Translation tradition) were said to have been abandoned at birth by their mothers (at the base of a tree or in a mound of ashes, respectively) and later retrieved by their mothers unharmed. Each then received a name attesting their remarkable survival skills. Both are cases of 'virgin birth' in which the mother

- 4.b "Were heard by me." The identify of the compiler, Human Body Good Thought.
- 4.c "At one time." The three series of subsequent transmissions of the Mother Tantras.

Part 4.a (M, 215.7-221.7): Near to the divine palace Dga'-ldan,<sup>65</sup> there was formed through the transformative blessings of the Buddhas' compassion a turquoise ocean with nine islands. Through the agitation of its foam by the wind, a crystal egg was formed. When the egg broke, a beautiful Female<sup>66</sup> emerged. Because she had a very long list of good qualities and auspicious marks, the deities gave her the name Goodwife Longexcellence. The Totalshen Windwing<sup>67</sup> sent forth three emanations of his body, speech and mind. His body emanated as a turquoise cuckoo.<sup>68</sup> His speech

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was led to abandon the child because of fears about what other people would think. Compare ESIN, 'Turkic and Ilkhanid', p. 94, note 28, where the legend is told how the Uighur monarch Buku was born in an earthen mound between a cedar and a birch. See also HANSON-BARBER, 'Identification of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje', p. 56.

- 65 "Dga'-ldan lha'i gnas." Tibetan Dga'-ldan generally translates Sanskrit Tuṣṭita.
- 66 This highly uncommon word, *dbyal-mo*, I interpret as 'Female' or 'feminine principle'. The word *dbyal* is attested as a Tibetan translation for Chinese *yin*, as in *yin-yang*. See STEIN, 'Tibetica Antiqua I', p. 194 (but see also STEIN, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 243). See KHRO, p. 70.2, for an example of *yin-yang* (*stang-dbyal*) used in the context of a cosmogony. Of course, we must leave the questions open as to why Tibetans chose these words to translate the Chinese concept, and how the Tibetan *stang-dbyal* concept might have differed from the *yin-yang* of China.
- 67 "Ye-gshen Rlung-gi 'Dab-ma-can." This is only one of many names that will be noted for the father of Deathless Headcrest.
- 68 Compare STEIN, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 242. For a story of the "egg-born hero conceived by a virgin mother as a result of being visited by a bird-messenger sent from God," see HAWKES, 'Heirs of Gao-yang', p. 11. See also the discussion on cuckoo-bird conception stories and North Asian shamanic parallels in HOFFMANN, *Quellen*, pp. 199-201; HOFFMANN, *Religions*, p. 87. The story of the conception of 'Chi-med-gtsug-phud is quite similar to stories about the conception of Lord Shenrab, the former often being considered as a prior incarnation of the latter. For a Magyar story of ornithogenesis, see WAIDA, 'Birds in the Mythology of Sacred Kingship', pp. 285, 288. One version of the birth of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje is quite interesting in this context. His mother, a nun who kept pure discipline, dreamed at dawn that lights emanated from the Tathāgatas forming a sun and moon. The sun disappeared into her downward



emanated as the white letter 'A'. His mind emanated as a crystal vase. Through their blessings, a marvelously exceptional son was born.<sup>69</sup>

Due to the scruples of that country, she hid him at the base of a tree with blazing turquoise leaves.<sup>70</sup> However, he was nursed by the queens of the four seasons<sup>71</sup> who brought him elixir. The 'horn' of an udumbara (*u-du-'bar-ba*) flower grew out of his head; so they thought he was an emanation child and cared for him. When, after three years, his physical, verbal and mental capabilities were fully developed, he was lost and disappeared.<sup>72</sup> Nine years later, he returns to his mother.

"Son, where did you go?" she asked.

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through the top of her head, while the moon disappeared through her feet. That morning she went to bathe in Lake Ku-dra (or, Ku-tra). While she was standing facing the east, Vajrapâni emanated a golden goose and descended to the lake with four other geese as attendants. They bathed themselves in front of her and then the four attendants flew off into the sky. Before the golden goose flew away, it pressed itself to her heart, touching her three times with its beak, whereupon a letter Hûm, blazing with light, disappeared inside her (GU-RU BKRA-SHIS, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 288-289).

- 69 According to RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 5, Goodwife had a dream that a white letter 'A' entered the top of her head, remaining visible inside. She saw a crystal vase filled with elixir. A turquoise cuckoo-bird alighted on her right shoulder and 'cuckooed', leaving something warm and moist, then flew into the sky and disappeared.
- 70 In *SRID*, p. 105, she put him in the sand on the ocean shore and placed a slate house over him. In *HISTORY AND DOCTRINE*, p. 12.2, she is ashamed because she gave birth without a Male (*stang*, note 66, above) and put him in a slate box. This 'Moses motif' is quite widespread in eurasian lore. There is even a story from the *Family Fears* literature (discussed below) cited by T. NAMDAK (*History*, p. 63) of a prince Rna-ba-can left to drift in the Ganges river by his father the king, then found and cared for, etc. This is obviously a Tibetan borrowing of the story of Karṇa (like the Tibetan name Rna-ba-can, it means 'Having Ears') from the Mahâbhârata Epic.
- 71 RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, has the goddesses of the elements here, also called the four mothers of the elements. It says his mother came to look at him after nine *days*, and then remembered her dream about the cuckoo-bird and thought this signified that the child was an emanation. *SRID*, p. 105.6, agrees that the mother came to see him after nine days, and describes his udumbara flower 'epiphany' in detail. Afterwards, on p. 107.3, she gives him the name Deathless Headcrest, because he did not die after being left alone for nine days, and because of his udumbara flower headcrest.
- 72 In *SRID*, p. 107.5, he emanates as a crystal cuckoo-bird and goes to None Higher ('Og-min) to the 'court' of Shengod Whitelight (Gshen-lha 'Od-dkar).

"I went to my father to hear Bon teachings."

"You have no father."<sup>73</sup>

"But I do have a father. In the Realm of Bon Proper, he is called the Great Man of Eternal Life.<sup>74</sup> He is also known as Khri-bzhi Nam-ting.<sup>75</sup> I heard Bon teachings from my father Miracleshen Luminosity."<sup>76</sup>

"Well then, what timely signs<sup>77</sup> did you receive?"

"I had three body signs, three speech signs, three mind signs. . ."

I would like to break the story at this point to insert, for comparative purposes, the same story as told in the opening of one of the Explanatory Mother Tantras, the *Hyper-hermetic Sun of the Heart Tantra*.<sup>78</sup> Here the role of Goodwife is truly cosmogonical.

First, from the light of the void in the not-at-all-existing, a flashing light, a diffusive light, a flowing light, a penetrating light, a full light, and miracles of light were everywhere known and developed into nine 'Light Generations.' And from the vital essence of the light came cracks and stripes. The life of the air took shape, and from the light rays of the air and sky was a Female.

This Female came prior to creatures and elements. Before creatures came the elements. Before elements came Shenrab.<sup>79</sup>

73 RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 6.5: "You have no father. I got you from the base of a turquoise-leaved tree."

74 "G.yu[ng-dr]jung Srid-pa'i Mi-po-che." RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 6.6, also gives him the name Phya Ye-le-khyab-pa.

75 "Khri-4 Nam-ting." According to RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 5.1, and *SRID*, p. 105.2, the divinity Ha-ra Ling-gis 'Dab-ma-can. If we translate the Zhang-zhung words Ha-ra and Ling into Tibetan, we get Ye-shes Gling-gi 'Dab-ma-can. Compare the name in note 67, above.

76 'Phrul-gshen Sngang-ldan.

77 *Dus rtags*. 'Signs' of success in meditation which emerge successively over a period of time. RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 7.2, has *don rtags*, 'significant signs'. The signs of meditative progress are especially discussed by Dmu-rgyal in his commentary on chapter 10 of the second Mother Tantra (see *GSHEN-CHEN KLU-DGA'*, *Srid Rgyal*, pp. 433.2 ff.).

78 *Thugs-kyi Yang-gab Nyi-ma'i Rgyud*. Contained in *Collected Tantras of Bon*, vol. 6, pp. 1-373. This is one of the texts excavated by Gu-ru Rnon-rtse (see below). The passage translated here is found on pp. 2-3.

79 Gshen-rab. This must refer to the supreme Gshen of the heavenly hierarchy, rather than the human manifestation Gshen-rab-mi-bo who founded the Bon religion (note 81, below).

Before Shenrab came becoming. Before becoming came the Sugata. Before the Sugata came Buddhahood. This Female was the heart of Buddhahood. This Female had good characteristics. The name she gave herself is Goodwife Longexcellence.

That woman gave birth to a child from her heart. The mother gave the child the name Kye Srog Ni Uyapa, which is to say in the speech of men, 'Deathless Headcrest',<sup>80</sup> because even when attacked by demons and ogres, he would not die. In the sky he was the 'Light Generations'. On land he was the 'Mountain Generations'. Among the 'generations' of gods and men he was also known as Shenrab Mibo.<sup>81</sup>

He had the good flower-like thirty-two marks and wanted none of the eighty physical perfections.<sup>82</sup> For the space of three Gshen years<sup>83</sup> he was lost. When he returned, his mother asked, "Where did you go?"

"To the Unchanging Place, the Realm of Bon Proper, the Plane of Firm Edifice,<sup>84</sup> the Divine Country of White Earth<sup>85</sup> and Total Knowledge Wheel Completed Palace<sup>86</sup> where I asked my father for Bon teachings."

"As you asked for Bon teachings, what sort of timely signs did you have?"

"From the contemplative absorption of the sky-like unending expanse, I penetrated the inner core of meditation. From the con-templative absorption that is like a garuḍa bird soaring in the sky, I was established firmly in the philosophical views. From the

80 "Kye Srog Ni U-ya-pa." I interpret, 'O Secret of Life.' 'Deathless Headcrest' translates the Tibetan form 'Chi-med-gtsug-phud.

81 This paragraph makes several plays on the syllable *rabs*, 'generations', a frequent spelling for the second syllable of the name Gshen-rab[s] Mi-bo. Still the most valuable discussion on the word Gshen is HOFFMANN, 'Gšen'. Gshen-rab Mi-bo is the Teacher of Bon.

82 The physical characteristics of a child presaging a future either as a Buddha or a 'Wheel-turning' universal monarch (Cakravartin). I have dealt with the thirty-two signs in Bon in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*. These signs appear in the Bon *Khams-brgyad* literature.

83 A Gshen year is equal to a hundred human years.

84 "Stug-po Bkod-pa'i Zhing." This is generally a Tibetan translation of the name of the Buddhafield, Ghanavyūha in Sanskrit, usually associated with the Buddha Vairocana.

85 "Sa Dkar."

86 "Ye-shes 'Khor-lo Rdzogs-pa'i Pho-brang."

contemplative absorption that is like putting gold in the fire, I realized the meaning of being and non-being. . ."87

For good measure, I would like to add still a third version of the story from the Father Tantra text known as *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung Yongs-rdzogs, the Peaceful Wholly Completed Eternity*, excavated by Rma-ston Shes-rab-seng-ge.<sup>88</sup>

At first, there was no becoming whatsoever. Out of empty space nature came a miraculous display of light shining all over. Out of the vital essence of the light came rays and a slight scent. From the rays and scent, warmth and wetness came. From the warmth and its opposite, wetness and moisture came. Out of the wetness and moisture came motes and dust.<sup>89</sup> From the motes and dust, the precious earth, residence of all born beings, came. In the middle of that earth, a turquoise ocean with nine islands emerged. From the disorder and action caused by the motive force of those things coming into existence, a tent-sized crystal bubble emerged. Within that bubble there came to be a light-embellished egg. From the inside of the egg broken by the ocean waves emerged a beautiful Female.<sup>90</sup>

To continue with the story according to the *Meditation Commentary* (M, 217) where we left off, Goodwife asked her son where would be a good

87 The remainder of the Explanatory Tantra is in the form of a dialogue between Goodwife Longexcellence and Deathless Headcrest, with much interesting material on the traditional sciences, rituals, and other topics.

88 The following is translated from RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, pp. 2.5-3.4. This text is listed among his excavations in KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 329.7, and he is given brief mention on pp. 170-1. There it is said that he is the son of Rma Lcam-me, who was in turn the son of Rma-ston Srol-'dzin (b. 1092). Therefore, since he was the grandson of someone apparently born in 1092, we may provisionally date the excavation of this work to the 'Earth Sheep' year of 1199 A.D.

89 For *rdul*, 'dust', we might translate 'atom' as the smallest irreducible unity of nature, as understood by the Greek and Indian atomists.

90 A fourth version appears in *SRID*, which was rediscovered by Bra-bo Sgom-nyag, alias Bra-bo Rgyal-ba-grags-pa (p. 104). It is of some significance that all these sources are related to one or another of the Spyi-spungs tantras (divided into three cycles which are counted among the five Gsas-mkhar, for which, see note 97, below. All this is quite complicated).

place to stay, take walks and do religious practices. Deathless Headcrest replied,

"A good place to stay would be the Ridge of Six Natural Peaks. A good place to take walks would be the upper Precious Turquoise Grove, and a good place for religious practice would be the Turquoise Valley Crystal Rock Cave."

Goodwife went looking for such a place. Her son told her, "You are searching in the way of conventional illusion. The Peak of the Basis of Total Knowledge; the Peak of the Three Bodies, Appearances Self-released; the Peak of the Meaning of the Four Bodies Naturally-arrived-at; the Peak of the Ultimate Meaning of the Scriptural Authorities; the Peak of the Spot Realm of Precepts; the Peak of the Unstriven-for Naturally-arrived-at Buddha-activity: these are the Six Natural Peaks. That would be a good place to stay. Your own immaculate mind is the Turquoise Valley, and if it is undefiled by faults, it is the Crystal Rock Cave as well..."

Then they went to Crystal Rock Cave in Turquoise Valley, taking with them Miracleshen Luminosity and Secret Gathering as their ritual assistants.<sup>91</sup> On a three-tiered altar of precious gold,<sup>92</sup> they arranged nine elixir vases, nine divine arrows, and nine divine tormas of crystal.<sup>93</sup> Spreading out sun, moon and lotus seats, they were cheerful and in a happy mood. Then Deathless did the contemplation that is like a swan floating on a lake, cutting away the integuments of Bon Proper. He did the contemplation that is like a crystal wild sheep scaling the rocks,<sup>94</sup> examining the significant of 'is' and 'is not'. He did the contemplation that is like a lion leaping on the glacier, cutting the rope of the significance.<sup>95</sup> He did the contemplation that is like a tortoise in the ocean with its limbs with-

91 'Phrul-gshen Sngang-ldan and Gsang-ba-'dus-pa (see notes 43, 98, 134, *infra*).

92 In RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 10.6, the altar is nine-tiered. In *SRID*, p. 114.5, the objects are placed on a three-tiered crystal mandal (*ma-'dal*, i.e., the 'offering mandala', and not the object we call 'mandala').

93 The word used here for 'torma' is *gshos*, related to *shos-bu*. See KARMAY, *Treasury* (vocabulary under *bshos*), where the translation 'edible tributes' is supplied.

94 Here *rna-ba* may be read *mna'-ba*. RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 12.1, has *rna-pho*, specifying the male *rna-ba*, as does *SRID*, p. 115.2.

95 I.e., 'determining the significance'. 'Rope cutting' as well as 'mountain pass crossing' (*la-bzla-ba*, or, *la-dor-ba*) are common Tibetan metaphors for decisive events, generally in the sphere of the mind.

drawn, examining the face of the mind. After he had cast aside the 'heat' of philosophical views, doing the contemplation that is like a great garuḍa soaring in the sky, he sat in meditation, and the signs of his success appeared visibly. The nine vases turned into nine golden 'best of mountains'. The nine arrows turned into nine 'paradise tree' trunks.<sup>96</sup> At the tops of them the nine great deities displayed their emanation bodies. To each of the nine practitioners present, a deity was apportioned according to their particular realizations and accomplishments.<sup>97</sup>

*Practitioners:*

1. The Father Miracleshen  
Luminosity.
2. The Son Deathless Headcrest.
3. The Mother Goodwife  
Longexcellence.
4. The Assistant Secret Gathering.
5. Gshen Khri-rgyal Khug-pa.

*Deities:*

- Gsang-mchog Gsang-ba  
Dbyings-rol.  
Che-mchog Dbal-gsas  
Kha-'gying.  
Gsang-mchog Mthar-thug.  
Gtso-mchog Mkha-'gying.  
The divine assemblage of the  
great scriptural authorities of  
the Father Tantras.

96 It should be noticed that the number of contemplations were six, corresponding to the six 'topics' in note 99, below. 'best of mountains' translates *ri-rab* (most commonly referring to Mount Meru, the center of every universe according to Buddhist cosmology). 'Paradise tree' translates *Dpag-bsam [ljon-shing]*, which is also a name for the axis of Mount Meru as macrocosmic center.

97 'Accomplishments' translates *dngos-grub* (Sanskrit *siddhi*). These are special magical or psychological powers. In the following list, the first through fourth, with the addition of the eighth, represent the five Gsas-mkhar (the word means 'mandala' or 'divine palace'). See the work of Dmu-rgyal Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan contained in *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, p. 70.1 ff., and SHAR-RDZA, *Nam-mkha' Mdzod*, vol. 1, pp. 107-17, 233-6. It seems that sometimes Mother Tantras are excluded from this grouping. See KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 45, note 2, but note that I am not able to explain the differences between the five deities discussed by Karmay and the ones listed here. See also KARMAY, 'General Introduction', pp. 197 ff. The third deity represents the Three Mother Tantras, and these three together with the first, second, fourth and eighth, totally seven, represent the seven tantras taught simultaneously by Total Good (note 100, below). The remaining four (5-7 and 9) are among five types of tantras taught to Sugatas (Bde-bar-gshegs-pa) according to the text of the Mother Tantra (M, pp. 5-6). The five Gsas-mkhar are also listed in the commentary by Human Body contained in M, p. 280.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 6. Gshen Great Completion.                 | The divine assemblage of the great tantras of Meaning Tantras. |
| 7. Gshen Embracing Luminosity.             | The divine assemblage of the Result, Great Completion.         |
| 8. Dbal-bon Stag-la-me-'bar.               | Khro-mchog 'Brug-gsas Chem-pa.                                 |
| 9. Gshen Immeasurable Light. <sup>98</sup> | The divine assemblage of the Great Vehicle Meditation Tantras. |

Then the teachings of a thousand Buddhas wrote themselves on a thousand and one slates.<sup>99</sup> An upper Precious Turquoise Grove was emanated into this world. Then, in the three sets of twenty-four extra-terrestrial gathering places of the skygoers, the three Mother Tantras were preached. In the None Higher skygoer gathering places, the sky-pure face of Total Good preached the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra*. In the Joyous (Dga'-ldan) skygoer gathering places, the blazing red face of Total Good preached the *Path Directly Buddhaized Tantra*. In the Heavenly Sphere (Mkha'-spyod) skygoer

98 The names of the nine practitioners (*sgrub-pa-po*) are, in strict transcription, 1. yab 'Phrul-gshen Sngang-ldan. 2. sras 'Chi-med-gtsug-phud. 3. yum Bzang-za Ring-btsun. 4. grogs Gsang-ba-'dus-pa. 5. Gshen Khri-rgyal Khug-pa. 6. Gshen Rdzogs-pa Chen-po. 7. Gshen Khyab-pa Sngang-ldan. 8. Dbal-bon Stag-la-me-'bar. 9. Gshen Tshad-med 'Od-ldan. Most of these are also listed in *SFHB*, p. 50.

99 In RMA-STON, *Zhi-ba G.yung-drung*, p. 13.2, these thousand and one slates came from the branches of the nine trees. These revealed teachings were divided into six topics, embodied in particular scriptures. The following six topics are classified as 'Peaceful Meaning Cycle', as distinguished from 'Wrathful Tantra Cycle'.

1. Topic of the philosophical view: *Sdong-po Dgu 'Dus* ('Nine Trunks Combined').
2. Topic of conduct: *Man-ngag Thig-le Dbyings-'chad*.
3. Topic of sacred commitments: *Sa-ma-ya 'Bum Sde*.
4. Topic of Buddha-activity: *Gsas-mkhar Yong[s]-su Rdzogs-pa*.

5. Topic of spiritual realization: *G.yung-drung-gi Myu-gu Gab-pa Dgu Skor*.

6. Topic of accomplishments: derived from the preceding five.

*SRID*, p. 111, lists these in a different context (supplying the scripture *Gsang-ba'i Lde-mig*, 'Key of Secrets', for the sixth topic) and also in the same context (p. 116.3). A further list is found in *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, p. 401.

gathering places, the pure white Total Knowledge face of Total Good preached the *Result Completely Buddhaized Tantra*.<sup>100</sup>

4.b. is the story of Human Body Good Thought. This part of the fourth division will not be discussed yet, as translation and interpretations appear below.

4.c. (M, 233.3-237.6), the final part of the *Meditation Commentary*, tells the story of the earliest transmission,<sup>101</sup> the concealment of the text, and its rediscovery by Gu-ru Rnon-rtse.<sup>102</sup> There were three simultaneous early transmissions. First, Human Body gave the teachings to Shining Skycolored (Sngang-ba'i-mdog-can) of Innermost Zhang-zhung. He then passed them on to A-nu 'Phrag-thag of Intermediate Zhang-zhung who, in

100 Compare also M, pp. 6-7. In the tantra itself Supreme Secret (Gsang-ba Mthar-thug), identical to Total Good (Kun-tu-bzang-po), preaches seven tantras simultaneously from his seven faces. A modern poster-style reproduction of a thang-ka of Gsang-ba Mthar-thug (printed in eastern Tibet) shows a winged blue figure with a tiger-skin apron embracing a two-armed, two-legged red consort. He has a total of eighteen arms, all of them holding what appear to be hearts in skullcups. Under the four right feet pictured are four naked men lying prone, while under the four left feet are four naked men lying supine. The four men, evidently meant to represent the four castes (*rigs bzhi*), are here represented as the four races (their colors are white, black, yellow and red), evidently a modern interpretation. Supreme Secret has seven faces arranged in three tiers. The lowest tier has five faces: red, white, blue, green and yellow, in order from his right to his left. Above these is a white face, above which there is in turn a smaller red face.

101 This 'transmission' is conceived as more than just the handing down of an oral or literary tradition. It means the transference of the 'charisma' (*byin-brlabs*) of the institutor of the lineage. This is why the excavation of a concealed text requires more than the simple act of digging it out of the earth. It requires visionary contact with a member of the discontinued lineage of teachers. Otherwise, as in the case of Gu-ru Rnon-rtse, the excavator may be identified as an incarnation of one of the members of the earlier lineage.

This entire paragraph (with some omissions) is cited in *LShDz*, pp. 431.1-431.5 (translated in KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 167, with text on p. 325). I have compared these versions in making my rendering of this paragraph (also, DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 219-220).

102 Gu-ru Rnon-rtse (the name means 'Guru Sharp Point'), is also said to be known to Chos tradition as A-ya Bon-po Lha-'bum, whose story is briefly told in SANGPO, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 236. See also KVAERNE, 'Canon', no. B20. Kong-sprul actually dates Lha-'bum *before* the first *rab-'byung* (beginning in 1027 A.D.), but according to KVAERNE, 'Chronological', no. 97, he was born in 1136 A.D. See also KVAERNE, 'Bonpo Studies', p. 23; HOFFMANN, *Quellen*, p. 265.



turn, gave then to the Gshen of Gateway Zhang-zhung, Sad-ne-ga'u.<sup>103</sup> Then, at the time of the decline of the Bon religion in Tibet, the texts were hidden and entrusted to the skygoer Path Observers (Lam-gyi Bya-ra-ma), who served as the 'treasure protectors'.

Later on, the Tulku Guru Rinpoche (i.e., Gu-ru Rnon-rtse) took the texts from concealment at Rta-nag. Then, while the monk Gzhon-nu of Gnyal<sup>104</sup> was in Khams, the skygoers prophesied, "Take your share of Bon teachings at the place of the Guru."

He went and took empowerments, practical guidances and precepts. One day, while the communion (*tshogs*) offerings were being prepared, there were no more than three persons present, teacher and students included.<sup>105</sup> The Lama Rnon-rtse took a length of white cloth and said, "Now I have written so many copies of the Mother Tantras, I have gotten tired. After my rebirth, whence I will transfer from the human state, even if my thoughts could open the husk, I have no idea.<sup>106</sup> I offer to you this length of cloth as your share for copying purposes. Since you have transferred from a divine status, your thoughts are pure and you are very quiet and relaxed. So copy the texts without anyone seeing them."

The text was a mixture of Zhang-zhung and Tibetan. There was much in Tibetan script. When the appearance of the Zhang-zhung letters was closely examined, there was nothing that could not

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- 103 For A-nu 'Phrag-thag, see *YL*, pp. 30.2, 53.3; *SFHB*, pp. 632.5, 647.2; *SKC*, p. 22.6. None of these sources give anything approaching biographical information, except for *SFHB*, p. 632.5, where it says he died at the age of two hundred and fifty-five years. Sad-ne-ga'u (see note 61, above) is mentioned in Kvaerne, 'Bonpo Studies', p. 299. According to *KHRO*, p. 54.7, A-nu means 'divine little brother', and Sad-ne means 'divine elder brother'.
- 104 Rta-nag means 'Black Horse'. Name of a north tributary of the Gtsang-po (Brahmaputra) River west of Tashilhumpo (see FERRARI, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide*, p. 157). The cache of texts Gu-ru Rnon-rtse excavated are known as the Dung-phor-ma, after the particular place in Rta-nag called Dung-phor Bkra-shis. Gnyal is also spelled Dmyal. It is a river valley in an area to the east of Bhutan, but south of the Gtsang-po River not far from Bya-yul.
- 105 *LShDz* omits the portion translated as, 'there were no more than three persons present, teacher and students included.' 'Communion offerings' (*tshogs*) will be discussed later on.
- 106 This sentence is omitted in the citation of *LShDz* (p. 431), and my translation is only tentative. I read *blo yang sbun chad phol yang med* for the *blo yang spun / chad phol yang mang /* (the last four syllables inserted above the line in *dbu-can* script) of the text. *Phol-ba* is an Old Tibetan equivalent of *rtogs-pa* (*BLANG*, p. 291.4).

be deciphered. When, after one year, all the *Three Buddhahood Tantras*, the commentaries *Solar Mandala* and *Solar Essence* together with the visualization practices and minor texts had all been well copied, they were proofread once. Then, while there was still the explanatory commentary *Solar Ray* on the back side left to be copied, there was no idea where it had gone.<sup>107</sup>

The Lama came, "The skygoers are severe. Come! Bring the white cloth. Did you see the five loose open-mouthed tigresses pass by at Dung-phor?" So saying, he took it [the cloth?] and left.

Later, when asked to make a copy, he said, "Now no matter what is done, no matter what happens, it will be difficult to accomplish. My sons, what yogin is there besides you two who need it? Such a person has not appeared. You do your practices. The text is hidden. Now I do not even have it. Their 'Basis' is error. Their 'Path' goes the wrong way. Their 'Result' will be carried away with the morning frost. As of now, there is no suitable vessel in Tibet."

The remainder (M, 235.2-237.6) is no more than a listing of one hundred and ten ancient religious teachers of Tibet and Zhang-zhung. It does not, therefore seem especially important to discuss here. Rather, I would like to go on to look at the final colophons to the commentary on the second Mother Tantra (M, 766.4-767.6), because it is there that we may discover who the author of the *Meditation Commentary* must have been. I paraphrase as follows:

After I, the monk Gzhon-nu,<sup>108</sup> had asked the Tulku Guru Rinpoche, I copied it on the surface of a white cloth. The original was in Zhang-zhung Drag letters like these mixed with Tibetan

107 *Solar Mandala* (*Nyi-ma'i Dkyil-'khor*) is the commentary by Human Body Good Thought which is available to us in M, pp. 239-769. *Solar Essence* (*Nyi-ma'i Snying-po*) is the title given at the beginning of the 'preface' to the commentary on the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra* in M, p. 207. Clearly, there is some confusion in the titling of the texts in M. According to M, pp. 418-9, *Solar Essence* is the shortest version of the commentaries, evidently little more than an outline, while *Solar Ray* (*Nyi-ma'i 'Od-zer*), the most extensive version of the commentaries, contains word-by-word explanations. For the problem of titles for Human Body's commentaries, see KARMAY, *Catalogue*, p. 20.

108 The text reads Btsun-pa Gzhon. Elsewhere, he is called Gzhon-nu, Gzhon-'bum and Gzhon-nu-'bum (see DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 177.1, 219.6). Gnyal-ston Gzhon-nu-'bum in NAMDAK, *History*, p. 38.

letters. I copied it 'purely'.<sup>109</sup> Other Mother Tantras exist as mere outlines...<sup>110</sup>

When I reached Rtsang (Gtsang), I was told that a natural yogin would grant it as an oral transmission, that the Guru would confer it. While I thought I would not try to decide, the Path skygoers came in a dream and spoke, saying I should go to the place of the Guru.<sup>111</sup>

Now (M, 767.3-767.6) there is a second colophon:

The first copy from the original was done by the hand of the Rinpoche Gzhon-nu. The final copy,<sup>112</sup> starting from the making of the ink, was copied by myself, G.yung-drung, and corrected.<sup>113</sup> It was very carefully kept secret in accordance with the request of the Guru. I did not dare to propagate it in Central Tibet. Some brothers had circulated commentaries, but thinking the skygoers would punish me, I did not dare to transgress the Lama's order.

It was important to give even this tentative summary of the colophons, because I believe it indirectly points to the identity of the *Meditation Commentary* author. From Shar-rdza's citation of the text as translated by Karmay, we know that Shar-rdza believed it to be by Gzhon-nu, since he casts the story explicitly in the first person, "While I, the monk Gzhon-nu, was in Khams..."<sup>114</sup> The text of the *Meditation Commentary* in the version

109 A sample of Zhang-zhung Drag-yig is given in M, p. 766.3. This same part with the Zhang-zhung letters is photographical reproduced in NAMDAK, *History*, p. 38. When it says that he copied it 'purely', it means that he wrote it all in Tibetan script, without any admixture of Zhang-zhung letters.

110 Due to difficult readings, I leave out the following statement which basically says that while he was in Khams and the Lama (?) gave empowerments to the monks of Gha-zung-khong (?), they had only an outline.

111 The skygoers make a two-line speech, which was not clear enough to render.

112 The Tibetan word for the first copy from the original is called *bu dpe*, 'son copy'. The original copy is called *ma dpe*, 'mother copy'. The word translated as 'final copy' is *zhib bu*, 'precise copy, final copy'.

113 This G.yung-drung is presumably the Sgom-pa G.yung-drung-skyabs from Kong-po (KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 126) who received Mother Tantra teachings from Gzhon-nu. There was a mute named Sgom-chen G.yung-drung-skyabs who acted as servant to Gzhod-ston Dngos-grub-grags-pa (late 11th century) and later gained the ability to speak (*THREE SOURCES*, pp. 741.1, 742.5; *BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS*, p. 176).

114 See a preceding note and KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 167. Version G, like the citation by Shar-rdza, does indeed cast the narration in the first person.

at our disposal is neither explicitly in first person nor explicitly in third person, while the first colophon *is* in first person narration by the monk Gzhon-nu. There are also a few clues in the texts which could lead us to believe that Shar-rdza was right, that the narrative near the end of the *Meditation Commentary*, and not only in the colophon, should be understood as being in first person, and therefore by one and the same person. One clue is that in both places, Gu-ru Rnon-rtse is initially addressed by the same loquacious title of reverence, "Tulku Guru Rinpoche." There are also some grammatical peculiarities common to both texts.<sup>115</sup> I assume, therefore, that the *Meditation Commentary* was written by the monk Gzhon-nu,<sup>116</sup> a direct disciple of the excavator of the basic Secret Mother Tantras Gu-ru Rnon-rtse, thus placing its composition in the 12th century. This assessment will have to stand until good reasons are found to question it.

A few words in general about Mother Tantras are in order. 'Mother Tantras' in the wider Tibetan tradition<sup>117</sup> are those tantras which emphasize the transformation or Buddhaization (the verbal use of the noun *sangs-rgyas*, or 'Buddha', is very common in Bon as well as Rnying-ma texts) of

115 For example, the rather unusual verbal affix *tsa* (short for *tsa-na*, 'while' [carrying out the verbal action]) of the *Meditation Commentary* (p. 234.3, 234.6) appears with the spelling *dza* in the colophon (pp. 766.6, 767.2).

116 There are a few more bits of information about Gzhon-nu in KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. 125-6, in connection with his receiving the teachings of the Inner Mother Tantras (i.e., the texts of the *Byams-ma*, discussed later on in this book). In *Gsang-sngags*, p. 311.4, Gzhon-nu is referred to as the 'great teacher of Gnyal' (Gnyal-ston chen-po), referring to his home valley (usually spelled Dmyal) in Lho-kha of southeastern Tibet. There are, of course, other possible ways in which the *Meditation Commentary* could have been composed. The narration of the story of Gzhon-nu and Gu-ru Rnon-rtse could be a later addition to the text, and therefore of independent origin and authorship. If, as it seems, the story of Human Body Good Thought is in part based on the *Byams-ma*, then there is good reason to believe that Gzhon-nu, as a receiver of the independent transmission of that text, was the author, although still nothing to definitely demonstrate his authorship of the entire work.

117 The following discussion relies mainly on PAÑ-CHEN BSOD-NAMS-GRAGS-PA (1478-1554), *Rgyud-sde Spy'i Rnam-par Bzhag-pa*, p. 58; and the *Grub-mtha' Mdzod* of Klong-chen Rab'-byams-pa (1308-1363), contained in *Mdzod Bdun*, vol. 6, p. 334 ff. Of course, Bon tradition may indeed have quite different definitions. By all accounts, the Secret Mother Tantras belong to the Vehicle of the White 'A' (A-dkar Theg-pa), and it must be left an open question precisely how this Vehicle compares to the Mother or Father tantras of the New Translation Schools, or to the Mahāyoga and Anuyoga Tantras of the Old Translation School. We are dealing here with generalities which may well require further refinement and alteration.

the internal psycho-physical structure. Complete Enlightenment is aimed for by way of replicating within the body of the yoga practitioner the internal, blissful, subjective sphere appropriate to Enlightened Ones by various expedients. The yoga practitioner 'mothers' the inner forces which together constitute the Vajra Body (the winds, channels and drops) through various expedient methods (see the Six Principles of Expediency, listed below).

This is in contrast to Father Tantras which, as might be expected, tend to take a more aggressive stance toward the world of appearance through deliberate transformations (divinizations) of external perceptions and the perceptual faculties (the *skandha*, *âyatana* and *dhâtu* complex), culminating in a vision of the external situation, the objective sphere, appropriate to Enlightened Ones, characterized as luminous and integrated.

These are differences of degree only. The two approaches are not considered to work at cross purposes. In the non-dual tantras (of which the Kâlacakra and Hevajra are sometimes given as examples, although this is a traditional matter for dispute), they are balanced against each other. The definitions are quite elastic, however, generally implying much more than the working definitions supplied here.

Within the Bon tradition, there are three cycles of Mother Tantras: Outer, Inner and Secret. For each, there is a root text or texts with a body of exegetical and liturgical works subordinate to the root text. The three root texts of the Secret Mother Tantras (M) are collectively known by two different titles: 1. *The Three Buddhahood Tantras* (*Sangs-rgyas Rgyud Gsum*), and 2. *Compassion Sun* (*Thugs-rje Nyi-ma*). The three root texts are devoted to explanations of 1. the Groundwork or Basis (*gzhi*) of the Path, 2. the Path (*lam*) itself, and 3. the final Goal or Result (*'bras*). They were all preached by the Primordial Buddha Total Good (Kun-tu-bzang-po), who here has the names Supreme Secret King (Gsang Mchog Rgyal-po) and Supreme Secret Actualized (Gsang Mchog Mthar-thug), and all are preached in answer to questions asked by a large number of feminine deities and 'skygoers' (*mkha'-'gro-ma*, *ḍâkiñî*).<sup>118</sup>

The second of the three root texts, the *Tantra on the Spiritual Path* (M, pp. 68-189), contains explanations entirely parallel, aside from a few nominal differences, to the five-staged Path doctrine formulated on the basis of the Prajñâpâramitâ literature by Asanga and his followers, known to us chiefly through the *Abhisamayâlaṅkāra* and associated works. Its Six Principles of Expediency (*lam-khyer drug*) are, however, only with some

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118 One of the disputed criteria for identifying Mother Tantras is that the questioners should be female.

difficulty compared with the Six Dharmas of Nâropa, which depend on a Mother Tantra, the *Cakrasamvara Tantra* and, like the Mother Tantras in general, are identified as Completion Stage practices. The Six Principles of Expediency of the Bon Mother Tantras are as follows:

1. The expedient use of Means. (Mainly devoted to breath control.)
2. The expedient use of Dream. (Also one of the Six Dharmas of Nâropa.)
3. The expedient use of Fear. (This is quite close to the 'cutting' [*gcod*] practices in general Tibetan usage, although not included among the Six Dharmas of Nâropa.)
4. The expedient use of Projection. (Similar to the Transference Dharma of Nâropa.)
5. The expedient use of Death. (Bar-do teachings, one of the Six Dharmas of Nâropa.)
6. The expedient use of Sleep. (Analogous to the Clear Light Dharma of Nâropa.)

As may be seen, four of these correspond quite closely with the Six Dharmas of Nâropa, thus suggesting that the Mother Tantra category in Bon is quite close to the Mother Tantra category of Chos. There is in any case much to indicate that Bon Mother Tantras are Mother Tantras in the general Tibetan sense of the term, with their emphasis on the internal energy systems practices of the Completion Stage closely analogous to Chos Mother Tantras.

