

3  
3  
1

BOOKS TWO - THREE - FOUR

The Treasury of Knowledge  
JAMGÖN KONGTRUL  
BUDDHISM'S JOURNEY TO TIBET



Translated and introduced by Ngawang Zangpo  
KALU RINPOCHÉ TRANSLATION GROUP

# The Treasury of Knowledge

*Books Two, Three, and Four:*

## **Buddhism's Journey to Tibet**

Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé

The translation and publication of this work have been made possible through the generous support of the Tsadra Foundation.

# The Treasury of Knowledge

*Books Two, Three, and Four:*

## Buddhism's Journey to Tibet

Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé

KALU RINPOCHÉ TRANSLATION GROUP

under the direction of Khenpo Lodrö Dönyö Rinpoché

This volume translated and introduced  
by Ngawang Zangpo

SNOW LION PUBLICATIONS

ITHACA, NEW YORK

Snow Lion Publications  
P.O. Box 6483  
Ithaca, NY USA 14851  
607-273-8519  
www.snowlionpub.com

Copyright © 2010 Kalu Rinpoché

All rights reserved. No portion of this work may be reproduced by any means without prior written permission from the publisher.

Printed in the USA on acid-free, recycled paper.

ISBN 978-1-55939-345-4

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:

Koñ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, 1813-1899.

[Ses bya mtha' yas pa'i rgya mtsho. English. Selections]

The treasury of knowledge. Books two, three, and four : Buddhism's journey to Tibet / Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé ; Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group ; this volume translated and introduced by Ngawang Zangpo.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-1-55939-345-4 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 1-55939-345-9 (alk. paper)

1. Buddhism—India—History. 2. Buddhism—China—Tibet—History. 3. Buddhism—Doctrines—History.

I. Ngawang Zangpo, 1954-

II. Title. BQ286.K6613 2010

294.3'92309—dc22

2009046654

*For Kalu Rinpoché, Bokar Rinpoché,  
Chatral Rinpoché,  
and Khandro Tsering Chödrön—*

*. . . .*

*three wise men and one wise woman,  
my guiding lights*



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword by <i>Yangsi Kalu Rinpoché</i>	xi
Translator's Introduction	1
An Overview of <i>The Treasury of Knowledge</i>	4
Jamgön Kongtrul and the Purpose of <i>The Treasury of Knowledge</i>	9
Kalu Rinpoché and the Purpose of the Translation of <i>The Treasury of Knowledge</i>	18
Paying for the Translation of <i>The Treasury of Knowledge</i>	26
<i>The Treasury</i> in Translation	33
Translating and Reading <i>Buddhism's Journey to Tibet</i>	35
Acknowledgments	38
BOOK TWO: The Light of the World	41
1: Our Teacher's Path to Awakening	43
2: The Buddha's Enlightenment	61
3: The Buddha's Twelve Deeds	75
4: Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms	93
BOOK THREE: What the Buddha Taught	113
1: What Are the Sacred Teachings?	115
2: Cycles of Scriptural Transmission	145
3: Compilations of the Buddha's Word	167
4: The Origins of the Early Translations' Ancient Tradition	183



BOOK FOUR: Buddhism Resplendent in the World	197
1: Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings	199
2: How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet	235
3: The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots	321
4: A History of Buddhist Culture	377
Appendix 1: The Root Text of Books Two, Three, and Four	437
Appendix 2: The Outline of Books Two, Three, and Four	479
Translator's Postscript: Reflections on Each Chapter	491
<i>Myriad Worlds</i> Revisited	491
Book Two: The Light of the World	495
1: Our Teacher's Path to Awakening	495
2: The Buddha's Enlightenment	500
3: The Buddha's Twelve Deeds	509
4: Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms	513
Book Three: What the Buddha Taught	519
1: What Are the Sacred Teachings?	519
2: Cycles of Scriptural Transmission	528
3: Compilations of the Buddha's Word	536
4: The Origins of the Early Translations' Ancient Tradition	538
Book Four: Buddhism Resplendent in the World	546
1: Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings	546
2: How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet	551
3: The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots	577
4: A History of Buddhist Culture	597

Bibliography	605
List of Names	609
List of Names of Nonhuman Beings	633
List of Place Names	639
List of Texts Cited	645
Subject Index	663



༄༅། །བསམ་གྲུབ་དར་རྒྱས་ཚེས་གྲིང་དགོན།

**SAMDRUB DARJAY CHOLING MONASTERY**

Main Seat of KYABJE KALU RINPOCHE and Headquarters of His Dharma Centers World-Wide

༄༅། །གངས་ཅན་མཚོར་བཞུགས་རྣམ་འདྲན་ཐམས་ཅད་པའི། །མཐུན་བརྗེའི་འོད་དཀར་གཅིག་ཏུ་བལྟས་པའི་གཏེར། །

མཚུངས་མེད་པར་བདེའི་གཏོར་རྒྱུར་སྲིད་པའི་མིག། །ཀྱན་ཏིང་ཏུ་ཡི་མི་ཏུར་གྱིས་ལྷག་འཚོལ། །

མཁན་སློབ་ཚོས་གསུམ་འགྲན་མེད་སྐྱེད་ལས། །འཕགས་ལུལ་ཟབ་ཚོས་མཐའ་དག་པོད་ཏུ་བསྐྱར། །

དེ་བཞིན་མཉམ་མེད་རང་བྱུང་ཀྱན་ཁྱབ་གྱིས། །སྐད་རིགས་འདྲ་མིན་དབྱིན་སོགས་གདུལ་བྱའི་ཚེད། །

མཛོད་ཚེན་ལ་གྲུལ་ཤེས་བྱ་ཀྱན་ཁྱབ་གཞུང། །དབྱིན་སོགས་སྐད་ཏུ་སྐྱུ་བསྐྱར་ཡབ་པ་ལས། །

སྔ་ན་མེད་པའི་ཁྱད་བར་བྱུང་ཟད་གྱུང། །བསྟན་པ་མེད་མེད་དབྱིན་སོགས་གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས། །

བོད་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་སྐྱུང་བའི་རལ་བ་གང། །སེལ་བྱེད་འདི་ལ་བོས་བསམ་ལེགས་བྱས་ནས། །

རྩེ་གཅིག་སྐྱབ་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཏེ། །མཚོག་སྟན་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྐྱུར་ཏུ་འགྲུབ་པར་ཤོག། །

ཉེས་འགལ་མཚིས་ན་སྐྱུང་མ་རྣམས་ལ་བཤགས། །དགེ་བས་འདི་ཉིད་ལྷོགས་དུས་ཀྱན་ཁྱབ་ནས། །

འགྲོ་ཀྱན་ཁྱུང་པོ་ཡབ་སྐས་དུང་སྐྱེས་ཏེ། །རིགས་དུག་འཁོར་བའི་བཙོན་ར་སྟོང་པར་ཤོག། །

ཅེས་བའདི་ཡང་ཀུལ་སྐྱུ་གོང་མའི་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ནས་རྩ་བའི་བླ་མའི་བཀའ་དང། །བསྟན་འགྲེའི་དོན་ཁོར་ར་

དམིགས་ཏེ། །ལོ་མང་གྱི་རིང་དཀའ་ངལ་ཁྱད་ཏུ་བསད་པའི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་བཟང་པོ་འདི་ལ། །སློང་ཐག་པ་ནས་རྗེས་སུ་

ཡི་རང་དང་བཅས་སྟོན་ཚོག་ཏུ་དབལ་ལྟན་ཤངས་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་པའི་གྲུལ་མཐར་འཁོད་པ་

ཀུལ་མེད་འཛིན་བས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༡༠ ལྷ་པ་ ༠༩ པའི་ཚེས་ ༢༥ ཉིན་སྟོན་པ་དགེའོ། ། །



## FOREWORD

BY YANGSI KALU RINPOCHÉ

You are the eyes of existence, a matchless treasure of what helps  
and cheers me,  
A single gem that glows with the moon's pearly light  
Infused with the love and wisdom of all spiritual guides who dwell  
in the Himalayas' glacial seas:  
Kanting Taisitu, to you I bow my head in homage.

The exalted land of India's sacred Buddhist teachings  
Were translated into Tibetan due to three individuals'  
incomparable kindness—the abbot, the master, and the  
Buddhist king.  
Likewise, for the sake of persons of different languages and races,  
including Caucasians,  
The text of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, one among Jamgön  
Kongtrul's five major treasuries,  
Has been translated line for line into English and other languages  
Thanks to Rangjung Kunkyab's enlightened resolve.

This translation, different from the original only in its new  
language,  
Relieves Western disciples and others said to be deprived of  
Buddhist teaching  
From the toil of learning spoken and written Tibetan.  
May you study and contemplate it well,  
And use it as a basis for single-minded, intent meditation practice,  
taken to consummate perfection,  
And may you thereby quickly gain accomplishment, both mundane  
and sublime.

Should faults or errors mar this translation, I confess them to the  
Buddhist guardians.

May its positive qualities spread to every time and direction  
And lead all beings to rebirth in the presence of Kyungpo Naljor  
and his spiritual heirs,

Thus emptying the prisons of the six realms of existence.

Foreign disciples of Kalu Rinpoché's previous incarnation bore in mind their spiritual master's directives and considered only what would contribute to the welfare of Buddhism and of sentient beings. Heedless of many years of hardship, they have now produced this excellent result. With heartfelt rejoicing, I, holder of the title of Kalu Tulku, lowest in the ranks of masters who preserve the historical lineage of the Shangpa Kagyu, wrote these prayers of aspiration on February 28, 2010. May they prove virtuous.

## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

At first glance, *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* appears to be a book of history. Tedious for some, enthralling for others, the subject of history that is central to this volume makes it the most accessible of all parts of *The Treasury of Knowledge* series. Once we accustom ourselves to the idiosyncrasies of a classic Tibetan literary style—lines of verse that encapsulate the prose which follows—readers can relax in the impression that we have read many books of this nature before.

Yet history as we have previously encountered it, be it Indian, Tibetan, or Chinese, was not Jamgön Kongtrul's project in this work. The details of secular life rarely intrude into his narrative. Kingdoms rose and fell, the seas of Asian civilization roiled and roared all around the people we read of, but the author gives us no hint of them. For example, one great lama whose work he commends to us was beheaded, his sister violated, and his monastery sacked by foreign armies (from Mongolia), but we read of this personage as if he lived and thrived in the best of all possible worlds. Secular history, as we are familiar with it in book form, is absent here.

Since this book was written by a Tibetan lama on the subject of Buddhism over the ages, we might equally expect to find here ecclesiastical history—the inside story of the land of Tibet dominated by super-sized monasteries. Many of us have seen some pictures of old Tibet or its remains, and maybe even met those recognized as reincarnations of the founders of those massive institutions. Yet Kongtrul manages to fill hundreds of pages on the story of Buddhism with only the most cursory mention of church history. For example, where in this book, we might ask, do we read of the “four major orders or sects,” the framework we once learned held the key to assimilating the evolution of Buddhism on Tibetan soil? They hardly merit more than a few furtive mentions. Moreover, we reach the end of Kongtrul's survey of Buddhist activity in Tibet none the wiser

concerning Buddhism's infrastructure: did this order spawn ten or ten thousand monasteries, did ten or ten thousand monks live in each? We will not learn these facts reading Kongtrul. He seems to have been as deaf to the siren calls of the architectural and institutional splendors of the Tibetan Buddhist church as he was undistracted by the squalor of Asian political and military affairs. He has not even compiled the stories and histories that tantric Buddhists have told one another for generations over centuries, to sustain ourselves and the next generation on our spiritual path, the stories such as we read in *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa* or *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*, for example.