The preceding translations and remarks should sufficiently introduce the context for the story of Human Body Good Thought, but before going on to that story, I would like to add a few words about the later transmissions of the Mother Tantras, their commentaries, and associated teachings and practices. According to one source,<sup>119</sup> the teachings were transmitted through the following chain of teachers: Gu-ru Rnon-rtse, Gzhon-nu, then the two Sgom-pa (Sgom-pa G.yung-drung-skyab and Sgom-pa Rin-chen-dpal), and then Bka'-gdams Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>120</sup> Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan gave the teachings to both Zhang-ston Bsod-nams-dpal-ldan and his nephew Zhang-ston Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. These

119 KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. 127, 167.

120 The name Bka'-gdams Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan *might* suggest that he was a member of the Kadampa (Bka'-gdams-pa) order, although this is not certain. Compare also the lineage given in M, p. 68.3 ff.

two taught Dmu-rgyal Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan who was born in 1360 A.D. The same lineage is given in another source,<sup>121</sup> except that one Skam Nang-so Bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan replaces Dmu-rgyal. Another place informs us that Gzhon-nu went to southern Khams province to do the practices associated with the Mother Tantras. It was only with Zhang-ston Bsod-nams-dpal-ldan that the lineage moved back to Central Tibet (Dbus and Gtsang provinces) from Khams.

There are still other sources for the Mother Tantra lineages, but for present it is perhaps most important to note that at first it was limited to a very restricted group. It was only with the students of Zhang-ston Bsod-nams-dpal-ldan that the lineage tree started to branch out. It seems that no single person had greater responsibility for the ultimate 'popularity' of the Mother Tantra teachings than the late 14th to early 15th century teacher Dmu-rgyal. From his numerous Mother Tantra commentaries, ritual works and even one autobiographical work we get a glimpse of an extraordinarily colorful individual. His writings demonstrate a keen sense of metaphor. His personality shines through most brightly in the account of the dream visions he experienced after receiving the Mother Tantra empowerments,<sup>122</sup> a work that stands head and shoulders above most works of the visionary genre for its humility and its unencumbered narrative clarity. It is surely a testament to the brilliance and power of the Mother Tantra system itself, likewise revealed in the visionary experience of the legendary king Human Body Good Thought.

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121 M, p. 205.4.

122 The text of Dmu-rgyal's visionary experiences is found in M, pp. 796-81 under the title *Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-gyi[s] Dbang Lung Thobs-tshul* as well as in the volume *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, pp. 49-57, under the title, *Mjal Snang Lu-gu Rgyud-kyi Gter Phreng*. Dmu-rgyal's commentaries on Mother Tantras will be of immeasurable importance for future hermeneutical studies. See, for example, his commentary on chapters ten through twelve of the *Path Directly Buddhaized Tantra* contained in the volume, *GSHEN-CHEN KLU-DGA'*, *Srid Rgyal*, pp. 363-578. One of his commentaries is entirely devoted to the various metaphors (*dpe*) employed in the Mother Tantras (found in *DBAL-MO*, pp. 411-555). Dmu-rgyal's name is variously given as Dmu-rgyal, Dmu-dbang, Dmu-rigs and Dmu-gshen. *DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS, History*, vol. 2, p. 595.5 ff., says that at age thirty he founded a monastery called Rtse-ri-rgyal, which had from two to four hundred monks who included Mother Tantras among their specialities. Founded in 1390, this monastery predates the more famous monastery of Sman-ri, founded in 1405. For more on Dmu-rgyal, see *KARMAY, Treasury*, p. 182; *KVAERNE, 'Canon'*, nos. B46, C5; *KVAERNE, 'Chronology'*, no. 125.

### Part III — The Story Of Human Body Good Thought: Translation.\*

#### 1. *Youth*

Secondly, the facts of the compiler [of the Mother Tantras], the "one who heard,"<sup>123</sup> are as follows:

In Intermediate Zhang-zhung, an immaculate field of existence,<sup>124</sup> heart of the land of Jambu Continent,<sup>125</sup> was one named Gyer-wer Thatsan Hi-pang Rkya,<sup>126</sup> king of Eternal Bon, father of the Zhang-zhung Bon king, one who wielded power over the kingdoms of Jambu Continent. The father had aged; he was approaching the time when he would pass into the heavens, and still he had no son.<sup>127</sup>

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\* See the appendix for an edition of the text which forms the basis of this translation.

123 *Bdag-gis thos-pa*. This is from the opening statement of the scriptures, "These words were heard by me at one time." According to the traditional style of exegesis, the individual parts of the statement stand for the Teacher, Place, Audience, Time, Compiler, and so forth. Here, evidently the *bdag-gi[s] thos-pa* is interpreted to refer to the Compiler (*bsdu-ba-po*).

124 The word *srid-pa*, here translated 'existence', is perhaps better rendered as 'becoming', 'coming to be', or simply 'life'. It should not be understood as *static* existence.

125 Sanskrit, Jambudvîpa. This cosmological or geographical term has been variously interpreted, especially by modern apologists. Often Jambudvîpa may be understood as 'our world as we know it.' Traditionally, it referred to the southern of four continents. As a geographical term, it has often meant the Indian subcontinent. Often, especially by modern religious apologists, it is interpreted as the 'universe'.

126 This title in Zhang-zhung language (it is not a 'proper' name; at best, it may be understood as a 'regnal' name) is analyzed later on. The translation of Hi-pang by *mu-stegs* is found in the work *THEG-PA'IRIM-PA MNGON-DU...*, p. 195. See also note 177, below.

127 "Passing into the heavens" (*dgung-du gshegs-pa*) is, of course, a euphemistic way of referring to the death of a high-status person such as a king. The version of the story found in *BYAMS* is a little more explicit at this point, "He had no son to carry on the royal line."



So, the twelve minor kings of the border regions<sup>128</sup> consulted together, saying, "When the king has passed into the heavens, he will not hold the capitals of [we] vassals, so we will be able to conquer the central kingdom with an army and take its wealth."

Because of this, the royal subjects were extremely saddened and afraid. They made prayers to the divinities of all the Shenrab.<sup>129</sup> The mother Goddess of Existence appeared in the sky with her retinue and prophesied, "In a year, a prince will come and take care of the Bon teachings with his ocean of learning."<sup>130</sup>

Then an udumbara flower bud was born to the queen Godwife Eternalornament.<sup>131</sup> He was cared for, with no lack of warmth, by nine well-bred nannies. After this one — a prince who had all the marks and physical perfections, able to traverse with magic feet even to the realms of the gods and serpent-spirits — had been born,<sup>132</sup> he studied the special Bon teachings on the great philosophical view with Wholly Immaculate.<sup>133</sup> The

128 Text: *mtha'-'khob-kyi rgyal phran bcu-gnyis*. BYAMS adds that they were of "evil conduct" and that they were "most delighted" at this turn of events. They are mentioned in *SFHB*, pp. 31.4, 667.4. There is a list of seventeen areas of Tibet, nevertheless seeming to represent the twelve minor kingdoms (*rgyal phran bcu-gnyis*) in the Tun-huang documents as cited by NAMDAK, *History*, pp. 27-28. This needs more study. In view of the later law-making activities of Human Body, it is perhaps of greater significance that the 'twelve petty kings' (*rgyal phran bcu-gnyis*) whose laws were 'without virtue' are mentioned in the *Ma-ñi Bka'-'bum* in context of the (legendary) legislations of the historical 7th century Emperor Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (see URAY, 'Narrative of Legislation', pp. 51-52).

129 Perhaps the instrumental case of T makes better sense here. "All the Shenrabs made prayers to the gods."

130 The Goddess of Existence is here to be identified with Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo (the Queen of Existence).

131 The metaphorical comparison of a newborn child with a flower bud of the udumbara tree is found elsewhere in Bon literature. See the work of Rong-ston in NGAG-DBANG-CHOS-GRAGS, *Gsung-ngag Lam 'Bras*, p. 517.2, for another prince "born as an udumbara flower." The mother's name is Lha-za G.yung-drung-rgyan.

132 The version of *LShDz* makes this passage read less awkwardly by saying, 'after he had reached a measure of years, he studied...'

133 Yongs-su-dag-pa. Also called Divine Shen (Lha-gshen), or Divine Bon (Lha-bon), he was the one who introduced the tantras to the divine world, just as Human Body introduced them to the human world, and Totalknowledge Heart introduced them to the serpent-spirit world. These three introductions are collectively known as the 'Three Proclamations' (Bsgrags Gsum).

secret Bon teachings of tantra he studied with Secret Gathering.<sup>134</sup> He studied the Bon of great magic with Stag-la-me-'bar, and the Bon of deep precepts with Totalknowledge Heart.<sup>135</sup> He studied the Bon of the five types of philosophical analysis with Sage Victor, and the Bon of the five sciences with Rma-lo Dar-dpyang.<sup>136</sup> He lived as a second Buddha, a master of Bon, beings and teachings. He achieved the ultimate in knowledge, insight and faith in the eternal Bon teachings. From among the vast pronouncements and numerous scriptural authorities, he practiced the heart of hearts of spiritual legacies, the three cycles of Mother Tantras. He requested the Outer Mother Tantra *Immaculate Lotus Receptive Center* from the Gshen Spang-la-gnam-gshen and practiced its ritual contemplations. He requested the Inner Mother Tantra *All Elucidating Great Loving Mother* from Lionroar and practiced its ritual contemplations. He requested the Secret Mother Tantra *Compassion Sun* from Divine Bon [Wholly Immaculate] and practiced its contemplative visualizations. This gave him great spiritual confidence, and he forced the multitude of secret skygoers into his service.

Furthermore, when he requested *Compassion Sun* from Wholly Immaculate, he was granted the *Tantra of Discernment (Rnam-par Spyod-pa'i Rgyud)*. When he asked Secret Gathering, he received the *Tantra of Compassion's Clear Dawn (Thugs-rje Mngon Shar-gyi Rgyud)*. When he asked Stag-la-me-'bar, he received the *Tantra of Awareness Conduct*.<sup>137</sup> When he asked Totalknowledge Heart, he received the *Tantra of the Cuckoobird of Awareness*.<sup>138</sup> Then the Total Knowledge Skygoers, the

134 Gsang-ba-'dus-pa. He is an ancient Gshen. It is curious that his name is identical to the title of one of the most famous tantras and its central deity, the *Guhyasamāja* (Tibetan: *Gsang-ba 'Dus-pa*).

135 Stag-la-me-'bar (sometimes, Stag-lha-me-'bar) is another ancient Gshen, not to be confused with the Bon deity of the same name. See KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. xxii. For Total Knowledge Heart (Ye-shes-snying-po), see KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. xxii-xxiii. He is often called Klu-grub Ye-shes-snying-po, which reminds us of the Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub) and his most important disciple Jñānagarbha (Ye-shes-snying-po).

136 For Drang-srong-rgyal-ba, see KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 106, and for Rma-lo Dar-dpyang, *ibid.*, p. 58.

137 *Rig-pa Brtul-zhugs-kyi Rgyud*. Elsewhere, he is said to have received the *Gsang-ba Bsen-thub* teachings from Stag-la-me-'bar (BLO-GROS-RGYAL-MTSHAN, *Rtsa Rgyud Chen-po*, p. 31.6).

138 *Rig-pa Khu-byug-gi Rgyud*. See KVAERNE, 'Canon', no. K85; *SFHB*, p. 753.6; *SNYAN-RGYUD NAM-MKHA'I 'PHRUL MDZOD*, p. 566.2; BLO-LDAN-SNYING-PO, *Dbal-gsas Rtsod Zlog*, preface; DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS, *History*, vol. 2, p. 407.5. *Rig-pa Khu-byug* is also the name of one of the Old Tibetan Tantras of the Mind Class (Sems-sde), and apparently the only one to be found among the

Six Path Observers,<sup>139</sup> came to him in person and spoke, "O Son of the Family,<sup>140</sup> do you know the precepts of the Mother Tantras?"

"I have had connections with six great scholars, and am myself a scholar," he replied.

They drew a large vessel full of water from the ocean before them, took a single blade of grass and handed it to him, saying, "The Bon teachings of the Mother Tantras are like an ocean. What your teachers possess is like this full skullcup. Your knowledge is like [a drop on] this kusha grass. You have not yet realized even a small part of it."

Greatly depressed, Human Body prostrated before them and implored them, "What must I do to attain complete realization?"

They replied, "The innermost source of learning is Goodwife Longexcellence. She is the master of Mother Tantras. The place to meditate is Victorpleasing Grove (Rgyal-ba'i-mnyes Tshal). It is the skygoers' heart treasury. The roots of precepts are the *Three Buddhahood Tantras*. They are the heart of hearts of Mother Tantras."

## 2. Revelation

Then Human Body Good Thought transformed himself into a full-fledged *garuḍa* bird and, following after the path of the skygoers, arrived at the upper Precious Turquoise Grove in the divine place Joyous, the Ridge of Six Natural Peaks, and Turquoise Valley Crystal Rock Cave.<sup>141</sup> There, in

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manuscripts of Tun-huang. To judge from the citations of the Bon work, it bears no relationship to the Tun-huang text, however.

139 Lam-gyi Bya-ra-ma Drug. They are described in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 328 ff., where they are connected with the Six Paths (Lam Drug), also called the Six Methods (Thabs Drug) or Six Expedients (Lam-khyer Drug). These will be listed later. The names of the Path Observers are listed in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 514.1. They were the 'treasure protectors' while the Mother Tantras were in concealment (KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. 166).

140 Rigs-kyi Bu. This expression (Sanskrit, Kulaputra) is used by the Buddha when addressing his questioners, by the preceptor to the candidate for monastic ordinations, and by the guru to the disciple at tantric empowerments.

141 These places, which have already been discussed, appear mysteriously in the story of Dgongs-pa-rab-gsal as told in the history by Mkhas-pa Lde'u (See LDE'U, *Chos-byung*, p. 390). This may be an early reference to a Bon holy place *in this world* (perhaps in Amdo), to be distinguished from the place now in question, which is not in this world. Turquoise Valley Crystal Rock Cave (G.yu-lung Shel-gyi Brag Phug) was a place of meditation for many of the ancient tantric sages (*rig-'dzin*) of Bon, said to lie southeast of Vermillion Mountain (Mtshal Ri). For a rather parallel story about how Vajrapāṇi, the

the secret mandala of Supreme Secret, sat the mother Goodwife Longexcellence in the garb of O Lightocean.<sup>142</sup> There also dawned openly the mandala of the three *Supreme Secret Buddhahood Tantras*, extremely vast, touching the edges of the sky, made out of light and rainbow. Its three hundred and sixty divinities sat, visibly and solidly, completely elevated six feet from their seats. The four Kings of the Brahma Region and the most powerful Lord Protector Dbal-bons guarded against interruptions.<sup>143</sup> The five types of White Skyhoverers played the part of the Teacher.<sup>144</sup> Goodwife Longexcellence in the form of O Lightocean was the Initiatory Preceptor. The four Great Bliss Buddha Mothers<sup>145</sup> were the Conduct Preceptors. Playacting Group Hostess<sup>146</sup> and the other protectresses of the twenty-four holy places prepared the necessary things for the gathering.<sup>147</sup>

When blessings had been granted by an unimaginable number of knowledge-holders and deities who had the pride of spiritual accomplishment, the four empowerments together with the difficult points of the practice were completely conferred on him. The *Three Buddhahood Tantras* together with their chapter outlines were entirely pronounced in the

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compiler of the tantras, transformed himself into a Garuda bird, see HOLMBERG, *Mythology of All Races*, p. 345.

- 142 Kye-ma 'Od-mtsho. She is the main feminine deity (*gtso-mo*) of the Secret Mother Tantra mandala, consort of Supreme Secret Actualized (Gsang-mchog-mthar-thug). She is also the questioner in the first of the three Secret Mother Tantras (the *Gzhi Ye Sangs-rgyas-pa'i Rgyud*), chapter 3 (M, pp. 19-24).
- 143 The four Kings of the Brahma Region are probably identical to the four Great Kings, outer gate protectors listed in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 519.1 ff. The Dbal-bon, according to *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 155.1, are eight deities located in the outer periphery of the mandala. They are listed in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 519-520 and in *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, p. 207.3 ff.
- 144 The White Skyhoverers (Mkha-'gyings Dkar-po rigs lnga), Perfect Assets Body manifestations of Buddhahood, are of five types (or 'families') corresponding in a general way with the Pañcatathâgata-kula of Indian Buddhism. Their names, with short iconographical descriptions, are supplied in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 156-7.
- 145 For the positions of the four Great Mothers (Yum Chen) in the mandala, see *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 140-141. They are within the innermost level.
- 146 Rol-pa'i Tshogs Bdag-mo. She and the other protectresses occupy the intermediate level of the mandala. She is mentioned in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 144.4.
- 147 'Group' and 'gathering' are inadequate translations for *tshogs*. *Tshogs* are ritual gatherings where consecrated substances (also called *tshogs*) are distributed to all the community (*tshogs*). I see no special problem in translating *tshogs* as 'communion'. There is a guide to the Mother Tantra *tshogs* ritual in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 1-34. The meanings of this word are further discussed below.

course of one full breath and he was entrusted with them written in gold letters on azurite tablets. Total Good himself spoke,

Personally requested by the highest secret skygoer,  
 this spiritual lineage goes to me, master of Mother Tantras.  
 I entrust it entirely to you, the prophesied prince.  
 You are to keep this king of secret mantra,  
 this highest of all tantric works, this solar essence.  
 A cut glass jewel that appears to be many,  
 if this does not fulfill all desires, there is nothing that will.  
 Does it dawn in the human heart, this lone lamp  
 illuminating the fabric of the sky? The words of the mother  
 give to the son. Meditate without distractions.  
 disentangle the Basis for Buddhahood,  
 open the Path to it,  
 and obtain its Result.<sup>148</sup>

### 3. Meditation

Then, thoroughly imbued with the unerring, rational significance of the *Three Buddhahood Tantras*, he returned to the human realm and proceeded to where there were five great mountains in a long, wide wooded area called Victorpleasing Grove. The five great mountains are the following. In the center was Supreme Secret Mountain. There lived Fourcontinents Quickwoman, a divine skygoer who wielded power over the four continents. At Cuckoo Playing Mountain in the east lived Whitelady Fangbarer, a scentearer skygoer. At Royal Department Mountain in the north lived Blacklady Bigclaws, a troublemaker skygoer. In the west, at Totalknowledge Revealed Mountain, lived Redlady Yakskull, a serpent-spirit skygoer. At Eternal Swastika Mountain in the south lived Skysoaring Garuḍa, a deathlord skygoer.<sup>149</sup>

148 Basis (Gzhi), Path (Lam) and Result ('Bras) are the subjects of the three Secret Mother Tantras. The speaker of these words is Kun-tu-bzang-po, who is here identical to Gsang-mchog-mthar-thug (Supreme Secret Actualized) and the main deity (*gtso-bo*) at the center of the mandala.

149 Supreme Secret Mountain translates Gsang-ba Mchog-gi Ri-bo; Fourcontinents Quickwoman, Gling Bzhi'i Mgyogs-ma; Cuckoo Playing Mountain, Khu-byug Rol-pa'i Ri-bo; Whitelady Fangbarer, Dkar-mo Mche Gtsigs; scentearer, *dri-za*, is in Sanskrit Gandharva, the divine musicians of Indian lore, but also a name for the transmigrating consciousness, since it is believed to feed on scents;

Other than these, the spirits and divinities were so extremely vicious that the creatures did not dare to leave their accustomed paths. They delivered corpses all over the place to the resident skygoers. This was a great cemetery of execution for the demons and troublemakers with their grating speech. So, when Human Body settled down at the central mountain where there was a crystal chorten<sup>150</sup> and a secret rock cave not made by anyone, but self-formed, where there was a likeness, in the form of a self-formed image, of the four-armed White Skyhoverer,<sup>151</sup> the skygoers summoned all the this-worldly divinities and spirits as well as all the skygoers of the twenty-four holy places and brought forward an army. There was a rain of thunderbolts, a shower of sharp weapons, a hide-skinning<sup>152</sup> downpour of blood, a lacerating downpour of fire, a snow-storm of disease. With a terrible sound, their immeasurable army made the whole earth quake, and many communities in the phenomenal world were slain.

Good Thought flew up into the sky and, at a height of three miles, he transformed visibly into the image of Supreme Secret King. Then, together with the eight Gshen who were victorious in subduing the border

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Royal Department Mountain, Rgyal-po Kun-spyod-kyi Ri-bo; Blacklady Bigclaws, Nag-mo Sder Chen; troublemaker is *gnod-sbyin*, the *yakṣas* of Indian tradition; Totalknowledge Revealed Mountain, Ye-shes Mngon-'gyur-gyi Ri-bo; Redlady Yakskull, Dmar-mo G.yag Thod; serpent-spirit is *klu*, the *nāga* of Indian lord; Eternal Swastika Mountain, G.yung-drung Brtan-pa'i Ri-bo; Skysoaring Garuda, Mkha'-la Khyung Lding; and, finally, deathlord (*gshin-rje*) is *yāma* in Sanskrit. The five skygoers, as presiding 'geniuses' of Royal Fort Cattle Enclosure (Rgyal-mkhar Ba-chod), are listed in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 349. The name of the skygoer in the east differs, but otherwise the names are the same. They are all said to have the faces of a kind of vulture named *glag*, a bird known to prey on small domestic animals (see also *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 517.5). On the traditions about five mountains and associated lore in Taoism, see, for example, KROLL, 'Ascent of T'ai Shan' (especially p. 244).

- 150 Chortens (*mchod-rten*) are reliquaries with highly symbolic forms. Larger ones dot the Tibetan landscape, and a considerable amount of religious activity revolves around them.
- 151 Mkha'-gying Dkar-po is described as one-headed and four-armed in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 156, 372. The first right hand holds a swastika to his heart. The lower right hand turns a wheel. The first left hand holds a *parma'i yu-ba* (evidently this is a misreading for *padma'i yu-ba*, stem of a lotus) or a vase, and the lower left hand holds a precious jewel. The two lower hands may, alternatively, hold a hook and a flower.
- 152 The word used, *skyi-'dang*, occurs in Old Tibetan texts (usually in the form *skyin-dang*, or *skyin-'dang*). See STEIN, 'Tibetica Antiqua I', p. 191; STEIN, 'Récit', pp. 545-547; and also note how THOMAS, *Ancient Folk-literature*, pp. 45, 48, and 49, mistranslates it as 'debts and taxes'.

regions, he performed the forty-five playacting dance dramas of the male wrathful deities, the forty-five ferocious dances of the female wrathful deities, and the forty-five songs of the 'conduct' skygoers.<sup>153</sup>

Then they were subdued. The skygoers, divine and spirit soldiers, and their magical displays all fell to the ground. They became drunk as corpses. Then they offered their lives, took vows and promised to act as protectors of the teachings. They were completely brought beneath his power. They were placed under the power of the five principle skygoers who protect the directions.

When he had made all the deities and spirits into his servants, the Earth Goddess at the central mountain elevated the upper part of her body out of the ground and offered the earth *siddhi*.<sup>154</sup> At the eastern mountain, the scentearer Hairtuft Victor made himself visible and offered the action *siddhi*. At the northern mountain, the troublemaker Fullgood made himself visible, offering the wealth *siddhi*. At the western mountain, the serpent-spirit king Goodcircle became visible and offered the food *siddhi*. At the southern mountain, the deathlord Yamaratsa appeared, offering the religious

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153 The "eight Gshen who were victorious in suppressing the border regions" (Mtha'gnon Rgyal-ba'i Gshen Brgyad) are identical to the Kha-gnon Dbal-bon Gshenrab Chen-po Brgyad of M, p. 64.6. The dance performance (cited also in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 76-7) is part of the 'earth rite' (*sa chog*) that precedes the construction of a mandala or other sacred structure (see *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 197.2, 743 ff., for more on 'earth rites'). A dance manual for the Mother Tantras was written by Dmu-rgyal Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan (*GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 77.3), and this dance manual is reproduced in *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, pp. 29-44. In the manual seven phases to the 'earth rite' are described. The first three are: 1. 'earth subduing' (*sa 'dul-ba*), in which the forty-five playacting dance-dramas of the male wrathful deities are performed; 2. 'earth compaction' (*sa bcags-pa*), in which the forty-five ferocious dances of the female wrathful deities are performed; 3. 'earth subjection', in which the forty-five songs are performed (see also *MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI*, p. 81.6).

154 The Earth Goddess (Sa'i Lha-mo) is invoked in the 'earth rite' (see *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 747.4-748.1). All the other Tibetan Buddhist sects also visualize the Earth Goddess, showing only the upper part of her body above the ground, in the earth rites that precede consecration rituals (*rab-gnas cho-ga*). *Siddhi* (*dnagos-grub*) has no truly suitable English translation. It means 'accomplishments', both magical and religious, spiritual and mundane. They constitute the aims of various programs of ritual and/or contemplative visualizations, although most frequently they are bestowed (rather than 'earned'), as in the present case. Perhaps the best translation for *siddhi* is simply 'power', although this English word has too many applications.

teaching *siddhi*. In addition to those, all the deities and spirits offered all the *siddhis* which derive from their particular strengths.<sup>155</sup>

While making an offering of the place as a site for the spiritual endeavor of the Victor (Human Body), they promised to protect the religious teachings. At this, Human Body descended again to the earth. At the crystal rock summit of the central Supreme Secret Mountain, a place touching the sky and so high that eagles could not reach it, he dwelled in meditation.

As signs of his success in meditation, even today there is, two miles in the sky above the central Supreme Secret Mountain, his thick lofty golden throne which does not fall to the ground. At the eastern Cuckoo Playing Mountain, when he had directed his pointing gesture at a bronze boulder cast by the demons, it was left to rest, staying in the sky. At the northern mountain was a weightlifting stone of the troublemakers that did not fall to the ground. At the western mountain, when the serpent-spirits came floating in the sky, he threw a great meteoritic ritual dagger six feet long, which exists still today. At the southern mountain, the sword he threw at the deathlord soldiers remains there hovering and circling round and round even now.

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155 Hairtuft Victor is, in Tibetan, Zur-phud Rgyal-ba; Fullgood is Gang-ba Bzang-po; Goodcircle, 'Khor-bzang; and Yamaratsa, Ya-ma-ra-tsa. The latter is the Yamarāja of Indian tradition. I have preferred to keep it as a foreign word in English, since it is a foreign word in Tibetan. It means 'king of the deathlords' (which would be in Tibetan *gshin-rje'i rgyal-po*). Citing an earlier Tibetan history not now available (the *Rin-chen Spungs-pa*), Mkhas-pa Lde'u in his late thirteenth-century history (LDE'U, *Chos-'byung*, p. 196) lists the four direction kings (or 'earth holders', *sa 'dzin*) together with their ministers and spirit subjects as follows:

<i>Directions.</i>	<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Subjects.</i>
East	Yul-'khor-srung.	Zur-phud-lnga-pa.	Dri-za.
South	'Phags-skyes-po.	Ljon-pa Rta-mgon-can.	Gshin-rje.
West	Spyan-mi-bzang.	Gtsug-na-rin-chen.	Klu.
North	Rnam-thos-sras.	Lag-na-rdo-rje.	Gnod-sbyin.

It should be noted that the association of spirit subjects with the directions is here precisely identical with that of the Bon account. Of the other items, Zur-phud-lnga-pa nearly corresponds to Zur-phud Rgyal-ba. See also GETTY, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 166. In a version of the four Lokapālas of the Mahābhārata, Yama (which would be Gshin-rje in Tibetan) also occupies the south (ALLEN, 'Some Gods', p. 149).



#### 4. *The Kingdom*

After that, the Gshen Human Body Good Thought sat in contemplation. The deities who live in the sky sent down rainbow tents and flower rain. The secret skygoers brought him gathering offerings. The eight classes of deities and spirits venerated him and carried out actions for him.<sup>156</sup> The game animals, birds and carnivores continually circumambulated the mountain, and for several years he did not go anywhere, but stayed in contemplation. Because of this, this great monarch did not find a way of meeting his immeasurable circle of followers.<sup>157</sup> So all the wise Gshen and the most knowledgeable ministers made a petition, uttering lamentations near the rock cave where he stayed.

Human Body emerged from his contemplation and gave the following address, "You need not find yourselves in such distress. I will make the laws according to the Outer, Inner and Secret Mother Tantras.<sup>158</sup> When this is done, everyone will be happy. The outer kingdom will be governed on the pattern of *Immaculate Lotus Eternal Receptive Centre*.<sup>159</sup> Over the thirty-two regions, thirty-two lesser leaders will be appointed and their laws will be in accordance with the system of the Great Ascetics Vehicle.<sup>160</sup> Those who take life will be decapitated. Those who take what is not given will have their eyes put out. Those who speak in lies will have their tongues cut out. Those who perform unchaste actions on dependent persons will be

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156 The eight classes of spirits (*lha mi srin sde bryad*) are discussed in STEIN, 'Tibetica Antiqua I', p. 192.

157 'Circle of followers' translates '*khor*', a word usually used to describe the audience in attendance at the Buddhas' teachings.

158 For a reference to Inner, Outer and Secret laws, see *GZI-BRJID*, vol. 10, p. 593. Note that in the legendary account of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's reign, he is said to have spent four years 'in retreat' before promulgating his new legal system (URAY, 'Narrative of Legislation', pp. 25-6).

159 This, the *Rnam-dag Padma G.yung-drung Klong*, is a title for the Outer Mother Tantra cycle.

160 This is how SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, translates Drang-srong Theg-pa. Actually Drang-srong is a title for a monk with a particular level of monastic ordination, equivalent to *bhikshu*, and this Vehicle is concerned with monastic rules. Followers of this Vehicle deal with human passions by avoiding activities and situations that may give rise to them, hence the necessity of strictly adhering to a prescribed discipline which includes two hundred and fifty vows.

castrated.<sup>161</sup> When that is done, the outer kingdom will be happy and free of evil.

"The inner kingdom, the royal attendants, will be governed on the pattern of the *Hundred Thousand All Elucidating Great Loving Mother*.<sup>162</sup> There will be four supervisors of fields, eight law officers, sixteen decree-bearing messengers, thirty-two intelligence experts of quality, and fifty officers of works.<sup>163</sup> Their laws will be in accordance with the system of Total Gshen Eternal Being. Deeds will be thoroughly accomplished in conformity with whatever goes toward the benefit of animate beings, whatever power is best for accomplishing actions and whatever strength is best for increasing virtue. Then the teachings of Buddha will spread.

"The secret royal palace will be ordered on the pattern of the Supreme Secret mandala of *Compassion Sun*. At the five great mountains will be five great temples. At each of them will be four Great Bliss reliquaries, eight great forts as meeting places for those with magical abilities, and sixteen great cities which will produce everything desired. On the outer periphery of these, two lengths of walls of precious materials will be constructed. On the inner ramparts will be one hundred and twenty citadels with soldiers for protecting the laws. Along the outer ramparts will be fifty-two great communities, appointed with riches and everything desired. The outlying area will be entirely encircled by a wall. There will be four military governors, eight military law protectors, and, for each of them, nine hundred and ninety-nine forts with attendants and community

161 Literally, 'will have their testicles ('bras, also means 'fruit') torn out.' The preceding laws are identical to the four lay vows, the minimum number that must be observed by lay Buddhists. Here 'dependent persons' means particularly women who are under the 'protection' of a father or husband.

162 'Bum, "Hundred Thousand", here refers to the *Khams-brgyad* literature in general, of which Loving Mother (Byams-ma) is the personification.

163 The names of these government officers are, in like order, *zhing-khams-kyi spyi-rje*, *khriims-kyi 'dul-dpon*, *bang-po (bang-chen)*, *blo-'dzin*, *'phrin-las-kyi 'dul-dpon*. These five positions, of course, reflect the five kinds of active reflexes of the Bodhisattva (Ye-gshen G.yung-drung-sems-dpa'), or the Total Gshen Eternal Being referred to immediately below) at work in the world, those of body, speech, mind, quality and activity (or, in Tibetan, *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon-tan*, and *'phrin-las*). This Total Gshen Vehicle (Ye-gshen Theg-pa) is characterized by the generation of the 'thought of Enlightenment', but, like the *Khams Brgyad* (Bon equivalent to the *Prajñâpâramitâ*) to a lesser extent, this Vehicle is already far beyond the basic Bodhisattva ideas of the Chos *Prajñâpâramitâ* literature, and bound up with the subtler realms of tantra. I do not quite know how to explain why this should be so. (I have done a preliminary investigation into the textual relationships between the *Khams-brgyad* and *Prajñâpâramitâ* literatures in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*.)

servants.<sup>164</sup> When the eight great forts of the central part, the forty-one buildings and one thousand and eight [buildings] have been built, the law will be in conformity with the system of the tantric White 'A' Vehicle.<sup>165</sup> It will be ruled after this pattern: king, ministers, religious teachers, the law of the realm, and princes.<sup>166</sup> In that way they will practice the Result [Vehicle of] tantra and become Buddhaized.<sup>1</sup>

When these orders had been pronounced after the manner of the king's contemplative experience of the 'open center',<sup>167</sup> the royal attendants were helped by the deities and spirits, and in three years the work was completed. When it was finished, it was called Royal Fort Cattle Enclosure.

### 5. *Reigning over the Kingdom*

Then, at the four great divine palaces, the four great tantric masters turned the wheel of Bon teachings. At each of the reliquaries there were four contemplative schools of the Great Vehicle. At each of the [eight] great forts were eight magical practice schools. There were golden bridges for the traffic of the royal family, silver bridges for the traffic of the Gshen, and paved surfaces of bronze for the ordinary people to walk on. There were domes of precious substances and gold and turquoise tiled walls. The deities sent down upon the city rains of flowers from time to time. The serpent-spirits caused pure water to come welling up by itself. The nonhumans time and again brought offerings. While these and other such

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164 Here T adds a conjunction, in which case we should read, "communities and servants".

165 A-dkar Theg-pa. See SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, pp. 170-189. In contrast to the Great Ascetics Vehicle (mentioned above), the White 'A' Vehicle approaches ordinary human emotions as things to be transformed, rather than enemies to be opposed. 'Laws' as prescribed disciplines are not a part of it.

166 I assume that the order of the list was intended to be hierarchical, with the kings, ministers and religious teachers above, and the princes beneath, the law of the realm. The text is not explicit on this point.

167 The idea is that the king was speaking while still experiencing the effects of his contemplation. 'Open center' translates *ba-ga klong*. *Ba-ga* is the typical Bon spelling for what is obviously a loan word corresponding to Sanskrit *bhaga*, 'womb', 'good fortune', 'prosperity', etc. (see SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, glossary; and KVAERNE, 'Canon', no. K98, for examples), although I believe that, since it is always spelled without the aspiration, or 'h', it may indeed be a borrowing from the Persian form *baga*, meaning 'plenitude', among other things. Quite a literature now exists on this Persian word.

unimaginable events took place, the king, for his part, did not for a moment leave the state of contemplation; and those who lived in the central palace turned the wheel of the secret mantra Mother Tantra teachings.

Those who stayed at the eastern mountain followed the great Gshen Wholly Immaculate. They taught and contemplated the exceptional Bon teachings of the great philosophical view. Those who stayed at the northern mountain followed Stag-la-me-'bar. They taught and performed the practices of the Bon of great magic. Those who stayed at the western mountain followed Sage Victor. They taught and reflected on the Bon of the five types of philosophical analysis. Those who stayed at the southern mountain followed Secret Gathering. They taught and performed the propitiations of the Bon of great visualization practice. The community group of the hundred and ten legal community governors who stayed in the inner circle followed Totalknowledge Heart. They practiced and kept to the Bon of deep secret mantra. The fifty-two belonging to the department of wealth and merit who stayed in the outer circle followed after Eternal Being, teaching and studying the five sciences.

In this way, the local laws were kept as Bon laws, and the practice of the ten virtues of the 'white side' was uninterrupted. Human Body Good Thought himself had meditated for fifty years cutting away the integuments in the Basis (Gzhi). He thereupon showed himself to his attendants and bestowed the four empowerments in their entirety. When he explained the *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra*, all those who had been his attendants came to obtain the Supreme Siddhi of the Great Vehicle.

Then he had meditated a further fifty years cutting through the profound depths of the Path. On that basis, he appeared before all his attendants, headed a great 'gathering circle', and amassed the accumulations.<sup>168</sup> In the grove of the vast valley he led a 'gathering house'. Good Thought seated himself a half mile in the sky in a five-levelled rainbow tent; he invited all the knowledgeholders and divine assemblage of Supreme Secret and, amassing the offerings, explained the *Path Directly Buddhaized Tantra*. Then there were innumerable accomplished ones. The foremost among them was Shining Skycolored, and there were five hundred who were able to conduct themselves like Good Thought himself.

Then for fifty more years he meditated, determining the significance of the Result. He displayed himself to his attendants with his playacting

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168 There is a play on some of the different meanings of the word *tshogs* here. It means the 'gathering' ritual, the 'accumulation' of merit and Total Knowledge. In other contexts, *tshogs* may mean 'social' as distinguished from 'private, individual'.

conduct which openly manifested the four Bodies.<sup>169</sup> When he explained the *Result Completely Buddhaized Tantra*, he taught the 'eight guidances' and, no sooner did he finish than all the sentient beings in Royal Fort Cattle Enclosure completely dissolved into rainbows without leaving any traces behind. Their minds were disentangled into Bon Proper.<sup>170</sup> They were Buddhaized into the Body of Supreme Secret King. At that time, he said,

The profound scriptural transmission — Total Good, known to all.  
 Next in the lineage — Goodwife, the compassionate mother.  
 The profound precepts — the three *Buddhahood Tantras*, Bon teachings.  
 The great patient meditator — Human Body Good Thought, the Gshen.  
 The length of meditation — thrice fifty years long.  
 When the meditative signs appeared, the kingdom was transformed with none remaining.

A grandson is born to the grandfather, in the lineage of Total Good.  
 I have known no enshroudment by the faults of 'total bad'.  
 From the mother is born a son, son of Goodwife Longexcellence.  
 In paternal descent from [Total] Good, Buddha's teachings were handed down.  
 Later, I would study; a descendent of Eternal Being,  
 I have known no clothing besides the dragon robe of the king of kings.

Having done the difficult practices, I am son of Teacher Shenrab.  
 I have known no place to stay besides the three holy Levels.<sup>171</sup>  
 When my deeds are done, the pleasure of the Buddhas is certain.