What Kongtrul has written here in Books Two, Three, and Four of *The Treasury of Knowledge* is a Buddhist history of Buddhism. It makes for prosaic but essential reading: this is the Buddha; these are his origins; this is what Buddhism is—these material scriptures and this non-material realization; this is how Buddhism has been preserved and transmitted, and this is how it journeyed to and was assimilated into Tibetan life. What we learn is that Buddhism only exists in transmissions that pass from person to person, master to disciple, time and time again. Whether or not the master also bequeathed to his or her main disciple the keys to the temple and its treasury might figure in other authors' accounts of specific institutions, but that transfer of goods and followers, however impressive and significant, is not Buddhism's story. Buddhist institutions can survive lifetimes of inept administrators; Buddhism itself cannot afford to skip even a single generation while coasting on grand buildings and able organizers. In my own experience of serving two generations of masters of one lineage—Kalu Rinpoché and Bokar Rinpoché—I witnessed the transmission of Buddhist wisdom, nectar poured from one full golden vase into another, as the process is sometimes described, without the two individuals having shared common institutions, or personal styles and backgrounds. One could have been Indian, the other Tibetan, for all that they were two radically different characters who met with the sole purpose of giving and receiving Buddhist wisdom so it could be preserved intact and re-transmitted.

The latter half of *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* describes how that kind of meeting transpired first in India among Indians, then between Indians and Tibetans, and finally just among Tibetans. Kongtrul traces many lines of transmission of Buddhist monastic practice, philosophy, and meditation, and often notes when some lines became irretrievably severed, the

fault of missed connections: a qualified lineage holder in one generation passed away before passing on the teachings to a worthy disciple. The pertinent texts might still exist, and what is called the reading transmission might survive, but the lack of a living link to the teaching dooms it to become a mere subject of study as we understand that activity in the modern world. In terms of Buddhist history, such an irrevocable break in a lineage amounts to a heart-breaking tragedy, akin to the collapse of a vibrant, enlightened culture. In those terms, *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* must be read as a cheerful book: yes, some of our ancestors' wealth which they intended to bequeath us has been forever lost. Yet the Buddha appeared in this world and taught, many have followed in his footsteps, such individuals live among us today, and they are willing to share with us the unimaginable treasures they bear. Many are those who can still boast as one master did of his lineage centuries ago:

Moreover, in this lineage that originated with the great perfect Buddha Vajra Bearer and has been transmitted until the present day, the moist warmth of the profound teachings has not evaporated, the blessed waters of the instructions' streams have not ebbed, the lineage's bridge of accomplished masters stands unbroken, gateways to meditative experience and realization remain wide open, and the seal of the doctrine's leaders, the dakinis, endures intact: this lineage's pith instructions are universally recognized as irreproachable.

How incredible! How perfectly marvelous!

The words of this book may be consistently sober and prudent, as befits historical writing, but the spirit that animates them is exultant and celebratory . . . with the caveat that any rejoicing in our priceless spiritual inheritance should be matched by our dedication to its preservation.

*Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* can be read by itself, yet it forms part of a much longer work, *The Treasury of Knowledge*. The next section of the introduction will help you gauge the towering ambitions of the author, Jamgön Kongtrul, in this *Treasury* which encompasses the length and breadth of Buddhist theory and practice, from its most elementary beginnings to the most complex and demanding views and meditations.

Why did Kongtrul write such an opus? For whom did he intend it, what



was his purpose? Under what conditions did he compose this sprawling text, one of his life's major triumphs? I devote one section of the introduction to those questions. Following that, I try to answer a similar set of questions concerning the present translation: why did Kalu Rinpoché decide it was a good idea to initiate this translation project? What was his purpose, his mission, that informed his will to lead the translation of this *Treasury*? Why did he think this series of books would be relevant in this day and age?

I would give anything in my power to have Jamgön Kongtrul and Kalu Rinpoché be alive today, to answer those questions in person. Alas, I must try to divine their intent based on what amounts to tea leaves left at the bottom of the once brimming cups of their lives: a few lines gleaned from Kongtrul's voluminous writings and a few words faintly recalled from Kalu Rinpoché's plentiful talks. What I have read (or heard) and understood, and what another might read or recall from the same sources will likely differ. I am the proverbial blind man touching the leg (or is it the trunk?) of an elephant and trying to guess the rest. Nonetheless, whatever I have glimpsed of their vision has inspired me in this translation; the last section of the introduction is intended as a reader's short guide to this book based on that inspiration. Translators must make choices—in explaining mine, I hope to enhance your experience as a reader and additionally inform you of what supplementary information is included where, be it in the supplementary material for each chapter, or in the book's indexes.

#### AN OVERVIEW OF *THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE*

At the outset of the project to translate Jamgön Kongtrul's *Treasury of Knowledge*, Kalu Rinpoché gave each of the book's forty chapters to individual translators, asking us to produce a draft translation of that piece of the whole. Thus initially, the translators' experience was probably not unlike that of the readers of this series who, by interest or coincidence or karmic affinity, discover one part of *The Treasury* before another, but not in sequence. While the author set out a coherent progression among the topics in his work, I suspect that most readers of the original Tibetan *Treasury* read from it much as most modern readers likely do: pell-mell, according to need or interest. While this seems to be a perfectly valid use of this series of books, literate Tibetans recognize the structure of *The*

*Treasury of Knowledge* as conforming to a known genre and therefore easily orient themselves and navigate within *The Treasury's* seas of information. Since the rest of us, like the group of us translators at the outset of this project, have no familiarity with this kind of text, each volume of this series in translation includes an outline of the entire work to help the reader situate a specific book within Jamgön Kongtrul's sweeping vision.

*Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* gathers into one volume three parts (Books Two, Three, and Four) of Jamgön Kongtrul's ten-part masterwork *The Treasury of Knowledge*. Book One of *The Treasury*, *Myriad Worlds*, describes our universe from many Buddhist perspectives and leads us through space and time within universes beyond all reckoning. *Myriad Worlds* marked the start of the series and precedes this book. (It was published in 1995 by Snow Lion Publications.) The book's original four chapters became five in translation:

1. The Cosmology of the Universal Way
2. Our Universe according to the Individual and Universal Ways
3. Space and Time in the Tantra of the Wheel of Time
4. The Causes of Cyclic Life
5. The Primordial Purity of the Universe

*Myriad Worlds* sets the stage for the three books contained within *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet*: “The Light of the World,” “What the Buddha Taught,” and “Buddhism Resplendent in the World.” “The Light of the World,” Book Two, situates the reader in somewhat familiar territory: our world, where we welcome among us the appearance of an enlightened being, the Buddha. This book's four chapters present a multitude of views of the Buddha's manifestation of enlightenment in this world:

1. Our Teacher's Path to Awakening
2. The Buddha's Enlightenment
3. The Buddha's Twelve Deeds
4. Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms

“What the Buddha Taught,” Book Three, elucidates what is meant by the Sanskrit term *dharma*, mainly in the sense of the teachings that illuminate our path to enlightenment. Through the course of these four chapters we discover that “what the Buddha taught” includes all teachings the Buddha inspired, even if he did not himself voice them:

1. What Are the Sacred Teachings?
2. Cycles of Scriptural Transmission
3. Compilations of the Buddha's Word
4. The Origins of the Early Translations' Ancient Tradition

We pass from the Buddha and his teaching to the progress of Buddhism's dissemination. Book Four, "Buddhism Resplendent in the World," relates in generous detail Buddhism's spread throughout India and central Asia, with a particular emphasis on Buddhism's arrival, acceptance, and flourishing in Tibet. We also read here of the major aspects of culture that Buddhism absorbed or inspired:

1. Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings
2. How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet
3. The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots
4. A History of Buddhist Culture

After this wide-ranging overview of Buddhism found in *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet*, from the future Buddha's first thought that marked his initial step on the spiritual path, to the countless constellations of accomplished masters he inspired, *Buddhist Ethics* (Book Five, published by Snow Lion in 1998) shifts to the personal. Its four chapters describe how we establish our own spiritual path in a relationship with a qualified spiritual master, the living Buddha we have the fortune to meet in our own day and age; and the many vows and commitments that frame the Buddhist path:

1. The Qualities of the Spiritual Teacher and Student
2. The Vows of Personal Liberation
3. The Commitments of Awakening Mind
4. The Vows and Pledges of Secret Mantra

In the remaining five books of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, we read an exhaustive overview of all that can be studied in Buddhism (Book Six), how to evaluate and synthesize those teachings in order to arrive at the correct conclusion—called "the view" (Book Seven)—that will anchor and animate the many kinds of meditation (Book Eight) which allow us to move from understanding to experience to realization, following

identifiable paths and stages of awakening (Book Nine) that eventually culminate in enlightenment (Book Ten).

“Topics for Study,” Book Six, will not be published in what would have been a single, massive book. Gyurmé Dorjé will translate the first two chapters. The third and fourth chapters have already been translated and published separately as *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy* (translated by Elizabeth Callahan; Snow Lion Publications, 2007) and *Systems of Buddhist Tantra* (translated by Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod; Snow Lion Publications, 2005). The latter chapter is by far the longest in *The Treasury of Knowledge*.

1. A Presentation of the Common Fields of Knowledge and Worldly Paths
2. General Topics of Knowledge in the Hinayana and Mahayana
3. *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy: A Systematic Presentation of the Cause-Based Philosophical Vehicles*
4. *Systems of Buddhist Tantra: The Indestructible Way of Secret Mantra*

While Book Six is information-rich, “Training in Higher Wisdom,” Book Seven, provides some straightforward keys to evaluating the sometimes confounding proliferation of perspectives within the nine ways of Buddhism. Richard Barron will translate this book and the first two chapters of Book Eight. The four chapters of “Training in Higher Wisdom” are these:

1. The Keys to Understanding
2. Truth and Meaning
3. The Authentic View
4. Foundations of Spiritual Discipline

Book Eight, “Training in Higher Meditative Absorption,” turns to the subject of meditation. Once again, as with Book Six, this subject seems to inspire Kongtrul: he writes generously in introducing us to much more than we even imagined existed in the world of meditation techniques. Again, as with Book Six, the two last chapters of these four have been published separately:

1. Calm Abiding and Higher Insight
2. The Stages of Meditation in the Cause-Based Approaches
3. *The Elements of Tantric Practice: A General Exposition of the Process*

*of Meditation in the Indestructible Way of Secret Mantra* (translated by Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod; Snow Lion Publications, 2008)

4. *Esoteric Instructions: A Detailed Presentation of the Process of Meditation in the Vajrayana* (translated by Sarah Harding; Snow Lion Publications, 2007)

Book Nine, “An Analysis of the Spiritual Paths and Levels to Be Traversed,” has four chapters:

1. The Paths and Levels in the Cause-Based Dialectical Approach
2. The Levels and Paths in the Vajrayana
3. Conduct: The Process of Enhancement
4. The Paths and Levels in the Three Yogas

The “three yogas” of Chapter Four comprise the final three levels of the nine Buddhist ways: mahayoga, anuyoga, and atiyoga.

The final Book Ten, “An Analysis of the Consummate Fruition State,” also has four chapters:

1. The Fruition in the Dialectical Approach
2. The More Common Attainments in the Vajrayana
3. The Fruition in the Vajrayana
4. The Fruition in the Nyingma School

These last two books have been translated by Richard Barron and will be published in a single volume, *Journey and Goal: An Analysis of the Spiritual Paths and Levels to Be Traversed and the Consummate Fruition State* (forthcoming from Snow Lion Publications in 2010). They hold our interest because they provide clear indications of our location somewhere on the paths and results described. Even if we identify our inner state as that of a beginner, we can still console ourselves with the knowledge that the path and the result ahead of us are well known, well mapped, and well trod. After reading this book, enlightenment may seem just as distant, but it will feel less vague and mysterious.

We can certainly read each of the books in this series separately, and out of sequence, yet whichever book we choose, we can profitably take a step back from it to gaze in wonder at the intricate overall tapestry the author has woven. I hardly qualify as an impartial observer, but as I read through this list of general contents of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, I feel

that these ten books must surely number among the most exciting and important Buddhist translation works of our time.

### JAMGÖN KONGTRUL AND THE PURPOSE OF *THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE*

The author Jamgön Kongtrul's initial intent in composing *The Treasury of Knowledge* is presented briefly in his autobiography, where he reports that he had been asked at some point (before 1862) to write a book on the subject of the three levels of Buddhist vows. That request provided an impetus for him to write, but he did not limit himself to the text originally solicited. Jamgön Kongtrul felt his work "should be more comprehensive in scope, *something that would be of use to people who had not studied much*."<sup>1</sup> He refers to the book he had in mind as "a treatise dealing with the three higher trainings," that is to say, Buddhist training in ethical conduct, meditation, and sublime insight. At this point in early 1862, Jamgön Kongtrul relates that he wrote the root text in verse during intervals between sessions of meditation; he showed what he had written to his teacher, who encouraged him to compose a corresponding commentary in prose. His first account of having used the completed text to teach occurs in 1866 (p. 144); it was finally published nine years later, in 1875 (p. 176).

Practically speaking, apart from educating a general audience comprising those "who had not studied much," Jamgön Kongtrul found another use for *The Treasury of Knowledge*: as a primer for those about to enter the three-year, three-fortnight retreats under his guidance. He wrote the following lines in 1864:

Before entering either [three-year, three fortnight] retreat  
[a reference to his own retreat center at Tsadra Rinchen  
Drak and the one at Palpung Monastery nearby], retreatants  
should study the entire *Treasury of Knowledge*, or if that much  
study and reflection is not feasible, they should at least have

1. *The Autobiography of Jamgön Kongtrul*, p. 131, emphasis added. The complete title of the translation of Jamgön Kongtrul's autobiography and its publication information can be found in the bibliography.

understood Book Five [published as *Buddhist Ethics*], which presents the qualifications of master and disciple and how to rely on a spiritual master, and [provides complete details of] the three levels of Buddhist vows. (*Spiritual Life*, page 97b)

The list of *The Treasury's* contents in the previous section and these paragraphs concerning Kongtrul's intentions do not adequately portray the orientation of this work, and of Kongtrul's work in general. Yes, he was a Buddhist master, but he lived and wrote as a master of tantric Buddhism. Yes, he was ecumenical in outlook, but we should understand that the field of his sincere and laudable ecumenism was limited to Himalayan tantric Buddhism. Yes, he was an enormously prolific writer and compiler, but if we were to cull texts on Mahayana, the great way, and Madhyamaka, the middle way, from his five great treasuries, they would scarcely fill a single volume among the hundred or so he produced. He always pointed to the great way and the middle way as providing the indispensable underpinning to tantra, but in his personal study and practice, and in his writing, teaching, and active life as a leading Buddhist personage of his day, he devoted himself to tantra:

Casting aside the way of Bön, I have entered the door of the  
 Buddhist teachings.  
 Nowadays, dissatisfied with my practice in view and action,  
 I aspire to follow after those of yore.  
 I have read the many commentaries in an unbiased way,  
 and examined the biographies of many learned and accomplished  
 ones.  
 I cannot abide even seeing books  
 by those sectarians who chase after fame,  
 for speaking judgmentally is the way of fools.  
 Knowing this, I have savored the flavor of things in the cave of  
 enlightened intent  
 of the new and old schools without prejudice.  
 I have practiced pure view for all the Victorious One's teachings.  
 Rejecting the Buddhist teachings [that is, holding sectarian  
 attitudes] is a heavy burden which I have no wish to carry.  
 I know that a life of simplicity and study alone is dearer  
 than public ceremonies, empowerments and formal rituals, and all  
 the cultural trappings

of religion mixed with the eight worldly pursuits.  
 I have more faith in the inner meaning of the sutras and  
     tantras alone  
 than in all there is to be learned in the fields of knowledge.  
 I have more interest in the Buddha's words than commentary,  
 for I know that while there are many profound instructions,  
 there is nothing which is not complete in the Buddha's words.  
 I aspire to definitive truth more than provisional truth,  
 and to the pinnacle of the Madhyamaka even more than that.  
 I have more faith in correct view than in action,  
 and I know that the welfare of others is dearer than my own.  
 I trust renunciation more than studying books,  
 for it is better to tame the mind even a bit  
 than to be very learned in scripture and logic.  
 I have more faith in the methods of tantra than of sutra,  
 for the unsurpassable view and action of tantra  
 makes my hairs stand on end when I even see or hear of them.  
 Rather than a lofty position at odds with the Buddhist teachings,  
 I would sooner be humble, dying like a dog;  
 I always think, "Oh, to die engaged in contemplation  
 in empty caves and solitary dales!" (*Autobiography*, pp. 53–54)

Kongtrul wrote those words at the age of thirty, and included them  
 in his life story since they "seem to be something of an autobiographi-  
 cal statement" (*ibid.*, p. 52). He produced the bulk of his writing after  
 this composition, but the spirit of the statement "I have more faith in the  
 methods of tantra than of sutra, for the unsurpassable view and action of  
 tantra makes my hairs stand on end when I even see or hear of them" echoes  
 throughout his work, and throughout his long life. After he had converted  
 to Buddhism, having "cast aside the way of Bön," Kongtrul reports that  
 during his late adolescence he studied and reflected upon, and wrote many  
 outlines for, Longchenpa's *Seven Treasuries* into the night until his lamp  
 was spent. At the age of twenty, he left his first monastic home for another  
 but not before having learned and begun to practice the highest form  
 of meditation his initial spiritual tradition had to offer—Direct Vision  
 ("tögal" in Tibetan).

Most people assume that at some point Kongtrul acquired a classic  
 Buddhist education, but in fact his résumé in that field is surprisingly  
 thin. In a summing up of his studies, he writes that he received detailed



instruction in just four texts of “the general Buddhist tradition” (Maitreya’s *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, Chandrakirti’s *Entering the Middle Way*, Asanga’s *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena*, and Maitreya’s *The Highest Continuity*), and in an autobiography chock full of details of his studies and meditation practice, he never mentions when he received instruction in the first three of these texts, nor does he report that he ever taught them. On the other hand, he wrote a long commentary to *The Highest Continuity* (translated into English by Rosemarie Fuchs and published as *Buddha Nature* [Snow Lion Publications, 2000]), taught it often, and recommended it for all meditators within his tradition.

Conspicuously absent from Kongtrul’s own account of his studies are the many other classics of the lesser and great ways (the hinayana and mahayana). Let us surmise that he read them; he neither engaged in formal study of them, nor did he teach them. His later studies corresponded to his early studies, his later meditations to his early practices, his early writing to his later work: the vast majority centered on tantra. Anyone can now quickly and easily confirm this by reading the tables of contents to Kongtrul’s *Five Treasuries*, found on pages 515–531 in an appendix to the *Autobiography*. We may call Kongtrul a scholar and a prolific writer, yet if we are to understand him and what he sought to achieve in *The Treasury of Knowledge*, we must situate his scholarship and writing squarely within the field of tantra.

Time and again throughout *The Treasury of Knowledge*, Kongtrul ably introduces us to the subjects of general Buddhism but does not allow us to tarry with them. For instance, he gives a grand tour of all subjects of pre-tantric Buddhist study, mundane and sacred, in the first three chapters of Book Six and then declares at the outset of the next chapter (*Systems of Buddhist Tantra*) to sum up what one has just read:

The culmination of the path of training in the way of the perfections gives rise to none other than the mantric path of training in the mind of its practitioner. Therefore, the ultimate direct result of the perfections is not full awakening. The culmination of all aspects of the path of training in the mantra way directly yields the result of full awakening. That being the case, the fully awakened state is the direct result solely of the culmination of the mantric path of training . . . (*Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, p. 82)

He then launches into a general presentation of tantra that amounts to the longest chapter by far of *The Treasury*, a tipping of the scales that he repeats throughout this work. Why? My guess is that as faithful to Buddhism as he was, his religion for him was simply the most efficient means to an end—enlightenment—rather than a subject of intellectually rewarding study. Unveiling and stressing throughout *The Treasury* the primary place of the highest tantras was his way of encouraging his readership to become participants, not spectators, on that path.

Since the work translated here resembles the rest of *The Treasury* in its tantra-centered view of Buddhism, we might well ask what Kongtrul considered to be the crucial distinction between tantra (which he sometimes refers to as “the mantric way” or “mantra”) and other forms of Buddhism (specifically with its closest neighbor, the way of the perfections). He answers that tantra and the Buddhist ways that lead to it share the same goal—a state beyond formulations or elaborations. Nevertheless, “The difference lies in the subject. . . In mantra, the subject is [the mind of] great bliss used as method” (*Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, p. 81). This statement is couched in frightfully dualistic language, but Kongtrul could not avoid it: according to him, in tantra a shift must be made in the subject, ourselves, from an ordinary, discursive consciousness to awareness grounded in the experience of great bliss. He goes on to state that tantric practice takes three forms—“the best, the lesser, and the secondary. The essence of the best form is great bliss; that of the lesser, the pride in being the deity; and that of the secondary, mere mantric rituals and applications” (ibid., p. 86). The best, he says, is exemplified by tantra’s phase of completion, the next by its phase of creation, and the last by methods or rituals for harnessing the power of meditation.

We may seem to have digressed in these last paragraphs, yet these are the keys to reading *The Treasury* as he intended. If we impartially inspect Kongtrul’s accounts of his spiritual life, his writing, and his teaching, we see that he devoted his time and energy to just these three forms of tantric practice. *The Treasury of Knowledge* does not represent a departure from his lifelong concerns, but instead constitutes a particularly wide-ranging articulation of the crucial place of tantric practice on the Buddhist path.