169 These four Bodies are Bon Body, Complete Assets Body, Manifestation Body, and Essential Identity Body.

170 The 'eight guidances' are the main topics of the third Secret Mother Tantra, the *Result Completely Buddhaized Tantra* (*Bras-bu Rdzogs Sangs-rgyas-pa'i Rgyud*). Bon Proper (Bon-nyid) is the 'absolute' (if we may speak of such a thing here) conceived as a qualitative essence underlying all the factors (*bon*) which go together to produce the illusion of the phenomenal world. Bon-nyid is equivalent to the interdependent totality of *bons*, which is also called 'Realm of Bon' (Bon-dbyings), in Sanskrit, Dharmadhātu.

171 Most likely the 'three pure Levels' (*dag-pa'i sa gsum*) are intended here, as explained by Dmu-rgyal in GSHEN-CHEN KLU-DGA', *Srid Rgyal*, p. 368.2.

I have placed many sentient beings in supreme Ripening and  
Release.

That my having a human body was purposeful is certain.  
I ruled with Bon laws. I ruled on the ten virtues.<sup>172</sup>

That good thought was taken to the limit is certain.  
The altruistic aspiration was kept until the vicious circle was  
emptied.

That my contemplative intensity will please the skygoers is certain.  
I have eaten no food besides concentration and realization.  
The tantric teachings' scriptural transmission's spreading is certain.  
The signs and omens have been left for all to see.

That there will be those like me if they do like me is certain.  
The vital points of the profound precepts will be pierced.

He sang this and other songs of the realization of Great Bliss.

## 6. *Death*

For the Gshen King himself, to pass away, to go or to stay, did not matter. Even though he was, in Bon Proper, none other than the deity Supreme Secret, he was asked to remain as an object of worship for the faith of later generations of sentient beings. So, in the divine palace of Supreme Secret, a golden mandala erected with various precious materials before the naturally formed image of White Skyhoverer in Supreme Secret Cave, the images of the three hundred and thirty-six deities, the main deity Supreme Secret together with his retinue, were clearly replicated in 'ringsel'.<sup>173</sup> They were hard and permanent. A strongman's force will not destroy them. In the images was the appropriate light of Total Knowledge like a lighted lamp. The measures of the central deity and his retinue ranged from the height of a

172 In *GSANG-SNGAGS*, p. 714.2, where the same song occurs, this line reads, "After the laws were transformed into Bon, [they were] established in the ten virtues."

173 *Ring-bsrel* is a very hard crystalline rock-like substance which exudes from the bone and hair mainly, but also from other bodily tissues of deceased, but sometimes even of living, saints. I have discussed *ring-bsrel* within the context of Tibetan relic cults in another place (MARTIN, 'Pearls from Bones'). Here it is important to know that *ring-bsrel* sometimes form in the shapes of deities. These are very much a part of the material culture of Tibetan religiosity and devotion.

cubit to a finger-width and mustard seed size. Since the ground beneath was made to adhere to the mandala, even the divinities and spirits could not carry it away. After he had left this as an object of faith for future generations, it was like a snake sloughing its skin; he was directly Buddhaized into the Body of Supreme Secret. In the realm that outshines the ten Levels, he yet today turns the wheel of the Bon teachings of Supreme Secret.

As for Royal Fort Cattle Enclosure together with the royal objects of worship, all the knowledgeholders and skygoers of the twenty-four holy places gathered there and, from time to time, made offerings. Even though the earlier generation was liberated, the people who followed in later generations stayed in the footsteps of the earlier. Keeping Bon laws, they had the pride of spiritual accomplishment and an unceasing stream of Buddhists emerged and stayed there.

[This is the end of] part two, on how the compiler of the scriptures, Human Body Good Thought, in the beginning cultivated learning, in the middle contemplated secret mantra, and finally was prophesied for Buddhahood.

## Part IV — The Story of Human Body Good Thought: An Interpretation.

The problem of interpretation will occupy the remaining pages of this book, but on three different levels. In the immediately following part, an internalized 'literary' approach is adopted, while in the subsequent sections, 'external' historical comparative and anthropological angles will be pursued. I see no particular problem with using several modes of analysis. All human artifacts that come down to us from the past are part of our shared heritage, at this stage in our history. As human things, we may know them (as in Vico's *verum factum*), since we are human, and we may feel free to employ whatever human means we have at our disposal to elucidate them, even if a measure of sensitivity to cultural difference and the problems of translation may be required. After all, human things generally tend to suggest their own interpretations *to us as humans*, even if analytical research may refine or transform subsequent understandings. There is a certain elasticity in any 'text', in the sense that what we 'read into' it usually does have something to do with what 'leaps from the pages'. With this confident view, we will proceed.

After giving the problem much thought, I have decided that the story of Human Body may be considered 'legendary', but I must add immediately that I believe it partakes of history (as a legend, of course, it has its own history, and every legend, by definition, takes place in an aura of historicity). To paraphrase Vico, every 'myth' is a 'civil history' that must have once had a publically-acknowledged ground of truth.<sup>174</sup> The story also partakes of 'myth', but unlike myth, the principle actor is a human being who remains for most of his life in this world; the contents of the story are secular as well as sacred. The story of Goodwife Longexcellence suits definitions of 'myth' quite nicely,<sup>175</sup> but with Human Body we are standing on the ground, even if, as Bon historians also acknowledge, it is in the very remote past in a now vague geographical setting.

There is one general mythic complex which seems to lie behind both the stories of Goodwife and Human Body, and it is a very strongly

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174 VICO, *New Science*, p. 94.

175 For a discussion of 'myth', 'legend' and 'folklore', see the article by W. Bascom in DUNDES, *Sacred Narrative*. See also 'The Problem of Defining Myth' by Lauri Honko, contained in BIEZAIS, *Myth of the State*, pp. 7-19, for a survey of historical definitions. Clearly, 'myth', 'legend', 'folklore', and even 'history' are culturally motivated distinctions that do not translate easily between cultural realms.



Buddhistic complex going back as far as the Nikâya literature. The Buddhist cosmogony and the story of the origins of kingship and the social order have been very much studied, and I do not intend to go into this very fully here. I simply want to point out a basic parallelism. The story of Goodwife corresponds to some degree with the Buddhist 'Genesis', just as the story of Human Body corresponds to the story of the King by Common Consent, Mahâsammata.<sup>176</sup> This connection is made most explicitly in *Byams* (p. 114.5), where it says that his father "acted as a divine lord of men because he was, by common consent, the overlord of all the 'black heads' (i.e., subjects). This lord being the earliest of kings to come to mankind, he was called Tha-tsan Hi-pang Skyes."<sup>177</sup>

I intend to proceed with the analysis based on the premise that the story of Human Body is meant to be, like the story of the King by Common Consent, a prototype for future generations to follow. It provides an ideal pattern of social organization; but it provides other prototypes as well. I here take the rather simpleminded 'literary' approach of starting from the beginning to look for particular tensions or problems that may be resolved in the course of the story. The result follows.

<i>Problem</i>	<i>Resolution</i>
1. There is no heir to the throne and, as consequence, the kingdom has external threats.	A son is born by divine intervention.

176 See, for instance, TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, p. 9 ff. The Tibetan name for Mahâsammata is Mang-pos-bkur-ba. In *KHRO*, p. 51.7, Human Body is called "the son of the King by Common Consent" (Rgyal Mang-pos-bkur-ba'i sras).

177 This Zhang-zhung title (M, p. 222.1) may be analyzed as follows. Gyer-wer means Bon King. Tha-tsan corresponds to Tibetan *thams-cad*, meaning 'all'. Hi-pang is Tibetan *mu-stegs*, Sanskrit *tīrthika*, a way of referring to the non-Buddhist religions of India. Rkya is Tibetan *rje*, or 'lord', corresponding to the *rgya* in Lig-mi-rgya (the title of the historical king of Zhang-zhung, which may be translated as 'Lord of Existence'). Therefore the entire title should mean something like, 'Bon King Lord over All the Tīrthikas'. Elsewhere, the father of Human Body is a king by the name of Khri-rgyal-'od (as in *SFHB*, p. 138.6). In *THREE SOURCES*, p. 102, Good Thought is the son of Mang-pos Bkur-ba Gtsug-khri. In *COLLECTED TANTRAS OF BON*, vol. 5, p. 114.5, the father is called Tha-tsan Hi-pang Skyes because "this Lord was the earliest of kings to come to mankind" (*dbu nag kun-gyi spyi rje mang-pos bkur-bas mi rje lha'i mdzad-to / rje de ni mi la rgyal-po 'byung snga-bas Tha-tsan Hi-pang Skyes zhes bya'o /*). The term 'black heads' (*dbu nag*) as a name for royal subjects was also known in China (ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, p. 95).

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| 2. The son needs education.  | He studies with Bon teachers.   |
| 3. He becomes knowledgeable, but lacks spiritual realization.  | He receives esoteric empowerments and meditates in solitude.                                    |
| 4. The Secret Mother Tantras do not exist in the human world. <sup>178</sup>                                 | He brings the Mother Tantras to the human world.  |
| 5. He is surrounded by hostile spirits outside his power to control.   | He transforms them into helpers through his ritual dance, bringing them under his control.      |
| 6. He needs powers ( <i>siddhi</i> ).  | The converted spirits give him their powers.  |
| 7. Because of his isolation, he is a 'king' with no subjects.  | Priests and ministers come to him and ask him to rule.  |
| 8. The kingdom needs laws.   | He patterns laws on three of the Vehicles of Bon.   |
| 9. The kingdom needs administration and structures.  | He patterns administration and structures on the mandalas of the three kinds of Mother Tantras. |
| 10. The kingdom must be built.   | It is built in three years with the help of divinities and spirits.                             |
| 11. The sentient beings of the kingdom are not enlightened.  | They are Buddhaized.  |
| 12. He could dissolve his physical body without a trace, but future generation need signs and relics.        | He leaves relics which are also miraculous signs of his spiritual accomplishment.               |
| 13. All of his subjects dissolve into rainbow bodies without leaving a trace (they seem to leave no legacy). | Later generations come and follow in their footsteps.   |

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178 Prior to the revelation he did have a Secret Mother Tantra teacher, Wholly Immaculate (Yongs-su-dag-pa), but the latter was a divinity who introduced the tantras in the world of gods. So, from the fact that Human Body studied these tantras *before* their revelation is no necessary indication that they existed already in the *human* world.

I will not be dealing with each of these 'problems' individually. The 'nirvanic' or soteriological issues (problems 2-3 and 11) will not be discussed. Instead, I will concentrate on three phases of the story which are of decided importance within the context of the literature, because they are demonstrated to be prototypical for later religious ritual and secular behavior. I label these three phases, 1. birth (problem 1); 2. kingship, in relation to mandala symbolism (problems 5-10), and 3. legacy (problems 12-13). Problem 4 is omitted from these phases, although actually this may be considered the most important 'problem' from some perspectives. It could be said that Human Body's role in revealing the Mother Tantras is his most important definition. His story serves as a significant legitimating factor for later adherents of the tradition.

Phase 1 might not seem so important in the context of the story as told in the *Meditation Commentary*; but another source for the life of Human Body focusses on precisely this problem of securing the family line. The title of the text is *The Dhâraṇî of the Great Loving Mother, She Who Takes Care of Family Fears*.<sup>179</sup> Some comments on the history and nature of this text are in order. It was excavated along with associated texts by Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha, who lived 956-1077 A.D.<sup>180</sup> This apparently places its excavation at least one and a half, perhaps two, centuries before the composition of the *Meditation Commentary*. Three generations after their rediscovery, the *Loving Mother* texts were given to Gzhon-nu and

179 *Byams-ma Chen-mo Rigs-kyi 'Jigs-skyobs-ma'i Gzungs* (See *BYAMS*). I have kept a Sanskrit translation for *gzungs*, because no English word adequately expresses its meaning. *Dhâraṇî* have too much religious legitimacy to be called 'spells'. Perhaps we could call them 'benedictions', but they are used by individuals themselves, rather than recited on their behalf by a priest. Unlike 'spells' they are not used aggressively, but only for individual protection from mundane fears. Mantras (*sngags*), on the other hand, may be used for aggressive magic as well as for the most sublime spiritual purposes. *Dhâraṇî* could be called 'prayers', but they are generally couched in a language the suppliant does not understand.

180 Khro-tshang received the name 'thundergod' ('Brug-lha), because of a thunderstorm on the day of his birth. For his biography, see KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. 124-5 (the particular text in question here is in the list of his rediscoveries in the same work on p. 288, line 10, as part of the collection of *dhâraṇî* of Loving Mother, or Byams-ma). These Loving Mother texts are classified as *Inner Mother Tantras*. NORBU, *Necklace of Gzi*, p. 19, dates the excavation of the *Byams-ma* literature to 956 A.D.

were then passed along in the same lineage with the Secret Mother Tantra literature.<sup>181</sup>

*Family Fears* is actually the fourth chapter of a nine chapter work called *Root Dhâraṇîs of Loving Mother*.<sup>182</sup> Chapters two through nine are the eight *dhâraṇîs* for the eight forms of Loving Mother who aid against the eight fears. These eight forms of Loving Mother are as follows:

1. She Who Takes Care of Enemy Fears.
2. She Who Takes Care of Curse Fears.
3. She Who Takes Care of Family Fears.
4. She Who Takes Care of Serpent-spirit Fears.
5. She Who Takes Care of Heretic Fears.<sup>183</sup>
6. She Who Takes Care of Fault Fears.<sup>184</sup>
7. She Who Takes Care of Life-span Fears.
8. She Who Takes Care of Eclipse Fears.<sup>185</sup>

In each of these eight chapters, a story shows how Loving Mother intervened successfully, solving the particular problem for a particular individual. Each contains a *dhâraṇî* in Zhang-zhung language,<sup>186</sup> as well as Tibetan prayers for the use of those suffering from similar problems.

While it is important to restrain the tendency to make immediate judgements on priority, there is an extremely close parallel in the Chos texts on 'Târâ Who Takes Care of the Eight Fears'.<sup>187</sup> A 1095 A.D. Indian inscription gives the eight fears as "lion, elephant, fire, snake thief, fetters, ocean and demons." The *dhâraṇî* text (Peking no. 396) is the only one

181 See KARMAY, *Treasury*, pp. 125-6. This is the same lineage as that listed above for the Secret Mother Tantras.

182 *Byams-ma Rtsa-ba'i Gzungs*. The entire work runs from page 85 to page 150 in volume 5 of *COLLECTED TANTRAS OF BON*.

183 This has the story of Shining Skycolored (Nam-mkha'-snang-ba'i-mdog-can), the chief disciple of Human Body. For an explanation of his name, see *KHRO*, p. 52.6.

184 This has the story of the Tibetan Emperor Mu-khri-btsad-po. For an explanation of his name, see *KHRO*, p. 52.7 ff.

185 This has the story of Ku-byi-mang-ske, on whom, see *KHRO*, p. 52.5; *SFHB*, pp. 619-620. He is mainly associated with the Ge-khod cycle.

186 The version in volume 5 of *COLLECTED TANTRAS OF BON* will be a valuable source for students of Zhang-zhung language, since it gives 'footnote' Tibetan translations for words in the lengthy *dhâraṇî*.

187 *Sgrol-ma 'Jigs-pa Brgyad-las Skyob-pa*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Aṣṭamahâbhaya Târâ* (see MITRA, 'Aṣṭamahâbhaya-Târâ', p. 19; BEYER, *Cult of Târâ*, pp. 229-231).

among the nine canonical Chos texts which is to be found in the imperial period Ldan-dkar-ma catalogue; the other translations appear to belong to the 'Later Propagation' (*phyi dar*) period. A close study of the 'eight fears' literature covering Indian, Central Asian and Chinese texts, inscriptions and artworks may have something significant to conclude about the route of transmission for this and, perhaps by implication, other Bon texts.

The similarities of wording and content between *Family Fears* and *Meditation Commentary* are probably to be explained by the strong likelihood that Gzhon-nu based his retelling of the story, in part, on *Family Fears*, which we know to have been among the texts he received from the great grandson of Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha. The significance of this for us is that, as far as we know, the oldest motive for telling the story of Human Body was to provide a case study of how Loving Mother may be successfully invoked to take care of fears that one's family line might come to an end. To quote the closing words of *Family Fears*,<sup>188</sup>

By the blessing of the Cause Goddess who wields power over the life of all born beings, may those who desire sons, as it is illustrated here, obtain sons and later become fully Buddhaized in the Buddhafields.

Phase 2: Kingship is the theme most central to the remainder of the story, but the most difficult to deal with adequately. We would have to know more than we do about the actual political and social conditions contemporary to the production of the text. There are very many stories about kings in Bon literature. Lord Shenrab Himself was born a prince. In the Bon collection of *dhâraṇîs* called *Mdo-mang* is an intriguing story of a king who had two sons, one good, one bad. He banishes the bad son and to the good son he gives the precious jewel which is the symbol of the royal power.<sup>189</sup> Hundreds of such stories are to be found, but in the immediately following interpretation we will stay within the Mother Tantra literature.

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188 The following passage is in *Byams*, p. 119.7. The 'Cause Goddess' (Rgyu'i Lhamo) mentioned there is the central of five forms of Loving Mother that appeared in a sky mandala in the same text (p. 115.7 ff.). She is white in color. Her right hand holds an 'open center spot' (*ba-ga klongs-gis thig-le*). Her left hand holds the seed and *cause* of life. She is, in fact, quite similar, in terms of the basic iconography, to Anâhitâ (ROSENFELD, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 75).

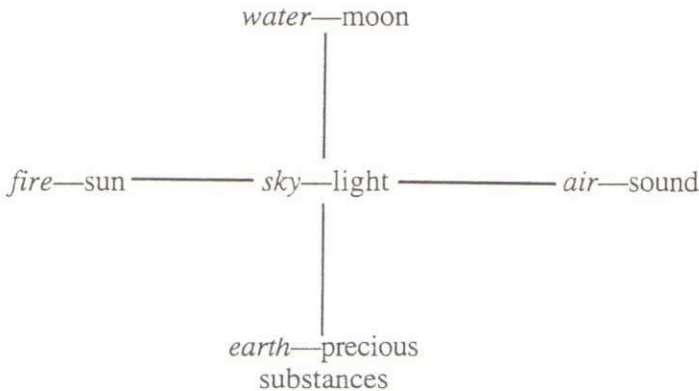
189 For this text, see TSHUL-KHRIMS-RGYAL-MTSHAN (ed.), *Mdo-mang*, vol. 1, pp. 15-68. The title of the text is *Khri-rje Lung-bstan-gyis Mdo*. I have dealt with the stories about a dynasty of Zhang-zhung kings called 'Birdhorn' (Bya-ru-can) kings in MARTIN, *Emergence of Bon*. The only king of Zhang-zhung about

Since the comment has already been made that Human Body's story is shadowed by a larger complex involving the genesis of the world, the living beings in it and society, the proper place to begin is with the origins of the world according to the third chapter of *Basis Totally Buddhaized Tantra* and its commentary by Human Body himself.

First, the tantra (M, p. 19.5, plus insertion below on line 7):

The special powers of the great self-engendered Total Knowledge... emanated the outer appearances and the inner vitality. In order to keep the 'container' and 'vital' worlds with compassion, in them blazing white, yellow, green, red and blue-green lights were agitated by the motive force and, from their swirling, sky, air, fire, water and earth were 'arrived at'. The axis-mountains, continents and axis-trees of the thousand triple-thousand worlds emerged. The nutritive saps of the five elements in combination were the first 'ornaments': the light, sound, precious substances, sun and moon.

Following the identifications given by Human Body (M, p. 259.5), we already have the following mandala pattern (the reason for the orientation will become clearer shortly):

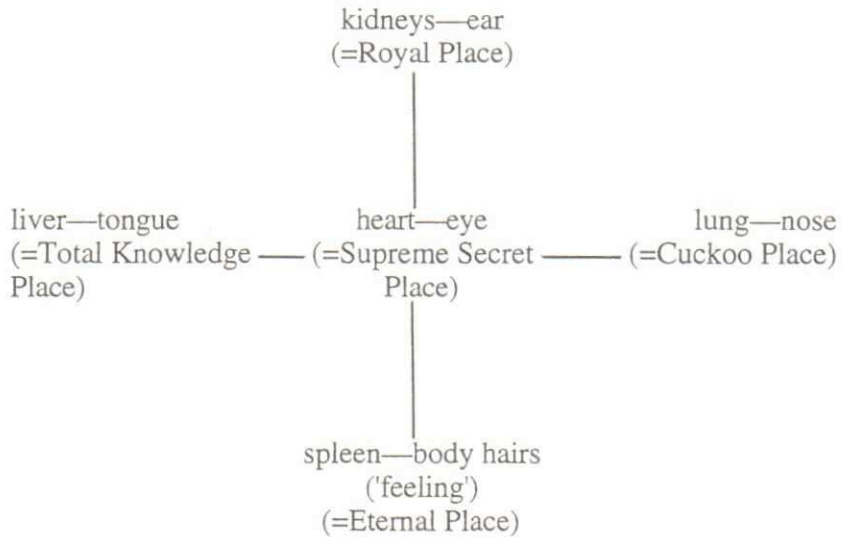


*figure one*

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whom we have sufficient knowledge to speak about his history is king Lig-mirgya. We know that his Zhang-zhung kingdom fell before 653 A.D., and probably in 644 A.D. (See URAY, 'On a Chronological Problem', p. 296; SNELLGROVE, *Cultural History*, pp. 99-103.) On general Tibetan ideas of kingship and stories of the first king Gnya'-khri-btsan-po, see HAARH, *Yar-lun Dynasty*, or, for a much more succinct account, KVAERNE, 'Divine Sovereignty'.

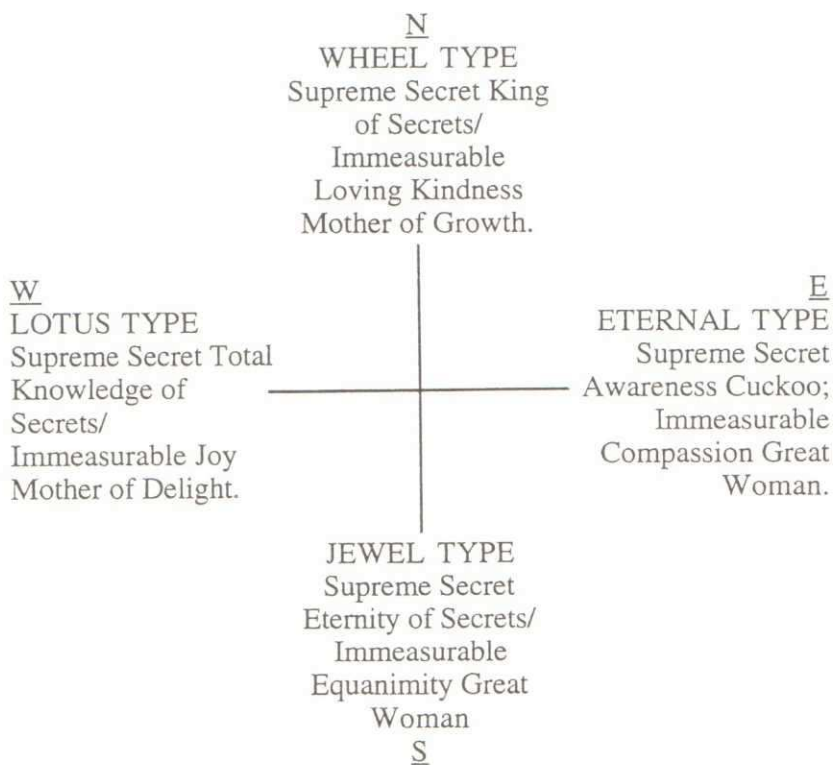
That was the origin of the 'container' world. Now, the origins of the 'vital' world are related. The stages of fetal development for all sorts of beings, not just humans, are described in great detail in the commentary, while the corresponding elements of the human body are identified with the internal organs on which they mainly depend, and with the five sense organs, in the tantra itself (M, 24.1 ff.) as follows:



*figure two*

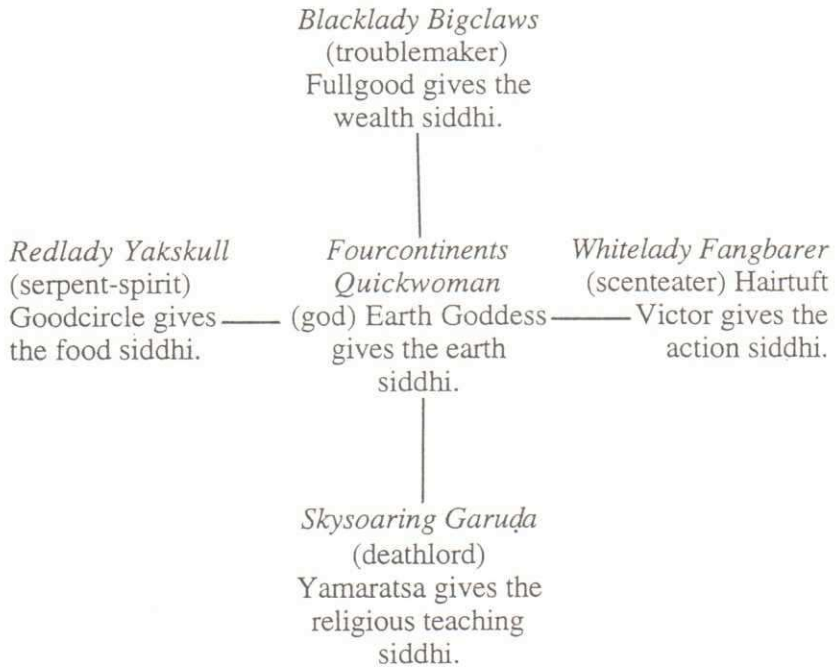
All these correspond to a general typology based on five 'types' (*rigs*) which is much like the typology of the Indian Buddhist Pañcatathâgata, with some differences. These types are supplied with their spatial orientation and the deities with their consorts who rule the 'types' (but here only for the four cardinal directions) in a popular confessional text<sup>190</sup> attributed to Human Body and rediscovered by Gu-ru Rnon-rtse:

190 Entitled *Gsang-mchog Ma Rgyud Thugs-rje-nyi-ma'i Bskang-bshags*, it is reproduced in *GSANG-SNGAGS*, pp. 507-35, and elsewhere. It is a curious fact that in this text the orientation of the 'types' is closer to the usual Indo-Tibetan system than the Bon Mother Tantras themselves. The arrangement of types in the Bon Mother Tantra proper is charted below.

*figure three*

Now, with a small amount of effort, we may understand how the initially hostile spirits who ultimately bestow their powers (*siddhi*) upon Human Body embody potentially hostile forces or sectors of human society itself. Let us draw out a 'hostile spirit' mandala, including the powers they bestow.



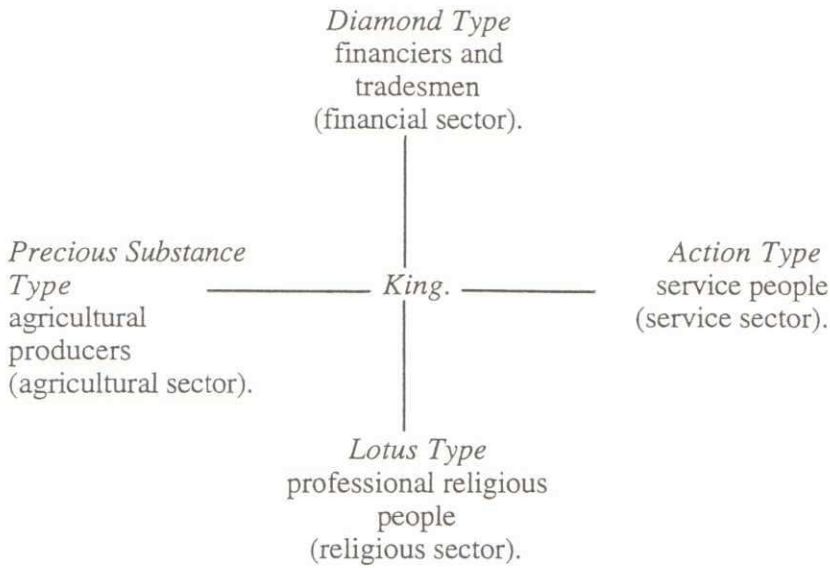


*figure four*

Of course, the "serfs, servants, food and wealth" of the tantra do not *precisely* go together with the action, religious teaching, food and wealth of the story. Here, as in the Indian Buddhist version of the development of society, the illusion of ownership is the basic problematic that leads to societal differentiations. Thieves steal and the people stolen from have a sense of owning their stealable objects. This causes them to chose one person to be their king, in order to arbitrate in cases where one person feels unfairly exploited by another. In return, they willingly give over part of their own exploitable resources in support of the king.<sup>191</sup> So, viewing the 'powers' of the story with the understanding that they represent exploitable resources, we are ready to draw a 'social' mandala.

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191 For some further sources on the Indian Buddhist story, see for examples: SPELLMAN, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, pp. 21-2; WAYMAN, *The Buddhist Tantras*, p. 26; Buddhaghosa, *Path of Purification*, vol. 1, p. 460.

*figure five*

If we review our mandalas once more, combining the social mandala with the 'hostile spirit' mandala and the names of the 'types' together with those of the four divine consorts, we may 'read' the whole as a kind of commentary on society. The service people are like the 'scenteaters', musicians to the gods with their cities in the clouds. They are also like the bees alighting on every flower or corpse where they smell a profit; but they are able to accomplish specialized tasks which would be difficult for us to do for ourselves. At their best, they are compassionate, and reliable as the return of the cuckoo birds in spring.

The financiers and tradesmen, if they are against you, can catch you in tight spots, like the spirits who haunt the mountain passés. If they are for you, they have a lot of wealth at their disposal, and can supply revenues for public works and large projects. They may instill in us desires for things, like diamonds, that we do not need. At their best, they have a mothers' loving kindness toward others.

The agricultural producers are a kind of hidden danger. Like the serpent-spirits, they generally lie quietly beneath the ground; but, if turned up by the plow or stepped on, they can unleash bad weather and plagues on

the earth. They stand guard over a vast amount of underground wealth. If you can deal with them, they have a lot of food at their disposal. At their best, they are joyful and content.

The religious professionals seem high and above it all like the garuḍa bird; and like the garuḍa bird, they sometimes swoop down and prey on the serpent-spirits. Like the lotus, they rise up free of the mud of worldly concerns. They have no materially productive work, yet they need enough food to survive. At their best, they do not take too much food, and they provide spiritual solace in the face of death, sharing their equanimity with others who are too much bound up with their attachments, enmities and other such passions.

The preceding interpretive strategy of reading across mandalas will with some justice be controversial. It would perhaps be better if individual readers would make the attempt themselves. The 'social' interpretation is entirely justifiable, however, since it is entirely consonant with the evidence. The description very closely parallels the four traditional castes of India, a social arrangement that was well known to Bon.<sup>192</sup> Still, one must resist the tendency to reduce the mandala typologies to nothing more than social codes. In fact, they encompass, or are meant to encompass, everything from the psychological and physical constitution of the individual up to the scale of the universe and everything in between. It is certainly true that studies on mandala symbolism<sup>193</sup> have concentrated on the macrocosmic-microcosmic correspondences of the universe mandala with the body mandala, overlooking the mandala of the 'body politic' which is also to be found there. The implications of this will be explored further in the final chapter.

Part and parcel of the final phase of Human Body's life, the leaving of a legacy, is his dual identity. He is both King and Gshen.<sup>194</sup> He is both

192 For example, see the citation of a cosmogony of the *Gzi-brjid* found in NAM-DAK, *History*, p. 18, where the Indian castes are mentioned by name. See also KVAERNE, 'Cosmogonic Myths', p. 1080.

193 I am thinking in particular of TUCCI, *Theory and Practice of the Mandala*. For the cosmic identification of the universe with the body in the Bon Mother Tantras, see especially MA RGYUD DBANG BZHI, p. 123 ff. The more usual Indo-Tibetan mandala is the subject of Part VI, below.

194 *Gshen* may be variously interpreted as 'sage, knower, seer, priest', and so forth. In *SFHB*, pp. 50.6 ff., there are listings of kings who were given religious teachings by Human Body and, evidently, inspired to rule their kingdoms with Bon laws. The first persecution of Bon, which occurred in the reign of Dri-gumbtsan-po according to the Bon histories, happened because it was believed that the power of the Gshen priests was so great that it threatened the power of the king. See *SFHB*, p. 53; *Three Sources*, p. 124; NAMDAK, *History*, p. 90.

lawgiver and Bodhisattva (G.yung-drung-sems-dpa'). He makes laws in accordance with both Bon the religion and *bon* the constituents of nature as understood in Buddhist thought. His laws against basic infringements on the rights of others are harsh, yet he is a compassionate saint who has earned the allegiance of his subjects. In short, he represents the same ideal conception of the sage king that has occupied so much attention in traditional political philosophy. From the story, it seems there was no real necessity for the harsh laws because the people were good and carried out their tasks with the welfare of others in mind. They were so good that they could ultimately understand and follow his deepest contemplative visions, so good, in fact, that the earth could not contain their goodness and they atomized into rainbows, vanishing into the sky. The union of secular and sacred was achieved to such a degree that the ordinary turmoils and ambivalences that mark the secular have themselves vanished. This is not the usual Ashokan model of the Buddhist monarch, first and foremost a secular ruler who at the same time performs meritorious acts, supports the monastic order, builds religious edifices and so forth. Human Body is first and foremost an Enlightened One.

As a further, and less abstract legacy, Human Body left behind not only his mandala country, but also a scale model of a three-dimensional mandala of divine images reproduced in *ring-bsrel*, the same substance that Tibetan saints today are said to leave behind in their funerary ashes, usually in the shape of tiny spherical globules, but also occasionally in the shape of images.<sup>195</sup> This act clearly identifies him, to the Tibetan cultural mind, as a saint. The reason for leaving them is quite simply in order to leave behind objects of faith for future generations when people might need some palpable token of his former existence.

Clearly, the story of Human Body represents an ideal pattern for kingship. The question that remains is, What for? Did the story itself, or some prototype of the story, have some relevance to any particular social situation?<sup>196</sup> This turns out to be a very complicated question, one without

195 For a contemporary example, see an article entitled, 'Kyabje Zong Rinpoche', in *Tibetan Review* (December 1984), p. 12, column B. The 'relic pills' mentioned there are *ring-bsrel*. On the subject of *ring-bsrel* and 'relic images', see MARTIN, 'Crystals and Images' and MARTIN, 'Pearls from Bones'. Dmuryal discusses these and other signs of saintly death in his Mother Tantra commentary contained in GSHEN-CHEN KLU-DGA', *Srid Rgyal*, p. 568.

196 There were only three occasions in Tibet when there were clearly historical Bon kingdoms: 1) The seventh-century king of Zhang-zhung, Lig-mi-rgya. 2) The seventeenth-century king of Be-ri. 3) The eighteenth-century kingdoms of Rgyal-mo-rong (Khro-chen, Rab-brtan, Btsan-lha, etc.). On the second, and

easily forthcoming answers, and one that preoccupies both of the chapters which follow. The next chapter turns to history, while the chapter following searches rather in the history of ideas for a more anthropological understanding. Stories of kingship in general, but especially ideas of sacral kingship, naturally lead us to questions about actual kings with actual kingdoms.

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especially the third, see MARTIN, 'Bonpo Canons'. There is a specific mention of Mthar-thug, i.e., Gsang-ba Mthar-thug (the central deity of the Secret Mother Tantras), in a decree of the Khro-chen King (see KARMAY, 'Decree', p. 149). However, the kings of Rgyal-mo-rong are more explicitly identified with another Bon deity, Gtso-mchog. This eighteenth-century evidence is the only clue I know of that the sacral kingship of our story might have actually been useful to Bon kings. There were Bonpos in the area since, at least, the twelfth century, and some doubtable evidence indicates that a king of Btsan-lha in the late fourteenth century might have been inclined toward Bon. This needs closer and more detailed study.

## Part V — An Uighur Sacral Kingship Complex? Historical Comparative Considerations

In the next pages we will pursue some preliminary investigations into the history of the sacral kingship complex embodied in the story of Human Body Good Thought (Mi Lus Bsam Legs). It should be judged by its suggestiveness rather than its conclusiveness; the hope is that it will lead to more research. These inquiries have taken their point of departure in the name of Human Body Good Thought itself. The 'Good Thought' (Bsam Legs) does not suggest any natively Tibetan cultural connotations. What the name Mi Lus Bsam Legs would suggest, in a vaguely 'Iranian' context, is a connection with the Zoroastrian divinity Vohu Manah, which means, literally, 'Good Thought.'

In Zoroastrian theology, Vohu Manah was the first of seven emanated aspects of the Supreme God Ahura Mazda. He was viewed as a protector of domestic animals, cattle in particular. It was he who revealed the redeeming knowledge to Zoroaster. In the afterlife, he guided the righteous to paradise and, in later times, his role as psychopomp grew in importance. Finally, in Manichaen doctrine, he was identified with the Tertius Legatus, whose task it was to supervise the gradual process of purifying the tightly enmeshed particles of light from the dross of the material world. Sometimes he was identified with the process itself.

In later Manichaeism, Vohu Manah (or Vahman) became bound up with ideas of sacral kingship. Since the periods of the Uighur empires were the only occasions when Manichaeism was actually a state sponsored religion, they were the only occasions when a developed notion of sacral kingship, as such, was required. Much has been written about the identification of Vahman as Tertius Legatus with the enlightened ruler, as well as with the leaders of the Manichaen church.<sup>197</sup> There was once a bishop of the eastern Manichaen church (centered in Xočo) whose name was Vahman, "Good Thought."<sup>198</sup> The connection might have seemed rather

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197 See, for examples, KLIMKEIT, 'Manichaen Kingship', pp. 24, 26; KLIMKEIT, 'Hindu Deities', p. 184 ff.; BOHLIG, 'Jacob as an Angel', p. 128; WIDENGREN, *Great Vohu Manah*, especially pp. 36, 38 ff., 64, 72 ff.

198 This follows HENNING, 'Argi and the "Tokharians"', pp. 551-2. The full name, or title, would mean something like 'Vahman Helper Lord'. See also TONGERLOO, 'La structure de la communauté manichéenne', pp. 277-9. One should note also one epithet of Vahman, Vahman Nariman, 'Good Thought of

far-fetched until recent research demonstrated that the Manichaean religion of the Uighurs was not unknown in old imperial Tibet.<sup>199</sup>

From the evidence so far it would seem that the similarities are little more than coincidence, but there are other aspects of the story of Human Body that might help support an Uighur connection of some sort. The capital Rgya-mkhar Ba-chod was both a center for secular administration and a sacred city, just as the Uighur capital of Xočo was. Both were laid out in ideal symmetrical mandala patterns with the royal palace as the center. Both seem to have had doubled fortifications.<sup>200</sup>

The name Rgya-mkhar Ba-chod has two parts. The first, Rgya-mkhar, means either 'Royal Fort' (Rgyal-mkhar) or 'Chinese Fort', depending on which reading is preferred. If it means 'Chinese Fort,' or rather 'Chinese Outpost', it could be a fair rendering of Chînânjkath, one of the names of Xočo.<sup>201</sup> The second part, Ba-chod, may mean 'Cattle Enclosure', a description that could easily apply to any of the Silk Route cities. It could be a literal translation of Khotan (in Persian, Gôstân). We have already seen how one Tibetan source interprets it to mean 'domed enclosure'. In any case it does not seem to be a known place inside Tibet.

A schematic map of Rgya-mkhar Ba-chod was published in 1965 in a volume with the title *Tibetan Zhangzhung Dictionary*. Here only the five mountains, five cities and thirty-two outlying districts are indicated.<sup>202</sup> An arrow shows that Gateway Zhang-zhung is to be found in the south. The mountain to the north is called Royal Department Mountain, or Royal Tradition Mountain (Rgyal-po Kun-spyod Ri). The northern mountain plays a role in Turkic royal ideology. The Baga Kagan was coronated on a mountain to the north of Xočo. This mountain was, quite intriguingly for us, called Mount Tamgan, a Turkish name which Esin interprets to mean,

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Manly Disposition' in BOHLIG, 'Jacob as an Angel', p. 128 and in WIDENGREN, *Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 39-40 (note also on p. 41 words of praise to a Manichaean bishop who is called 'a good son of Vahman'). In *SFHB*, p. 138.6 ff., Human Body is said to have been the teacher of a large number of other kings, including an Uighur (? Hos) king named Hos Dang-ba-ye-rings.

199 See STEIN, 'Une mention du Manichéisme' and URAY, 'Zu den Spuren des Nestorianismus und des Manichäismus im alten Tibet'.

200 On the sacral character, ideal mandala pattern and doubled fortifications of Xočo, see ESIN, *Antecedents*, p. 34.

201 ESIN, *Antecedents*, p. 19. A Tun Huang document names the capital of China as Rgya-mkhar Stegs-pa (see LALOU, 'Catalogue des principautés', p. 200).

202 See NAMDAK (ed.), *Tibetan Zhangzhung Dictionary* (Delhi 1965). The map should be inserted in the back of the volume.

"Edifice Pertaining to the King."<sup>203</sup> This coronation took place at the beginning of the seventh century. If there is a connection here, it would seem to be less with this particular enthronement, but more generally with the eastern Turkic notion (also traceable to ancient times in China) that the charisma of the ruler is bound up with the sacred wooded mountain in the north.<sup>204</sup>

In addition, there are the "domes of precious substances, and gold and turquoise tiled walls" in the description of Rgya-mkhar Ba-chod, which might suggest comparison with the walls decorated with blue-grey and yellow glazed bricks and blue tiled roofs in Xočo and neighboring cities.<sup>205</sup> Also, the sky-pure, the blazing red, and the pure white faces of Total Good which preached the three Secret Mother Tantras (M, p. 221.3 ff., translated above), remind one of the sky/sun/moon complex, so important in Turkic lore. In the text of the tantra (M, p. 6.2 ff), there are actually seven faces of Total Good (including the three just mentioned), which suggest an astral significance.

In general Bon usage, one may also note that, of the two expressions 'White Water' (*chab-dkar*) and 'Black Water' (*chab-nag*), rather mysterious terms used for classifying Bon teachings, the latter is also known to the Turks.<sup>206</sup> The *gshang*, a flat bell used in Tibet primarily by Bonpos, is etymologically connected to Chinese, Turkic and Persian names for the same instrument.<sup>207</sup> The Bon term Gshen itself may be related to an ancient Sino-Turkic concept of the higher soul. In Chinese *shen* is the spiritual or *yang* component of the human soul, while the spirits of the heavenly hierarchy are also known as *shen*.<sup>208</sup>

Although all this is quite suggestive, we are still not equipped with enough solidly historical points of reference to make sense of these apparent parallels between the story of Human Body and the Uighur sacral kingship complex, or to assert a necessary connection. It is perhaps important to underline the fact that there is little or nothing specifically 'Manichaeian'

203 ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, p. 75. The northern mountain is associated with the color black in the Mother Tantras (M, p. 225). See ESIN, 'Altun-Yiš', p. 34, for the linking of black color with the north in ancient Chinese and Turkic lore.

204 See ESIN, 'Altun-Yiš', p. 35; ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, pp. 47, 50, 95, etc.; ESIN, 'Turkic and Ilkhanid', p. 96; ESIN, 'Baliq and Ordu', p. 175.

205 ESIN, *Antecedents*, p. 22.

206 See ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, p. 105, where 'black water' appears in a list of the five elements, contrasted to 'heavenly water'. For the Bon classifications, see the discussion in SNELLGROVE, *Nine Ways*, pp. 16-18.

207 See ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, p. 239, note 125.

208 ESIN, *History of Pre-Islamic*, p. 63, note 209.



about Bon doctrine and practice. The people who lived in the Uighur capital of Xočo, even during the time that Manichaeism was the state religion, were in large part Buddhist, and this is the sort of situation in which religious borrowing and syncretism take place most easily. I suggest, therefore, that if there were any borrowings on the part of Tibetan Bonpos, these would have taken place through the medium of Buddhist Uighurs.

## Part VI — Mandala Typologies: Cultural Theoretical Implications

In the remaining pages we will follow quite different avenues of analysis that bring us face to face with problems of classification, typology and even 'characterization'. There are well-known dangers in every exercise in characterization. But the following discussion is *about* characterization. It should not be supposed that I have any interest in advancing new or continuing existing ideas about such things as 'national character'. Careful readers will see something different coming out of the following considerations. If they do not find themselves ranged against social constructivism by the time they are finished, they should at least intuit how it might be useful to consider alternatives, to avoid unidirectional views of causation that can yield at best lopsided, at worst seriously flawed, theory in human sciences.

The real danger here is in pretended, perhaps even pretentious, claims to representation of another cultural sphere, claims to transcend the contingencies of translation. I do not especially believe in an entity called asia, the east, the orient or europe, and I chose not capitalize these terms here for strategic reasons of my own. The question is not so much whether these classifications have or have not been significant bearers of cultural truths in the past, but rather whether we will now agree to sustain them. Said<sup>209</sup> has said much that needed to be said, but there is much yet remaining. We might well argue that, even if there is no 'natural' geography of an asia/europe divide, there has been (relatively speaking) a natural geography of Tibet. It is roughly equivalent to the area of the Tibetan plateau. The six or more million Tibetan speakers living there share a sense of common identity (which does not erase a multitude of local identities) constituted over a time at least a thousand years longer than the life-span of United States identity. One not so prominent aim of this chapter is to demonstrate *some* of the ways that common Tibetan identity has been constituted from within.

If we deny the orientalist program, there is (paradoxically, perhaps) no good reason (besides inadequate translation work) why eastern and western parts of the continent we might with good reason call eurasia<sup>210</sup>

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209 SAID, *Orientalism*.

210 This word is more euphonious than asiopie.

should be unable to intercommunicate. Mary Douglas' cosmology with its semi-explicit 'cosmogony' and Vico's sociogenesis may speak to Tibetan cosmogony and sociogenesis, and *vice versa*. It is, in any case, my ambition to make them talk, whatever their own feelings in the matter might be, and I must apologize for any rudeness this might imply on my part. One source of inspiration for this enterprise is found in an article by Lee Drummond.<sup>211</sup> A basic idea I share with Drummond is that societies and cultures, along with their parts, have no identity until they have been identified, that the identification is an ongoing process, that the classifications, whether they be provided by or for a society, in any case walk hand in hand with that society; neither can be claimed as the prior determining factor for the other. This, of course, follows the line of Van Gennep and of Needham's criticism of the Durkheim/Mauss thesis that social 'facts' are prior to classifications, and so on.<sup>212</sup> I will begin with some exemplary Tibetan cosmogonies, then proceed to elicit a feature they have in common with the thought of Vico, elicit a second feature they have in common with Mary Douglas (*Natural Symbols*) and finally show how, on the one hand, both Vico and the Tibetan cosmogonists (as I have read them) could add to, as well as subtract from, Douglas' cosmology of societies, but on the other hand, the comparison may bring new perspectives and possible depths to our readings of the mandala sociogonies such as that of the story of Human Body Good Thought.

I could not pretend to cover the whole field of Tibetan cosmogonies. Especially in the Bon school it may be said, "There are as many variations as texts."<sup>213</sup> I have chosen three examples (labelled for convenience A through C). These may be accounted representative, except that no myths of the 'dismemberment' type<sup>214</sup> have been included. Of the three, only B

211 DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children'.

212 Lévi-Strauss, *Savage Mind*, p. 162; DURKHEIM, *Primitive Classification*, including the introduction by Needham.

213 KARMAY, 'General Introduction', p. 191.

214 See, for examples, MACDONALD, 'Creative Dismemberment', and KVAERNE, 'Cosmogonic Myths'. Readers may do well to consult LINCOLN, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society*, for a detailed study of old Indo-European dismemberment cosmogonies, accompanied by serious thoughts on the connections between the myths and social orders. It makes sense that dismemberment cosmogonies would be nearly absent, and never central, to the Buddhist Genesis, since Buddhists as a rule never participate in blood sacrifices (aside from self-sacrifices), and they have been quite critical of those who do. Still, certain differences aside, mandala cosmogonies act quite similarly to dismemberment cosmogonies (homologies between microcosm and macrocosm, for example). Lincoln is convinced that dismemberment cosmogonies belong to a system of

and C were and are well known to Tibetan society at large. They are variously translated, summarized or paraphrased due to relative length, accompanied by a certain amount of commentary and background information.

#### A — *Litup Apparencies*

What follows is a Bon example translated some years ago with an eye more to draw out its stark, visionary beauty than to convey its intellectual content. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago.<sup>215</sup> It is an old manuscript on three leaves in fragmentary condition.<sup>216</sup> The title page is missing, and so the title is translated from the marginal (or, we would say, 'running') title. Note for present that 'poison' is a common Tibetan (and Indian Buddhist) metaphor for passion.<sup>217</sup> Its theme, as I read it, is the generation and dissolution of a mode of classification. This interpretation may make better sense in the course of the following pages.

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institutionalized exploitation that was extremely oppressive for most people who lived in the cultures which held them. Although some apparent justification may be seen for a similar process at work in the mandala cosmogonies (Human Body, as well as the general Buddhist Genesis supplied below), I do not see the necessary connection in this argument, and choose to reserve judgment--oppression can exist under a wide variety of classificatory arrangements, and the absence of classification is no guarantee against oppression. My own understanding of the mandala symbolism is still in the process of formation, and I am not ready to reduce it to any particular 'nothing but' statement. Recent attempts to analyze Tibetan cosmogony along the lines of gender difference have resulted in a range of disparate perspectives. See most recently MARKO, 'Civilizing Woman the Demon' (and references given there), who argues in favor of the oppressive intent of Tibetan cosmogonies. This article is, in fact, quite hostile to Tibetan culture in general. Some evidence supplied in the present work may prove useful to the parties of this dispute.

215 Berthold Laufer Collection of Tibetan Manuscripts and Woodblock Prints, catalog no. 806.01.03.

216 The page numbers of the leaves are 2-3 and 5 only, with marginal notation: *Mkhyen ga*. *Mkhyen* means 'knowledge', and *ga* means that it was the third part of a collection of texts (*ga* being the third letter of the Tibetan alphabet). It is very common (and even necessary) for Tibetan books, with their loose leaf format, to have these kinds of 'running titles'.

217 WAYMAN, 'Concept of Poison'.

## KNOWLEDGE

From the miraculous displays of the void  
 comes the great god Litup Apparencies<sup>218</sup>  
 riding on a wheel of light rays, self-made.  
 On it, the result of the causes of becoming —  
 existence with its constituents — ripens.  
 On it, the heart-essence of cause and effect.  
 On it, a white light  
 comes.  
 The motive force of the light rays  
 arises.  
 On the sound of the motion, the light rays  
 diffuse.  
 And to them clings the becoming  
 of being and its constituents.

They shine in the sky and whirl in the eddies.  
 The types of MIND are what shines in the sky.  
 The waters of THOUGHT are what whirls in the eddies.

This stable mountain of the sky  
 bewitches the poisoned people  
 who are stopped up, confused and emotionally afflicted  
 and poison adheres to the pure stream of THOUGHT.

To yourself a shining light is born as a flower found in everything.  
 If you understand the flower,  
 it is the stuff of the Total Knowledge deities;  
 if not understood, a ground for the five poisons.

The types of MIND  
 and the waters of the THOUGHT continuum. . .  
 . . . Out of the evolving, resting and active aspects of MIND and  
 THOUGHT,  
 out of the miraculous displays of MIND and THOUGHT,  
 the continually abiding becoming, the five elements that wrap  
 around it,  
 the seven seas surrounding the seven golden mountain chains,

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218 Snang-ba 'Od-ldan.

the King of Mountains, Ri-rab;  
 the sky, hills, earth, rocks, forests, trees and herbs  
 all come.

Riding on the idle fantasies of MIND and THOUGHT  
 the great god Litup Apparencies  
 comes.

Over the overarching array of his emanated rays  
 the spring of the all-achieving jewel gushes forth;  
 on it sits a splendid, ray-emanating Snake Maiden.  
 The great god Litup Apparencies and the Snake Maiden  
 make love,  
 completely dissolving in the spring.

#### B — The General Buddhist Cosmogony and Sociogenesis

My condensed retelling of the 'Buddhist Genesis' is ultimately based on two of the Long Discourses (Dîgha-nikâya) attributed to Śâkyamuni Buddha: the *Aggañña Sutta* and a passage of the *Brahma Jâla Sutta*, with the help of some secondary sources.<sup>219</sup> Tambiah rightly points out that it is "a statement contrary to the brahmanical version of the origins of the world and societal order." He also shows how changes in the status of human beings are mediated by corresponding transformations in their physical environment.<sup>220</sup> I begin with a summary of the *Brahma Jâla* account with reference to the Tibetan translation.

At the dissolution of the previous world, most of the inhabitants rise to the Clear Light Realm. After a long time, when the world begins to reform, an empty palace makes its appearance in the empty sky. A single being, by force of its karma, dies in the Clear Light Realm and is born in the empty palace of Brahma. He is lonely and wishes others would join him there. Then, by force of their karma (and not of the wish!), other beings are born in the

219 RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 2, pp. 30-32; TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, pp. 9-16; SPELLMAN, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, pp. 21-22; BUDDHAGHOṢA, *Path of Purification*, vol. 1, pp. 458-460.

220 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, pp. 9, 12.

palace. The first inhabitant believes it was his own wish<sup>221</sup> that brought the other beings into existence. He thinks himself their father, lord, maker, originator and origin. The other beings begin to believe him. They think that he is eternal and unchanging while they themselves are impermanent and changeable. The Buddha, later in the Sutta, declares that those who believe that Brahma created the world are caught in a subjective philosophical 'web' or 'trap' (*jâla*) that binds them to the objective 'trap' of interdependent origination ('relativity').

These beings, who were originally made of mind, feeding on joy and self-luminous, come down to taste a kind of earth which is like honey and butter. They lose their luminosity and the celestial luminaries make their appearance in the sky. Time and its measurements begin. Some beings begin to perceive beauty and ugliness in other beings. The honey-butter earth disappears and is successively replaced, first by a kind of mushroom, then a creeping plant, finally, a kind of rice that needs no condiment because it tastes just as the beings want it to taste. Because of their reliance on gross food, urine and excrement develop and wounds open up to allow for their evacuation. Sex distinctions appear and, finally, some engage in sexual union. Criticized by others for their behavior, they build houses to conceal their actions. Then they begin to store up food. The rice stops growing naturally and must be cultivated. They set up boundaries for their fields. Then one being takes what belongs to another. He is punished by the others. Then the beings hold a meeting and decide that they will elect one being to censure, punish, or banish those who deserve such treatment for their infringements on the property of others. They approach the most handsome and capable being among them and make him their king, calling him 'King By Common Consent' (*Mahâsammata Râja*). He is the first of the Kshatriya (etymologized as 'lords of fields') ruling class and survives by a tribute of rice. Then the brahmins (who live by gifts of food), tradesmen, and laboring classes (i.e., the four castes) make their appearance.

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221 It is probably this very story, rather than the Iranian Yima, that explains one of the main actors in several Tibetan cosmogonies who is named Ye-smon (translated, 'primordial wish'), although this requires further research and thinking. See KVAERNE, 'Dualism', p. 166, and KVAERNE, 'Cosmogonic Myths', p. 181. With the risk of emphasizing the obvious, it was a wish, or an incident of wishful thinking — an emotion rather than a thought or a word — that first brought order and structure to the world of beings.

Some general features of this myth should be pointed out. Although it is a story of degeneration, there is no divine force behind the developments, only the accumulated force of each individual's previous deeds (*karma*). The brahmanical story of the creation of the world by a deity such as Brahma is a 'myth' to obscure the fact that the individuals themselves are the only agents responsible for their destiny. Therefore, the later parts of the story seem evolutionistic — food consumption leads naturally to sexual distinctions which in turn lead to shelters which lead to food storage (private property). Because private property can be stolen, a king is chosen and paid (through taxes) to arbitrate in cases where people feel their property has been infringed upon by others.

The castes which then develop are not foreordained by a deity and in that sense legitimated. People follow their natural (or karmic!) inclinations for their livelihood and only later become locked into a 'caste system'.<sup>222</sup> We would miss the central thrust of the narrative if we were to overlook the fact that the *Brahma Jâla* and *Aggañña Suttas* are subversively using the brahmanical versions of the story by providing alternative rationalizations in terms of individual responsibility, thus undermining their legitimitive functions. The Buddha tells the story *as a myth*. That the Buddhist version could (and did) nevertheless assume a legitimitive function is a question considered in detail by Tambiah.<sup>223</sup> Buddhists did develop the notion of *dharma* (the elements of the empirical world as Buddhistically conceived) as the ruler's ruler. Insofar as the king was ruled by *dharma*, he could legitimately rule.<sup>224</sup> The 'stick' (*danda*) of political force, so often invoked by brahmanical theorists, was down-played in Buddhist thought. The *dharmas* themselves being contingent (interdependently produced) phenomena, there could be no 'absolute monarch'.

Recalling the story of Human Body, one may notice some interesting similarities with the general Buddhist 'Genesis', especially in their accounts of sociogenesis. Of course, in the case of Human Body, we arrived at this particular 'social' interpretation of this particular cosmogony, even without intending to in the beginning, just because the text clearly lent itself to this sort of interpretation, being a myth of an ideal king and his ideally constructed kingdom. In other contexts, the social interpretation of the mandala may not come so clearly to the fore. The mandala is a circular array classification model capable of application in many different contexts — physical, psychological and spiritual as well as social.

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222 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, p. 14.

223 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, pp. 39-72, *et passim*.

224 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, p. 44 ff.



Later, I will discuss a more standard mandala arrangement in use by the other Buddhist schools of Tibet (the Gelugpa, Sakyapa, Nyingmapa and Kagyudpa, collectively designated *Chos*) which is not identical to the Bon Mother Tantra system in the orientation of the 'types'.<sup>225</sup> Still, I will go on to employ an insight gained in the context of the Mother Tantras, that mandala classifications have been, and so may be, applicable on the level of societal classifications. Tambiah<sup>226</sup> has discussed in detail how mandala cosmologies may inform the "galactic polities" of certain Buddhist countries. My exploration, unlike Tambiah's, has no focus on problems of statecraft, but deals with societal classifications on two levels — the classification of types of societies conceived as discrete entities, as well as the subclassification (castes, occupations, sectors, etc.) of those societies conceived as discrete entities. The latter level has been demonstrated in the 'social mandala' above. The former level makes its appearance in the following sociogenesis.

#### C — The Monkey Contemplative and the Rock Ogress

This final exemplary cosmogony, or rather anthropogenesis *cum* sociogenesis, is the one closest to the tongues of Tibetans today. I have made a lightly edited and paraphrased translation from a late eleventh century version,<sup>227</sup> although there is one very similar and perhaps equally well-known rendition from the late fourteenth century.<sup>228</sup> It is as a part of the national cultus of Avalokiteśvara that the following story might best be understood. But even without going into the details of this cultus, the story will be seen to convey the Tibetan sense of uniqueness, at the same time self-deprecating and self-adulating.<sup>229</sup> According to one system of classification, Tibetans belong to the 'type', or 'family' (the word *rigs* has both meanings, although I have consistently used the former translation) of Avalokiteśvara, while the Chinese are of the type of Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of wisdom and science, and the Indians are typified under Vajrapāṇi, the Bodhisattva of power and mythical codifier of the tantric

225 Indeed, the Buddhist tantras do not all share the same mandala arrangements, and differ especially in the orientations of the basic elements. The Hevajra and Kālacakra Tantras have mandala systems markedly different from that presented below. Since we are more interested in the principle of the mandala, these variants will not be explored here.

226 TAMBIAH, *World Conqueror*, pp. 102-123.

227 *MA-ÑI BKA'-BUM*, vol. 1, pp. 142-55.

228 *BKA'-THANG SDE LNGA*, pp. 180 ff.

229 See STEIN, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 40-1.

scriptures (these three Bodhisattvas are collectively called *rigs gsum mgon-po*, 'lords of the three types'). The 'poisons', or passions, which negatively characterize these three types are, in like order, lust, ignorance and hatred.

The theme of lust echoes through the Tibetan anthropogenesis and also, one might argue, through Tibetan society with its hundreds of thousands of monks throughout most of its history, many of whom were not entirely at home with their vows of celibacy (the Sixth Dalai Lama being only the most famous such case). The Tibetan term for monastic discipline is '*dul-ba*, 'to tame, subdue,' which I have rendered in the following translation as 'to civilize' (the word '*dul-ba* is at least used by contemporary Tibetans to translate 'civilize' just as *shes-rig* is used to translate 'culture'). Implications of this should become clear later. Meanwhile, I allow the evidence to speak. Another translation of the same passage was consulted<sup>230</sup> and there are some interesting retellings of the story in other works.<sup>231</sup> Readers may notice that the problem of incest is skillfully evaded (even at the cost of a hint of bestiality), and that Darwin was by no means the first to claim human beings as descendents of primates. Finally, it is important to note that the only peoples whose subsistence was through hunting and gathering known to Tibetans lived in the south, on the forested slopes at the edge of the Himalayan plateau. These peoples were variously called by Tibetans *kla-klo*, a word often applied to non-Buddhists (Muslims in particular), as well as to 'savages, barbarians'; *dmu-rgod*, 'uncivilized and wild', hence, 'savage'; or *lho-pa*, 'southerners'. This tends to explain the reference to the Forest With Peacock Gatherings in the south.<sup>232</sup>

230 ROCKHILL, *Notes on Tibet*, pp. 39-45.

231 COMBE, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, pp. 36-8; DESIDERI, *An Account of Tibet*, pp. 119, 386-7; NORBU & TURNBULL, *Tibet*, pp. 28-9. See especially KVAERNE, 'Anthropogenic Myths'.

232 Thus, like most national myths of sociogenesis, the following story incorporates the most significant 'other'. See also the myth that forms the focus of DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children'. One may suspect a 'hidden' interpretation whereby the word for 'peacock' (*rma-bya*) would be interpreted as 'wound-making'. The word for 'gatherings' (*tshogs*) may also be interpreted to mean 'society'. This would result in a translation such as 'forest with societies of wound-makers'. Some classical Tibetan ethnographical observations on the peoples of Assam are to be found in the biographies of the Elder G.yu-thog-pa, a legendary figure in the history of Tibetan medicine, and of Thang-stong-rgyal-po, the bridge builder. These deserve close study. KVAERNE ('Anthropogenic Myths', p. 1084) suggests a very different but nonetheless quite plausible explanation of the *rma* in *Rma-bya Tshogs-can*. It may simply be a Chiang word for 'human', corresponding to the Classical Tibetan word *mi*.

Directed by the Buddha Endless Light (Amitâbha) to go to Tibet and help the sentient beings there materially, at first, and then gradually to civilize them with the gift of the Dharma, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara went to his palace at the peak of Mount Potala and looked down upon the creatures of Tibet. He saw that, in their profound darkness devoid of the teachings of a Buddha, they were bound to descend into lower rebirths like snowflakes falling on a lake. Light radiating from his left palm, he emanated the Bodhisattva Monkey King Halumanju. Avalokiteśvara sent Halumanju to meditate in Tibet.

In those days Tibet was divided into nine areas inhabited by elephants, wild game animals, rock ogres, monkeys, birds and ogres. There was not even the name of an animate being 'human'. One day a rock ogress, overcome by lust, took on the appearance of a female monkey, went to the monkey contemplative, displayed her sexual organ and, scattering dirt, made gestures to illustrate her desires. For seven days she continued thus, but the monkey, absorbed in his meditation, was unmoved by desire.

The rock ogress thought, "It must be my unpleasant shape and complexion!" She changed herself into a lovely woman with jewelry and again showed her breasts and sexual organ. The monkey glanced out one corner of his eye. The woman, seizing this opportunity, went up to the monkey and said, "I want to make a home with you!"

"I have taken lay vows from Avalokiteśvara. It would be improper for me to make a home," he replied.

"Oh King of Monkeys! Listen to what I have to say. Karma has made me an ogress. Passion makes me like and lust for you. Lust makes me come to implore you. If I do not make a home with you, I will join the other ogres and together we will kill each day tens of thousands of creatures who love to live. We will eat thousands of them every morning. A lot of little ogres will be born until this snowy country will turn into a kingdom of ogres and, finally, the whole world will be devoured. When I die, I will go to hell. If you keep your vows and do not help me, the sin will devolve on you, and you will have broken your Bodhisattva vows. Look on me with compassion and consider my plight."

The Monkey Bodhisattva took another glance at her sexual organ and thought, "If I make a home and couple with this woman, my vows will surely be damaged. But if I do not, and she dies, that

would be much worse." Realizing the complexity of his predicament, he miraculously transported himself to Mount Potala to ask Avalokiteśvara what he should do.

Avalokiteśvara said, "Excellent! You must make a home. It will be no hindrance. In fact, it will be to your benefit. Later, your children will multiply in the snowy kingdom and become people. Then, when the Dharma has spread there, they will be the best!"

Lady Târâ added, "Wonderful! When the animate beings, the people, have multiplied, they will become vessels of the Dharma."

Afraid the rock ogress might have died meanwhile, the Monkey Bodhisattva hurried back to Tibet and coupled with her. Nine months later, there were six children, each one of whom had transferred lives from the six types of beings — gods, demigods, animals, humans, hell inhabitants, and hungry ghosts. Since their father was a monkey, their bodies were covered with fur. Their mother being a rock ogress, they had no tails. Their red faces made them ugly.

The one who was reincarnated from the god realm was tolerant, leisurely and prudent. The one that had been a demigod was wrathful, coarse and quarrelsome. The one that had been a human was passionate, delighting in the wealth and furnishings of mankind. The one who had been a hell inhabitant was a hateful, angry sort, but able to endure hardship. The former hungry ghost had a bad stomach in an ill formed body and was miserly. The former animal had neither culture (*shes-rig*) nor understanding and no ability to discriminate good from bad. Those same ones, the 'red faces', grew and learned to speak, delighting in flesh and blood, with hair [like men] and fur [like animals].

The mother and children became hungry, so the Monkey Bodhisattva led them south to a place called Forest with Peacock Gatherings (*Nags Rma-bya Tshogs-can*). The children joined the female monkeys there, and when their father returned a year later they had multiplied into about five hundred who were neither monkeys nor humans. In summertime they suffered from the rain and the heat of the sun. In the winter they suffered from the wind and snow. Their father and grandfather was badly disturbed that they had neither food nor clothing. It is told how the five hundred or so little monkeys came to him crying, "What will we eat, father? What will we wear?" their many arms raised imploringly above the

rocky crags. Moved with compassion, the father found that the fruits and other things they had been eating were depleted. So he went to find food for them. As soon as they ate this food, they felt miserable, their fur fell out, thorns poked their arms and legs and their tails came to look like boat paddles.

Suffering the weariness of old age, the monkey thought, "If there is any reason for this distress and suffering, it is because of these monkey children. If there is a reason for them, it is because I coupled with the rock ogress. If there is a reason for that, it is the fulfillment of the words of Avalokiteśvara and Lady Târâ. Ah, but then it is my own past bad deeds. Error does not apply to saints like them. It is not right to have wrong ideas about them or give them the blame. Now I must ask them what to do."

He went to Mount Potala and bowed before the Holy One,

Ah, me! I did not know homes were dungeons of delusion.  
 I did not know women were bonds of delusion.  
 I did not know children were saṃsâric delusions.  
 So I did not realize desire was a leaf of poison.  
 When pity turned to lust, I deceived myself  
 and I sank in the mud of desire,  
 pressed down by a mountain of suffering..."

He pleaded with Avalokiteśvara for a means of feeding his many descendents. Avalokiteśvara responded, "When Tibet was a black spot controlled by unhuman beings, it could not receive my civilizing influence. You have been sent that the human beings might increase, obtain paradise and be liberated. Have no doubts about me and do not be worried. These children of yours will at last become people and one day will be subject to my civilizing influence. . . Your descendents will be of two types. Some will be of their father's type. They will be very faith filled, compassionate, insightful and diligent. They will delight in the profound teachings on voidness and not be satisfied with a small amount of virtue. They will have open minds. They will have the large-mindedness of Bodhisattvas. Some others will be of their mother's type. They will delight in killing, in flesh and blood, in their plans for trade and profit. Very strong and courageous, they will delight in unvirtuous deeds. They will like to learn the faults of others. They will be incapable of looking a man in the eye. They will be untouchable flesh eaters."

Avalokiteśvara gave the monkey contemplative seven types of seeds along with a handful of dust representing the future agricultural and mineral wealth of Tibet. He then spat in the direction of Tibet and prophesied that, over time, there would be several Bodhisattva emanations who would rule from the central region. The monkey scattered the dust over the country and planted the seeds in the areas suitable for agriculture in the north, in what is now known as Central Tibet (*dbus*). He spent the rainy season with his monkey children in Forest with Peacock Gatherings, and in the autumn he took them north to see the ripened grains in Central Tibet, "These grains were given you by Avalokiteśvara for your sustenance and this is the earliest field of labor in the country. In later times there will be sources of precious metals."

This done to help the beings of Tibet materially, the first influences of Dharma occurred as follows. Avalokiteśvara emitted a light ray from the palm of his right hand and emanated on the tip of the ray a child with the marks of excellence. The sentient beings of the Snowy Country were still neither quite people nor quite monkeys, their bodies covered with hair and stubby-tailed. The sentient beings said to the child, "Why do you have such an excellent body?"

'It comes from practicing the ten virtues,' he replied. He taught them to avoid killing and live from their grain fields and from the fruits of trees, not to steal from other peoples' food shares, not to engage in wrong sexual practices or make themselves the masters over others, not to tell lies to provoke arguments, not to injure others... He told them they would all live long lives if they abstained from killing. They would have plenty of food if they shared with each other. They would have good friends if they avoided adultery. They would be trusted if they avoided lying, live in harmony if they avoided slander, and be heeded if they spoke gently, avoiding harsh words... Then he told them how to replace avarice with generosity, dissolute behavior with self-discipline, anger with patience, laziness with vigor, restlessness with contemplative absorption, and ignorance with insightfulness. By gradually conforming their minds to these teachings, the sentient beings received bodies that were more and more excellent until finally they became human beings, and Tibet became a land of religion.

These Tibetan myths of cosmogony and sociogenesis invite comparison with some more recent social theories.

Giambattista Vico has been slow to recover his position as a cultural hero of the social sciences. Now he is often credited with an essential phase in the de-mythologizing and secularizing of views on social developments and institutions; he *approaches* contemporary views. His "gentile history" is largely a thing humanly constructed, free from the direct interventions of divine grace and power, but still guided somehow by a certain rational principle immanent to it. This principle he calls "providence." Gentiles are seen as relatively free agents within (or practically identical with) the unfolding of providence and therefore responsible, even if unconsciously, for their own social developments. This sort of understanding of human history puts human beings in a position to find the truth and origins of human institutions. Vico concludes not only that the history and true condition of human products are knowable by virtue of our responsibility for their existence, but also that they are the *only* things we may rightly investigate and encompass with the legalistic procedures of our humanly constructed methods of science:

... the world of civil society has certainly been made by men... its principles are therefore to be found in the modifications of our own human mind. Whoever reflects on this cannot but marvel that the philosophers should have bent all their energies to the study of the world of nature, which, since God made it, He alone knows; and that they should have neglected the study of the world of nations or civil world, which, since men had made it, men could hope to know.<sup>233</sup>

The principles (or 'laws') of nature are less discoverable by us. They may not be expected to conform or correspond to our inherent human traits and tendencies however much we wish them to do so.

I believe it is on the basis of a shared sense of human responsibility, both defining and defined by providence or karma, that Vico and our Tibetan cosmogonists may profitably be compared. Vico as well as the Buddhists found something erroneous in the legitimated uses of their parent societies' cosmogonies. In Vico, the 'error' is defined in his ideas about the "conceit of nations" and the "conceit of scholars." For Buddhists, the error is in the "mistaken notion" (Tibetan, *khrol-pa*) that social institutions such as kingship or caste were divinely inspired or ordained. The Buddhists go on to deny divine responsibility for the world — the

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233 VICO, *New Science*, p. 85.

mistaken notion that the natural world and the human beings in it were created by a god — and here Vico would part company with them. But, since Vico leaves the natural world out of account as something less knowable, this difference is not so important. The emphasis in Vico is, additionally, on sociogony rather than anthropogony, and this will also be the theme of the present 'reading' of Vico and, I believe the most fruitful area for comparison.

What are the fundamental traits of human beings which feed into the origins of society according to Vico? What are those "modifications of the human mind" that are the basic principles of humanly formed civil society? The answer Vico finds in the universal institutions of marriages and funerals, and in religion with its powerful imagery of water and fire, in its rituals of purgation and sacrifice.<sup>234</sup> But the impetus he finds, at the origins of society and its internal classifications, in human passions.

these first men... must have done their thinking under the strong impulsion of violent passions, as beasts do. We must therefore proceed from a vulgar metaphysics... and seek by its aid that frightful thought of some divinity which imposed form and measure on the bestial passions of these lost men and thus transformed them into human passions. From this thought must have sprung the impulse proper to the human will, to hold and check the motions impressed on the mind by the body, so as either to quiet them altogether, as becomes the sage, or at least to direct them to better use, as becomes the civil man... But men because of their corrupted nature are under the tyranny of self-love... Seeking everything useful for themselves and nothing for their companions, they cannot bring their passions under control...<sup>235</sup>

Vico continues by showing how the "tyranny of self-love" may come to extend over one's own family, city, nation and, finally, even humanity.

Vico is not at all glorifying self-love or the passions that reflect it. If he glorifies anything, it is the providence that allows for the transformation of passion and self-interest:

Legislation considers man as he is in order to turn him to good uses in human society. Out of ferocity, avarice and ambition, the three vices which run throughout the human race, it creates the military,

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234 VICO, *New Science*, pp. 7-9.

235 VICO, *New Science*, p. 90.



merchant and governing classes, and thus the strength, riches and wisdom of commonwealths. Out of these three great vices, which could certainly destroy all mankind on the face of the earth, it makes civil happiness.

This axiom proves that there is divine providence and further that it is a divine legislative mind. For out of the passions of men each bent on his private advantage, for the sake of which they would live like wild beasts in the wilderness, it has made the civil orders by which they may live in human society.<sup>236</sup>

If we return to the Tibetan cosmogonies, viewing them as "civil histories"<sup>237</sup> which "must... have had a public ground of truth," we see that the transformation of self-centered passion (what Tibetans call 'poison') is the central theme, the very definition of "civilization." But it is important to do justice to both Vico and the Tibetan cosmogonists by adding that, unlike some social contract theorists, they did not mean to imply that this transformation happened once and for all at some particular point in the past and that we therefore hold it as a kind of birthright.<sup>238</sup> Civilization is a continual transformation for which each person is responsible and 'free' to engage in or not,

man has free choice, however, weak, to make virtues of his passions.<sup>239</sup>

Not only this, but Vico and the Tibetans agree that particular passions and inclinations lead into particular positions within the society, that they are the sources of societal differentiations (cf. the "military, merchant and governing classes" in the above quote as well as in the story of Human Body, and the discussion of caste in Tibetan cosmogony B). Without building up consequences for this truly rather commonplace and traditional idea, without disappearing into the clouds of a facile characterology, I believe there are some insights that both Vico and the Tibetans could offer to Mary Douglas, insights that at first seem to add to, more than detract from, her social cosmological scheme. On the other hand, they offer an argument that tends to undermine her Durkheimian thesis that all the flowers of human thought and culture sprang from the flower bed of social

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236 VICO, *New Science*, p. 56.

237 VICO, *New Science*, p. 94.

238 See especially BERLIN, *Vico and Herder*, pp. 37-40.

239 VICO, *New Science*, p. 56; BERLIN, *Vico and Herder*, pp. 75-6, note 2.

organization. In other words, while they may add to her cosmology, they detract from her cosmogony.