Kongtrul founded two retreat centers, where he welcomed those who were prepared to learn from him how to make a shift from conventional consciousness to tantric nondual wisdom. He accepted in his courses

persons unversed in Buddhist studies. Kongtrul himself never attended a day of classes in one of the many monastic colleges of his day; he never founded a college of his own. He hoped his disciples could find the time to read *The Treasury of Knowledge*, but he would be content if they had at least digested *Buddhist Ethics*. Some other Buddhist masters then and now might consider such an admission policy to be reckless, but this is not a word we can associate with Kongtrul. He knew what he was doing in receiving neophyte Buddhists into advanced tantric training: he was having them follow his personal example.

It would be fair to ask whether Kongtrul lived in a hermitage and wrote just for those whose sole ambition was to live as renunciants. Jamgön Kongtrul did thrive in a retreat center, it is true, but his life and his outlook were not limited by those surroundings. For example, in 1863, the year after he began work on *The Treasury of Knowledge*, his idyllic life as a meditator, writer, and retreat teacher is interrupted: summoned by a military commander, Kongtrul slips “over a desolate pass to come down to the military camp.” While there, the opposing armies approached,

... and there was great tumult and anxiety—an experience that reminded me what circumstances would be in the intermediate state after death. At that point I was required to give counsel and do divinations to find out when the Nyarong foe would strike and from which direction he would come. Such affairs are hardly covered in the explanations concerning divination procedures, so I just spoke whatever came to mind and by the blessings of the three jewels everything I said turned out to be accurate. Even the commander was impressed.

On the actual day of battle, the central Tibetan forces were victorious and congratulations were heaped upon me. (*Autobiography*, p. 139)

Before returning home after tending to these most worldly of secular affairs, Kongtrul asks and receives a dispensation for the monastery (Palpung, where he once lived and which hosted his hermitage) from retribution on the part of the forces he has just aided. As Kongtrul had noted earlier, “Our monastery of Palpung was in danger of being attacked, since it harbored some who were very hostile to the government force” (*ibid.*, p. 139). In recompense for his help, he slyly

... made a petition on behalf of everyone connected to Palpung, mentioning every name I knew, and this landed well on the ear of the commander, who gave me his promise that everyone under the jurisdiction of Palpung, both the monastery and the surrounding countryside, would be spared any aggression. Then, while the war with the Nyarong forces was still raging, I returned home. (ibid., p. 139)

Although I do not believe such events influenced his writing, it was in the midst of times of such “great tumult and anxiety” that Jamgön Kongtrul wrote *The Treasury of Knowledge*. He was no innocent otherworldly monk; he seems to have known secular and church history as well as anyone in his day. Events in his life forced him to navigate often in a public role in turbulent, tricky waters that were not his own, those of church or state affairs at the highest level in his region of Eastern Tibet, the kingdom of Dergé.

Two concerns led me to include the preceding passages from Kongtrul's autobiography. First, for those unfamiliar with his autobiography and other writing, I wanted to show that he knew how to write a story, a talent he rarely exhibits in the pages translated here. Kongtrul mastered many styles; the one we read in *The Treasury of Knowledge* reflects a deliberate choice, not his limitations as a writer. Second, we can easily prejudice a nineteenth-century Tibetan lama and imagine that his circumstances had so little in common with our own that we would be unwise to lend him much credence. Admittedly, he owned none of the gadgets or machines, large and small, with which we surround ourselves; then again, neither did the greats of the past whose writings constitute the touchstones of our own cultures. Yes, he was a monk who lived in a retreat center, but he was also a painter, a medical doctor, a prolific writer, an astrologer, an administrator, a meditation instructor, and a competent if unwilling military strategist who could be called upon to keep his cool in the thick of battle during a major civil war. Compared to his degree of involvement in active life, and in ongoing relations with men and women of high or humble station in his world, our average modern lives can seem coddled and cocooned.

How easy it is to think when we read a long-dead foreigner's writing, “He is a clergyman preaching to his choir,” “He could never understand our lives these days,” “We have nothing in common.” What if those suppositions were unfounded? What if Kongtrul had a fuller life than ours,

and what if he wrote with exactly our mentality in mind, to help us evolve toward a better understanding of ourselves and the world? It is likely that if he were alive today, transported from his time and place, we would find him as innocently amazed as our own ancestors would be when encountering modern inventions. Yet I also think he would find us, stripped of those labor-saving devices that few among us could explain let alone repair, to be dangerously naïve and unprepared in relation to the facts of life that have not changed since his day, that will never change: the raw realities of birth, aging, the wretched sicknesses and other calamities that strike all ages indiscriminately, and death.

What if Kongtrul wrote as our spiritual friend and mentor who not only understood us as human beings but wished us well and chose his words accordingly? If *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* is the first book of *The Treasury of Knowledge* one reads, it might be difficult to glimpse Kongtrul's underlying intent. The original, integral Tibetan text is more revealing: we pass from the last lines of *Myriad Worlds* directly into *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet*. Thus, a reader would wade into the subjects of the Buddha, his teaching, and the saga of Buddhist history having just read these words:

The outer world and the five [types] of objects that find support in it—form, sound, smell, taste, and touch—do not exist anywhere, externally or internally. Nonetheless, due to object-oriented instincts, objects appear to the mind as if they were externally existent. (*Myriad Worlds*, p. 200)

Because of body-oriented instincts, the six types of beings—the matrices for the arising of subject and object—adhere intensely to [their] individual forms and [their functions in terms of] object, agent, and action. Even while dreaming, they adhere to their bodies [as real]. Consequently, they experience pleasure and pain, and the strength of the three types of instincts increases, causing deceptive subjective and objective appearances to manifest. Rejection or acceptance of those [deceptive appearances] increases the power of obscuring emotions, leading to the accumulation of evolutionary actions. In this way, the beginningless and endless chain of cyclic life continuously recreates itself.

Instincts [created] from time without beginning produced our succession of past lives. Habituation to the stream of past lives has led us into the present life. Habituation to the experiences of this present life, such as dreams influenced by the [events] of the day, forms instincts [that will manifest as] objects, subjects, and bodies of future lives. (ibid., p. 201)

[A]nalytical discernment can be used to realize that the cause for wandering throughout cyclic life, i.e., self-habit, and its condition, instinctive unawareness, have no intrinsic reality. With this realization, the basis of deception collapses from its inner core. Deceptive appearances are exhausted within the sphere of reality, and liberation, supreme happiness, is attained. (ibid., p. 202)

Based on what has been explained above, one trains in the crucial body postures, ways of gazing, and breathing techniques in relation to the targets of external and internal objects. Practicing the yoga of luminous [absorption] as one's path, the deceptive appearances are ended [in the ground of being]. One effortlessly arrives at the secret jewel cave, the original place of freedom, primordial purity, and one is thereby liberated: this freedom arises from the natural [state] of reality. (ibid., p. 227)

Again in the original Tibetan, on completion of the sections translated in *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet*, Kongtrul leaves the sweeping horizon of history for the intensely personal subject of a teacher-student relationship. On the first page of the following book, *Buddhist Ethics*, we again read Kongtrul speaking to us directly:

The source of our present and lasting happiness and well-being is the precious teaching of the Buddha. Just to hear its name is rare, how much more to encounter it. Now that the Buddha's teaching is known in this world and you are a human being whose life is replete with leisure and endowments, do not waste this opportunity, for such a life is a wish-fulfilling jewel. In order to make your life fruitful, as you wisely approach [the

teaching,] first search for a qualified spiritual guide and then follow his or her guidance impeccably. (*Buddhist Ethics*, p. 39)

Is Kongtrul proselytizing? Is *The Treasury of Knowledge* a treatise or a tract? I would speculate that Kongtrul imagined he was writing to a one hundred percent Buddhist audience not in need of conversion. I would guess that he wished his Tibetan readers would use his writing to guide themselves from the relative comfort of being faithful Buddhists to the ultimate sanctuary of being Buddha. *The Treasury of Knowledge* has been called a kind of encyclopedia, and to a point that is true, but an *Encyclopedia Britannica* it is not: as rich in information as it is, *The Treasury of Knowledge* does not present information for information's (or for study's) sake. While *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* presents a full picture of the past, *The Treasury of Knowledge* overall dwells in the present and points to the near future: we can find ourselves on its detailed map of the path to awakening and we learn much of what we need for our personal journey to enlightenment.

#### **KALU RINPOCHÉ AND THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSLATION OF *THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE***

Had Jamgön Kongtrul only written *The Treasury of Knowledge* and a few minor works, he might have been more eloquent concerning his motivations and intentions in composing them. As it was, his other writings and compilations, given the collective name of *The Five Treasuries*, dwarfed this *Treasury*, by far the smallest of the five. He did relatively little to extol this treatise. Kalu Rinpoché, who initiated the translation of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, could enjoy no such luxury: the project he had in mind towered over any previous translation from Tibetan to a Western language. In his own quiet way, he had to proselytize.

When Kalu Rinpoché first gathered his Western disciples around him to propose the translation of Jamgön Kongtrul's *Treasury of Knowledge*, he knew his first task was to convince us of the necessity of the undertaking. Specifically, why had he chosen this mammoth work, by itself significant enough to be counted as the first among Jamgön Kongtrul's five treasuries?

To the translators, and then to anyone who asked what he was doing with the final few years of his life, Kalu Rinpoché would explain that *The*

*Treasury of Knowledge* served as an ideal springboard for the study and practice of Buddhism: a reader could find there any subject grounded in its proper context, be it the Buddhist view, meditation, or conduct, or the basis, path, and result of Buddhist training. Once well informed of where a topic fit into the larger scheme, a reader could then search for more detailed information elsewhere. Rinpoché would further remark that *The Treasury of Knowledge* could likewise be used by more sophisticated readers at the end of specialized studies and practice, to reacquaint themselves with the entire breadth and depth of the Buddhist experience. He said that he considered *The Treasury of Knowledge* as both a spring and an ocean, both a point of departure and the final destination.

Once we translators had grasped the nature of the work we had been asked to undertake—the scope of *The Treasury of Knowledge* and our individual task within it—that understanding alone did not necessarily persuade us of the wisdom of the project itself. While that is a somewhat embarrassing admission, it may help you, an intrepid reader faced with the daunting prospect of absorbing *The Treasury of Knowledge*, to know that we initially as readers and then as translators struggled with questions concerning its relevance and purpose. With time, I believe we have come to a shared understanding and deep appreciation of Kalu Rinpoché's choice of this work, and the deep purpose of the project.

As Sarah Harding recounts in her preface to *Esoteric Instructions*, Rinpoché began speaking of his plans for a translation committee in 1986. He was eighty-one years old at the time, traveling throughout North America and teaching on a schedule that would challenge someone half his age. I had accompanied him as a translator and attendant throughout Asia until Hawaii during that tour, and I can attest that at that point Rinpoché never hinted of a nascent translation project bubbling in his mind. Yet by the time he returned to Hawaii, it was all he wanted to talk about. I had come from Asia to accompany him back home, and found him enthused and energized by a good idea whose time had surely come.

In subsequent private conversations, he noted two things that had wakened him to the necessity of setting this translation in motion. First was his final meeting with His Holiness Dujom Rinpoché in France, probably in 1985. Kalu Rinpoché told me he had always assumed that Dujom Rinpoché would head a major translation project in the West. That lama, one of Kalu Rinpoché's teachers and just one year his senior, had settled in France and gathered around him many excellent Western disciples.