In her book *Natural Symbols*, Douglas develops a typology of "social contexts distinguished according to group and grid measures."<sup>240</sup> By "group" she means gradations in "the experience of a bounded social unit" and "grid refers to rules which relate one person to others on an ego-centred basis."<sup>241</sup> Patterning her procedure after Basil Bernstein's socio-linguistic typology of speech codes, she constructs a chart of the two independently varying phenomena along with the four sectors or types (A through D) which they serve to describe as follows<sup>242</sup>:

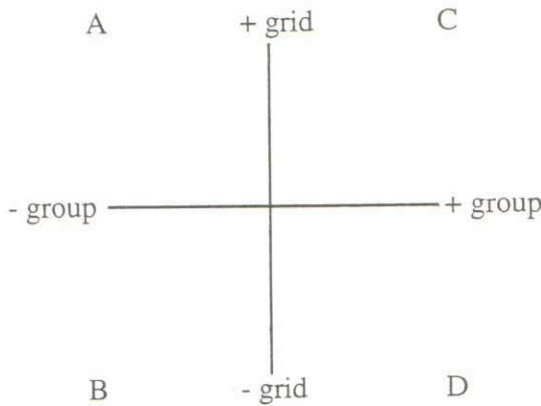


figure six

From the minus to plus poles of the horizontal line, social control by group increases. The group 'solidifies'. From the minus to plus poles of the vertical line, we move into greater and greater levels of role definition. Social demands 'condense' around the individual. The types of societies thus defined, labeled A through D, are identified with particular societies, both industrial and preindustrial. Various questions are asked. What is the view of the body and self in a society with minus group and minus grid?

240 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. xxiii.

241 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. viii.

242 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 59.

What type of society least values bodily control? How do the types differ in their attitudes to ritual, symbolism, metaphysics, etc.? To follow all these arguments and do them justice would mean to write another book like *Natural Symbols*, and it is not my intention to quibble over details. Neither is it my immediate purpose to attack the theoretical underpinnings of the book, which may be described as verging on social determinism.<sup>243</sup> For now, I will concentrate on the results, especially the cosmology of cosmologies found in her Diagram 9<sup>244</sup>:

A <i>Success-cosmology</i> : Private success magic, cargo cults, potential millenarianism.	C <i>Complex regulative cosmos</i> : Ritualist religion based on condensed symbols (social, externalized).
B <i>Benign, unstructured cosmos</i> : Personal, internalized religion based on diffusive symbols; anti-ritual.	D <i>Dual cosmos of good (inside) and bad (outside)</i> . Witch cleansing rituals, intolerance of imperfection, pietism.

*figure seven*

With the promise of later demonstrating the usefulness of the exercise, I ask the reader to agree to rotate Mary Douglas cosmogram clockwise by forty-five degrees, thus taking the 'types' as primary.

243 See DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 151: "The whole history of ideas should be reviewed in the light of the power of social structures to generate symbols of their own."

244 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 105.

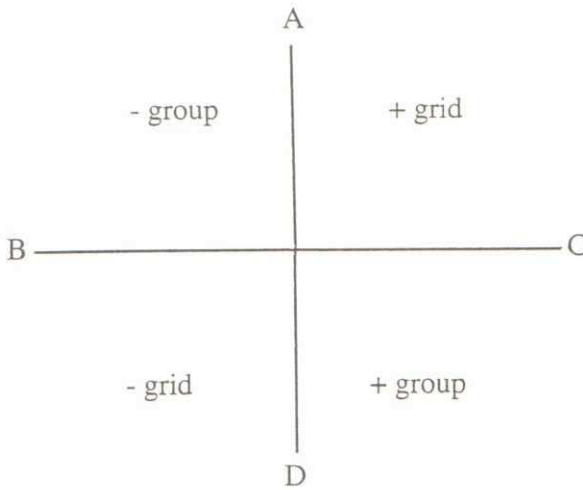
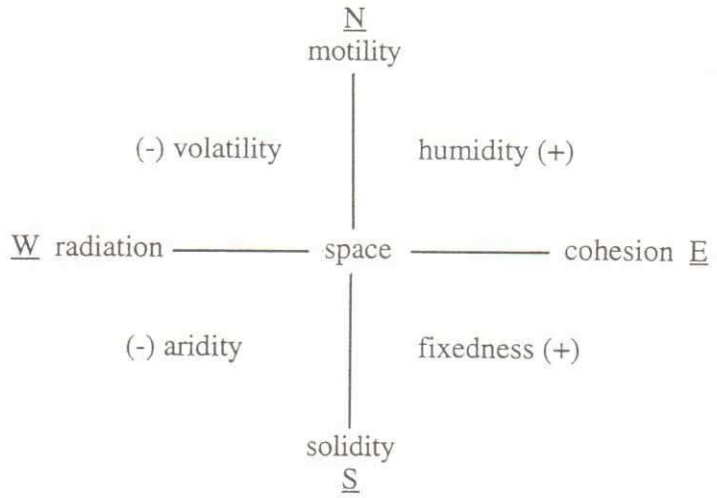


figure eight

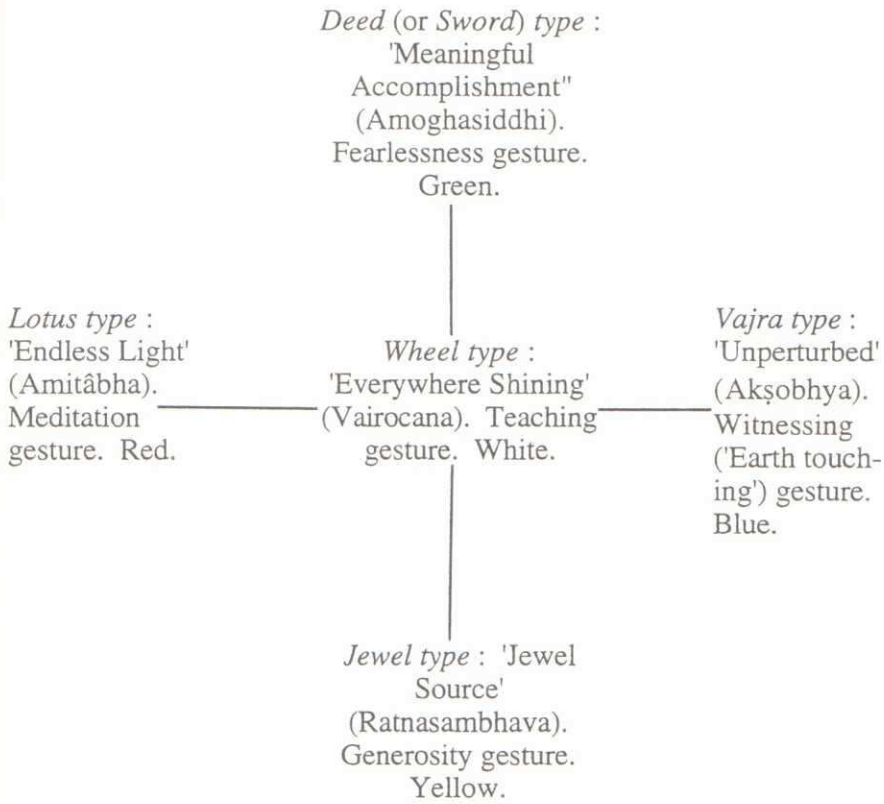
Turning to the mandala patterns of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism,<sup>245</sup> we find a basic elemental structure also determined (I argue) by a matrix of independently varying phenomena which I will call 'fixedness' and 'humidity'. These concepts underlie traditional typologies of Indian and Tibetan and Greek humoral medicine and physics. The elements water, earth, fire and air are represented by their abstract qualitative equivalents — cohesion, solidity, radiation and motility (in Tibetan: *'byar-ba*, *sra-ba*, *snang-ba*, and *g.yo-ba* or *bskyod-pa*). A fifth type in the center is space or spatiality, and the whole is a spatial, and therefore synchronic diagram.

245 For background on mandalas, I could suggest BLOFELD, *Tantric Mysticism of Tibet*, pp. 102-9; SNELLGROVE, *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 64-67; TUCCI, *Theory and Practice of the Mandala*; TUCCI, *Religions of Tibet*, p. 97; WAYMAN, *The Buddhist Tantras*, among others. There is also a body of literature devoted to the mandala as it exists in Japanese Shingon Buddhism.



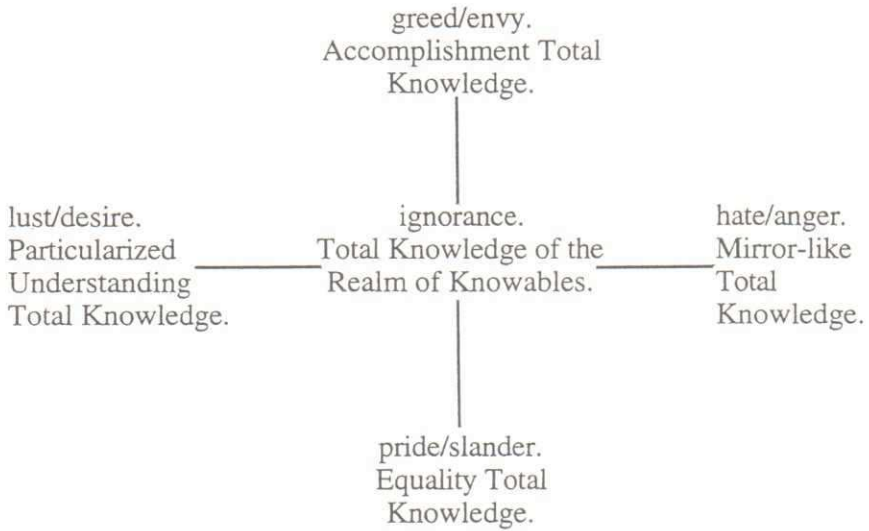
*figure nine*

Each directional sector of the chart is a 'type' (*rigs*), each with a Buddha to govern it, each Buddha with its hands in a particular gesture, with a particular color:



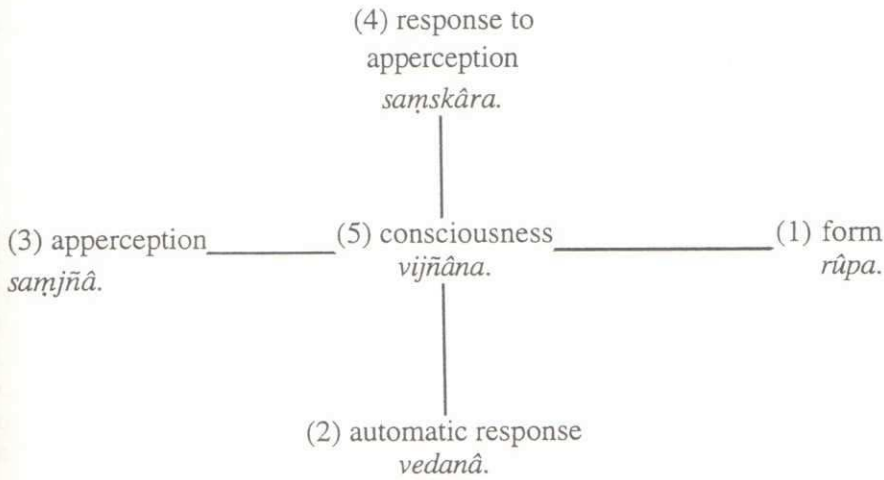
*figure ten*

Each type is further negatively characterized by a particular complex of predominating passions (the 'five passions' of cosmogony A) which may be transformed (Tibetan, *bsgyur-ba*) into corresponding Total Knowledges (Sanskrit, *Jñâna*; Tibetan, *Ye-shes*).



*figure eleven*

Finally, although this by no means exhausts the fund of correspondences, each type corresponds to one of the five stages in the process of perception, the five psychological aggregates (*skandha / phung-po*) which we (falsely, according to the Buddhist view) take to constitute an 'ego' or 'self'. The 'form' presents itself (1); we immediately respond to its positive or negative properties (2); we 'take in' the perception of the form (3); we take action on the perception by making judgments based on past perceptions, etc., and store it in memory (4); and, finally, we are left with a completed, if already considerably filtered, consciousness of the form (5):



*figure twelve*

A close and open-minded study of these mandala charts will reveal not only an obvious structural correspondence to the Douglasian scheme, but some close equivalents of content as well. In an old and much neglected article, Alex Wayman<sup>246</sup> has already applied Durkheimian arguments about totems and totemic classification to the mandala 'types' (This article is highly recommended as background for discussion, being one of the few discussions of mandalas written without Jungian bias, even though I will disagree with its direction). It is very doubtful that Mary Douglas was in any way influenced by the mandala classification system and this fact makes the equivalent contents of extraordinary interest for a general 'anthropological' understanding of this classification mode which I call the circle (or circular array) mode, perhaps the optimal mode for charting spatial, synchronic tensions and relationships. The optimal mode for charting diachronic differentiation would, then, be the 'tree' mode, the dendrogram.

But let us turn to drawing one-to-one correspondences between the two cosmological systems, 'reading across mandalas' as we did in Part IV, above. Douglas' societal types with their cosmologies will be referenced, as they are in her book, by the letters A through D. The mandala types will be

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246 WAYMAN, 'Totemic Beliefs in the Buddhist Tantras'.



called E, S, W, and N, after their cardinal directions. I will concentrate especially on the passions and their transformations into Total Knowledges, starting with E and proceeding clockwise in the traditional manner.

E, the Vajra type, is the most cohesive of the four. Vajra means 'adamant'. The Vajra type is unperturbed and unperturbable, while, paradoxically, its predominating passion is hatred (or anger, or aversion). Douglas society C is the one least described because it is "very well understood by anthropologists and tends to provide the model on which they assess the deviant character of other systems... It is a complex world, dangerous for the rebel, good for the conformist."<sup>247</sup> It is also the type of society she clearly prefers.<sup>248</sup> The formalism, ritualism and 'condensed symbols' of this society find her approval.<sup>249</sup> This approval goes with a clear dislike for the shagginess, millenarianism and weak symbols of society type B.<sup>250</sup> Unfortunately, her relative silence on the C type does not allow us to directly elicit any presiding passion. I suggest for argument that the group most bound by group and grid would be epitomized by the 'provincialists' with their generalized hatreds, their sociocentrism, turned against all who fall outside the linkages of their tight social web. Through transformation, they may learn to see themselves in others, as in a mirror.

S, the Jewel type, is predominated by the passion of pride (and also slander) and Douglas' description of D societies gives ample evidence of group pride, particularly the Exclusive Brethren<sup>251</sup> with its doctrine which "celebrates the purity and goodness of one part of mankind, and the vileness of the rest." "The community, the assembly — has a sense of special sanctity from which individual and household sanctity is derived; it employs severe measures of 'social hygiene' for its maintenance."<sup>252</sup> Douglas identifies in a Brethren leader, "a capacity to identify one's own views with those of the Almighty."<sup>253</sup> In these pietist sects the goodness of each is defined by the goodness of the whole, and 'bad apples' must be quickly evicted. The slander is in the witchcraft accusations, intimations of sexual irregularities, and so forth. On the psychological level, S is the automatic response produced by the form or other sensory phenomenon; it automatically responds to the pleasantness/unpleasantness, good/bad or value of the object. The proud D society says, 'You're either out or you're

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247 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 105.

248 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. xiv.

249 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 1-53.

250 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 82-5, 151-5.

251 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 115-9.

252 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 115.

253 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 119.

in!" Its group boundaries are most clearly defined, most solidly walled, because the social demands on the individual, unlike society C. are severely undefined. The Jewel of the group remains immaculate regardless of its setting. Through transformation, the pride may be extended to encompass all mankind, hence the Equality Total Knowledge.

With W, the Lotus type, we enter the volatile half of the chart and the sector where definitions least apply, just as Douglas characterizes the B society product, "Their intellectual stance is a rejection of categories of all kinds."<sup>254</sup> They disdain the complex bureaucracies and empty symbolisms, the formality, of the C society. They would prefer and try to bring into being a world built on purely interpersonal relationships. They honor "spontaneity and warmth of feeling."<sup>255</sup> Their faith is in the (perhaps only potential) goodness of the individual individually taken, not in groups or group identities.

The body is despised and disregarded, consciousness is conceptually separated from its vehicle and accorded independent honour. Experimenting with consciousness becomes the most personal form of experience, contributing least to the widest social system, and therefore most approved.<sup>256</sup>

Over W presides the Buddha Endless Light with his gesture of meditation. The predominating passion is lust. The most sense-focussed of the passions, yet it tends to overlook the details, intent as it is on its single purpose. It contrasts with the bitterness of hate, but like greed it is unlikely to find lasting satisfaction. Transformed, its Total Knowledge is discerning insight, the deep understanding of things in their particularities. This is the type where Tibetans have always found themselves (in contrast to the more civilized, they think, Indians in E) and the type least in favor with Mary Douglas. She does, in fact, link B societies to sexual promiscuity and repression.<sup>257</sup>

In N, the Deed (or Sword, or Double-Vajra) type, we find a most clear equivalence on the level of passion, but also on other levels. The deed type is mobile (and motivated) like the wind (=air). The Iranians and inhabitants of the northern silk route cities have been identified by Tibetans as belonging to this type, and the Buddhist deity of wealth, Jambhala, is

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254 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 153.

255 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 152.

256 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 161.

257 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 82-3.

likewise always placed in the north. The presiding complex of passions is comprised of greed and/or envy. In the chapter devoted to A societies<sup>258</sup> we see that theirs is a world of competition, of people "unequally endowed with talents, but the inequality is random, unpredictable and unconnected with moral judgement."<sup>259</sup> Fate-focussed, they are utterly absorbed in success, "each person is committed to it by the lure of outstanding success (or even just moderate success) for himself." But "only the few can achieve success." Those who fail to achieve for themselves are full of "bitterness and jealousy."<sup>260</sup> Each person is in a class all their own. Greed drives them all and envy and covetousness is the recourse of the many who fail. The Buddha Meaningful Accomplishment, with his hands forming the fearlessness gesture, leads the Deed type to transform greed and envy into Accomplishment Total Knowledge.

With the exercise completed, I confess that I find the comparison of E with C less than satisfying, perhaps because Douglas gives C insufficient attention. On the level of passions, however, S corresponds precisely with D and N corresponds precisely with A. I believe in this there is a message for Mary Douglas and others that goes beyond the news that a particular religion employed circular array classification modes over a thousand years ago. Durkheim said that society is God, but he and his successors have often made it seem that society was created by God virtually *ex nihilo* at some magic moment in the past, "a sudden birth, as a frog is born of a summer shower."<sup>261</sup> Since that magic moment, society has somehow taken over the creative powers of divinity such that all things human are made by it. Douglas has only served to complicate the picture by splitting this social divinity four ways for us. The Durkheimian thesis that social facts are things prior to other things remains intact. To my mind, society and civilization are roughly equivalent concepts, and they are things we do, not things we have already. Technologies and demographics are not the most important molders of civilization. We humans make civilization both because of and in spite of our passionate natures.

It is to her credit that Douglas judges pre- and post-industrial societies by the same criteria; and like many others I have found *Natural Symbols* to be both a troubling and inspiring work of sociological art. For that one must grant full credit, even if one would prefer to retrace the chains of causation in some other pattern, or give one's vote of approval to a

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258 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 125-39.

259 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 125.

260 DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, p. 136.

261 VICO, *New Science*, p. 253.

different type of society. Can it be that Douglas adopts this type of cosmology *because* of her preference for the sociological model society, the strong group and grid society? I am not so sure that the question will be resolved so simply. To continue this line of questioning, should we draw any conclusions from the fact that Tibet derived its mandala cosmologies from India, a society which they locate on the opposite side of the chart from themselves?<sup>262</sup> Why is it that Tibetans have popularly espoused a sociogenesis all their own (cosmogony C, above) even while well aware of the sociogenesis that accompanied their religion from India (cosmogony B)?

It is not unimportant to ask the question, 'Does Tibetan society and religion correspond to Douglas' society type B?' The answer must be partly 'no'. Traditional Tibetan society is by no means anti-ritual, even if individual Tibetans have been so. Religious rituals were a daily fact of life in traditional Tibet. Tibetan Buddhist symbolism is clearly delineated, not at all the "weakly condensed," diffusive symbols of society B. At the same time, Tibetan society, perhaps more than any other in this century, has held meditative tasks and the celibate monastic life in highest esteem. This does fit nicely with the B society's emphasis on internal states and the transformation of consciousness. But, then, Tibetan society does not, contrary to the characterization of B, glorify loss of bodily control, even if spirit possession occurs on rare occasions, and usually under carefully controlled circumstances. Social occasions in general are governed by a stiff formality (set seating orders, etc.) based on fairly clear-cut hierarchical distinctions.

Conscious of large difficulties posed by the argument, I would say that the Douglasian cosmology could use some modification on the poles of minimal to maximal social control, the B and C societies, and this because she chooses to frame the definitions of these two types within a 1960's dialectic between the countercultural dropouts/revolutionaries and their social matrices, coming out strongly in favor of the latter. With some twenty years of distance between the present and *Natural Symbols*, I would not claim to have escaped my own *Zeitgeist* if I say that the transformations of individuals are not just byproducts of social developments. I would argue, and not just for the sake of argument, that there is truth in the *vice versa*. If we believe Vico and the Tibetan cosmogonists, individuals with their passions are constantly making, remaking and breaking their societies.

If I may extend my Tibet-derived metaphors a little further, I disagree with Douglas that the best society is necessarily in the C sector.

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262 See DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols*, pp. 163-4, where India is explicitly identified with the C society.

Instead, I would place it in a circle around the center, even while admitting the central predominating passion of ignorance. It is only at the center that the gestures of the Buddha can be balanced off, where sagely meditative insight can be balanced against the confidently prophetic (positivistic?) 'witnessing' postures of the C society; where the fearless pursuit of individual accomplishment can be balanced against a universally applicable generosity.

Taking clues from Drummond, I will end by attempting to make my reflections face themselves. What have I accomplished here? Have I simply drawn a new intellectual lineage for Mary Douglas? Does a 'foreshadowing' of her cosmology in Tibetan thought only serve to substantiate her ideas? Will I proceed to claim that her societal types are things prior to other things? No, but I have, in fact, found myself claiming that these types (which she does, at least operationally, take as being primary matrices or first principles of societal differentiations) are themselves products of certain "modulations of the human mind" or, more specifically, predominating passions. I risk contradicting that statement saying it would be idle to force claims that either the societal type or the predominating passion is the prior producer of the other. Both exist, if they exist at all, in a state of reciprocity or mutual interdependence. The relationship is unstable, subject to unending modification.

Even to speak of 'types' is to engage in an "evocation of the Other."<sup>263</sup> When we engage in classifications of any sort, we 'call out' (evoke) particular features of what we come to believe is an objective world as being somehow defining characteristics of particular things. From somewhere in that void, which would remain unclassified without our experience of being subjective agents within it, certain "elemental dilemmas"<sup>264</sup> make themselves known to us; or, rather, we make ourselves known by placing ourselves in a particular spatial location within the forcefields created by those same elemental dilemmas; hence cosmologies, hence mandala arrangements. This paragraph has been, I believe, a fairly close paraphrase of cosmogony A.

From this point of view, it follows that Mary Douglas and our Tibetan cosmogonists have worked over the same territory and, to paraphrase Drummond,<sup>265</sup> they are both equally part of the entity which they

263 DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children,' p. 634.

264 DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children', p. 633.

265 DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children', p. 649. I would say that the Douglasian scheme is itself at the very least a sign of a widespread tendency to find parallel structures in widely divergent realms of knowledge. A quite recent

seek to circumscribe and describe. They are both myth makers. The myths, if we lower ourselves from the preceding cosmogonical considerations, are worked out and work on a level of social contingencies of which we are a part, in which we are both placed (less by some amorphous 'society' than by our parents and mentors) and place ourselves.

As critics of culture(s), we are caught in an impossible existential paradox. We pretend to stand outside the temple, fingers on the detonators, poised to describe and explain the temple with the pieces that will fly in our direction, oblivious to the temple(s) that will still envelop us. Supposing we could manage to blast our way out of all possible temples, we would finally come up against a clear crystal palace, through which we would see — nothing at all.

Finally, when I say that we can only know and identify what we are through an experience of being what we know and identify (and *vice versa*), I cannot help but muse that I am a denizen of B reacting to a cosmology appropriate to C. Those "elemental dilemmas" may be more elemental than many would care to admit, and it might prove more productive to remain students, rather than claim to be mentors. Myths of cultural and social genesis may possibly be dialectics that *attempt* "to resolve elemental dilemmas in the human condition",<sup>266</sup> but actually it looks as if they get no further than charting them out. There is no reason to expect that any particular cosmogonist/sociogonist should prove the exception. Too often, even in these days when obituaries for 'ideology' appear in the daily news, we tend to forget that 'social theories', ideologies by another name, continue to conceptualize, naturalize, mask, but in any case sustain, a set of power relations that has remained basically unchanged since the First King. For even if myths and ideologies are 'false consciousness', saying so does not save us from facing the hard (perhaps unanswerable) questions of where and when 'true consciousness' might begin. Meanwhile, the human body has proven to be one very good thing for us to think with, a source of symbols close at hand, a virtually indispensable instrument for our engagement with the universe within which we are found, and within which we would find ourselves.

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article has even attempted to find correlations between the four forces of modern physics and particular mental functions (see DEUTSCH, 'Philosophical Relationships'), much as the mandala correlates the five forces of Greek/Indian/Tibetan physics with the five psychological aggregates.

266 DRUMMOND, 'The Serpent's Children', p. 656.



## Appendix: Text Edition

### *Introduction:*

#### 1. Notes on the Critical Edition

The primary edited text is given at the top of the page. This text is based on a comparison of M, G and T with variant readings given at the bottom of the same page. Page references given on the right hand margin of the primary text refer to M only. (The page numbers here and elsewhere follow the added Arabic numerals of the reproduction, rather than the original Tibetan manuscript folio numbers.) The passages indented in the middle of most pages are parallels from *BYAMS* and *LShDz*. Parallels (distinguished by a left-hand marginal line) to the primary text are indented five spaces. Subparallels, meaning citations of *BYAMS* in *LShDz*, are indented a further five spaces. Textual notes are found following the parallel passages, and are in vertical alignment with the given passage. Parallels are treated as if they were textual notes, indicating the line and word where the paralleled passage begins and the line and word where it ends. Since the parallels are based on single texts, critical apparatus for them is kept to a minimum. Generally, only the more disturbing errors, as well as any abbreviated spellings are noted here. Otherwise, the parallel text is given *as is*.

The textual notes work on the simple principle of substitution, in an equation called a *lemma*, which eliminates unnecessary signs and abbreviations. The syllable, word or phrase from the edited text is repeated in the notes. Then there is a colon, following which different readings from M, G and/or T are given. The English subtitles, it should be noted, were added by myself, usually in places where major subdivisions have been indicated in M (with ོ). These are simply meant to facilitate cross-referencing with the translation.



## 2. Punctuation

Punctuation variations are only occasionally noted. None of the source works follow contemporary punctuation conventions. The double *shad* (||) is only rather erratically employed. I have in all cases added double *shad* following 'final stops' (marked by the Tibetan letter 'o', the *slar-bsdu*). Since standard punctuation conventions are not well known among non-Tibetans, I will say a few words about them here. The point called *tsheg*, which generally follows each syllable, is always omitted before a *shad* except when the ultimate letter is a *nga* (ང). If the final letter is a *ga* (ག), not only is the *tsheg* omitted, but also one *shad* is considered to be replaced by the right hand vertical stroke of the *ga* (ག) and is hence dropped. This holds also in the case of *gra* (ག), but not in the case of *gya* (ཡ), since the subscribed letter *ya* generally goes to the right of the vertical stroke, destroying the illusion of the *shad*. These conventions were originally devised in order to avoid the possibility of confusing final *nga* plus *shad* (ང||) with final *ga* (ག). For examples, one may refer to the edited text itself. Punctuations peculiar to individual source works are discussed below.

## 3. Abbreviation

I will give only a few comments on abbreviation. While abbreviations are very seldom used in 'printed' (*dbu-can*) texts, they generally abound in 'cursive' (*dbu-med*) manuscripts. As a basic principle, it may be said that the initial consonant(s) and vowel of the first syllable are pushed together with the vowel and final consonant(s) of the final syllable to form a compounded unit treated as if it were a single syllable (ending with *tsheg*). Compounds of more than two syllables generally preserve the vowel mark(s) of any medial syllables. Obversely, it may be said that the final consonant(s) of the first syllable, the consonant(s) of any medial syllables, and the initial (pre-vowel) consonant(s) of the final syllable are dropped. Any letter *ma* (མ), but especially those occurring in post-vowel position, may be transformed into *anusvâra* ( ས ). Of course, there are exceptions to these 'rules'. Final -gs ( གས ) is often represented by ཇa ( ཇ ).

Numeric symbols may be used, not only to replace corresponding number words, but also to replace portions of syllables. See, for example, the many occasions when 4n (ཅན་) represents *bzhin* (བཞིན་), the numeric symbol '4' (ཅ) standing in place of the number word *bzhi* (བཞི་) for the purpose of abbreviation. Bon texts at times have some rather bizarre shorthand ligatures used in abbreviation, but these hardly occur among the source works used here. Here we may only note the relatively more common (also employed in Chos texts) *thya* (ཐྱ) for *thugs* (ཐུགས་). The subscribed 'y' stands in place of the post-vowel 'g' (although in Bon texts this subscribed 'y' may also stand in place of a prefixed letter 'g' — example: ཐྱལ་ for ཐུགས་ལ་). Among the cursive source works, *BYAMS* is the most rich in abbreviations, *M* is less so, while in *LShDz* there are only a very few. Abbreviations are employed or not employed at the whim of the scribe. A word may be abbreviated in one line and not abbreviated (or abbreviated somewhat differently) on the next.

#### 4. Characterizations of Individual Source Works

*M* — *Ma Rgyud Sangs-rgyas Rgyud Gsum* (=The Three Basic Mother Tantras with Commentaries by Rgyal-gshen Mi-lus-bsam-legs), "reproduced from the original manuscript belonging to the monastery of Samling in Dolpo N.W. Nepal," Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolanji/Delhi 1971), pp. 221.7-233.2.

For an analysis of contents, see KARMAY, *Catalogue*, pp. 19-21. This is in 'book cursive', written in the same hand as the greater part of the volume. Apparently the main scribe for this particular manuscript was one named Sangs-rgyas-bzang-po (to judge from the 'Sanskritized' form Buddha-bhadra, which occurs on p. 732.3). Gzhon-nu (p. 767.3, etc.) was the excavator's (*gter-ston*) scribe. At the very end of the second of the three Mother Tantras (on p. 189.6) is the statement, "Based on the personal copy of Gshen Rgyal-ba-lhun-grub" (*gshen rgyal ba lhun[-gr]ub phyag dpe la [g]tugs l*). The name of this same person seems also to be alluded to, as often occurs in colophons, by the thrice-repeated *rgyal-ba* on p. 732. All that is known of this person is that he taught Mother Tantras to the 'teacher' (*slob-dpon*) Bstan-pa-'od-zer (see DPAL-LDAN-TSHUL-KHRIMS, *History*, vol. 2, p. 440.1). Although I have no date for these persons, we may nevertheless date them to the early eighteenth century, since we know that

another teacher of Bstan-pa-'od-zer, named Rin-chen-lhun-grub, became abbot of Sman-ri Monastery in 1735 (KVAERNE, 'Chronological', no. 171). In any case, this only gives us the date, it would seem, of the manuscript from which the one reproduced in M was copied. The relevant text (pp. 207-237) was said to have been edited against three different copies (p. 237.6), thus assuring us of its general reliability.

The following comments are based on the larger work entitled *Meditation Commentary (Sgom-'grel: Nyi-ma'i Snying-po*, pp. 207-237). Often single *shad* is indicated by adding a dot to the bottom of the final (cursive) *tsheg*, while double *shad* is indicated by doubled (cursive) *tsheg*. Many times, this 'convention' is ignored. In particular, the added dot is frequently omitted. Therefore, I have generally assumed that wherever a gap is left in the text, a single *shad* was intended and have so marked it in my edition. Orthographical peculiarities may be noted in the critical apparatus to the main text. There is an obvious tendency to add final *sa* (ས) to syllables where it is not required, and to turn genitive (འི, etc.) into instrumental (འིས, etc.) case endings. This also occurs in many manuscripts besides the present one.

G — *Theg-pa Chen-po Gsang-sngags Ma Rgyud Thugs-rje Nyi-ma'i Rgyud Gsum* (=Ma Rgyud Thugs-rje Nyi-ma'i Rgyud Skor), "a collection of rediscovered Bonpo teachings belonging to the mother class of tantras revealed from its place of concealment by Gu-ru Rnon-rtse, reproduced from a rare manuscript recently found in Gśen-dar-lding Ri-rgyal Monastery," Tshultrim Tashi, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community (Dolanji 1985), pp. 251.1-264.5.

This volume reproduces a cursive manuscript which has an interesting preface revealing the name of the patron who 'erected' (*bzheng*) the volume, as well as some words about its textual pedigree. The patron is referred to in the first person, "I, mendicant of the end times, G.yung-drung-snying-po." It is possible that this person, evidently a monk, served as the actual scribe, although this is not stated; he may have only sponsored the manuscript. The manuscript used as a basis for our manuscript, the 'mother text' (*ma dpe*), was one made by the teacher Lcang-ra (probably a place name used as a personal name) and his disciples. The Lcang-ra manuscript had been collated from many other manuscripts, including ones at Gshen Dar-lding, Byang Dang-ra and the personal copy of Ka-gdam-pa (probably the Bka'-gdams Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan of the early Mother Tantra lineage is intended; see note above).

While the Lcang-ra manuscript had been proofed about eight times, the present manuscript was proofed three times. Unfortunately, neither the Lcang-ra teacher nor G.yung-drung-snying-po could be identified or dated. The Gshen Dar-lding monastery, where the present manuscript was found is quite famous. It was founded in 1173 by Ye-shes-blo-gros, and it was visited and described by both Sven Hedin and Sarat Chandra Das. It is variously called Ri-rgyal Gshen-dar, Dar-sdings, Dar-lding Gser-sgo, etc.

T — Tenzin Namdak, ed., *Rgyal-gshen Rnam-thar: The Life of Lord Gshen-rab: Excerpted from Original Texts*, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolanji 1971), vol. 2, pp. 645-656.

The copyist for this 'western' format, bound book was a contemporary 'tantric monk' (*sngags btsun*) of Mdo-sngags-grags-rgyas-gling (founded in 1936; KVAERNE, 'Chronological', no. 228) at Gur-gyam in Khyung-lung named Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (p. 892). The script is 'print' (*dbu-can*). Double *shad* is rarely used. There are numerous corrections inserted above and below the line. It does not specify which manuscript(s) of the "Mother Tantra commentary" (*ma rgyud 'grel las*, p. 645) was used by the copyist. It is certain that it was not M. One may note four variant readings on a single page of the edited text where T agrees with *LShDz* rather than with M. In places where there are significantly different readings, T tends to agree with G rather than M. This would suggest that T and *LShDz* worked from a slightly divergent manuscript tradition, perhaps even a more recent one, although that is impossible to judge at this point.

*LShDz* — Shar-rdza Bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan, *Legs-bshad Rin-po-che'i Mdzod: Dpyod-ldan Dga'-ba'i Char*, "a Tibetan analytical history and study of the doctrines of the Bon tradition, reproduced from a Delhi lithographic edition prepared in 1955 through the efforts of Khyung-sprul 'Jigs-med-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje," Khedup Gyatso (Dolanji 1977).

The date of the Shar-rdza Bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan's death is variously given as 1933, 1935, or 1938, but all agree that he was born in 1859, and that this historical work was begun in 1922. This is a reproduction of a cursive lithograph with the marginal notation *ja*, showing that it is taken from volume seven of the author's 'Collected Works' (Gsung-'bum). The original lithograph contained 250 folios. The woodblock edition of the entire Collected Works of Shar-rdza is most certainly preserved somewhere in Eastern Tibet, although only parts of it have reached the

outside world. A copy of the history in a 274-folio blockprint exists in Paris (KARMAY, *Treasury*, p. xvii), but is not available to me. In any case, this photographically reprinted lithograph is actually very clear and generally quite carefully done, with few abbreviations, and only very occasional inserted corrections. The content of *LShDz* often reflects the wording of M, G, T and *BYAMS* verbatim, although some parts are omitted and other parts may be described as summary or paraphrase. However, these paraphrases often assist us in understanding the sense of the primary text in otherwise relatively obscure passages.

*BYAMS* — *Byams-ma Chen-mo Rigs-kyi 'Jigs-skyob-ma'i Gzungs*. Contained in: *Bka'-'gyur Rgyud Sde'i Skor* (=Collected Tantras of *Bon*), "reproduced from manuscripts from Bsam-gling Monastery in Dolpo (Northwestern Nepal) by Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltzen," Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre (Dolanji 1972), vol. 5, pp. 113-119.

This is a 'cursive' manuscript reproduction in a rather inelegant hand. Abbreviations abound, as do minor spelling inaccuracies. Besides the absence of double *shad*, the main punctuational peculiarity is the very frequent presence, or absence, of *tsheg* before *shad* in violation of common usage. The contents and relative importance of this work have already been discussed. The above title (the *Family Fears* mentioned before) is actually a 'chapter' (*le'u*) title to a chapter 4, even though a separate title page is supplied. The name of the larger, nine-chapter work is *Byams-ma Rtsa-ba'i Gzungs*, the entire text of which runs from p. 85 to p. 150 in the same volume 5 of the *Bka'-'gyur Rgyud Sde'i Skor*.

At least two other manuscript reprints of this work are available, one in RGYAL-BA-G.YUNG-DRUNG, ed., *Gzungs-'dus*, vol. 1, pp. 69-78. The other is in TSHUL-KHRIMS-RGYAL-MTSHAN, ed., *Mdo-mang*, vol. 1, pp. 450-458. These were not used here, since a critical edition of what is, in this context, a subsidiary text would have unduly burdened the apparatus, especially on account of the numerous abbreviations and unusual spellings used in these cursive manuscripts.

## Signs and abbreviations used in the apparatus

∕	letters inserted above the line of text in the source work.
∖	letters inserted below the line of text in the source work.
...	passages omitted by the editor.
***	spaces left blank in the source text (possibly erasures).
abbr.	abbreviation, abbreviates.
litt.	<i>littera, litterae</i> : letter(s).
obl.	obliterated: letter(s) or ligature(s) obliterated by margin lines.
om.	<i>omisit</i> : omitted (letters, phrases, etc.) in given source work.
post	<i>post</i> : after, following.
ras.	<i>rasura</i> : erasure (remnants of letters still visible).