Further, and most importantly, Dujom Rinpoché was a literary genius, likely the foremost Tibetan writer of the twentieth century. Kalu Rinpoché would have gladly given his full support to Dujom Rinpoché had he decided to start a project on the scale of *The Treasury of Knowledge*. Yet no such project was in the brewing; Dujom Rinpoché was clearly exhibiting signs of poor health (he passed away in 1987). Kalu Rinpoché felt the burden fall to him. And a burden it was: Kalu Rinpoché felt ill-suited to the job of heading a translation project: his active life had been centered on teaching meditation, not on scholastic endeavors or writing. Nevertheless, he was still well and also led a sizable group of bilingual disciples.

Meeting those disciples again in North America in 1986 proved to be the second and deciding spur to Kalu Rinpoché's plans. Sarah Harding reports that she offered a seemingly royal "our' everlasting translation service in whatever way he saw fit" and that later Rinpoché announced during a radio interview the formation of "a committee to translate the entire Buddhist canon" (*Esoteric Instructions*, p. 13). In the end, Rinpoché scaled down his ambitions to *The Treasury of Knowledge*, and quickly contacted prospective translators. In our conversations after leaving North America, he didn't recount Sarah Harding's offer, but did mention her and Richard Barron, two of his most gifted translators, of whom he was particularly fond. He didn't want to lose their talents to lesser projects; he hoped his plans would give them a challenge at the level of their capabilities. I got the impression that he felt the tasks of a "Dharma center" translator—oral translation of elementary teachings and written translation of relatively short texts of rituals or meditation instruction—were confining them to living below their intellectual means.

Another individual who had an impact on the early planning of the project was a Buddhist scholar who walked into Kalu Rinpoché's room at his monastery in India for an interview just as Rinpoché completed his first draft of an announcement of his translation committee plans. Dr. Daniel Perdue's timing was "auspicious" as the Tibetans say, and Rinpoché always treasured that serendipitous first encounter with the man who would become his earliest go-to scholar, trusted for his capacious mind, sunny disposition, and warm, generous heart. The following paragraph is excerpted from what Rinpoché wrote that day:

The world is currently experiencing unprecedented material development and the discovery of new scientific knowledge,

creating good fortune and well-being for everyone. At such a time as this, the unsurpassable wisdom of Buddhism can bring immense happiness and benefit to humanity. This wisdom is contained in the great treatise *The Treasury of Knowledge*, written by Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé (1813–1900), the nonsectarian master of all Buddhist teachings whose life was prophesied by the Buddha. If this great work is translated into English, the nature of all existence and nirvana will appear as vividly as a reflection in a clear mirror in the minds of the most learned people in the world, as though the expanse of their understanding were illuminated with sunlight.

This is how Rinpoché “sold” his project to us, and to his disciples worldwide. He felt that Buddhism’s wisdom culture perfectly matched the depth and complexity of modern life. Yes, he spent years of his life in solitary meditation retreat, often in conditions of extreme hardship, and he routinely encouraged renunciation—a life of immersion in study, contemplation, and meditation. Nonetheless, his vision of Buddhism’s place in the world was not as a marginal faith for reclusive individuals. As we can read in the above paragraph, he strove to wed Buddhism to the best of modern, secular education and technological progress. Buddhism could share its compassionate heart, advanced meditation techniques, and insightful wisdom with modern, well-educated persons in Asia and the West, giving them the best of both worlds. Kalu Rinpoché’s commitment to Buddhism beyond his own personal practice was based on the simple belief that it could contribute significantly to the modern world by bringing our material and spiritual lives into balance. He felt confident that we would receive his Buddhism—Himalayan tantric Buddhism at that—as relevant and up-to-date. This belief bore witness to his trust in the eventual readership of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, and, incidentally, to dizzyingly high expectations for his translators.

For us translators, he wrote the following prayer to help us join our intentions with his in the course of our work:

For the sake of all beings whose numbers fill all space—  
 Each one at some time my parent—  
 And especially for all humanity of this world,  
 I give rise to this aspiration:

May all come to know, in their own languages,  
 The enlightened ones' teachings, epitomized by scriptures  
 and realization,  
 And may all develop the extraordinary wisdom  
 That is the understanding of cyclic existence and transcendent  
 states.

May this dispel the dark oblivion of ignorance,  
 And based on the Buddhist view, meditation, and conduct,  
 May all accomplish what is meaningful for themselves and others  
 And so come to realize perfect enlightenment.

Now that I have developed this awakened aspiration,  
 The force of my intention will not diminish  
 Until I reach this very goal.  
 Lamas, buddhas, and bodhisattvas, bear witness to this,  
 And as I have made this commitment,  
 Think of me as your child!

Inspire us all so that the brilliance of wisdom from study,  
 reflection, and meditation  
 May blaze in the minds of all.  
 May whatever is beneficial for the doctrine and for all beings  
 Arise throughout the infinity of space.

Although he had us focus our attention exclusively on *The Treasury of Knowledge*, we noted that this aspiration points beyond a single text to “the enlightened ones’ teachings,” a scale that was (and remains) truly intimidating to contemplate. As written in the preface of *Myriad Worlds*, Kalu Rinpoché added to this prayer of aspiration some succinct advice concerning what audience we were to imagine we wrote for as we translated:

Venerable Kalu Rinpoché originally suggested three principles to follow in the translation of this work: literal, accurate, and accessible. He felt that our efforts should be aimed at translating the actual text into English (*tshig bsgyur*—translating the words) rather than at interpreting the text in English (*don*

*bsgyur*—translating the meaning). Secondly, he was more interested in an accurate translation than one that sacrificed accuracy for elegance. Finally, he encouraged us to use a vocabulary that would be accessible to the average educated reader rather than a highly technical vocabulary that depended on prior training in Buddhist or East Asian studies. (*Myriad Worlds*, p. 11)

On the subject of Kalu Rinpoché's intentions, the last sentence in this passage reveals an important key. In his own phrasing, we were to aim for a readership of those "who had gained a university degree" (by which I assumed he meant at least a BA or its equivalent) "but who did not intend to become Buddhist scholars." The preface goes on to remark, "Reasonable and sensible as these principles are . . ." and then eloquently describes the conundrums and coping strategies of all *Treasury of Knowledge* translators who received Rinpoché's unsolvable koan at the core of his vision for our work. I will return to this subject in a later section of this introduction.

Whatever the practicality of Rinpoché's directives, his objective for *The Treasury of Knowledge* seems to coincide with Kongtrul's resolve at the outset of the text's composition, to write "something that would be of use to people who had not studied much." In mid-nineteenth-century Tibet, that meant persons who were literate but had not embarked upon a career in Buddhist academia. In the late twentieth century, Kalu Rinpoché transposed that audience to our context: persons with a reasonable degree of education able to appreciate ideas from outside the common worldview, but not necessarily Buddhists or prospective scholars of Buddhism.

Like Jamgön Kongtrul, Kalu Rinpoché had a second target audience in mind for *The Treasury of Knowledge*: both of them wished for it to be read by a tiny group—those entering three-year, three-month retreats. Above, I included Kongtrul's advice to those entering retreat under his guidance to at least read the section of *The Treasury* now entitled *Buddhist Ethics*. In his last public talk outside his home (given in Bodhgaya, India, in early 1989), Kalu Rinpoché looked back over his years of teaching throughout the world. He said that his central hope in founding so many meditation centers far and wide was that they would lead to the establishment of three-year, three-month retreat centers, an important

institution for training meditators in Tibetan Buddhism's Kagyu and Nyingma orders. As gratified as he was at the success of those plans and his tireless efforts, he felt that the results of those retreats would be greatly improved if men and women entered retreat having read *The Treasury of Knowledge*.<sup>2</sup>

Meditation in retreat, his own or others', consumed most of Kalu Rinpoché's life: he entered a three-year, three-month retreat (in the institution Jamgön Kongtrul founded, at a place called Tsadra Rinchen Drak) at the age of fifteen; then at the age of twenty-four, he spent twelve years as a vagabond retreatant, living in caves or tents in eastern Tibet. Those happy years ended when his teacher insisted he assume the leadership of the retreat at Tsadra. From that point on, wherever Kalu Rinpoché called home—Tibet, Bhutan, and India—he built and led three-year retreats. By his own testimony, the establishment of the same retreat institutions outside the Himalayan region was his goal over many years of tireless teaching throughout the world. His closest disciple, Bokar Rinpoché, lived a life centered on the same institution: he entered a three-year retreat at Karmapa's monastery in central Tibet, but had to leave retreat to escape the Chinese takeover in 1959. He later completed two three-year, three-month retreats at Kalu Rinpoché's monastery near Darjeeling, India. When Bokar Rinpoché built his own monastery nearby, he constructed not one but two three-year retreat centers on its adjacent land. Kalu Rinpoché's closest friend in his later years, Chatral Rinpoché, also devoted his early life to meditation in retreat and has founded a number of three-year retreat centers in Nepal, India, and Bhutan.

In relation to his lifelong career as a retreat master, the translation of *The Treasury of Knowledge* marked a change in approach for Kalu Rinpoché, but only at a superficial level. His private confidences during the last years of his life matched his public statements: he initiated this translation project to help the world in general, the worldwide Buddhist community, and the few of his disciples willing and able to embark upon long-term retreats. He did not entertain any false dichotomy between the study and practice of Buddhism—they are hardly opposed to one another! Yet he upheld and exuded the spirit of Buddhist practice first and foremost, and this was reflected in his choices of spiritual teachers, companions, and disciples, as well as in his life's defining acts and teaching. Kalu Rinpoché

2. As Rinpoché's translator on that occasion I have been horribly negligent in misplacing both the recording and a transcript of that talk. If anyone has a copy of either . . .

had a genuine appreciation for all faiths, and took great joy in all forms of Buddhism. He was no spiritual snob, yet he had a specific domain of specialization—the meditation techniques of Himalayan tantric Buddhism. He knew that readers could use *The Treasury of Knowledge* in a variety of ways, but his personal motivation in spearheading the translation project was to improve everyone's comprehension of the path to which he (and Kongtrul) had dedicated his life.

Absent from Kongtrul's writings and Kalu Rinpoché's remarks is any mention of what might seem to some the most obvious use of *The Treasury of Knowledge*—as a textbook for study. Neither Kongtrul nor Kalu Rinpoché attended or founded Buddhist colleges; both trained as young monks in three-year, three-month retreats, and both later founded and guided that same kind of institution. Despite their lack of personal experience with Tibetan higher education, both certainly knew that traditional Buddhist colleges delved into the subjects on their curricula in much greater depth than *The Treasury of Knowledge*, and that most Buddhist colleges in old Tibet did not include tantra in their programs, which would exclude major sections of *The Treasury*. While not an ideal textbook in its native land, this work's inclusiveness can have a positive effect on members of the Buddhist intelligentsia who sometimes exit from years of laudably intensive immersion in study or meditation practice with an excess of chauvinistic school loyalty, which exposure to *The Treasury* can soften, as Sarah Harding points out:

[E]xposure to the vast array of techniques virtually forces one to accept that they are more or less the same, and therefore are all equally valid Buddhist teachings. The differences that are fine-tuned to the individual are, after all, very minor and the similarities in being viable techniques on the path to awakening are dominant. Each tradition is profound and brilliant in its own right, once it is glimpsed. It must be seen to be believed. But if a person comprehends only a single philosophical presentation or one esoteric instruction and becomes fixated on it as truth, then the rumors of alternatives will seem strange and erroneous. (*Esoteric Instructions*, p. 34)

By the standards of classical Tibetan education, *The Treasury of Knowledge* is as Kalu Rinpoché described it—a starting point or a brief concluding summation. For all readers, the charm of this text lies in its

presentation side-by-side of all Buddhist views and subjects of study, and all forms and techniques of meditation—each is introduced in context and given its own voice. As massive and as comprehensive as *The Treasury* appears, its primary target audience, yesterday in Tibet or today outside Tibet, is in fact as Jamgön Kongtrul and Kalu Rinpoché intended: those of us without a topnotch Buddhist education.

### **PAYING FOR THE TRANSLATION OF *THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE***

Launching the grand idea of a translation project on the scale of *The Treasury of Knowledge* was audacious enough, but once he had done so, Kalu Rinpoché had to find a way to finance the project. Therein lies a tale.

In the beginning, translators were asked to work on their respective chapters at home in their spare time, for free. To my knowledge, there was never any discussion of compensation. We were invited to join Kalu Rinpoché, Bokar Rinpoché, and Khenpo Lodrö Dönyö in Bodhgaya, India, during three months in the winters of 1987–88, and 1988–89, periods of all-day, seven-days-a-week group work on the translation. Each translator was responsible for all travel expenses; once at our destination, we were housed and fed at monasteries in this most sacred of Buddhist pilgrimage places. By 1988, Kalu Rinpoché had decided that some of us should move to his monastery near Darjeeling, India, to work full time on the translation. That decision changed the dynamic: in asking us to leave our lives and work in the world behind, he knew we were also abandoning any source of income. From that point on (beginning in 1989), he was responsible for us.

In 1988, he traveled with Bokar Rinpoché and around twenty lamas from his monastery through southeast Asia, to Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. (I accompanied them as interpreter, travel coordinator, and lama herder.) In the past, Kalu Rinpoché had never used his travels and teaching for fundraising, except if the funds were destined for the establishment or strengthening of Buddhist projects in the specific location where he taught. This had always been one of his guiding principles. He told each audience that he was changing his approach in the case of this exceptional project that would benefit all Buddhist communities equally: could they please support the translation project which he would describe in detail. In each major city or country, he would appoint

trusted disciples to collect donations, and he gave them a bank account number in Hong Kong for deposits.

Having planted those seeds during an extremely successful teaching tour, his last in those countries, he expected to be pleased with the results when we returned to Hong Kong many months later, after his last overseas trip (to Los Angeles). His general-secretary returned from a visit to the bank indisposed: not one dollar had been deposited there. Not one.

This revealed one of the only mysteries of Tibetan Buddhism that forever perplexed Kalu Rinpoché: he had helped raise thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of dollars worldwide for buildings—monasteries, retreat centers, public meditation centers, and stupas (monuments in honor of the Buddha's wisdom). And he had done so with ease: his word was gold, as it were. Yet now his repeated eloquent requests for help were not even worth brass or tin. We were dumbfounded.

All was not lost, however. One Chinese woman invited Rinpoché to a meal in a restaurant in Los Angeles and over dessert gave him a check for \$40,000 for his translation project. And one kind couple in Malaysia (Foo Chong Hong and Pang Wing Hai of Ipoh, Malaysia) did collect and transmit donations for the project as well. During Rinpoché's last months (he passed away five months after our return from the US), these were the sole significant rays of hope for the translation project's long-term survival.

Many well-meaning persons asked Rinpoché to locate the translation committee in Europe or North America. While he might have seriously considered another option had there been indications of dependable, generous support, all signs pointed instead toward home, his monastery in the Darjeeling hills of northeast India. There, the translators were installed in a separate building on a hill overlooking the main temple and Rinpoché's residence. Be it ever so humble—some rooms' walls let air and light in, the only running water flowed from a tap in the courtyard, the two toilets were holes in the floor of an adjacent building, the bath/shower room in the same structure also had a hole in the floor and nothing else, not even running water. Electricity in that region was spotty, often off for days at a time. Food was prepared by young, and extraordinarily good-natured, monks. Every month, Rinpoché would call us down to his room and hand us each our monthly wages—at the time the equivalent in Indian rupees of \$20 US—for work that continued seven days a week.

If we compared ourselves to middle-class Westerners, we had wandered



into a hardship setting. But if we looked outside our windows, we were living comparatively privileged lives. The house we occupied had been built to house His Holiness Karmapa, head of the Kagyu order, on the occasion of his visit to the monastery some years before. Kalu Rinpoché's home was slightly better equipped, but he had moved into it when over seventy years of age. I was once asked to stay in his old rooms at the monastery for a week while their occupant was away; from that experience, I can attest that the rooms he used to live in all those years were not up to our standard. Next door to the monastery, including the translators' house, a Tibetan refugee camp perched on the hillside, again making our home and conditions look palatial. Beyond our village we had all seen, heard, and smelled the panorama of India's billion-plus human kaleidoscope. Rinpoché had trained us over the years to not think of ourselves as any different or more deserving than the least of our Indian or Tibetan sisters and brothers. Did he want better for us? Perhaps. While in the United States, he had stated that he wanted to pay us \$100 per month . . .

Most of the translators had completed at least one if not two three-year, three-month retreats under Kalu Rinpoché's direction. Although these retreats had taken place in Europe or North America, their conditions were rougher than our living conditions in India. For example, in France where Ingrid McLeod, Sarah Harding, Richard Barron, and I completed our retreats (or in upstate New York, where Elizabeth Callahan did hers), our rooms were unheated—water would freeze in the offering bowls, the toilets were also squat style, our daily schedule began at four AM and ended at nine PM with one day (Tibetan New Year) off each year, and we had no beds, as Rinpoché asked us to not lie down for the duration of the retreat, including while sleeping. And of course not only were we unpaid during our retreats, we had to work and save beforehand to afford it. Our lives at Rinpoché's monastery in India were less rigorous than what we had known during the period we had spent in retreat, what seemed to most of us like the best, most productive (if one can call sitting alone in a room doing next to nothing—i.e., praying or meditating—“productive”), and often happiest years of our lives.

No one in Buddhism fetishizes poverty, yet individuals dedicated to living a life centered on meditation practice commonly aim to live in circumstances best described as modest to humble, close to the standards shared by the majority of the decent and unpretentious human beings

on this planet. The value of simplicity is not something that is preached but not practiced by our spiritual leaders: the meditation masters who have most immersed themselves in Buddhist practice usually continue to prize a simple life. During my years in India, Kalu Rinpoché, Bokar Rinpoché, and Chatral Rinpoché all lived in villages in the Darjeeling district, all in rooms that warmly welcomed but did not impress. Local people would visit to pay their respects; if they left intimidated it would be due only to the presence of these gurus, and not because of their material surroundings. For instance, the room in which Kalu Rinpoché passed away was so small that when we moved his small bed away from the wall a few minutes before his passing, to allow those attending him to fit in the room, no more than one person could fit between the bed and the wall at any one point along its length. There was a single window at one end. Yet it was there that he spent the better part of his days, meditating, taking his meals, or meeting a constant stream of visitors. If he had a more formal interview or meeting, or gave a talk to a group, he would use an adjoining room that included a cabinet with religious statues and objects, and had many more windows. Even that room was smaller than many bedrooms in modern middle-class homes. Bokar Rinpoché's room was furnished only with a wooden frame such as we used to sit in during three-year retreats, the frame used to support one's back while sleeping sitting up. I assumed he slept lying down on a separate mattress, but I never asked. Chatral Rinpoché did have a mattress when I visited him during those years, but it was always placed directly on the floor, and it was there that he sat during the day. Please note that each of these masters ate, slept, meditated, read, wrote, received visitors, hosted meetings, and gave teachings all in the same small rooms. Their living spaces did not include a single chair or a couch or a television or a telephone (Chatral Rinpoché used to own a radio). I have spent hours, days, months with each of them, and I cannot recall them ever leaning against a wall or other back support, except in vehicles. They would spend their days relaxed sitting cross-legged, alert and engrossed in the tasks at hand, working or in conversation or in silent ease. They each had a gentle and lively sense of humor. Even people with no special faith felt as if they drank with them the cool, pure, fresh water of human communion. Those with faith, even some non-Buddhists, left meetings with them inebriated with the potent, exhilarating elixir of spiritual communion.

We translators had long admired these teachers and strove to emulate

and to serve them. Our lives with them entailed a healthy dose of hardship but little or no suffering.

After Kalu Rinpoché left us in May, 1989, we counted among our losses that of the sole spokesperson and fundraiser for the translation project. Things looked dire. Soon thereafter I received a letter from a Japanese man who felt inspired to support the continuation of our work. He had met me as Rinpoché's translator during our tour of Japan two years before, and asked me to act as the committee's representative, to come once a month to Japan to report on the work's progress, and to ask for and to receive funds. In Asia, all is negotiable, and I held out for trips every three or four months. I would speak to him through an interpreter, present the next quarter's plan—this many translators, these expenses, including their travel and the \$100 per month salary Rinpoché had once envisioned—and receive a couple of days later a thick stack of hundred dollar bills.

This proved ideal for a while, and definitely relieved a significant strain from the monastery's budget. But it did not have a happy ending. Over time, after a number of trips to Japan, I noticed that each departure was preceded by some outer upheaval, small but disturbing accidents, or troubling dreams. One always has to be extremely cautious when trying to pinpoint the source of upheavals: when I encounter the unpleasant effects of my ignoble thoughts, words, or deeds, I can scarcely believe they belong to me, and are entirely of my own making. Surely someone else, or samsara's own treachery, is responsible. Therefore, I spent a long time in introspection, continuing to travel regularly to our benefactor, while trying as best I could to examine myself—what was my motivation? How was I subverting this perfect situation? Our faultlessly polite and undemanding sponsor was happy to support Kalu Rinpoché's work, and the translators were entirely grateful.

My inner turmoil reached a crescendo. I dutifully dragged myself to Tokyo one more time, but try as I might, I could not manage to force myself to meet with our sponsor. I called instead and asked him to send future donations to the fateful Hong Kong bank account, firm in the confidence that it was a terrestrial black hole. And so it proved to be once more.

It was very hard to walk away from cold hard cash given in whatever quantity I asked for, and without a single request for receipts. Nothing more was asked of me and of our group than we continue to do our best

to complete the work Kalu Rinpoché had asked of us. Then and now I am amazed and deeply grateful to my colleagues, none of whom voiced a single word of blame or complaint when I returned from that trip empty-handed, with the very bad news that our sponsorship had likely come to an end thanks to a capricious failure of my will. The flush times of \$100/month salaries had ended, we would have to rely on the monastery and on ourselves. I have not saved the date; it was during 1991 or 1992. I've never heard from that generous man since, but I know exactly where I could find him if I wanted to renew contact: on Japan's death row, where he sits having been judged guilty for masterminding the 1995 sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway.