གཉེས་པ་བདག་གིས་ཐོས་པ་བསྐྱ་བ་པོའི་ངོ་བོ་ནི། ཞང་ཞུང་བར་པའི་ཡུལ་ 222  
 སྲིད་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། འཛམ་གླིང་སའི་སྤིང་པོ། ཞང་ཞུང་བོན་གྱི་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་གཡུང་དུང་བོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གྱུར་ལྷེར་ཐ་ཙན་ཉི་པང་རྒྱ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ།  
 5 འཛམ་གྱི་གླིང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་མངའ་བསྐྱར་བ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཡབ་སྐྱ་བཤེས་  
 རས་དགུང་དུ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ལ་སྲས་མེད་ནས།

2 སྲིད་པའི་... 5 མེད་ནས། > *Byams* (114.2-114.7) :

སྲིད་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། འཛམ་གླིང་དཔལ་གྱི་སྤིང་པོ།...ཐ་ཙན་ཉི་པང་རྒྱེས་ཞེས་བྱའོ།  
 མཁའ་ལ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་ཐུགས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་གདུང་རབ་འཛིན་པའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་མ་མཚེས་པས།

1 ཐ་ཙན་...2 མཚེས་པས། > *LShDz* (130.2-130.4) :

བྱམས་མ་ལས།...ཐ་ཙན་ཉི་པང་རྒྱེས་ཞེས་བྱའོ།...མཁའ་ལ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་ཐུག་  
 པ་ན། གདུང་འཛིན་པའི་སྲས་མ་མཚེས་པ་ལ།

1 ཞིང་ཁམས་རྣམ་པར་> ཞང་ཞུང་ abbr. / འཛམ་> འཛིང་ abbr. // 2 མཁའ་> མཁའ་ལ་ /  
 རིགས་> རིག་ //

1 གཉེས་...ངོ་བོ་ནི། > om. T / གཉེས་ > བ་ G / བདག་གིས་ > བདག་གི་ MT བདག་གིས་ G / ཐོས་  
 > ཐོས་ M / ཞང་ཞུང་ > ཞུང་ abbr. G / བར་ > བར་ G / \*\*\* post ཡུལ་ M // 2 ཁམས་རྣམ་  
 པར་ > ཁེས་རྣྱར་ abbr. M འཁེས་རྣྱར་ G / འཛམ་ > འཛི་ abbr. M འཛིས་ G / སྤིང་ > སྤིངས་ (?)  
 G / བྱི > བྱིས་ M // 3 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་ > རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ན། ཡབ་ G / གཡུང་དུང་ > གཡུང་ abbr.  
 G / ཙན་ > ཙན་ G / ཉི་པང་ > ཉི་པ་ T ཉི་པ་ G // 4 འཛམ་ > འཛི་ G / ཁམས་ > འཁེས་ G /  
 མངའ་ > དབང་ G / གཅིག་ > ཅ་ abbr. MG / ཡབ་ > ཡབ་ཉ་ abbr. M / བཤེས་ > བཤེས་ M //  
 5 གཤེགས་ > ཤེགས་ G / དུས་ལ་ > དུས་ M / ཐུག་ > ཐ་ G //





ལོ་གཅིག་ནས་སྐྱེ་བུ་འཕྲོན་ཏེ་ཐོས་པ་སྐྱ་མཚོས་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་སྦྱོང་བར་ལྷང་  
བསྟན་པས། བཅུན་མོ་ལྷ་ཟ་གཡུང་དྲུང་སྐྱོན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་མེ་ཏོག་ལྷ་དུམ་འབར་བ་ཁ་  
རྒྱུ་པ་གཅིག་བཅས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ།། དེ་ལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་མ་མ་དགུ་སྟུག་གིས་བྱོད་དང་མ་  
བྲལ་བར་བསྐྱངས་པས། སྐྱེ་བུ་མཚན་དང་དཔེ་བྱད་དུ་ལྡན་པ། ལྷ་དང་སྐྱེའི་ཡུལ་དུ་

5 ཡང་རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད་ལྷན་པ་གཅིག་འཁྲུངས་པས།

1 ལོ་གཅིག་ ... 2 བསྟན་པས། > *Byams* (116.7):

ལོ་གཅིག་ན། ... ཐོས་པའི་བོན་གྱིས་སྐྱེ་བུ་སྦྱོངས་པར་འགྱུར་ཟོ།།

2 བཅུན་མོ་ ... 5 འཁྲུངས་པས། > *Byams* (118.7-118.8):

ཡུམ་གྱི་རྩུམས་ནས་ལྷའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྷ་དུ་འབར་བ་འདབ་མ་སྦྱོང་དང་ལྡན་པ་གཅིག་འཁྲུངས་སོ།། དེས་  
རིག་ཀྱིས་མ་མ་དགུ་སྟུག་གིས་བཅོགས་པས། སྐྱེ་བུ་མཚན་དང་དཔེ་བྱད་ལྡན་པ། བེས་རབ་རྣམ་པར་དག་  
པ་འཁྲུངས་ཏེ།

1 ཡུམ་གྱི་ ... 2 དག་པ་ > *LShDz* (131.3):

དེ་ནས་ལོ་གཅིག་ན་ཡུམ་གྱི་རྩུམས་ནས་སྐྱེ་བུ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་གཅིག་འཁྲུངས་པ་དགུང་ལོ་ཚད་དུ་  
ལྡན་ནས། བེས་རབ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པས་

1 ཡུམ་གྱི་རྩུམས་ > ཡུྱ་ཀྱིས་རྩུམ་ abbr. / མེ་ཏོག་ > ལྷེ་ལོ་ abbr. / གཅིག་ > །' abbr. //

2 བཅོགས་ > བཅོར་ abbr. / བེས་རབ་ > བྲེབ་ abbr. / ལྷན་བར་ > ལྷུས་པར་  
abbr. //

1 གཅིག་ནས་ > །'ན་ abbr. M །'ནས་ abbr. G / འཕྲོན་ > ཕྱོན་ M / སྐྱ་མཚོས་ > སྐྱ་མཚོ་ M སྐྱ་  
མཚོ་ལ་ T / བོན་གྱི་ > བོན་གྱིས་ M / བར་ > བར་ G // 2 གཡུང་དྲུང་ > གཡུང་ abbr. M G / ཞེས་ >  
om. M / ལྷ་དུམ་འབར་བ་ > ལྷ་དུ་འབར་བ་ T G / ཁ་རྒྱུ་པ་གཅིག་ > ཁ་རྒྱུ་པ་ཉ་ M / ཁ་རྒྱུ་པ་ཉ་ G // 3  
བཅས་པར་ > བཅའ་བར་ G / གྱུར་ཏོ།། > འགྱུར་ཟོ།། M / སྟུག་གིས་ > སྟུག་གི་ T སྟུགི་ G // 4 བསྐྱངས་ >  
བསྐྱང་ M // 5 རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་ > རྗུལ་ abbr. M / ཀྱིས་ > ཀྱི་ M G ཀྱི་ལ་ T / གཅིག་ > །' abbr. M  
G / འཁྲུངས་ > འཁྲུང་ G / པས། > པས་ M //

ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྱད་པར་གྱི་བོན་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པ་ལ་གསལ། གསང་ལྟགས་གསང་བའི་  
 བོན་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ལ་གསལ། ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་པོའི་བོན་སྣལ་ལ་མི་འབར་ལ་  
 གསལ། མན་ངག་ཟབ་མོའི་བོན་ཡི་ཤེས་སྣོང་པོ་ལ་ཡང་གསལ། མཚན་ཉིད་ལྡེ་ལྡེ་  
 བོན་དྲང་སྲོང་རྒྱལ་བ་ལ་ཡང་གསལ། རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྡེའི་བོན་མ་ལོ་དར་དཔུང་ལ་  
 5 ཡང་གསལ། བོན་དང་སྤྱི་བ་དང་བསྟན་པའི་མངའ་བདག་སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་པ་ལྟར་  
 བྱུར་པ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་སོ།།

1 ལྷ་བ་ ... 5 གསལ། > *Byams* (118.8-119.1):

མི་ལུས་ཀྱིས་ལྷའི་བོན་ལྷ་བ་ཁྱད་པར་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། ལྷའི་བོན་མན་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་ཡང་དག་པ་དང་། དྲང་སྲོང་གི་བོན་མཚན་ཉིད་  
 ལྡེ་ལྡེ་དང་། གསང་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་བོན་གསང་བའི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་དང་། དྲག་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་བོན་ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་བརྟུ་གསུམ་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་པས། ...

1 མི་ལུས་ ... 2 རྒྱུད་པས། > *LShDz* (131.3-131.5):

མི་ལུས་ཀྱིས་ལྷའི་བོན་ལྷ་བ་ཁྱད་པར་ཆེན་དང་། ལྷའི་བོན་མན་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་ཡང་དག་དང་། དྲང་སྲོང་གི་བོན་  
 མཚན་ཉིད་ལྡེ་ལྡེ་དང་། གསང་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་བོན་གསང་བའི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་དང་། དྲག་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་བོན་ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་བརྟུ་གསུམ་  
 རྟུང་གསུམ་སྟུང་ལའི་...

1 ཁྱད་པར་ཆེན་པོ་ > ཁྱད་པར་ཆེན་ abbr. / དྲང་སྲོང་གི་ > དྲང་སྲོང་གིས་ // 2 གསང་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་ > གསང་  
 ལྟགས་ abbr. / དྲག་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་ > དྲག་ལྟགས་གིས་ / ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་ > ལྷུའཕྲུལ་ abbr. // 3 བརྟུ་གསུམ་ >  
 བརྟུ་གསུམ་ abbr. / ལྟགས་སྟུ་ > ལྟགས་སྟུ་ abbr. //

1 ལྷ་བ་ ... 5 གསལ། > *LShDz* (156.6-157.2):

ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྱད་པར་གྱི་བོན་ལྷའི་གཤེན་པོ་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པ་ལ་གསལ། གསང་ལྟགས་ཀྱི་བོན་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ལ་གསལ།  
 ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་བརྟུ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་བོན་སྣལ་ལ་མི་འབར་ལ་གསལ། མན་ངག་ཟབ་མོའི་བོན་ཡི་ཤེས་སྣོང་པོ་གསལ། མཚན་ཉིད་ལྡེ་ལྡེ་  
 བོན་གཤེན་དྲང་སྲོང་རྒྱལ་བ་ལ་གསལ། རིགས་པའི་གནས་ལྡེའི་བོན་མ་ལོ་དར་དཔུང་ས་ལ་གསལ་རྟེ། ...

1 ཡོངས་སུ་ > ཡོངས་ abbr. G / ལྟགས་གསང་བའི་ > ལྟར་གསང་བའི་ abbr. M ལྟགས་པའི་ abbr. G  
 // 2 ལ་གསལ། > ལ་/ཡང་\གསལ་ TG / ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་ > ལྷུའཕྲུལ་ abbr. MG / ལ་གསལ། > ལ་/ཡང་\གསལ།  
T ལ་/ཡང་\གསལ། G // 3 ཡི་ཤེས་སྣོང་པོ་ > ཡིས་སྣོངས་པོ་ abbr. G // 5 གཉིས་ > ཉ་ G // 6 གཅིག་  
 བཞུགས་སོ།། > ཉ་བཞུར་སོ།། abbr. M ཉ་བཞུགས་སོ།། abbr. G //

དེའི་གཡུང་རྒྱུང་བོན་ལ་དང་པ་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་དང་མཁུན་པ་མཐར་ཐུག་པས། 223  
 བཀའ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ལུང་གྲངས་མང་ན་ཡང་། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གཏད་སོའི་ཡང་སྤིང་མ་རྒྱུད་  
 རྫོང་གསུམ་ལ་མཛད་དེ། ལྷོ་རྩམ་དག་པར་མ་སློང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གཤེན་སྲང་ལ་  
 རྩམ་གཤེན་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡང་མཛད། རང་ཀུན་གསལ་བྱམས་མ་ཆེན་  
 5 མོའི་རྒྱུད་སེང་གི་རྒྱ་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡང་མཛད། གསང་བ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཉི་མའི་  
 མ་རྒྱུད་ལྷོ་བོན་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་ཐུགས་དམ་དུ་ཡང་མཛད་པས། ཤིན་དུ་ཐུགས་ཡིད་  
 ཆེས་ནས་གསང་བའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བྱན་དུ་འཁོལ།

3 ལྷོ་ ... 7 འཁོལ། > LShDz (158.3-158.4):

ལྷོ་རྩམ་དག་པར་སློང་ཡང་ས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གཤེན་ཡང་ལྷ་གནམ་གཤེན་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་མཛད། རང་  
 ཀུན་གསལ་བྱམས་མ་ཆེན་མོའི་བོན་སེང་རྒྱ་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་མཛད། གསང་བ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཉི་མའི་རྒྱུད་ལྷོ་  
 བོན་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་ཐུགས་དམ་མཛད་པས་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཆེས་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐབས་ཤིག་ན། ...

1 གཡུང་རྒྱུང་ > གཡུང་རྒྱུང་གི་ I གཡུང་གི་ abbr. G གཡུང་ abbr. M / པ་དང་། > པ་དང་ IG // 2 རྒྱ  
 > བརྒྱ I / བར་ས་ > རྒྱ G / ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ > ཐུས་ abbr. M ཐུས་ཀྱི་ abbr. G / སྤིང་ > སྤིངས་ G // 3  
 རྫོང་གསུམ་ > བསྐྱར་མ་ abbr. M རྫོང་མ་ abbr. G / རྩམ་དག་ > རྩོ་དག་ abbr. M / ཤི་ > ཤི་ཤི་ M /  
 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ > དཀྱིར་ abbr. G / གཤེན་ > ཤེན་ abbr. G // 4 རྩམ་གཤེན་ལ་ > རྩམ་གཤེན་ལ་ M  
 ཉི་མའི་ལ་ abbr. G / བསྐྱབས་པ་ > ཐུབ་པ་ M བསྐྱབས་པ་ IG / བྱམས་མ་ > བྱིས་མ་ abbr. MG //  
 5 རྒྱུད་ > རྒྱུད་ IG / སེང་གི་ > སེན་ I / ཞུས་ནས་ > ཞུས་ལ་ M / བསྐྱབས་པ་ > བསྐྱབས་པ་ MITG /  
 གསང་བ་ > གསང་པ་ MG / ཐུགས་རྗེ་ > ཐུངས་ abbr. M ཐུས་ abbr. G // 6 མ་རྒྱུད་ > རྒྱུད་ IG  
 / ཐུགས་དམ་ > ཐུང་ abbr. G / ཐུགས་ཡིད་ > ཐུགས་རྗེ་ M ཐུང་ཡིད་ abbr. I ཐུས་ G // 7 རྩམ་ >  
 རྩས་ I / གསང་བའི་ > གསང་པའི་ MG / མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁོའ་ abbr. G / བྱན་དུ་ > བྱན་དུ་ཡང་ M //

དེ་ཡང་ཐུགས་ཇི་ཉི་མ་ཡོངས་དག་ལ་ཞུས་པས་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་གནང་།  
 གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ལ་ཞུས་པས་ཐུགས་ཇི་མངོན་ཤར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་གནང་། ལྷག་ལ་མི་  
 འབར་ལ་ཞུས་པས་རིག་པ་བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་གནང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱིང་པོ་ལ་ཞུས་  
 པས་རིག་པ་ཁྲ་བྱུག་གི་རྒྱུད་གནང་ངོ་།། དེ་ནས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ལམ་གྱི་བྱ་  
 5 ར་མ་དུག་དངོས་སུ་བྱོན་ཏེ། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་ཤེས་སམ་  
 བསྐྱུངས་པས།

4 དེ་ནས་ ... 6 བསྐྱུངས་པས། > *LShDz* (158.4-158.5):  
 ལྷ་ར་ཡང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ལམ་གྱི་བྱ་ར་མ་དུག་དངོས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་མ་རྒྱུད་  
 ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་ཤེས་སམ་བསྐྱུངས་པས།

1 ཐུགས་ཇི་ > ཐྱི་ abbr. G / ཡོངས་དག > ཡོང་དག TG / རྣམ་པར > རྣྟར་ abbr. M རྣྟ་པར་ abbr.  
G // 2 ཐུགས་ཇི་ > ཐྱིངས་ abbr. M ཐྱི་ abbr. G / ཐྱི་ > ཐྱིས་ M // 3 བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་ > རྟུལ་བྱུགྱི་  
 abbr. G / ཡེ་ཤེས་ > ཡེསེ་ abbr. G // 4 ཐུག་གི་ > ཐུག་གིས་ M ཐུགས་ abbr. G / གནང་ངོ་ > གནངོ་  
 abbr. G / ཡེ་ཤེས་ > ཡེསེ་ abbr. G / མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་ལ་ M མཁོ་མ་ abbr. G / ལམ་གྱི་  
 > ལམ་གྱིས་ M // 5 རིགས་ཀྱི་ > རིགས་ཀྱིས་ M / ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་ > ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ TG / མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ > མ་རྒྱུད་ T /  
 བདམས་པ་ > བདྲིས་པ་ abbr. M བདམ་པ་ T བདྲི་པ་ abbr. G / ཤེས་སམ་ > ཤེས་སྤོ་ abbr. M ཤེས་  
 abbr. G // 6 བསྐྱུངས་ > ཐུང་ abbr. G //

བདག་གིས་མཁས་པ་ཆེ་བླུག་ལ་གདུགས་པས་མཁས་ལགས་བྱས་པས། མདུན་གྱི་རྒྱ་  
 མཚོ་ལས་རྒྱ་ཡོལ་ཆེན་གང་བརྩས་ནས་རྩ་ཡི་ཉག་མ་གཅིག་སྒང་ནས་ལག་དྲུ་གཏང་  
 བྱས། མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་འབྲ། སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ཐོད་པ་གང་པོ་  
 5 འདི་འབྲ། རྩོད་ཀྱིས་གིས་པ་ནི་རྩ་ཡི་མཚོག་འདི་དང་འབྲ། ཕྱོགས་ཙམ་ཡང་ད་  
 རྩེ་མ་རྟོགས་པ་ཡིན། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཡིན་དུ་བྱུགས་སྤྲུག་ནས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་  
 ཉེ།

1 བདག་གིས་ ... 6 ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉེ > *LShDz* (158.5-159.1):

བདག་གིས་མཁས་པ་ཆེ་བླུག་ལ་གདུགས་པས་མཁས་ལགས་བྱས་པས། མདུན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཡོལ་ཆེན་  
 གང་བརྩས་ནས་དེ་ལས་རྩ་ཡི་ཉག་མ་གཅིག་སྒང་ནས་ལག་དྲུ་གཏང་དེ། མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བོན་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་འབྲ།  
 སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ཐོད་པ་གང་པོ་ འདི་དང་འབྲ། རྩོད་ཀྱིས་གིས་པ་ནི་རྩ་ཡི་མཚོག་འདི་དང་འབྲ།  
 ཕྱོགས་ཙམ་ཡང་ད་རྩེ་མ་རྟོགས་པ་ཡིན། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་བྱུགས་ཤིན་དུ་སྤྲུགས་ནས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉེ།

1 བདག་གིས་ > བདག་གི/ས། I བདག་གི་ G/ཆེ་ > ཆེན་པོ་ TG/གདུགས་ > གདུག་ TG/ལགས་ >  
 ལག་ G/མདུན་གྱི་ > མདུན་གྱིས་ M/རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་ > རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་ M/རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་ས། // 2 བྱས་ > བྱས།  
 M/རྩ་ཡི་ > རྩ་ཡི་ MG/མ་ > མས་ G/གཅིག་ > ཉ་ abbrev. MG གཅིག་གིས་\ I // 3 མ་རྒྱུད་  
 ཀྱི་ > མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ M མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ TG/བོན་ནི་ > བོན་གྱི་ M/མཚོ་ > མཚོ་ལ་ G/སློབ་དཔོན་ > སློན་  
 abbrev. M // 4 འདི་འབྲ། > དང་འབྲ། G/འབྲ། རྩོད་ཀྱིས་ > རྩོད་ I རྩོད་ G/རྩ་ཡི་མཚོག་ > རྩ་ཡི་མཚོག་ M རྩ་  
 མཚོག་ G // 5 མ་རྟོགས་པ་ > ལ་རྟོག་པ་ abbrev. M མ་རྟོག་པ་ G/ཡིན། > ཡིན་ TG/བྱུགས་ > བྱུག་  
 abbrev. G // 6 ཉེ། > ཉེ། M //

ད་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་ངས་མཐར་ཐུག་རྟོགས། ཞེས་གསོལ་པས། བསྐྱབ་པའི་  
 ཡུལ་ནི་བཟང་ཟ་མིང་བཅུ་ལྟེ་ཡིན་ཏེ། མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མངའ་བདག་ལགས་སོ།། བསྐྱོམ་ 224  
 པའི་གནས་ནི་རྒྱལ་བའི་མཉེས་ཚལ་ཡིན་ཏེ། མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྙིང་གཏེར་ལགས་སོ།།  
 གདམས་ངག་གི་ཚ་བ་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་ཡིན་ཏེ། མ་རྒྱུད་ཡང་སྙིང་ལགས་  
 5 སོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།། ཅེ།

1 ད་ཅི་ལྟར་ ... 5 གསུངས་སོ།། > *LShDz* (159.1-159.2):

ད་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་མཐར་ཐུག་པ་རྟོགས་ཞེས་གསོལ་པས། བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཡུལ་ནི་བཟང་བཟང་མིང་བཅུ་ལྟེ་  
 མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མངའ་བདག་ལགས་སོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།།

1 མཐར་ཐུག་ > མཐར་ཐུག་པ་ **T** མཐར་ཐུག་པ་ **G** / རྟོགས། > རྟོང་ abbr. **M** / བསྐྱབ་ > བསྐྱབས་ **T G**  
 // 2 ཡིན་ཏེ། > ཡིན་ཏེ་ **M** / མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ > མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ **M** / ལགས་སོ།། > ལང་བསྟོ། **M** ལགས། **G** // 3  
 རི་ > om. **T** / མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ > མཁའོའི་ abbr. **G** / ལགས་སོ།། > ལགས། **G** // 4 གདམས་ངག་གི་ >  
 གདམས་ངག་གིས་ **M** གདམ་ངག་གི་ **T** གདམ་ངག་གིས་ **G** / རྒྱུད་གསུམ་ > /རྒྱུད་\མ་ abbr. **M** རྒྱུད་མ་ abbr.  
**G** / མ་རྒྱུད་ > མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ **T G** / ལགས་སོ།། > ལགས། **G** // 5 ཞེས་ > om. **M** / གསུངས་སོ།། >  
 གསུངས། // **G** / ཅེ། > om. **T G** //





ལྷ་སྐྱམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་གསལ་ལ་རགས་པ། གདན་ལས་འདོམ་རེ་ཡོངས་སུ་འཕགས་  
 པར་བཞུགས་པ། ཚངས་རིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི་དང་། དཔལ་མགོན་དབལ་བོན་སྟོབས་  
 པོ་ཆེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བར་ཚོད་སྤང་། མཁའ་འགྱུང་དཀར་པོ་རིགས་ལྡན་སྟོན་པ་མཛད།  
 བཟང་བཟང་རིང་བཅུན་ཀྱི་མར་བཞེངས་པ་ནི་དབང་གི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་མཛད། བདེ་ཆེན་  
 5 སངས་རྒྱས་ཡུམ་བཞིས་ལས་ཀྱི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་མཛད། རོལ་པའི་ཚོགས་བདག་མ་ལ་  
 སོགས་པ་གནས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞིའི་

1 ལྷ་ ... 2 བཞུགས་པ། > *LShDz* (159.4):

ལྷ་སྐྱམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་གདན་ལ་འདོམ་རེས་འཕགས་པར་བཞུགས་པར་སྐྱལ་གྱི།

1 ལྷ་སྐྱམ་ > ལྷི་ abbr. MG/ཅུ་ > བཅུ་ G/རགས་པ་ > རགས་པ་ TG/གདན་ལས་ > གདན་ལ་ M/  
 རེ་ > རེས་ M/ཡོངས་སུ་ > ཡོངས་ལྷ་ abbr. G/འཕགས་ > འཕགས་ abbr. G// 2 བཞུགས་པ། >  
 བཞུགས། abbr. M/ཀྱི་ > ཀྱིས་ M/ཀྱི་\ G// 3 རྣམས་ > རྣོས་ abbr. MG/ཀྱིས་ > ཀྱི་ས་\ T ཀྱི་  
G/སྤང་ > བསྤངས་ M/རིགས་ > རིག་ TG/ལྡན་ > ལྡན་ནི་ TG// 4 བཞེངས་པ་ > བཞེང་པའ་  
G/སྟོབ་དཔོན་ > སྟོནོ་ abbr. M// 5 སངས་རྒྱས་ > སངས་ abbr. M/ཡུམ་བཞིས་ > ཡུམ་ལའི་  
 abbr. M ཡུམ་བཞིས་ G/ལས་ཀྱི་ > ལས་ཀྱིས་ M/སྟོབ་དཔོན་ > སྟོནོ་ abbr. M/ཚོགས་ > ཚོག་ G/  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་ > ལས་སོགས་པ་ T// 6 བཞིའི་ > ལའི་ abbr. M//

སྤྲུང་ས་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་སྦྲུལ། ལྷུང་པ་བསྐྱེམས་པའི་ལྷ་དང་རིག་  
 འཛིན་བསམ་དུ་མེད་པས་བྱིན་པའ་ནས། དབང་བཞི་གནད་དང་བཅས་པ་ཚོགས་  
 པར་བསྐྱར་དེ། སངས་རྒྱུན་གསུམ་པ་ལེའུ་རྩིས་བྱང་དང་བཅས་པ་དབུག་གང་  
 གི་ནང་དུ་ཚར་གྱིས་གསུང་ནས། མཐོང་གི་བྱང་བྱ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་པ་ཕྱག་  
 5 ཏུ་གཏད་དེ། ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་གསུངས།

1 སྤྲུང་ས་མ་ ... 5 གསུངས། > *LShDz* (159.4-159.5):

དཔའ་བོ་དཔའ་མོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲེལ་བར་དབང་བཞི་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་བསྐྱར། སངས་  
 རྒྱུན་གསུམ་པ་ལེའུ་རྩིས་བྱང་དང་བཅས་པ་དབུག་གཅིག་གི་ཡུན་གྱིས་གསུངས་ནས། མཐོང་གི་བྱང་བྲུར་  
 གསེར་གྱིས་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་པ་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བཞག་སྟེ། ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཞལ་ནས་གསུངས།

1 སྤྲུང་ས་མ་རྣམས་ > བསྐྱེམས་མ་རྣམས་ abbr. M སྤྲུང་ས་མ་རྣམས་ G / ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ > ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ M ཚོགས་  
 abbr. G / ལྷུང་པ་བསྐྱེམས་པའི་ > ལྷུང་པ་བསྐྱེམས་པའི་ M ལྷུང་པ་ལ་བསྐྱེམས་པའི་ T / རིག་འཛིན་ > རིགས་  
 འཛིན་ M // 2 པའ་ > པའས་ TG / ཅས། > ཅས་ TG // 3 བསྐྱར་དེ། > བསྐྱར་ནས་ T བསྐྱར་ནས།  
G / གསུམ་ > མ་ abbr. MG / བྱང་ > om. M // 4 ཚར་གྱིས་ > ཚར་གྱི་ TG / མཐོང་གི་ >  
 མཐོང་གས་ M འཐོང་གི་ G / གསེར་གྱི་ > གསེར་གྱིས་ M / ཡི་གེར་ > ཡིག་གི་ T ཡིག་ G // 5 ཉིད་ཀྱི་ >  
 ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ M //

གསང་བའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མཚོག་གིས་དངོས་སུ་བུ་ལུས། མ་རྒྱུད་མངའ་བདག་ང་ལ་ 225  
 ཡོངས་སུ་རྒྱུད། ལུང་བསྟན་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་ཁྱོད་ལ་རབ་དུ་གདད། གསང་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 རྒྱུད་སྤྲེ་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚོག་ ཉི་མའི་སྤྲིང་པོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འཛིན་པར་གྱིས། མང་པོར་སྤང་བ་  
 འཛིང་བུའི་ཚོར་བུ་སྟེ། འདོད་པ་དགུ་འགྲུར་མ་ཡིན་གཞན་ལ་མེད། རྣམ་མཁའི་  
 5 རང་བཞིན་སྤང་བའི་སྟོན་གཅིག་པོ། རྣམ་བུའི་ཐུགས་ལས་གར་རམ་མའི་ངག་བུལ་  
 རྒྱུན་གྱིས་སྟོན་པ་ཚོད་ལ་སྟོམ། སངས་རྒྱས་གཞི་གྲོལ་ལམ་འབྱེད་འབྲས་བུ་ཐོབ།  
 ཅེས་གསུངས་སོ། །

1 གསང་བའི་ ... 7 གསུངས་སོ། > *LShDz* (159.6-160.2):

གསང་བའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མཚོག་གིས་དངོས་སུ་ལུས། མ་རྒྱུད་མངའ་བདག་བདག་ལ་ཡོངས་སུ་བརྒྱུད། ལུང་  
 རྟན་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་ཁྱོད་ལ་རབ་དུ་གདད། གསང་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱུད་སྤྲེ་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚོག་ ཉི་མའི་སྤྲིང་པོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་  
 འཛིན་པར་གྱིས། མང་པོར་སྤང་བ་འཛིང་བུའི་ཚོར་བུ་སྟེ། འདོད་པ་དགུ་འགྲུར་མ་ཡིན་གཞན་ལ་མེད།  
 རྣམ་མཁའི་རང་བཞིན་སྤང་བའི་སྟོན་གཅིག་པོ། རྣམ་བུའི་ཐུགས་ལ་གར་རམ་མའི་ངག་བུལ་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་  
 རྟོན་པ་ཚོད་ལ་སྟོམ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཞིང་བཟོད་ལམ་འབྱེད་འབྲས་བུ་ཐོབ། ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས་བསྟན་པ་  
 གདད་དོ།

1 གསང་བའི་ > གསང་བའི་ M G / མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁའོ་ abbr. G / མཚོག་གིས་ > མཚོགས་ abbr. G /  
 དངོས་སུ་ > དངོས་སུ་ T དངོས་སུ་ abbr. G / མངའ་བདག་ > མངའ་བའི་དག T // 2 ཡོངས་སུ་ > ཡོངས་སུ་  
 abbr. G / རྒྱུད། > བརྒྱུད། T G / ལུང་བསྟན་ > ལུང་ལྟན་ T G / གསང་སྤྲུལ་ > གསང་སྤྲུ་ abbr. M  
 // 3 རྒྱུ་ > རྒྱུ་ M / ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ > ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ T G / སྤང་བ་ > སྤང་བ་ M // 4 འཛིང་བུའི་ > འཛིང་བའི་  
M / རྟེ། > རྟེ། M རྟེས་ G / རྣམ་མཁའི་ > རྣམ་འི་ abbr. M རྣམ་མཁའི་ abbr. G // 5 རང་བཞིན་ >  
 རང་ལེན་ abbr. M / གཅིག་ > ག་ G / ཐུགས་ལས་ > ཐུག་ལ་ abbr. M ཐུག་ལ་ [?] G / གར་རམ་ >  
 གར་རེ་ abbr. M / མའི་ > མ་ཡི་ T // 6 རྒྱུན་གྱིས་ > རྒྱུན་གྱི་ T རྒྱུན་གྱི་ G / ལམ་འབྱེད་ > ལམ་བུད་ M  
 / འབྲས་བུ་ > འབྲས་ abbr. M G / ཐོབ། > འཁོབ་ T འཁོབ་ G // 7 གསུངས་སོ། > གསུངས་པས།  
M གསུངས་སོ། G / ཅོ་ > om. T //

3. Meditation

དེ་ནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་པའི་དོན་གཏན་ཚིགས་མ་ནོར་བར་ཕུགས་  
 ལ་ཁྲིམས་པར་བྱས་ནས་སྐར་མིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འོངས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བ་མཉེས་ཚལ་བྱ་  
 བ་ཡོངས་སུ་ལྷོན་ཟིང་བ་གཅིག་ལ་རི་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་ཡོད་པར་བཞུད་དེ་བསྐྱོམས་པས། དེ་  
 ཡང་རི་ཆེན་པོ་དབུ་མ་ཡི་གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་རི་བོ་ལ། སྤྱིང་བཞིའི་མགྲོགས་མ་ལྟའི་  
 5 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྤྱིང་བཞི་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བ་གནས། ཤར་ཁྲུ་བྱུག་རོལ་པའི་རི་བོ་ལ།  
 དཀར་མོ་མཆེ་གཅོགས་ཀྱི་ཟའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་གནས།

2 སྐར་ ... 3 རི་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་ > *LShDz* (160.2-160.3):  
 སྐར་མིའི་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་མཉེས་ཚལ་བྱ་བཟ། ཕྱོགས་བཞི་དབུ་སྐྱུར་དང་ལྟ་རི་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་

1 གསུམ་ > མ་ abbr. *MG* / གཏན་ཚིགས་ > གཏན་ཚིགས་ *T* / རོར་བར་ > རོར་བ་ *M* / ཕུགས་ > ཕུས་  
 abbr. *G* // 2 ཁྲིམས་པར་ > ཁྲིམ་པར་ *TG* / ཉས་ > ཉས། *TG* / མིའི་ > མི་ *TG* / འོངས་པ་ >  
 འོང་པ་ *MTG* / མཉེས་ > མཉེས་ *TG* // 3 ཡོངས་སུ་ལྷོངས་ཟིང་བ་ > ཡོངས་སུ་ལྷོངས་ཟིང་པ་ *M* ལྷོང་  
 ཡོངས་ཟིང་བ་ *G* / གཅིག་ > །' abbr. *MG* / རི་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་ > རི་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་ *M* / བསྐྱོམས་པས། > བསྐྱོམ་  
 པས། *M* བསྐྱོམ་པས་ *T* བསྐྱོམ་པས་ abbr. *G* // 4 རི་ཆེན་པོ་ > རི་བོ་ཆེ་ *G* / དབུ་མ་ཡི་ > དབུ་མ་ལ། *M* /  
 མཚོག་གི་ > མཚོག། abbr. *G* / རི་བོ་ལ། > རི་བོ་ལ། *T* / བཞིའི་ > ལའི་ abbr. *M* / མགྲོགས་ > མགྲོག།  
*TG* / ལྟའི་ > ལྟ་ཡི་ *T* // 5 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ལ། *M* མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. *G* / བཞི་ > ལ་  
 abbr. *M* // 6 གཅོགས་ > གཅོག། *TG* / མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. *G* //

བྱང་གྲུལ་པོ་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་རི་བོ་ལ། རྣལ་མོ་ལྷེར་ཆེན་གཞོན་སྤྱིན་གྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་  
 བནས། ལུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་མངོན་འགྱུར་གྱི་རི་བོ་ལ། དམར་མོ་གཡག་ཐོང་གྲུའི་མཁའ་  
 འགྲོ་མ་བནས། ལྷོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་བརྟན་པའི་རི་བོ་ལ། མཁའ་ལ་ཁྱུང་ལྷིང་ག་ཤིན་ཇིའི་  
 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་བནས། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་འབྲི་ཤིན་ཏུ་གདུམ་པས་འགྲོ་བ་གོམས་པ་  
 5 འདོར་མི་ཕོད་པ། མཁའ་འགྲོ་བནས་པ་ལ་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཏུ་རོ་བསྐྱེལ་བ། བདུད་ཡན་  
 མི་སྣུན་སྐྱ་བ་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པས།

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1 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. M མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. G // 2 ཡེ་ཤེས་ > ཡེ་ཤེས་ abbr. M G /  
 འགྱུར་ > འགྱུར་ T G / རི་བོ་ > རི་ M / ལ། > ལ། M / གཡག་ > གཡག་ M / མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་  
 མ་ abbr. G // 3 གཡུང་དྲུང་ > གཡུང་ abbr. M G / བརྟན་པའི་ > བརྟན་པའི་ M / ལ། > ལ། T G  
 / ག་ཤིན་ཇིའི་ > ག་ཤིན་ཇིའི་ abbr. G // 4 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. G / གདུམ་པས་ > གདུམ་པས་ M  
 གདུམ་པས་ abbr. G / འགྲོ་བ་ > om. T G / གོམས་པ་ > གོམས་པས་ T G // 5 ཕོད་པ། > ཕོད་པ་ T /  
 མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་ abbr. G / བནས་པ་ལ། > བནས་པ་བས་ M / བསྐྱེལ་བ། > བསྐྱེལ་བས། M / ཡན་ >  
 ཡག་ག་ T G // 6 ལྷན་ > ལྷན་ G //

རི་དབྱས་ལ་གཞི་གྱི་མཚན་རྟོག་དང་གསང་བའི་བྲག་ཕྱག་སྲུང་མ་བྱས་པ་རང་འབྱུང་  
 དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། མཁའ་འགྲུང་དཀར་པོ་ཕྱག་བཞི་པའི་སྐྱུ་རང་འབྱུང་དུ་དོད་པ་གཅིག་ 226  
 ཡོད་པ་ལ་བཞུད་པས། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཇིག་རྟོན་གྱི་ལྷ་འབྲི་དང་།  
 གནས་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་བཞིའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་ནས་དམག་བྲངས་པས།  
 5 ཐོག་གིས་ཆར་པ་དང་། མཚོན་ཆའི་ཆར་པ་དང་། ཞལ་གི་སྐྱུ་འདང་དང་། མའི་མ་  
 འདང་དང་།

1 རི་དབྱས་ ... 6 དང་། > *LShDz* (160.3-160.5):

རི་ཟ་གནོད་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་དབང་གཤམ་ཇི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་རྣམས་དང་། ལྷ་འབྲི་གདུག་པ་ཅན་མང་དུ་འཚོགས་  
 པའི་རི་དབྱས་མར་གཞི་གྱི་མཚན་རྟོག་དང་བྲག་ཕྱག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་མཁའ་འགྲུང་དཀར་པོ་ཕྱག་བཞི་པའི་སྐྱུ་  
 རང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་བཞུགས་པས། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཇིག་རྟོན་གྱི་ལྷ་འབྲི་དང་། གནས་ཉི་ཤུ་  
 བཞིའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་ནས་དམག་བྲངས་ཏེ་ཐོག་དང་མཚོན་ཆའི་ཆར་པ་དང་། ཞལ་གི་  
 སྐྱུ་འདང་དང་། མའི་མ་འདང་དང་།