Over the next few years our numbers dwindled. The reasons for my departure were both personal and typical in that I felt unwillingly wrenched from a sinking ship. We all felt a strong commitment to the project, but all but the strongest of us were unable to match our intentions with our acts. In my case, I had regular bouts of bronchitis in the mile-high cold and damp hills that provide the perfect conditions for some of the world's best tea and most intractable lung diseases. At each point when I thought I would never again stop coughing or sleep a full night, I would take a short trip to the hot and dry plains not far away, and my cough would disappear by itself. I was not alone among the translators with bouts of bronchitis, dysentery, and malaria—unremarkable door prizes for those who live more or less as the local people do, things we dealt with and learned to take in stride. But I balked when I tested positive for tuberculosis, after the sunny plains did not work their magic and my lungs remained leaden.

Each one of us faced the same predicament: our coping strategies ran up against an immovable predicament that loomed too large, and we left. I will always regret leaving, and I will always marvel at those who stayed. For it is not that they did not face exactly the same kinds of crossroads, each in his or her own way. They simply decided to do as we had been trained to do: to sit through it, living on faith, devotion, and insight. I cannot say whether such persons have “happy” lives, but I am fairly confident they will have exemplary deaths.

To the best of my knowledge, once our Japanese sponsorship ended, the monastery became the main source of support for the translation committee . . . until the appearance of Tsadra Foundation, which allowed

Bokar Rinpoché to revive the project, and to contact us far-flung translators in the hope that its magnanimous sponsorship would allow us to complete the work we'd started. No one, including Kalu Rinpoché, ever imagined it would take this long, or be this arduous. No one could have predicted the enormous cost of these last years of work, for time in the modern world away from Tibetan monasteries is incalculably expensive. The directors of Tsadra Foundation—Eric and Andrea Colombel, and Lama Drubgyu Tenzin (Anthony Chapman)—have achieved a rare balance of tenacity and generosity in embracing Kalu Rinpoché's original vision of *The Treasury of Knowledge*. Kalu Rinpoché supplied the inspiration and the direction, the translators the manpower, and Tsadra Foundation the means to realize Rinpoché's intentions. He firmly believed that *The Treasury of Knowledge* will have a very positive impact in our world; we owe Tsadra Foundation our deepest gratitude for sharing that belief and nurturing the project to its completion.

My purpose in writing this section is to mull over some of the practical details concerning a translation project of this size. During Kalu Rinpoché's lifetime, the Buddhist community exhibited faint enthusiasm for funding translation projects. Many very kind people made significant donations to our work, but their helping hands were not joined by many others. Major translation projects need major funding, even when they are located in the hinterlands of the Himalayas. In the past, both in the anglophone world, as in the Tibetan, kings, not commoners, have funded the most significant, lasting translations. I have King James of England, and King Trisong Déutsen and King Ralpachen of Tibet in mind; Chinese emperors also sponsored Buddhist translations in their country. Emperors and kings often have blood on their hands, for fleeting good or ill, yet translators (and those concerned with other religious projects, many of which have involved large amounts of wood and stone) have accepted their support over the ages, providing an avenue for Caesar to do some rendering of his own. We might wish for philanthropic foundations whose leaders have hearts as pure as new driven snow, but along the arc of Buddhist history the likes of Tsadra Foundation are as rare as daytime stars.

If there is any lesson in our experience with the relatively small work called *The Treasury of Knowledge*, it is this: Let no one underestimate the time, energy, and resources necessary to bring to fruition the monumen-

tal translation work that lies before us as Buddhism takes root in new cultures and languages.

### *THE TREASURY IN TRANSLATION*

For all that Kalu Rinpoché first aimed at Sarah Harding and Richard Barron, his arrows hit Ingrid McLeod and Elio Guarisco, the translation team responsible above all other contributors for ensuring the continuity and eventual success of his translation project. Although every book in this series can be considered a work of many hands, these two have been primarily responsible for bringing four of the series' ten books to completion: *Myriad Worlds*, *Buddhist Ethics*, *Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, and *The Elements of Tantric Practice*. Without their consistent willingness to do the heavy lifting through thick and very, very thin (in terms of others' contributions) over the years, it is hard to imagine any other books of the series ever seeing the light of day in our time. I write in awe of their ability to accomplish what I could not, and in deep appreciation that their dedication has resulted in the fulfillment of Kalu Rinpoché's wishes. We all thought we wanted that; only they had the strength of character to accept the tremendous sacrifices necessary to actually make it happen. There is a story of gentle courage here; it is theirs alone to tell.

I return to them and their work in this section because they represent the heart of this translation project. They first presented Kalu Rinpoché's "three principles" to the reader in their preface to *Myriad Worlds*, conscientiously laying forth what Rinpoché had asked of us, and honestly appraising the practicality of his requests. In later books, their choices and strategies changed and evolved, as might be expected in a series of books on such diverse subjects, translated over the course of twenty years. As they note, "translations and translators also evolve. . . Such evolution is important, as to lay out the standards a priori would result in lifeless and probably inaccurate renderings" (*Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, p. 52). Each of the other translators in this series—Sarah Harding, Elizabeth Callahan, Richard Barron, and Gyurmé Dorjé—has had to grapple with very different sets of challenges in the translation of each respective book, and each has triumphed in her or his own way. Please don't take my word for it: read their books, landmark publications all.

The general challenge the other translators have faced originates in the fact that their work has been ground-breaking. We simply cannot find

books in English that match their clarity and comprehensiveness. Readers could wade through *Myriad Worlds* with the idea that its subject, cosmology, was located in another dimension and only familiar for being so other-worldly, a kind of Buddhist science fiction. The seriousness of the other books (published or forthcoming) cannot be so easily deflected. Here we have a book leading us to the summit of Buddhist philosophy, here another with full details of all levels of Buddhist vows, and then others taking us as deep as possible into the subject of tantra. If these books were matched with similar studies in English on our bookshelves, the translators' task would have been far lighter.

The books themselves, too, would have been lighter, quite literally. In one edition (published in Beijing), the Tibetan originals of *Myriad Worlds* and *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy* are practically the same length; the latter text is two pages longer. I do not believe the difference in the English editions reflects personal choices in translation styles (*Myriad Worlds* ends with a mere twenty-five pages of endnotes, most of which were light and easy, just notes; *Frameworks* has eight hundred and eighty-eight notes covering more than a hundred pages with dense information. For its part, *Buddhist Ethics* included over a thousand robust notes covering over one hundred and seventy pages. The notes portions of *Elements of Tantric Practice* are in fact longer even in their smaller type than the translated commentary they embellish). This evolution of style was driven by love of the author, the reader, and the material, and a wish to best connect the three. If our bookshelves already bulged with books in English on the intricate workings of Buddhist tantra, the two phases of tantric meditation, the three levels of vows, and the esoteric instructions that fueled Tibetan Buddhist meditation practice, *The Treasury of Knowledge* books would have been slimmer and what is left of the translators' hair would be less grey.

Translators of Buddhist books also face another fact: we read differently than our Asian Buddhist sisters and brothers. We expect to read and understand a book on our own; an author (or translator) is judged by the ability to articulate a subject within the confines of a book's covers. Whatever it takes is supposed to be found there. Kongtrul wrote for a Buddhist culture in which groups of adults spend hours, days, weeks, and sometimes even months listening to other adults read books to them, sometimes pausing in their reading to elucidate difficult points. This is not a scholastic exercise: if you want to read any written word,

or even recite it aloud, you ask someone who has once heard the book read in this way to read it to you. Once you have listened to the book, you peruse it yourself and ideally ask the person who read the book to you to clear up the questions your reading elicited. Books were alive in Tibet. Tibetan books sometimes have a notice printed on their title page indicating that the line of readers from the original author to the present has been broken—the book itself is intact but its living breath has expired. This was and is still regarded with sadness as an irretrievable loss, a failure on the part of what we might call Tibet's country-wide wisdom book clubs. Such books are still read silently and valued, but they only exist on the page.

Kongtrul wrote in the knowledge that his readers had access to any number of other texts on the subjects he presented; they represented one of his culture's major preoccupations. He also expected the human connections that accompanied any major work in his culture to always attend his *Treasury*, and both those assumptions are still correct in the Tibetan world.

Modern translators work in the knowledge that their chapters of *The Treasury of Knowledge* have to stand alone in two ways. First, as unique, ground-breaking works, they have few or no companion volumes that approach their depth or scope in Western languages. Second, our culture into which these translations are born receives books, however warmly, without adequate post-natal Buddhist nurturing. The books and the readers are on their own. The result? If one is a translator who cares for the author, reader, and material: lengthy introductions and hundreds of endnotes. We rue the present situation and yearn for the day when such massive training wheels do not have to accompany important texts—no one imagines that these additional words and information improve the original even slightly—but here we are.

### TRANSLATING AND READING *BUDDHISM'S JOURNEY TO TIBET*

Within *The Treasury of Knowledge* series, the subjects of Books Two, Three, and Four are the most immediately accessible for those who are not and have no intention of becoming Buddhist scholars but who wish to learn of or be stimulated by Buddhist ideas. My task as a translator was to get out of the author Jamgön Kongtrul's way and not to distract you



the reader. Therefore, I abandoned the endnote-intensive style of previous volumes in favor of a lighter main text. As in any book of this series, what Kongtrul wrote is more or less what you will read in translation; in *Buddhism's Journey*, there will be far fewer numbers to lead you to further explanations. This is not to say that there isn't more that could be said. This book unfurls the whole tapestry of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism: Kongtrul weaves hundreds of names and titles of books into his tale, each culled from among a thousand more, and each with its own compelling backstory. Further, as each translator learns, what Kongtrul has left unsaid can also prove fascinating. There is so much more that could be told, but during the process of preparing this text, I decided to leave you the reader in Kongtrul's hands alone. His work here is accessible and edifying exactly as it is; in this book unlike the others in this series, voluminous notes would have merely reflected my personal enthusiasms and would not have been a service to Kongtrul or to his new readership.

I have enjoyed a lifelong habit of reading Russian history, due to a teenage love of Dostoyevsky, in turn due to a childhood fondness for Tchaikovsky. When I read books on Russia, I cannot retain names and dates as they whiz by, but I didn't pick up those histories to fill my brain with information. I keep coming back to them to appreciate some grand quality in the Russian soul that the country's epic history reveals. I will not find what I am looking for in the book's notes. Likewise, and more recently, I have become infatuated by Robert Fagles' translations of *The Odyssey*, *The Iliad*, and *The Aeneid*. Once again, I am borne by the exhilarating narrative, which he does not interrupt visually with invitations to pause to consider endnoted or footnoted remarks of analysis of a passage in the text, or of further information concerning specific places, persons, gods, or incidents, or their place in later Greek or Roman life and lore. In each book, these details are left to a scholar's (Bernard Knox) introduction and the translator's postscript. I did not consciously set out to follow their example, but at a certain point I stood back from this translation and came to the conclusion that its text was intended to draw the reader in and to open up a world.