1 དབྱས་ > དབྱས་མ་ M G དབྱས་ T / དང་ > | M / གསང་བའི་ > གསང་པའི་ M G / བྲག་པ་ > བྲག་  
M // 2 ཡོད་པ་ལ། > ཡོད་པ་ལ། M / མཁའ་འགྲུང་ > མཁའ་འགྲུང་ abbr. G / བཞི་པའི་ > ལ་པའི་ abbr.  
M / གཅིག་ > ཉ་ abbr. M G // 3 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ abbr. G / རྣམས་ > རྣམས་ abbr. M  
G / ཀྱིས་ > ཀྱི་ M / འཇིག་རྟོན་ > འཇིག་ abbr. G // 4 བཞིའི་ > ལའི་ abbr. M / མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ >  
 མཁའ་འགྲོ་ T མཁའ་འགྲོ་ G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐམས་ abbr. M G // 5 ཐོག་གིས་ཆར་པ་དང་། > ཐོག་གིས་ཆར་པ་  
 དང་། T ཐོག་གིས་ཆར་པ་དང་། G / མཚོན་ཆའི་ > མཚོན་གྱི་ T G / ཞལ་ > ཞལ་གིས་ G //

ནད་ཀྱི་བུ་ཡུལ་དང་། མི་སྣ་ན་པའི་སྐྱ་དང་བཅས་པ་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པའི་དམག་ཚོགས་  
 ཀྱིས་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཡོ་བ་ཅམ་བུང་བས། འཁོར་བའི་ཚོགས་མང་པོ་བསྐྱལ་  
 བར་བུའོ།། བསམ་ལེགས་ཉིད་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཕུར་དེ། དཔག་ཚད་གསུམ་གྱི་  
 རྩེད་ནས་གསང་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐྱ་རུ་མངོན་པར་སྐྱལ་པས། མཐའ་གཙོན་རྒྱལ་  
 5 བའི་གཤེན་བརྒྱད་དང་བཅས་པས། བར་སྐྱང་ལ་ཁྲོ་བོ་འོལ་པའི་གར་བཞི་བཅུ་ཅ་ལ།

1 ནད་ཀྱི་ ... 5 ལ། > *LShDz* (160.5-160.6):

ནད་ཀྱི་བུ་ཡུལ་དང་། མི་སྣ་ན་པའི་སྐྱ་དང་ཆས་ནས་བུང་བས། བསམ་ལེགས་ཉིད་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཕུར་དེ།  
 དཔག་ཚད་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐད་ན་གསང་མཚོག་མཐར་ཐུག་གི་སྐྱར་བཞེངས་དེ། མཐའ་གཙོན་གཤེན་བརྒྱད་དང་  
 བཅས་པས་བར་སྐྱང་ལ་ཁྲོ་བོ་འོལ་པའི་གར་བཞི་བཅུ་ཅ་ལ།

1 ནད་ཀྱི་ > ནད་ཀྱིས་ M / སྣ་ན་ > བསྣན་ G / བཅས་པ་ > བཅས་པས་ M / ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ > ཚོགས་\*\*\* M / ཚོགས་  
 ལས་ T ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ G // 2 འཛིག་རྟེན་ > འཛིག་ abbr. M G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. M G // 3 བུའོ།། > བུའོ།།  
T / བསམ་ > བསམ་ abbr. G / ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་ > ནམ་ཁའ་ལ་ abbr. M ནམ་ཁའ་ abbr. G / འཕུར་དེ། > འཕུར་དེ། T G  
 གསུམ་གྱི་ > གསུམ་ abbr. M གསུམ་གྱི་ T གྱི་ abbr. G // 4 རྩེད་ནས་ > རྩེད་ནས། T G / མངོན་པར་ T མྱོ་པར་ abbr.  
G / སྐྱལ་པས། > སྐྱལ་ནས། T G // 5 བརྒྱད་དང་ > བརྒྱད་ abbr. G / བར་སྐྱང་ལ་ > བར་སྐྱང་ནས་ M / བཞི་ >  
 abbr. M //

ཁོ་མོ་རྩམ་པའི་བྲོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙུལ་། བརྟུལ་ཤུགས་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྐྱུ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙུལ་བྱས་  
 ཉམས་སུ་བརྟུལ་བས། མཁའ་འགྲོ་དང་ལྷ་འདྲིའི་དམག་དང་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་སུལ་  
 ལྷུང་སྒྲི། རོ་ལྷར་ཚྱོས་པར་གྱུར་ནས། སྲོག་སྤུལ་བ་དང་། དམ་བཅའ་བ་དང་། བཀའ་  
 བསྐྱེད་སྤྱིད་པར་ཁས་སྒྲུང་ས་ནས་དབང་དུ་ཡང་དག་པར་བསྐྱུས་པས། གཙོ་མོ་ཚྱོགས་  
 5 རྒྱུང་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ལྷས་དབང་བསྐྱུར་ཏེ། ལྷ་འདྲི་ཐམས་ཅད་བྲན་དུ་འཁོལ་བས།

1 ཁོ་མོ་ ... 4 སྒྲུང་ས་ནས་ > LShDz (160.6-161.1):

ཁོ་མོ་རྩམ་པའི་གར་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙུལ་བསྐྱུར། བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྐྱུ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙུལ་སྒྲུང་ས་པས་  
 དམག་ཐམས་ཅད་སུལ་ལྷུང་སྒྲི་རོ་ལྷར་ཚྱོས་ནས། སྲོག་སྤུལ་བ་དང་། དམ་བཅའ་བ་དང་། བཀའ་  
 རྒྱུང་བྱེད་པར་ཁས་སྒྲུང་ས་སོ།

1 རྩམ་ > རྩས་ G / བཞི་ > ལ་ abbr. M / བརྟུལ་ཤུགས་ > བརྟུལ་ཤུར་ abbr. M རྟུལ་ཤུགས་ TG /  
 མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ > མཁོའི་ abbr. G / བཞི་བཅུ་ > ལ་བཅུ་ abbr. M ཉི་ཤུ་ I // 2 ས་ > om. I / མཁའ་  
 འགྲོ་ > མཁོའི་ abbr. G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. MG // 3 ལྷུང་སྒྲི། > ལྷུང་ཏེ། M ལྷུང་སྒྲི་ I / སྤུལ་  
 བ་ > འབྲུལ་བ་ TG / བཀའ་བསྐྱེད་ས་ > བཀའ་སྐྱེད་ TG // 4 རྒྱུང་ས་ > རྒྱུང་ས་ TG / ཁས་སྒྲུང་ས་  
 > ཁས་སྒྲུང་ TG / ཡང་དག་པར་ > om. M // 5 རྒྱུང་ > རྒྱུང་ས་ TG / མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁོའི་ abbr.  
 G / དབང་བསྐྱུར་ཏེ། > དབང་བསྐྱུར་སྒྲི་ TG / འདྲི་ > om. TG / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. MG /  
 འཁོལ་བས། > བཀོལ་བས། TG //



དབུས་ཀྱི་རི་ལ་སའི་ལྷ་མོ་སྐྱོད་ས་ལས་འཕགས་ཏེ། སའི་དངོས་བྱུང་ཕྱལ་ལོ།  
 བར་གྱི་རི་ལ་བྱི་ཟ་ཟུར་ཕྱད་ཀྱལ་པོ་མངོན་པར་བྱང་ནས་ལས་ཀྱི་དངོས་བྱུང་ཕྱལ་ལོ།  
 བྱང་གི་རི་ལ་གནོད་སྐྱོན་གང་བ་བཟང་པོ་མངོན་པར་བྱང་ནས་ནོར་གྱི་དངོས་བྱུང་ཕྱལ་  
 ལོ། ལུབ་རི་ལ་ལྷ་ཀྱལ་འཁོར་བཟང་མངོན་པར་བྱང་སྟེ། ཟས་ཀྱི་དངོས་བྱུང་ཕྱལ་ལོ།  
 5 ལྷོ་རི་ལ་གཤིན་རྗེ་ལ་མ་ར་ཙ་མངོན་པར་བྱང་སྟེ། བཟུང་པའི་དངོས་བྱུང་ཕྱལ་ལོ།

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1 སའི་ > ས་ལོ་ T / ས་ལས་ > ས་ལ་ M / འཕགས་ཏེ། > འཕགས་སྟེ། TG / སའི་ > ས་ལོ་ T / དངོས་  
 བྱུང་ > དངོས་བྱུང་ abbr. G / ཕྱལ་ལོ་ > ཕྱལ་ T ཕྱལོ་ abbr. MG // 2 ལས་ཀྱི་ > ལས་ཀྱིས་ M / དངོས་  
 བྱུང་ > དངོས་བྱུང་ abbr. G / ཕྱལ་ལོ་ > ཕྱལོ་ abbr. G // 3 བྱང་ནས་ > བྱང་སྟེ། TG / དངོས་བྱུང་ >  
 དངོས་བྱུང་ abbr. G / ཕྱལ་ལོ་ > ཕྱལོ་ abbr. G // 4 ལུབ་རི་ > ལུབ་ཀྱི་རི་ TG / བྱང་སྟེ། > བྱང་སྟེ། TG /  
 ཟས་ཀྱི་ > ཟས་ཀྱིས་ M / དངོས་བྱུང་ > དངོས་བྱུང་ abbr. G / ཕྱལ་ལོ། > ཕྱལོ། abbr. MG // 5 ལྷོ་རི་ >  
 ལྷོ་ལོ་རི་ T ལྷོ་རི་ G / གཤིན་རྗེ་ > གཤིན་ཏེ། abbr. G / བྱང་སྟེ། > བྱང་སྟེ། TG / དངོས་བྱུང་ > དངོས་བྱུང་ abbr.  
G / ཕྱལ་ལོ། > ཕྱལོ། abbr. MG //

གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་འདྲི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་རང་རང་གི་སྒོ་བས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ 227  
 ཐམས་ཅད་སྤུལ་དེ། རྒྱལ་བ་ཉིད་ལ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གནས་སུ་འབྱུང་གྱིས། བསྐྱན་པ་  
 བསྐྱུང་བར་ཁས་སྲུང་ས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ར་ས་ལ་བབས་དེ། དབུས་ཀྱི་གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་  
 རི་པོ་ཚེ་མོ་ཤེལ་བྲག་དགུང་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ལ། རྗེན་པོས་མི་ཐོན་པ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་དགོངས་པ་

5 ལ་བཞུགས་སོ།

3 དབུས་ཀྱི་ ... 5 སོ། > LShDz (161.1-161.2):

དེ་ནས་དབུས་ཀྱི་གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་རིའི་ཚེ་མོར་ཤེལ་བྲག་རྗེན་བས་མི་ཐུར་བ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་དགོངས་པ་ར་  
 བཞུགས་སོ།

1 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ > ཐོད་ཀྱི་ abbr. MG ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ས། I / རང་རང་གི་ > རང་གི་ M / བའི་ > བའི་  
G / དངོས་གྲུབ་ > དངོས་གྲུབ་ abbr. G // 2 ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. MG / སྤུལ་དེ། > སྤུལ་སྟེ་ G /  
 བསྐྱབས་པའི་ > །བསྐྱབ་པའི་ / I བསྐྱབ་པའི་ G / གནས་སུ་ > གནས་སུ་ abbr. G / འབྱུང་གྱིས་ > འབྱུང་གྱི་  
I / བསྐྱན་པ་ > བསྐྱན་པར་ M // 3 བསྐྱུང་བར་ > བསྐྱུང་བར་ M བསྐྱུང་བར་ IG / ཁས་སྲུང་ས་པ་ > ཁས་  
 སྲུང་པ་ MITG / བབས་དེ། > བབས་སྟེ་ M བབས་སྟེ་ IG / གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་ > གསང་བ་མཚོག་གིས་ M གསང་  
 པ་མཚོག་གི་ abbr. G // 4 རི་པོ་ > རི་པོ་ IG / དགུང་ལ་ > དགུང་ལ་ M / ཐུག་པ་ལ། > ཐུག་པ་ལ་ I ཐུག་  
 པ་ལ་ abbr. G / རྗེན་པོས་ > རྗེན་པས་ MG / དགོངས་པ་ > དགོངས་ས། // 5 བཞུགས་སོ། > བཞུགས། abbr.  
G //

དེའི་རྟལ་སྲུ་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་དབུས་གསང་མཚོག་གི་རྒྱང་གྲགས་གཅིག་གི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ།  
 བསམ་ལེགས་བཞུགས་པའི་གདན་གསེར་ཁྲི་ཐུག་རྩམ་ཅན་ས་ལ་མ་ལྷུང་བ་ཡོད།  
 ཤར་ཁྲི་ཐུག་རྩམ་པའི་རི་ལ་བདུད་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཆུའི་ཕ་བོང་འཕངས་པ་ལ། རྩིག་འཇུབ་  
 གཏན་པས། མལ་དུ་ལུས་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཡོད། བྱང་རི་ལ་གནོད་སྲིན་གྱི་བྱང་རྩོ་  
 5 ས་ལ་མ་ལྷུང་བར་ཡོད། རྒྱལ་རི་ལ་ལྷ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཕྲོས་ནས་བྱང་བས། གནམ་  
 ལུགས་སྤར་ཆེན་འདོམ་གང་བཏབ་པ་ད་ལྟ་ཡོད།

1 དེའི་ ... 6 ཡོད། > *LShDz* (161.2-161.4):

དེ་ལྟར་དུ་ད་ལྟའི་སྐབས་སུ་འང་དབུས་རྒྱང་གྲགས་གཅིག་གི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བསམ་ལེགས་བཞུགས་པའི་  
 གདན་ཁྲི་འཐུག་རྩམ་ཆེ་བ་ས་ལ་མ་ལྷུང་བ་དང་། ཤར་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་བདུད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲི་ཆུའི་ཕ་བོང་འཕངས་པ་  
 རྩིག་འཇུབ་གཏན་པས་མལ་དུ་ལུས་པ་དང་། བྱང་གི་ནམ་མཁའ་གནོད་སྲིན་གྱི་བྱང་རྩོ་ལ་མ་ལྷུང་བ་དང་།  
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྷ་འཕྲོ་ནས་བྱང་བ་ལ་གནམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྤར་པས་བཏབ་པ་དང་།

1 རྟལ་སྲུ་ > ལྟས་སྲུ་ **I** ལྟས་ abbr. **G** / མཚོག་གི་ > མཚོག་ abbr. **G** / རྒྱང་གྲགས་ > རྒྱང་གྲགས་ **I G** /  
 གཅིག་ > ། abbr. **M G** / རྟལ་མཁའ་ > རྟལ་མཁའ་ abbr. **M G** // 2 བསམ་ > བསམ་ abbr. **G** /  
 ཐུག་ > འཐུག་ **I G** / རྩམ་ > རྩམ་ abbr. **G** / ལྷུང་བ་ > ལྷུང་བ་ **M I G** // 3 བདུད་ཀྱི་ > བདུད་ཀྱིས་  
**M** བདུད་ཀྱི་ **G** / ཁྲི་ཆུའི་ > ཁྲི་ཆུང་ **M** / ཕ་བོང་ > ཕ་བོང་ **M** / འཕངས་པ་ལ། > འཕངས་པ་ལ་ **I** འཕངས་  
 པ་ལ་ **G** / རྩིག་འཇུབ་ > རྩིགས་འཇུབ་ **M** རྩིག་འཇུབ་ **I** རྩིག་འཇུབ་ **G** // 4 གཏན་པས། > གཏན་པས་ **M** /  
 ལུས་པ་ > ལུས་ **M** / རྟལ་མཁའ་ > རྟལ་མཁའ་ abbr. **M** རྟལ་མཁའ་ abbr. **G** / བྱང་རི་ > བྱང་གི་རི་ **I G** /  
 གནོད་སྲིན་གྱི་བྱང་རྩོ་ > གནོད་སྲིན་གྱི་བྱང་རྩོ་ལ་ཕྲོས་བྱང་རྩོ་ **I G** // 5 ལྷུང་བར་ > ལྷུང་བར་ **M G** / རྟལ་མཁའ་ >  
 རྟལ་མཁའ་ abbr. **M G** / བྱང་བས། > བྱང་བས། **M** བྱང་བ་ལ་ **I G** / གནམ་ལུགས་ > གནམ་ལུགས་ abbr. **G**  
 // 6 གང་ > གང་པ་ **G** //

ལྷོ་རི་ལ་གཤེན་རྗེའི་དམག་ལ་རལ་གྱི་འཕང་བའི་ལྷིང་བསྐྱར་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་སྐ་ར་ར་  
འཁོར་ཞིང་ཡོད་དོ།

4 The Kingdom

དེ་ནས་གཤེན་མི་ལུས་བསམ་ལེགས་དགོངས་པ་ལ་བཞུགས་པས། ནམ་  
མཁའ་ལ་གནས་པའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཇའ་ཚོན་གྱི་གུར་དང་། མེ་དོག་གི་ཆར་པ་  
5 བབས། གསང་བའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་པ་བསྐྱུལ། ལྷ་མ་སྤྱིན་  
སྤེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་མོས་འདུན་དང་ལས་རྣམས་མཛད།

1 ལྷོ་ ... 2 ཡོད་དོ། > *LShDz* (161.4):

ལྷོའི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་གཤེན་རྗེའི་དམག་ལྷགས་པར་རལ་གྱི་འཕང་བའི་ལྷིང་བསྐྱར་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་སྐ་ར་ར་འཁོར་  
བ་ཡོད་དོ།

1 གཤེན་རྗེའི་ > གཤེན་འི་ abbr. *G* / འཕང་བའི་ > འཕང་བའི་ *M* / ལྷིང་བསྐྱར་ > རྟོང་བསྐྱར་ *M* ལྷོ་སྐྱར་  
*TG* // 2 ras. 2 litt. post སྐ་ར་ར་ *M* / ཡོད་དོ། > ཡོད། *T* ཡོད། // *G* // 3 བསམ་ལེགས་ > བསྐ་  
ལེག་ abbr. *G* / ནམ་མཁའ་ > རྟོལ་ abbr. *MG* // 4 ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ > ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ *T* ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་  
abbr. *G* / མེ་དོག་གི་ > མེ་དོག་གིས་ *MT* མེ་དོག་གིས་ abbr. *G* // 5 བབས། > བབ། *M* བབ། *TG* /  
གསང་བའི་ > གསང་བའི་ *MG* / མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ > མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ abbr. *G* / ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ > ཚོན་  
ཀྱིས་ abbr. *M* / བསྐྱུལ་ > བསྐྱུལ་ *MG* བསྐྱུལ་ *T* / སྤྱིན་ > སྤོང་ *M* // 6 སྤེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ > སྤེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་  
*T* / རྣམས་ > རྣམས་ abbr. *MG* //

རི་དྲུགས་དང་བྱ་གཅན་གཟན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རི་ལ་བསྐྱོར་བ་རྒྱན་དུ་བྱས་ནས། ལོ་དུ་མ་  
 ལ་འཕྱོན་པར་མི་མཇེད་དེ། དགོངས་པ་ལ་བཞུགས་པས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆེན་པོ་དཔག་  
 དུ་མེད་པའི་འཁོར་རྣམས་མཇེད་པའི་ཐབས་མ་རྟེན་ནས། གཤེན་མཁྱིན་པ་ཆེ་བ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། སློན་པོ་ཤེས་པ་ཆེ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མྱོས་སུ་བྱས་ནས། བཞུགས་པའི་  
 5 བྲག་ཕྱག་ཅུ་བ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལྔ་གསུམ་བཏོན། ཞུ་གསོལ་བྱས་པས། དགོངས་པ་ལ་བཞེད་ནས་  
 བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་བྱང་སྟེ།

2 དགོངས་པ་ལ་ ... 5 བཞེད་ནས་ > *LShDz* (161.4-161.5):  
 དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་གཤེན་ཉིད་ལོ་དུ་མར་དགོངས་པར་བཞུགས་པས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འབངས་རྣམས་འཇེད་པའི་  
 ཐབས་མ་རྟེན་ནས། སློན་པོ་རྣམས་བཞུགས་པའི་བྲག་ཅུ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལྔ་གསུམ་བཏོན་པས་དགོངས་པ་  
 ལས་བཞེད་སྟེ།

1 རི་དྲུགས་ > རི་དགས་ M རི་དག་ G / གཅན་གཟན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ > གཅན་ཟན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ M གཅན་ཟན་གྱི་སེ།  
 རྒྱལ་གཟན་གྱི་ G / བྱས་ནས། > བྱིད་ནས། MI // 2 འཕྱོན་པར་མི་མཇེད་དེ། > མི་འཕྱོན་པར་མཇེད་དེ། T  
G / བཞུགས་ > བཞུག་ G // 3 རྣམས་ > རྣམ་ abbr. G // 4 ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. MG / དང་།  
 > དང་ T / སློན་པོ་ > སློ M སློན་ abbr. G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. M རྣམས་ T རྣམ་ abbr. G /  
 མྱོས་སུ་ > མྱོས་ abbr. G / བྱས་ནས། > བྱས་སྟེ། TG / བཞུགས་པའི་ > བཞུང་པའི་ abbr. M // 5 སྤྱི་  
 ལྔ་གསུམ་ > ལྔ་གསུ་ abbr. M / བཏོན། > བཏོན་ M / བཞེད་ནས་ > བཞེད་ནས་ TG // 6 བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ >  
 བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་དུ་ M //

བྱིད་རྣམས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གདུང་བ་མི་དགོས་ཀྱིས། ངས་མ་རྒྱུད་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་  
 བཅའ་བ་བྱིད་ཀྱིས། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་པས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བ་ལ་བཞོན་པར་འགྱུར་གྱིས།  
 ཕྱི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ནི་རྣམ་དག་པར་གཡུང་བྱུང་གྲོང་གི་ལྷགས་སུ་བསྐྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།  
 ཡུལ་སྡེ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཙུ་གཉིས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་སུམ་ཅུ་ཙུ་གཉིས་བསྐྱོས་ལ། ཁྱིམས་ནི་དྲང་  
 5 སྲོང་ཐོག་པའི་ལྷགས་དང་བསྐྱུན་ཏེ། སྲོག་བཅད་ན་མགོ་གཅོད། མ་བྱིན་ལེན་ན་མིག་  
 འབྱིན། རྩེན་དུ་སྐྱོན་ཉེ་འདྲ། གཞན་དབང་ལ་མི་གཅང་བར་སྤྱད་ན་འབྲས་བུ་སྤྱད།

1 བྱིད་རྣམས་ ... 6 སྤྱད། > *LShDz* (161.5-162.1):

བྱིད་རྣམས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གདུང་བ་མི་དགོས་ཀྱི། ངས་རྒྱུད་དང་མཐུན་པར་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་བཅའ་བ་  
 བྱིད་གསུངས་ནས། ཕྱིའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ནི་རྣམ་དག་པར་གྲོང་ཡང་གི་ལྷགས་སུ་བསྐྱུངས་ཏེ། ཡུལ་སྡེ་སོ་  
 གཉིས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་སོ་གཉིས་བསྐྱོས། ཁྱིམས་ནི་དྲང་སྲོང་ཐོག་པ་དང་བསྐྱུན་ཏེ། སྲོག་བཅད་ན་མགོ་གཅོད། མ་  
 བྱིན་ཁངས་ན་མིག་འབྱིན། རྩེན་སྐྱོན་ན་ཉེ་འདྲལ། འོག་པར་གཡིམ་ན་འབྲས་བུ་སྤྱུངས།

1 བྱིད་རྣམས་ > བྱིད་རྣྐས་ abbr. M G / མི་དགོས་ཀྱིས། > མི་དགོས་ཀྱི། T G / མ་རྒྱུད་ > རྒྱུད་ T G /  
 གསང་ > གསང་བ་ T G / གསུམ་གྱི་ > མ་གྱིས་ abbr. M མ་གྱི abbr. G // 2 ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་  
 abbr. M G // 3 ཕྱི་ཡི་ > ཕྱི་ M ཕྱི་འི་ G / རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ > རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ abbr. M རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ G / པར་  
 > པར་མ་ T G / གཡུང་བྱུང་ > གཡུང་ abbr. M G / ལྷགས་སུ་ > ལྷགས་སུ་ G / བསྐྱུང་བ་ > བསྐྱུང་བ་ M  
 / ཡིན་ཏེ། > ཡིན་སྡེ། T G // 4 སུམ་ཅུ་ > སྲི་བཅུ་ abbr. M G / གཉིས་ > མ་ abbr. G / སུམ་ཅུ་ >  
 སྲི་བཅུ་ abbr. M G / གཉིས་ > མ་ abbr. G / བསྐྱོས་ > བསྐྱོ་ G // 5 ལྷགས་ > ལྷག་ G / མགོ་ > འབྱོ་  
G / ལེན་ན་ > ཁངས་ན་ T G // 6 རྩེན་དུ་སྐྱོན་ན་ > རྩེན་སྐྱོན་ན་ T G / གཞན་དབང་ལ་ > གཞན་དབང་ M /  
 མི་གཅང་བར་སྤྱད་ན་ > མི་ཚང་སྤྱད་ན་ M / འབྲས་བུ་ > འབྲས་ abbr. M G //

དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་པས་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་ངན་པ་མེད་ཅིང་བདེ་བར་འགྱུར་རོ། རང་རྒྱལ་  
 འཁོར་ནི། ཀུན་གསལ་བྱམས་མ་ཆེན་མོ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱེད་ས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ།  
 ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རྗེ་བཞི། སྤྱིམས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་དཔོན་བརྒྱན། བཀའ་བྲིས་གྱི་དཔང་པོ་བརྟུ་  
 གྲུག་ ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་སློབ་འཛིན་སོ་གཉིས། འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་དཔོན་ལྔ་བརྟུ་བསྐྱོས་  
 5 ལ། སྤྱིམས་ནི་ཡེ་གཤེན་གཡུང་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔའི་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱེན་ཏེ། འགྲོ་བའི་  
 དོན་ལ་གང་འགྱུར་བ་དང་།

1 དེ་ལྟར་ ... 6 དང་། > LShDr (162.1-162.3):

དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་པས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ན་ངན་པ་མེད་ཅིང་བདེ་ལོ། རང་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ནམས་ནི་ཀུན་གསལ་བྱམས་པ་  
 ཆེན་མོ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱེད་ས་ཏེ། ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རྗེ་བཞི་སྤྱིམས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་དཔོན་བརྒྱན། བཀའ་  
 གཉེས་གྱི་དཔང་པོ་བརྟུ་གྲུག་ ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་སློབ་འཛིན་སོ་གཉིས། འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་དཔོན་ལྔ་བརྟུ་བསྐྱོས་ལ།  
 སྤྱིམས་ནི་གཡུང་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔའི་ལུགས་དང་བསྐྱེན་ཏེ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་གང་འགྱུར་བ་དང་།

1 སྤྱིའི་ > སྤྱི་ TG / རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་ > རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ abbr. M རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ལ་ abbr. G / རང་པོ་མེད་ཅིང་ >  
 རང་པོ་ [ras. 3 litt.]མེད་ཅིང་ M / འབྲུམ་རོ། > འབྲུམ་ abbr. G / རང་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ > རང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ T  
 རང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ G // 2 བྱམས་མ་ > བྱིས་པ་ abbr. M / འབྲུམ་གྱི་ > འབྲུམ་གྱིས་ M འབྲུམ་གྱི་ abbr.  
 G / ལུགས་ > ལུག་ G / བསྐྱེད་ས་པ་ > བསྐྱེད་ས་པ་ M བསྐྱེད་ས་པ་ TG // 3 ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ > ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་  
 abbr. M ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ G / བཞི་ > ཅ་ abbr. M / སྤྱིམས་ཀྱི་ > སྤྱིམས་ཀྱིས་ M / བྲིས་ཀྱི་ > བྲིས་  
 ཀྱིས་ M བྲིས་ཀྱི་ TG / དཔང་པོ་ > དཔང་པོ་ M / བརྟུ་གྲུག་ > བརྟུ་གྲུག་ abbr. MG // 4 ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ >  
 ཡོན་ཏན་གྱིས་ M ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ abbr. G / སློབ་ > སློབ་ TG / སོ་གཉིས། > སོ་གཉིས། abbr. M སོ་གཉིས། abbr. G /  
 འཕྲིན་ལས་ > འཕྲིན་ abbr. M / བསྐྱོས་ > བསྐྱོས་ G // 5 སྤྱིམས་ > སྤྱིམས་ G / གཡུང་རྗེ་ > གཡུང་ abbr.  
 MG / སེམས་དཔའི་ > སེམས་དཔའི་ abbr. G / ལུགས་སུ་ > ལུགས་སུ་ abbr. G / བསྐྱེན་ཏེ། > བསྐྱེན་ཏེ། G //  
 6 དོན་ལ་ > དོན་དུ་ TG //

ལས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་དབང་གང་ཆེ་བ་དང་། དགེ་བའི་འཕེལ་སྐྱོབས་གང་ཆེ་བ་དང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་  
 བྱ་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐྱབ་པས། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་བར་འགྱུར་རོ། ། གསང་  
 བ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྱང་ནི། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཉི་མ་གསང་མཚོག་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷགས་སུ་  
 བཅའ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རི་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་གསལ་ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ། དེ་ལ་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་  
 5 མཚོད་རྟེན་བཞི་བཞི། མཐུ་རྩལ་གྱི་འདུ་གནས་མཁར་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད། འདོད་  
 ཡོན་འབྲུང་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་པོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་རེ་རེ།

1 ལས་ཀྱི་ ... 6 རེ། > *LShDz* (162.3-162.5):

ལས་འབྲུབ་གང་ཆེ་བ་དང་། དགེ་བའི་སྐྱོབས་གང་ཆེ་བ་དང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་བསྐྱབས་པས་བསྐྱེད་འགྲོའི་བདེ་  
 སྐྱིད་འཕེལ་ལོ། ། གསང་བ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྱང་ནི་གསང་མཚོག་སྐྱགས་རྗེ་ཉི་མ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷགས་སུ་  
 བསྐྱེད་པ་ཏེ། རི་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་གསལ་ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ། དེ་ལ་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་བཞི་བཞི། མཐུ་རྩལ་  
 གྱི་འདུ་གནས་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད། འདོད་ཡོན་འབྲུང་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་བཅུ་དྲུག་རེ།

1 ལས་ཀྱི་ > ལས་ཀྱིས་ **M** / སྐྱབ་ > འབྲུབ་ **G** / དབང་ > om. **TG** / འཕེལ་སྐྱོབས་གང་ > འཕེལ་སྐྱོབས་  
 /གང་\ **T** / ཆེ་བ་དང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་ > ཆེ་བ་ཡི་བྱ་བ་ **T** // 2 ཡོངས་སུ་ > ཡོངས་ **abbr. G** / བསྐྱབ་པས། >  
 བསྐྱབས་པས་ **M** བསྐྱབ་པས་ **TG** / གསང་བ་ > གསང་པ་ **M** // 3 ཕོ་བྱང་ > ཕོང་ **abbr. G** / ལྷགས་རྗེ་ >  
 ལྷགས་རྗེས་ **M** ལྷགས་ **abbr. G** / གསང་མཚོག་གི་ > གསང་མཚོག་གིས་ **M** གསང་མཚོག་གིས་ **abbr. G** / དཀྱིལ་  
 འཁོར་ > དཀྱིར་ **abbr. MG** / ལྷགས་སུ་ > ལྷགས་ **abbr. G** // 4 རི་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་ > རི་བོ་ཆེན་ལྷ་ལ་ **T**  
**G** / གསལ་ཁང་ > གསང་ཁང་ **M** / བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ > བདེ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ **M** // 5 བཞི་བཞི་ > ལ་ལ་ **abbr. M** /  
 མཐུ་རྩལ་གྱི་ > མཐུ་རྩལ་གྱིས་ **M** / འདུ་གནས་ > འདུ་གནས་ **abbr. G** / ras. 1 litt. post འདུ་ **M** // 6  
 འབྲུང་བའི་ > འབྲུང་པའི་ **MG** / བཅུ་དྲུག་ > བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་ **T** བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་ **abbr. G** //



དེའི་ཕྱི་རིམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྩིག་པའི་དཀྱུས་རིངས་པ་གཉིས་སྐབས་པ། ཅང་འབྲམས་  
 སུ་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་སྡེ་སྡོང་གི་དམག་དང་བཅས་པའི་བརྒྱ་ཉེ་གཤམ་ཕོ་བྲང་། ཕྱི་འབྲམས་ཀྱི་ 229  
 རྒྱུན་གྱི་འདོད་ཡོན་དང་ཡོངས་སྡོད་འདབ་པའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་།  
 མཐའ་ལྷགས་རི་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་གིས་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐྱོར་བ་ལ། དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི།  
 5 དྲག་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་སྡོང་བརྒྱད། དེ་དག་རེ་རེ་ལའང་འཁོར་དང་སྡེ་བྲན་དུ་བཅས་པའི་  
 མཁར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་བཅུ་ཅ་དག།

1 དེའི་ ... 6 དག། > *LShDz* (162.5-163.1):

དེའི་ཕྱི་རིམ་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྩིགས་པ་དཀྱུས་རིམ་གཉིས་སྐབས་པ། ཅང་འབྲམས་སུ་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་སྡེ་སྡོང་གི་ཕོ་  
 བྲང་བརྒྱ་ཉེ་གཤམ་ ཕྱི་འབྲམས་སུ་འདོད་ཡོན་ཡོངས་སྡོད་ལྡན་པའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་། མཐའ་  
 ལྷགས་རིམ་བསྐྱོར་བ་ལ་དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི། དྲག་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་སྡོངས་བརྒྱད། དེ་དག་རེ་རེ་ལའང་འཁོར་  
 འབང་བྲན་དང་བཅས་པའི་མཁར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་བཅུ་ཅ་དག།

1 རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ > རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལོ་ **M** རིན་པོ་ abbr. **G** / རིངས་པ་ > རིང་ (ras. 1 litt.) **T** རིང་ **G** / གཉིས་  
 > ཉ་ abbr. **G** / སྐབས་པ། > སྐབ་ལ། **T** སྐབས་ལ། **G** / འབྲམས་སུ་ > འབྲིས་སུ་ abbr. **M** འབྲམས་སུ་ abbr. **G** // 2 ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ > འབྲིས་ཀྱི་ **G** / སྡོང་གི་ > སྡོང་ (ras. 1 litt.) ལོ་ **T** སྡོང་ས་གིས་ **G** / དམག་ > དམགས་ **G** / དང་བཅས་པའི་ > དང་ཆས་པའི་ **TG** / ཕོ་བྲང་ > ཕོང་ abbr. **G** / འབྲམས་ཀྱི་ > འབྲིས་ཀྱི་ abbr. **M** འབྲམས་ཀྱི་ **G** // 3 ཡོངས་ > ཡོང་ **G** / གཉིས་ > ཉ་ abbr. **G** / ཕོ་བྲང་ > ཕོང་ abbr. **G** // 4 ཆེན་པོ་ > རིན་ (འཛིན་པོ་ཆེ་) abbr. **M** / གཅིག་གིས་ > ཉ་གིས་ abbr. **M** **G** / ཡོངས་སུ་ > ཡོངས་སུ་ abbr. **G** / བསྐྱོར་བ་ལ། > བསྐྱོར་བ། **TG** / དམག་གི་ > དམགས་ abbr. **G** / བཞི་ > ལ། abbr. **G** // 5 དྲག་ > དྲགས་ **G** / རེ་རེ་ལའང་ > རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་ **M** རེ་རེ་ལའང་ **TG** / སྡེ་ > སྡེ་དང་ **TG** / བཅས་པའི་ > བཅས་པའོ། **M** བཅས་པའོ། **G** //

5 དབྱས་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙ་གཅིག་དང་། ལྷོང་ཙ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་གས་  
 ཉམས། ཁྲིམས་ནི་གསང་སྤྲུག་ཨ་དཀར་གྱི་ཐོག་པའི་ལྷགས་དང་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 དང་། རྫོན་པོ་དང་། རྩ་མ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་བུའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཉམས་  
 བརྒྱུངས་པས། དེ་ཙ་ལྟ་བུ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྲས་བུ་གསང་སྤྲུག་ལ་སྤྱད་ཅིང་སངས་རྒྱལ་  
 བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལྷགས་ཉམས་ལྟར་བརྒྱུན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྫོན་པོ་དང་རྩ་མ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་བུའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཉམས་  
 བརྒྱུངས་པས། མཁར་ཐུག་གི་འབྲས་བུ་འབྲུབ་པོ། ཞེས་བཀའ་བཏད་པས་...

1 དབྱས་ཀྱི་ ... 6 ལྷོང་ཙ་ > LShDz (163.1-163.3):

དབྱས་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་དང་ལྷོང་ཙ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་གས་ཉམས། ཁྲིམས་ནི་ཨ་དཀར་ཐོག་པའི་  
 ལྷགས་དང་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྫོན་པོ་དང་རྩ་མ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་བུའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཉམས་  
 བརྒྱུངས་པས། མཁར་ཐུག་གི་འབྲས་བུ་འབྲུབ་པོ། ཞེས་བཀའ་བཏད་པས་...

1 དབྱས་ཀྱི་ > དབྱས་ཀྱིས་ **M** / བརྒྱད་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙ་གཅིག་དང་། > བརྒྱད་དང་ཙ་བཅུ་ཙ་དང་ abbr. **M** བརྒྱ  
 དང་བཞི་བཅུ་དང་། **IG**// 2 གསང་སྤྲུག་ > གསང་སྤྲ་ abbr. **M** om. **G** / ཨ་དཀར་གྱི་ > ཨ་དཀར་  
 ཐུག་ **M** ཨ་དཀར་ **G** / ལྷགས་དང་ > ལྷགས་སྤྱ **M**// 3 རྫོན་པོ་དང་། > རྫོན་པོ་དང་ **IG** / རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་  
 > /རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་\ **I** / དཔེ་ > དཔའི་ **IG**// 4 བརྒྱུངས་པས། > བརྒྱུང་པས། **M** བརྒྱུངས་པས། **IG** /  
 བཞིན་ > ཙ་ abbr. **M** / འབྲས་བུ་ > འབྲས་ abbr. **MG** / སྤྲུག་ > སྤྲ་ abbr. **M** སྤྲུག་པོན་  
 abbr. **G** / ལ་སྤྱད་ཅིང་... འབྲུར་པོ། > ཀྱི་པོན་ལ་སྤྱད་ཞེས་བུའོ། **I** པོན་ལ་སྤྱད་ཞེས་བུའོ། **G** // 5 འབྲུར་པོ།  
 > འབྲུ་པོ། abbr. **M** / བརྒྱུན་ཏེ། > བརྒྱུན་ཏེ། abbr. **G** / བཀ་ > བཀ་ **M** / ལྷགས་ >  
 ལྷག་ **MG** / བཀའ་ཡི་ > བཀའི་ **MG**// 6 བརྒྱུང་ > བརྒྱུངས་ **M** / ལྷོང་ཙ་ > ལྷོང་ཙ་ **M**//

འཁོར་རྣམས་ལ་ལྷ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོངས་བཏབ་ནས་ལོ་གསུམ་དུ་བརྒྱབས་པས།  
དེ་ཅི་ལྟ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྲུབ་པ་ནི་རྒྱལ་མཁར་བ་ཚོད་ཅེས་བྱའོ། །

5. Reigning Over the Kingdom

དེ་ནས་གསལ་མཁར་ཆེ་བ་བཞི་ལ། གསང་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་མ་ཆེ་བ་བཞིས་བོན་  
གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱོར། མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་གྱི་བསྐྱོམ་གྲུ་བཞི་བཞི། མཁར་ཆེན་ལ་  
5 མཐུ་ཆེན་གྱི་བརྒྱབ་གྲུ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད།

1 འཁོར་རྣམས་ ... 5 བརྒྱད། > *LShDz* (163.3-163.4):  
འཁོར་རྣམས་ལ་མི་མི་མིན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྲོགས་བྱས་དེ་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་དེ་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་འབྲུབ་པ་ནི་རྒྱལ་  
མཁར་བ་ཚོད་ཅེས་བྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་གསལ་ཁང་ཆེ་བ་ཞེས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་མ་ཆེ་བ་བཞིས་གསང་སྐབས་  
ལྷ མཚོད་རྟེན་བཞི་ལ་སྐྱོམ་གྲུ་མཁར་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་བརྒྱབ་གྲུ

1 འཁོར་རྣམས་ > འཁོར་རྣམས་ abbr. **M G** / ལྷ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ > ལྷ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ abbr. **M** ལྷ་སྤྲོ་རྣམས་ **G** /  
བསྐྱོངས་ > སྐྱོང་ **M** / བཏབ་ནས་ > བཏབས་ནས་ **T G** / གསུམ་ > མ་ abbr. **M G** / བརྒྱབས་ >  
བརྒྱབ་ **T G** // 2 བཞིན་ > ཅན་ abbr. **M** / ཅེས་ > ཞེས་ **M T G** // 3 དེ་ནས་ > དེ་ལྟར་ **T G** /  
གསལ་མཁར་ཆེ་བ་ > གསལ་གསལ་མཁར་ཆེ་ **M** གསལ་ཁང་ཆེ་བ་ **T** གསལ་ཁང་ཆེ་ **G** / བཞི་ > ཅ་ abbr.  
**M** / ལ། > ལ་ **M** / སྐབས་ཀྱི་ > སྤྲ་ཀྱི་ abbr. **M** སྤྲི་ abbr. **G** / ཆེ་བ་བཞིས་ > ཆེ་ཅ་ abbr. **M**  
ཆེ་བཞིས་ **G** // 4 འཁོར་ལོ་ > འཁོར་ abbr. **M** / བསྐྱོར། > བསྐྱོར་བ། **T G** / མཚོད་རྟེན་ > མཚོརྟ་  
abbr. **G** / ཐེག་ཆེན་ > ཐེག་ན་ abbr. **G** / བསྐྱོམ་གྲུ་ > སྐྱོམས་བྲ་ **M** སྐྱོམ་བྲ་ **T G** / བཞི་བཞི་ > ཅ་ཅ།  
abbr. **M** // 5 མཐུ་ཆེན་གྱི་ > མཐུ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ **M** / བརྒྱབ་གྲུ་ > བརྒྱབ་གྲུ་ **M** བརྒྱབ་གྲུ་ **T G** //

རྒྱལ་རིགས་རྒྱ་བའི་གསེར་ཟམ། གཤེན་པོ་རྒྱ་བའི་རྒྱ་ལམ། ཕལ་པ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཁྲོ་  
 རྒྱའི་གཙལ་གདན། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་བ་གམ། གསེར་གཡུའི་འབག་ཅིག དེ་ལ་ལྷས་མེ་  
 རྟོག་གི་ཆར་དུས་སུ་འབེབས་པ་དང་། ལྷས་གཙང་ཆབ་རང་དོལ་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་།  
 མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱིས་མཚོན་པ་དུས་དུས་སུ་སྐྱེལ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པ་ལས། རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 5 ཉིད་ནི་གང་ལ་ཡང་དགོངས་པ་ཐང་གཅིག་མི་གཡོ་སྟེ། དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་ན་གནས་པ་  
 རྣམས་ནི་གསང་སྟགས་མ་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱེར་རོ།།

5 དབུས་ཀྱི་ ... 6 བསྐྱེར་རོ། > *LShDz* (163.4):

དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་ན་མ་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་པ།

1 རིགས་ > རིག་ *G* / རྒྱ་ལམ། > རྒྱལ་ཟམ་ *I* རྒྱལ་ཟམ། *G* // 2 གཙལ་ > བཙལ་ *M* / བ་གམ། > བ་གམ་  
*I* / མེ་རྟོག་གི་ > མེ་རྟོག་གིས་ *MT* མེ་རྟོག་གིས་ *G* // 3 དུས་སུ་ > དུས་དུས་ *TG* / འབྱུང་བ་ > བྱུང་བ་ *M*  
 // 4 དུས་དུས་སུ་ > དུས་སུ་དུས་སུ་ *I* དུས་དུས་ *G* / སྐྱེལ་བ་ > བསྐྱེལ་བ་ *TG* / བསམ་གྱིས་ > བསམ་གྱི་  
 abbr. *G* / ཁྲབ་པ་ལས། ཁྲབ་པ་ལ། *M* // 5 གཅིག་ > ཉ་ abbr. *MG* / གནས་པ་རྣམས་ > གནས་པ་རྣམས་  
 abbr. *M* གནས་པ་རྣམས་ *G* // 6 ཐང་གས་ > ཐང་ abbr. *M* / མ་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་ > མ་རྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ *M* //

གར་རི་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ནི་གཤམ་ཆེན་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། ལྟ་བ་ 230  
 ཆེན་པོ་ཁྲད་པར་གྱི་བོན་འཆད་པ་དང་སྒྲོམ་པར་བྱེད་དོ། ། བྱང་རི་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་  
 རྣམས་ནི་སྣག་ལ་མེ་འབར་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། ལྟ་བུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་པོའི་བོན་ལ་  
 འཆད་པ་དང་སྣུབ་པར་བྱེད་དོ། ། ལྟ་བ་རི་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ནི་དྲང་སྲོང་རྒྱལ་བའི་  
 5 རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། མཚན་ཉིད་སྡེ་ལྡེའི་བོན་འཆད་པ་དང་བསམ་པར་བྱེད་དོ། །

1 གར་ ... 5 བྱེད་དོ། > *LShDz* (163.4-163.5):

གར་རི་ན་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ལྟ་བུ་ཆེན་པོའི་བོན་དཔ རི་བཞེན་དུ་བྱང་ན་ལྟ་བུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་པོའི་བོན་དང་།  
 ལྟ་བུ་མཚན་ཉིད་སྡེ་ལྡེའི་བོན་དང་།

1 བཞུགས་པ་ > བཞུག་པ་ abbr. M བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས། T བཞུག་པ་རྣམས་ G / ཆེན་ > om. T G / ཡོངས་སུ་  
 > ཡོངས་ G / རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. G / འབྲིང་ནས། > འབྲིང་སྡེ། T G // 2 ཁྲད་པར་ > ཁྲད་པ་ abbr.  
G / སྒྲོམ་ > སྒྲོམ་ T G / བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ > བཞུག་པ་རྣམས་ abbr. M བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ abbr. G // 3  
 གྱི་ > གྱིས་ M / རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. G / འབྲིང་ནས། > འབྲིང་ནས་ T G / ལྟ་བུ་འཕྲུལ་ > ལྟ་བུ་ abbr.  
M G / ཆེན་པོའི་ > ཆེན་པོའི་ abbr. G // 4 དྲང་ > om. M / ལྟ་བུ་པར་ > ལྟ་བུ་པར་ T ལྟ་བུ་པར་ abbr.  
G / བྱེད་དོ། > བྱེད་དོ། abbr. G / བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ > བཞུག་པ་རྣམས་ abbr. M བཞུགས་པ་/བ་\རྣམས་ G // 5  
 རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. G / འབྲིང་ནས། > འབྲིང་ནས་ T འབྲིང་ནས་ G / མཚན་ཉིད་ > /མཚན་ཉིད་\ abbr.  
G / བོན་ > བོན་ལ་ T G / བསམ་པར་བསམ་པར་ abbr. G / བྱེད་དོ། > བྱེད་དོ། abbr. G //

ལྡོ་རི་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ནི་གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། ལྡུབ་པ་ཆེན་  
 པོའི་བོན་ལ་འཆད་པ་དང་བསྟེན་པར་བྱེད་དོ། ། རང་འཁོར་དུ་གནས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་  
 རྩ་སྐྱོང་བརྒྱ་བཅུའི་ལྷེ་ཚོགས་ནི་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱིང་པོའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། གསང་ལྡགས་  
 ཟབ་མོའི་བོན་ལ་གནས་པ་དང་སྤྱོད་པའོ། ། ལྡོ་འཁོར་དུ་གནས་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་  
 5 དང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་ཚོན་ལྡུ་ཅ་གཉེས་ནི།

1 ལྡོ་ ... 5 ལྡོ། > LShDz (163.5-163.6):

ལྡོ་ན་ལྡུབ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བོན་དང་། རང་འཁོར་རྣམས་ལ་མནངག་ཟབ་མོའི་བོན་དང་། ལྡོ་འཁོར་དུ་གནས་  
 པ་རྣམས་ལ་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྡིའི་བོན་སྤྱིང་དག་ལ་འཆད་ཉམ་སྤོམ་ལྡུབ་བྱེད་དོ། །

1 རི་ལ་ > རི་ལ་\ G / བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ > བཞུང་པ་རྣྟས་ abbr. M / རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. G / འབྲིང་  
 རྣམ། > འབྲིང་ནས་ T འབྲིང་ནས་ G / ལྡུབ་པ་ > ལྡུབས་པ་ TG // 2 བྱེད་དོ། > བྱེདོ། abbr. G // 3  
 ལྡུབ་ > ལྡུབས་ G / ཡེ་ཤེས་ > ཡེས་ abbr. G / རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. MG / འབྲིང་ནས། > འབྲིང་ནས་  
 TG / གསང་ལྡགས་ > གསང་ལྡུ་ abbr. M མནངག་ TG // 4 ཟབ་མོའི་བོན་ལ་ > ཟབ་མོལ་ TG /  
 ལྡོ་ > ལྡོའི་ TG // 5 དང་ > om. G / ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ > ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་ M ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ G / ལྷེ་ཚོན་ >  
 ལྷེ་ཚོན་ TG / གཉེས་ > ན་ abbr. G / ལྡོ་ > ལྡོ་ TG //

གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སེམས་དཔའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་ནས། རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྡེལ་བསྐབ་པ་དང་  
 ལྷོན་པར་བྱེད་དོ། དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིམས་ཡང་བོན་སྤྱིམས་སུ་བསྐྱུང་ཞིང་དཀར་པོའི་དགེ་  
 བཅུ་རྒྱུད་པ་རྒྱན་མི་ཆད་པ་དང་། མི་ལུས་བསམ་ལེགས་ཉིད་ལོ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ལ་གཞིའི་  
 གདར་ག་བཅད་ནས་བསྐྱོམས་པས། དེའི་སྤྱིང་དུ་འཁོར་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱན་  
 5 དབང་བཞི་རྩོགས་པར་བསྐྱར་གྱི།

1 དེ་ལྟར་ ... 5 བསྐྱར་གྱི། > *LShDz* (163.6-164.1):

དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིམས་ཀྱང་བོན་སྤྱིམས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱུངས་པས་དཀར་པོའི་དགེ་ཚོགས་སྤྱུག་དུ་འཕེལ་བར་  
 མཛད་དོ། གསུམ་པ་སྐྱབས་འབྲས་ནི། དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་གཞིན་ཆེན་པོའི་ལོ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ལ་གཞིའི་གདར་ག་  
 དེ་བསྐྱོམས། དེ་ནས་འཁོར་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱན་གྱི། དབང་བཞི་ཡོངས་རྩོགས་བསྐྱར།

1 གཡུང་རྒྱུང་སེམས་དཔའི་ > གཡུང་སེདྲིའི་ abbr. M གཡུམ་རྒྱུང་སེམས་/དེའི་ I གཡུང་སེམས་དཔའི་ abbr.  
G /རྗེས་སུ་ > རྗེས་ abbr. G /འབྲིང་ནས། > འབྲིང་ནས་ I འབྲིང་ནས་ G // 2 སྤྱིམས་ > སྤྱིམ་ G སྤྱིམས་  
 ལྷོན་ > སྤྱིམས་ abbr. G // 3 རྒྱུད་པ་ > རྒྱུད་ཅོང་ I G /ཆད་པ་ > འཆད་པ་ M /བསམ་ལེགས་ > བསམ་  
 ལེགས་ \ abbr. G // 4 བཅད་ནས་ > བཅད་དེ་ I G /བསྐྱོམས་པས་ > བསྐྱོམ་པས་ M བསྐྱོམས་ནས་ I  
 བསྐྱོམས་/ནས་ G /སྤྱིང་དུ་ > རྒྱུང་དུ་ I G /ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. M G // 5 བཞི་ > ཅ་ abbr.  
M /བསྐྱར་གྱི། > བསྐྱར་སྐྱེ། I G //

གཞི་ཡི་སངས་རྒྱལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་ནས། འཁོར་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་  
 པོ་མཚོག་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱུ་ལ་ལམ་ལ་  
 གཏིང་དཔག་བཅད་དེ་བསྐྱོམས་ནས། དེའི་སྤོང་ལ་འཁོར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱེན་  
 ཏེ། ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐྱོར་ནས་ཚོགས་བསམས། ལྗོངས་ཡངས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་  
 5 རྒྱུ་ཚལ་དུ་ཚོགས་ཁང་བསྐྱོར། བསམ་ལེགས་ཉིད་དཔག་ཚད་ཕྱིད་ཀྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་  
 འཇའ་གུར་ལྔ་རིམ་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས།

1 གཞི་ ... 6 བཞུགས་ནས། > *LShDz* (164.1-164.3):  
 གཞི་ཡི་སངས་རྒྱལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་པས་འཁོར་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེས་མཚོག་ཐུན་གྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པོ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་  
 ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱུ་ལ་ལམ་ལ་གཏིང་དཔག་བཅད་དེ་བསྐྱོམས། དེ་ནས་འཁོར་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱེན་ཏེ་ལྗོངས་ཡངས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་  
 ཚལ་དུ་ཚོགས་ཁང་བཞུགས་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་གཤེན་ཉིད་དཔག་ཚད་གཅིག་གི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལམས་ཏེ་འཇའ་གུར་རིམ་  
 ལྔར་བཞུགས་ནས་

1 བཤད་ནས། > /བཤད་\ལ་དང་། *M* \བཤད་ནས། *T* / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. *M* *G* // 2 དངོས་གྲུབ་  
 > དངོས་ལྔ་ abbr. *G* / ཐོབ་པར་ > ཐོབར་ abbr. *G* / འགྱུར་རོ། > འགྱུརོ། *M* གྲུལོ། *G* / ཡང་ > om.  
*M* // 3 བསྐྱོམས་ནས། > བསྐྱོམ་ནས། *M* བསྐྱོམ་\ནས། *G* / སྤོང་ལ་ > ཉིང་ལ་ *M* སྤོང་ལ་ *T* / ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་  
 > ཐོད་ལ་ abbr. *M* *G* // 4 ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ > ཚོང་ཀྱི་ abbr. *M* / ལྗོངས་ > ལྗོང་ *M* // 5 རྒྱུ་ > རྒྱས་ *M*  
 / ནམ་མཁའ་ > རྟེན་ལ་ abbr. *M* ནམ་མཁའ་ abbr. *G* //



གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རིག་འཛིན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་ཚོགས་བསགས་<sup>231</sup>  
 རས། ལམ་མངོན་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་རྒྱན་བཞིན་ཁྲིད་དང་བཅས་པ་བཤད་པས། ལྷུ་བ་པ་  
 ཐོབ་པ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བྱུང་། དེའི་ནང་ནས་མཚོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བསམ་  
 ལེགས་ཉིད་བཞིན་བཞུད་པར་རྣམ་པ་ལྡ་བརྒྱ་བྱུང་ངོ་། ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱུ་ལ་འབྲས་  
 5 ལྷུ་བའི་དོན་ལ་ཐག་བཅད་དེ་བསྐྱོམས་ནས།

1 གསང་བ་ ... 5 བསྐྱོམས་ནས། > *LShDz* (164.3-164.4):

གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་ཚོགས་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་མཚོན་ནས་ལམ་མངོན་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་  
 རྒྱན་བཞིན་པས་ལྷུ་བ་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དཔག་མེད་དང་མཁའ་ལ་བཞུད་རྣམ་པ་ལྡ་བརྒྱ་བྱུང་ངོ་། ། དེ་ནས་ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱུར་  
 འབྲས་ལྷུ་བའི་དོན་ལ་ཐག་བཅད་དེ་བསྐྱོམས།

1 གསང་བ་མཚོག་གི་ > གསང་བ་གསང་མཚོག་གིས M གསང་བ་མཚོག་ abbr. G / ལྷ་ཚོགས་ > ལྷོགས་ abbr.  
G / རིག་འཛིན་ > རིགས་འཛིན་ M རིགོན་ abbr. G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. M G / དྲངས་ནས་ >  
 དྲངས་ M // 2 བཞིན་ > རྒྱ་ཚོགས་ abbr. M / བཤད་པས། > བཤད་པས་ T G // 3 མེད་པ་ > མད་པ་ M /  
 རང་ནས་ > རང་ཏུ་ T G / རྣམ་པ་ལྡ་བརྒྱ་ > རྣམ་པའ་ abbr. M G / བསམ་ > བསྐྱོམས་ abbr. G // 4 བཞིན་  
 > རྒྱ་ཚོགས་ abbr. M / བཞུད་ > བཞུད་ M / བྱུང་ངོ་། > བྱུང་ངོ་ M འབྲས་ལོ་། T G / འབྲས་ལྷུ་བའི་ > འབྲས་  
 abbr. M འབྲས་ལོ་ abbr. G // 5 དོན་ལ་ > དོན་ M / བསྐྱོམས་ནས། > བསྐྱོམས་ནས། M //

སྐྱུ་བཞི་མངོན་འགྲུང་རྩོད་པའི་སྤྱོད་པས་འཁོར་རྣམས་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ། འབྲས་བུ་  
རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་རྒྱུད་བཤད་ནས་ཁྲིད་བརྒྱད་བསྐྱེད་པས། དེ་ཉིད་རྫོགས་མ་  
ཐག་དུ་རྒྱལ་མཁར་བ་ཚོད་ལ་གནས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ལུས་པར་ལྷག་  
མ་མེད་པར་ལུས་འཇའ་རུ་ཡལ། སེམས་བོན་ཉིད་དུ་གྲོལ། གསང་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་

5 པོའི་སྐྱུ་རུ་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ།།

1 འཁོར་རྣམས་ ... 5 སངས་རྒྱས་སོ།། > *LShDz* (164.4-164.5):

དེ་ནས་འཁོར་རྣམས་ལ་ཞལ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་འབྲས་བུ་རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ཁྲིད་བརྒྱད་བསྐྱེད་པས་རྒྱལ་མཁར་བ་  
ཚོད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཕེབས་ནས་ལུས་འཇའ་འོད་དུ་ཡལ། སེམས་བོན་ཉིད་དུ་གྲོལ་ཏེ་  
སངས་རྒྱས་སོ།།

1 བཞི་ > ཅ་ abbr. M / འཁོར་རྣམས་ > འཁོར་རྣམས་ abbr. M G / འབྲས་བུ་ > འབྲས་ abbr. M G  
// 2 བཤད་ནས་ > བཤད་བཤད་ནས་ T / ཁྲིད་ > ཁྲི M // 3 བ་ཚོད་ > /བ་\མཚོད་ M / སེམས་ཅན་  
> སེམས་ abbr. M G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐྱིད་ abbr. M G // 4 ཡལ། > ཡལ་ T / སེམས་ > སེས་  
abbr. G / རྒྱས་སོ།། > རྒྱསོ། abbr. G //

དེའི་དུས་སུ་གསུངས་པ།

བཀའ་རྒྱུད་ཟབ་མོ་ཀུན་བྲགས་ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་།།  
 རྒྱུད་པ་ཉེ་མོ་བཟང་ཟ་བྲགས་ཅེའི་ཡུམ།།  
 གདམས་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་བོན།།  
 5 ལྡོམ་སྲན་ཆེན་པོ་མིལུས་བསམ་ལེགས་གཤེན།།  
 ལྡོམ་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཕྲག་གསུམ་བསྐྱོངས།།  
 ལྡོམ་ཉལ་མཐོན་པས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལྷག་མེད་བསྐྱུར།།

1 དེའི་དུས་སུ་ ... 7 བསྐྱུར། > *LShDz* (164.5-165.1):

དེའི་ཆེ་མགུར་དུ་གསུངས་པ།

བཀའ་རྒྱུད་ཟབ་མོ་ཀུན་བྲགས་ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་།།  
 བརྒྱུད་པ་ཉེ་མོ་བཟང་ཟ་བྲགས་ཅེའི་ཡུམ།།  
 གདམས་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་བོན།།  
 ལྡོམ་སྲན་ཆེན་པོ་མིལུས་བསམ་ལེགས་གཤེན།།  
 ལྡོམ་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཕྲག་གསུམ་བསྐྱོངས།།  
 ལྡོམ་ཉལ་མཐོན་པས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལྷག་མེད་བསྐྱུར།།

1 དུས་སུ་ > དུས། abbr. G // 3 རྒྱུད་ > བརྒྱུད་ G / བྲགས་ཅེའི་ཡུམ་ > བྱེའི་ཡུམ་ abbr. G // 4 གདམས་ངག་ > གདེམ་ངག་ abbr. M G གདམ་ངག་ T / གསུམ་ > མ་ abbr. M G // 5 བསམ་ལེགས་གཤེན་ > བསྐྱུངས་ལེགས་ abbr. G // 6 ཕྲག་གསུམ་ > ཕྲག་མ་ abbr. M ཕྲག་སྲི་ abbr. G / བསྐྱོངས། > བསྐྱོང་ T G // 7 ལྡོམ་ > ལྡོམས་ M / མཐོན་པས་ > མོན་པ་ T G / ཁམས་ > འཁམ་ G //

མྱིས་ལ་ཚ་འཁྲུངས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་རྒྱུ།  
 ཀུན་ཏུ་ངན་པའི་སྐྱོན་གྱིས་གོས་མ་ཚོང་།  
 མ་ལས་བྱ་སྐྱེས་བཟང་ཟ་རིང་བཅུན་སྲས།  
 བཟང་པོའི་ཚ་རིགས་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱན་པ་བཞག།  
 5 ཇི་ལ་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་གཡུང་དྲུང་སེམས་དཔའི་རིགས།  
 ཡང་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག་སྐྱབ་མིན་པའི་གོས་མ་ཚོང་།

1 མྱིས་ ... 6 ཚོང་། > *LShDz* (165.1-165.2):  
 མེས་ལས་ཚ་འཁྲུངས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་རྒྱུ།  
 ཀུན་ཏུ་ངན་པའི་སྐྱོན་གྱིས་གོས་མ་ཚོང་།  
 མ་ལས་བྱ་སྐྱེས་བཟང་ཟ་རིང་བཅུན་སྲས།  
 བཟང་པོའི་ཚ་རིགས་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱན་པ་བཞག།  
 ཇི་ལ་བསྐྱབ་བྱུང་ས་གཡུང་དྲུང་སེམས་དཔའི་རིགས།  
 ཡང་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག་སྐྱབ་མིན་པ་ཚོང་མ་ཚོང་།

1 ཚ་ > ཚང་ M / འཁྲུངས་ > འཁྲུང་ M // 3 མ་ལས་ > མ་ལ་ M མ་ལ/ས་\ G // 4 བསྐྱན་པ་ > བསྐྱན་ལ་ G // 5 ras. 1 litt. post བསྐྱབ་ T/འ > རྒྱུང་ T བསྐྱབ་ G / གཡུང་དྲུང་སེམས་དཔའི་ > གཡུང་སེམས་པའི་ abbr. M G // 6 ཚོང་། > ཚོང་། T G //

དཀའ་བ་སྤྱད་པས་གཤེན་རབ་སྟོན་པའི་བྲ།  
 འཕགས་པའི་ས་གསུམ་མིན་པར་སྟོང་མ་ཕྱོང་།  
 བྱ་བ་བྱས་པས་སངས་རྒྱས་མཉེས་པར་ངེས།  
 སྤྱིན་གྲོལ་མཚོག་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་མང་པོ་བཀོད།  
 5 མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་པ་དོན་ཡོད་ཟེད་པར་ངེས།  
 རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བོན་གྱིས་བསྐྱུར་ནས་དགེ་བཅུ་ར་བསྐྱུར།  
 བསམ་པ་ལེགས་པ་མཐའ་རྩ་སྤྱིན་པར་ངེས།

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1 དཀའ་བ་ ... 7 ངེས། > LShDz (165.2-165.4):

དཀའ་བ་སྤྱད་པའི་གཤེན་རབ་སྟོན་པའི་བྲ།  
 འཕགས་པའི་ས་གསུམ་མིན་པར་སྟོང་མ་ཕྱོང་།  
 བྱ་བ་བྱས་པས་སངས་རྒྱས་མཉེས་པར་ངེས།  
 སྤྱིན་གྲོལ་མཚོག་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་མང་པོ་བཀོད།  
 མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་པ་དོན་ཡོད་ཟེད་པར་ངེས།  
 རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བོན་དུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་དགེ་བཅུ་ར་བསྐྱུར།  
 བསམ་པ་ལེགས་པ་མཐའ་རྩ་སྤྱིན་པར་ངེས།

1 སྤྱད་པས་ > སྤྱད་པ་ TG // 2 གསུམ་ > མ་ abbr. MG / ཕྱོང་ > ཕྱོངས་ G // 3 བྱས་པས་ > བྱས་  
 པ་ T / མཉེས་པར་ > ཉེས་པར་ TG // 4 སེམས་ཅན་ > སེན་ abbr. MG / མང་པོ་ > མོང་ abbr. G  
 // 5 ཟེད་པར་ > ཟེད་པ་ M // 6 ཁྲིམས་ > ཁྲིམ་ abbr. M ཁྲིམ་ G / བོན་གྱིས་ > བོན་གྱི་ TG /  
 བསྐྱུར་ནས་ > བསྐྱུར་ན་ / G // 7 བསམ་ > བམ་ abbr. G //

སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ལའོར་བ་མ་སྤོང་བར་ལ་བསྐྱེད་ས།  
 དགོངས་པའི་ངར་ལ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མཉེས་པར་ངེས།  
 ཉིང་འཛིན་རྟོགས་པ་མེན་པའི་ཟས་མ་ཟོས།  
 གསང་ལྷགས་བསྟན་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་དར་བར་ངེས།  
 5 རྟོགས་དང་མཚན་མ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཐོང་བར་བཞག།  
 ང་བཞིན་བྱེད་ན་ང་བཞིན་འོང་བར་ངེས།  
 གདམས་ངག་ཟབ་མོ་གནད་ལ་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན།

ཅེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བདེ་ཆེན་རྟོགས་པའི་དབྱུངས་ཀྱང་གསུངས་སོ།

1 སེམས་ ... 8 གསུངས་སོ། > *LShDz* (164.4-165.5):

སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ལའོར་བ་མ་སྤོང་བར་དུ་བསྐྱེད་ས།  
 དགོངས་པའི་ངར་ལ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མཉེས་པར་ངེས།  
 རྟོགས་དང་མཚན་མ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཐོང་བར་བཞག།  
 ང་བཞིན་བྱེད་ན་ང་བཞིན་འོང་བར་བྱེད།  
 གདམས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་གནད་དུ་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན།  
 ཞེས་སོགས་པའི་ཆེན་རྟོགས་པའི་དབྱུངས་སྤྲུལ་སྲུངས་སོ།

1 སེམས་ > སེས་ abbr. G / སྤོང་ > གཏོང་ M / བསྐྱེད་ས་ > བསྐྱེད་ M བསྐྱེད་ས་ T // 2 མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁའ་ abbr. G / མཉེས་པར་ > མཉེས་པར་ TG // 3 ཉིང་འཛིན་ > ཉིང་ན་ abbr. MG / རྟོགས་པ་ > རྟོག་པ་ M / མེན་པའི་ > མེན་པའི་ T // 5 མཐོང་བར་ > མཐོང་པར་ MG // 6 བཞག་ > རྟོག་ abbr. M / འོང་བར་ > འོང་པར་ MG // 7 གདམས་ངག་ > གདམས་ངག་ abbr. MG གདམས་ངག་ T / ཟབ་མོ་ > ཟབ་མོའི་ TG / བསྟན་པ་ > བསྟན་པ་ TG // 8 ལ་སོགས་པའི་ > ལ་ས་\སོགས་པ་ T ལ་སོགས་པ་ G / གསུངས་སོ། > གསུངས་སོ། abbr. M གསུངས་སོ། ཅེས་ G //

6. Death

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་གཤེན་ཉིད་ལ་འདའ་བྱ་བའམ་གཤེགས་བཞུགས་མི་མངའ་བར།  
 བོན་ཉིད་དུ་གསང་མཚོག་ལྟ་དང་མི་གཉེས་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། ལྷི་རབས་སེམས་ཅན་མོས་  
 པའི་ཉེན་དུ་བཞུགས་པར་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། གསང་མཚོག་གི་བྲག་ལྷུག་མཁའ་  
 འགྲུང་དཀར་པོའི་སྐྱ་རང་བྱོན་གྱི་དྲུང་ན། གསེར་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྟེ་ཚོགས་  
 5 ཀྱིས་བརྗེགས་པ་གསང་མཚོག་གི་གཞལ་ཡས་སུ། ལྷི་རིང་བསྐྱེལ་ལས་བྱུབ་པའི།

1 བྱ་བའམ་ > བྱ་བ་\འི་ **M** བྱ་འམ་ **TG** / བཞུགས་ > བཞུ་ **M** བཟུད་ **I** བཞུད་ **G** / མངའ་བར། >  
 མངའ་བར་ **TG** // 2 གཉེས་ > མ་ **abbr. G** / ལྷི་རབས་ > ལྷི་རབ་ **MG** ལྷི་རབ་ས་\ **T** / སེམས་ཅན་ >  
 སེན་ **abbr. MG** // 3 བཞུགས་ > བཞུ་ **abbr. M** / གསང་མཚོག་གི་ > གསང་མཚོག་གིས་ **M** གསང་བ་  
 མཚོག་གི་ **TG** / མཁའ་འགྲུང་ > མཁའ་གྲུང་ **abbr. G** // 4 བྱོན་ > འབྱོན་ **TG** / དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ > དཀྱིར་  
**abbr. G** / རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ > རིན་ **abbr. G** / ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ > ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ **M** ཚོགས་ **abbr. G** // 5  
 བརྗེགས་པ་ > བརྗེག་པ་ **TG** / མཚོག་གི་ > མཚོག་ **abbr. G** / ཡས་སུ་ > ཡས་ **abbr. G** / རིང་བསྐྱེལ་ >  
 རིངས་སྐྱེལ་ **T** རིངས་སེལ་ **G** / བྱུབ་པའི་ > བྱུབ་པའི་ **TG** //

གསང་མཚོག་གཙོ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ། སྲུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཙུག་གི་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་  
 བསལ་བར་དོད་པ། སྲུལ་བརྟན་པ་གུད་ཀྱི་གདུམ་པོས་མི་ཤིགས་པ། སྐྱུལ་ཡི་ཤིས་  
 ཀྱི་རང་འོད་མར་མི་བལྟམས་པ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ། ཆེ་ཆུང་ལྷ་མགོ་སྐྱེལ་སོར་ཚད་གཙོ་  
 འཁོར་གྱི་རིམ་པར་གནས་པ། འོག་གཞི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་བརྟེན་བཅས་པས། ལྷ་མ་  
 5 སྲིན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་གདན་མི་དྲངས་པས། ཅེ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཕྱི་རབས་དང་པའི་རྟེན་དུ་བཞག་  
 ཅས།

1 མཚོག་གཙོ་ > མཚོགཙོ་ abbr. MG /བཅས་པ། > བཅས་པ་ TG /སྲུམ་ > སྲི་ abbr. G /དྲུག་གི་ >  
 དྲུག་གིས་ M དྲུགི་ abbr. G /སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་གསལ་ > གཟུགས་གསལ་ M སྐྱུ་གཟུགསལ་ abbr. G // 2 བར་ >  
 ལ་ G /གུད་ཀྱི་ > གུད་ཀྱི་ G /གདུམ་པོས་ > གདུམ་པོས་ TG /ཤིགས་པ། > ཤིགས་པ། TG // 3 བལྟམས་པ་  
 > བལྟམས་པ་ abbr. MG /བཞིན་ > ལན་ abbr. M /གཙོ་འཁོར་གྱི་ > གཙོ་འཁོར་ M // 4 དཀྱིལ་  
 འཁོར་ > དཀྱིལ་ abbr. G /བརྟེན་ > རྟེན་ TG /བཅས་པས། > བཅས་པས་ M // 5 དྲངས་པས། >  
 དྲངས་པ། T དྲངས་པས་ M དྲོད་པ། G /ཅེ་ > om. T /ཕྱི་རབས་ > ཕྱི་རབ་ M /བཞག་ནས། > བཞག་ནས་  
TG //



སྐྱུལ་གྲུབ་ནས་བྱུང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་གསང་མཚོག་གི་སྐྱུ་རུ་མངོན་སངས་རྒྱས་ནས། ས་  
 བཅུ་ཟེལ་གྱིས་གཞོན་པའི་དབྱིངས་ན། ད་རུང་ཡང་གསང་མཚོག་བོན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་  
 བསྐྱོར་རོ།། རྒྱལ་མཁར་བ་ཚོད་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྟེན་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཡང་། གནས་ཉི་ཤུ་  
 ཅུ་བཞིའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་དང་རིག་འཛིན་ཐམས་ཅད་འཚོགས་ནས་དུས་དུས་མཚོད་པ་  
 5 བྱིད་པ་དང་། ལྗ་རབས་ཐར་ཡང་ཕྱི་རབས་འབྲེན་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་རྣམས་ལྗ་མའི་གྲུལ་  
 འཛིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་བོན་ཁྲིམས་སྦྱོང་ཞིང་གྲུབ་པ་བསྐྱེམས་པ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་  
 པ་རྒྱན་མི་འཆད་པར་འགྲུང་ཞིང་ཡོད་དོ།།

1 གྲུབ་ནས་ > གྲུབ་ TG / བྱུང་བ་ > བྱུང་པ་ M བྱུང་ TG / བཞིན་དུ་ > ཅན་དུ་ abbr. M / མཚོག་གི་  
 > མཚོག་གིས་ M མཚོག་ G / སྐྱུ་རུ་ > སྐྱུ་ M / མངོན་ > མངོན་པར་ M // 2 ཟེལ་གྱི་ > ཟེལ་གྱི་ TG  
 / དབྱིངས་ན། > དབྱིངས་ནས་ M // 4 བཞིའི་ > བཞི་ཡི་ TG / མཁའ་འགྲོ་ > མཁའ་ abbr. G / རིག་  
 འཛིན་ > རིགས་འཛིན་ M རིག་ཞུ་ abbr. G / ཐམས་ཅད་ > ཐོད་ abbr. M G / འཚོགས་ > འཚོར་  
 abbr. M // 5 ལྗ་རབས་ > ལྗ་རབ་ M / ཕྱི་རབས་ > ཕྱི་རབ་ M / འབྲེན་པའི་ > འཕེལ་བའི་ M འབྲེན་  
 པའི་ G / རྣམས་ > རྣྱས་ abbr. G // 6 སྦྱོང་ཞིང་ > སྦྱོངས་གིང་ T སྦྱོང་ཞིང་ G / བསྐྱེམས་པ་ > སྐྱེམས་  
 པ་ M //

བཀའི་བཟུ་བ་པོ་རྒྱལ་གཤེན་མི་ལྷན་བསམ་ལེགས་ཀྱིས། དང་པོ་ཐོས་པ་སྦྱངས་  
 ལྷགས། བར་དུ་གསང་སྤྲུགས་སྣོམ་ལྷགས། བ་མར་སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷང་བསྟན་པའི་  
 ལེན་སྟེ་དབྱ་འཆད་གཉིས་པའོ། །

1 བཀའི་ ... 3 གཉིས་པའོ། ། > om. T // 1 ལེགས་ཀྱིས། > ལེགས། G / ཐོས་པ་ > ཐོས་བསམ་ G /  
 སྦྱངས་ > སྦྱང་ G // 2 ལྷགས་ > ལྷག་ G / བར་ > བར་ G / སྣོམ་ལྷགས། > སྣོམ་ལྷག། abbr. G / རྒྱས་ལྷང་  
 བསྟན་པའི་ > རྒྱས་པའི་ G // 3 གཉིས་ > ན་ abbr. G //



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