Kongtrul's project does not seem to have been solely the transfer of knowledge. He occasionally launches into long inventories of names or brief précis of important texts that are far too dense to be easily decoded: what was he thinking? My guess is that he intended us at some points to savor small tastes from a banquet—this best typifies Thai spices, here

we have some Ethiopian food, this is considered a delicacy in Denmark, and so on—rather than to sit down to a full meal. Kongtrul knew how to write for his declared “unscholarly” readership: he has left us with other countless, highly accessible texts on myriad subjects, gems of pared-down simplicity and directness. When in *Buddhism's Journey* he sometimes veers into jargon that is practically impenetrable to the laypersons he said he wrote for, I have assumed that his words reflect a deliberate choice and not a lapse. Other Buddhist texts sometimes use the same strategy—in *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, one of the cornerstone texts of Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese Buddhism, we read sublime instructions interspersed with interminable lists of buddhas, bodhisattvas, meditative states, places, and seemingly anything else that can be categorized. Woe to the reader who tries to retain all those words; they overwhelm our ears and memories to help us suspend our information-ingesting mind, so that we might allow ourselves to be held, carried, and set down at another setting of sublime teaching, this time with our mind slightly softer and more relaxed than before. Then the process is repeated, and again, over thousands of pages. When I would translate for Kalu Rinpoché, he would typically speak directly to his audience in simple and profound language, “putting buddhahood in the palm of your hand,” as it’s called. Yet occasionally he would launch into subjects or styles of discourse that were well beyond anyone in the room. The first time this happened, I looked at him and thought, “Really?” then did my job. When he next left his audience gaping in baffled wonder, I realized that they weren’t supposed to “get” it: they were being lifted off their familiar earth where he usually met them verbally and intellectually, and given a tour of small patches of his/the Buddha’s heavens. I have allowed myself to suppose that Kongtrul occasionally does likewise in this book, that his *Treasury* concerns knowledge that is something more than an accumulation of facts and information. That of course is nothing more than conjecture on my part, but that opinion has informed my choices.

What has appeared to me to be necessary to readers unfamiliar with any of Kongtrul’s material is an introduction and a general textual analysis of each chapter, including a review of the information from the preceding book, *Myriad Worlds*, that is pertinent to the present volume. I have placed these at the back of the book, after the translation of Kongtrul’s work. Readers who approach Buddhist source texts gingerly can read these introductions before they read the translation; those who are bolder

but left baffled concerning what they have just read will find in them some walk-throughs which will perhaps prove helpful. To those who might reasonably expect the sort of deep and thoughtful reiteration of Kongtrul's words we have come to expect from modern Buddhist scholarship, I must admit that I cannot pretend to be a scholar of Buddhism. I am just a lover of Buddhism, and it is from that perspective that I write. In unison with Kalu Rinpoché, I hope that this book will be generally acceptable to scholars and useful for practitioners and budding scholars.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many minds, hearts, and hands contributed to earlier versions of the chapters in this book. The following translators, in no particular order, all spent significant amounts of time and energy kneading, softening, and coaxing meaning from the original Tibetan text: Ingrid McLeod, Elio Guarisco, Drubgyu Tenzin, Peter Alan Roberts, Yeshé Wangmo, Dechen Eva Cronin, Dominique Radas, Tara Mann, Barbara Hazelton, Samdrup, Norbu, Surya Das, Sylvie Carteron, Daniel Boschero, Olivier and Lydia Brunet, Roar Vestre, Kitty Rogers and her husband Yönten Gyatso, Matthieu Ricard, and Eric Péma Kunzang. All of us have been helped at one time or another by Khenpo Lodrö Dönyö's boundless erudition and infectious good spirits. I fairly glow when I recall these deeply positive individuals and their selfless, conscientious efforts. I have been conscious of my debt to them throughout my solitary work on this book, and I hope the results bring them a measure of contentment.

Acharya Tenpa Gyaltzen, presently a teacher at Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, showed extraordinary patience and kindness in answering hundreds of questions over many hours and days, covering every subject in this book.

Many years ago, Lama Gyaltzen Ratak, Kalu Rinpoché's general secretary, served the translation committee and its members in every way possible. It was he who had to conjure up what money we needed when other sources ran dry. He never complained, and always proved his belief in us and our work by his tireless aid and availability. On a personal level, Faye Angevine and Howard Brewer of Taipei, and Kathleen Bryan and Richard Melton of Hawaii would years ago regularly welcome a destitute and often frail translator from India into their homes for indefinite periods of renewal. Few people have shown me such kindness as these couples

consistently did; I certainly have never been so kind to anyone, although I aspire to follow their example someday.

More recently, it is Tsadra Foundation to which I owe my deepest gratitude for their support of all of us who work on *The Treasury of Knowledge* series. Lama Drubgyu Tenzin, cited above as a translator, has been a member of the committee since the very beginning, and spent many years in Bodhgaya and the Darjeeling hills laboring shoulder to shoulder with us. He has transformed himself into a lama-midwife, as his quiet, able, knowing, and reassuring presence has accompanied the births of all of the books in this series. All of us translators, myself very much included, deeply love him and keenly appreciate his always discreet contributions to our success.

The person most responsible for helping this book reach completion is the head of Tsadra Foundation, Eric Colombel, who never asks for more recognition than a couple of impersonal lines acknowledging Tsadra's sponsorship after a book's title page. In this case, that short formula does not do justice to his contribution. He has lavished upon me the same steadfast support and patience he has shown every translator of *The Treasury of Knowledge* series, and then more. In my case, *The Treasury of Knowledge* has managed to be a kind of karmic lightning rod, attracting with its blessings every conceivable cloud, upheaval, trial, and challenge, some small, some very imposing. This has been for me a totally unique experience in my life as a translator. Since deciding to sponsor our work, Eric has been with me every difficult step of the way, for the duration. No one is as responsible as he for seeing me through and ensuring that this book came to term. Thank you, Eric, you have been a hero.

Once our book babies are born, we gladly hand them off to the loving hands and eyes of a crew of vital bodhisattvas known collectively as Snow Lion Publications—Sidney Piburn, Jeffrey Cox, Susan Kyser, and Steven Rhodes, to name a few of that precious sangha. We the translators and you the reader are in the best of hands.

Finally, from the beginning to the end, and beyond these ephemeral circumstances, beyond whatever this book and project have become, Kalu Rinpoché and Bokar Rinpoché live forever less than a breath or a heartbeat away. How to even begin to express . . . ?



THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE

BOOK TWO

*The Light of the World.*

.....

## THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

---

I have thoroughly presented [in *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book One: Myriad Worlds*] the realms the buddhas guide—world-systems of environments and inhabitants, vessels and contents, along with their causes.

Book Two, how the teacher who guides our realm appears within it, has four chapters: (1) how our teacher traversed the path to awakening, (2) the Buddha's enlightenment according to the perspective of each Buddhist way, (3) the twelve deeds the Buddha's manifest body demonstrated in this realm, and (4) enlightenment's bodies and pure realms according to the clear light vajra pinnacle system.

# I: OUR TEACHER'S PATH TO AWAKENING

---

- I. Distinguishing Our Teacher from Buddhas in General
  - II. A Concise Presentation of the Story of the Buddha's Liberation
  - III. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening
    - A. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Lesser Way's Tradition
    - B. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Great Way's Tradition
  - IV. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until His Enlightenment
    - A. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Lesser Way's Tradition
    - B. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Great Way's Tradition
      - 1. Systems to Calculate the Duration of the Spiritual Path, Their Intent, and Purposes
      - 2. The Actual Way the Buddha Engaged in a Bodhisattva's Conduct
      - 3. The Teachings in Which the Buddha Engaged
  - V. Bodhisattvas' Levels of Capability
- 

This chapter has five parts: (1) distinguishing our teacher from buddhas in general, (2) a concise presentation of the story of the Buddha's liberation, (3) how the Buddha initially developed the aspiration to attain awakening, (4) how the Buddha performed a bodhisattva's conduct until



his enlightenment, and (5) a supplementary explanation of bodhisattvas' levels of capability.

*Distinguishing Our Teacher from Buddhas in General [I]*

**Among infinite numbers of victors, guides of this world,  
In the midst of this Fortunate Age's thousand buddhas,  
One was praised as like a white lotus: the incomparable King  
of the Shakyas.**

As long as the element of space exists, the realms of sentient beings to be guided to enlightenment will continue endlessly. During that time, enlightened beings' compassion, aspirations, and activity will be inexhaustible. Therefore, in the ten directions' measureless world-systems, those celebrated with the titles of "victor," "leader who guides the way," and "supreme human being," such as Transcendent Buddha Moon of Humanity and Transcendent Buddha Jewel Heart, have appeared in the past in inexpressible numbers. At present, incalculable buddhas live and impart the teachings, such as Buddha Unshakable in the world-system Truly Joyous, Buddha Infinite Light in the world-system Blissful, and Buddha Splendid Excellence in the world-system Lotus Splendor. In the future, indeterminable numbers of inconceivable guides, lions of humanity, will appear in succession, such as wondrous Transcendent Buddha All-Seeing Lord in the world-system called Perfect Collection Without Particles.

Ages during which buddhas appear are called ages of illumination. Ages when none appear are called dark ages. Dark ages are very numerous; ages of illumination are rare. After this present Fortunate Age has passed, sixty-five great ages of darkness will elapse until an illuminated age called Great Fame, during which ten thousand buddhas will appear. Eighty thousand dark ages will ensue, after which eighty thousand buddhas will appear during an illuminated age called Star-like. Then, after three hundred dark ages have elapsed, eighty-four thousand buddhas will appear in an illuminated age called Array of Qualities. These details are presented in *The Fortunate Age Discourse* and serve here to illustrate this point.

Some believe that among the infinite [buddhas] mentioned within the scriptures of the Buddha's word, an undetermined number of so-called buddhas of the interval will appear during our specific Fortunate Age, which was heralded by the [gods'] sight of one thousand lotuses. Never-

theless, the fixed number of one thousand buddhas to appear is prevalent within the great and lesser ways in common. Further, in the past during the period when these thousand buddhas engaged in bodhisattvas' conduct, they together formulated aspirations to reach awakening [as recounted later in this chapter].

Followers of the lesser way believe that buddhas appear as the human life span in this world declines from eighty thousand to one hundred years. Buddhas do not appear earlier because sentient beings, having few sorrows, do not strive in their spiritual lives. They do not appear after the life span is less than one hundred years since the world's degeneration is by then far too advanced. When the life span again increases, buddhas need not appear because beings naturally spurn nonvirtuous acts and the strength of virtuous acts increases.

During this present age, when the human life span was forty thousand years, the first of the thousand buddhas appeared—Destroyer of the Wheel of Life; when thirty thousand years, Golden Sage; when twenty thousand [years], Guardian of the Light; and when one hundred [years], Shakyamuni. [When the life span again reaches] eighty thousand years, Loving-Kindness will appear. Regarding such buddhas, *The Fortunate Age Discourse* describes thirteen features in detail: each buddha's home region, caste, measure of physical radiance, father, mother, children, attendants, foremost disciple in terms of knowledge, foremost disciple in miracles, [number of] disciples, life span, doctrine's duration, and relics. Further, it is said that a guide of this world known as Transcendent Buddha Devotion (or as Transcendent Buddha Illuminator) will appear as the last of the [thousand] buddhas and will embody the totality of all of their life spans and activities.

Among this age's thousand buddhas is one who has the courage, unrivaled by any other, to accept disciples in this age of conflict abandoned by all other buddhas. The victors and their spiritual heirs praised him, proclaiming, "How marvelous! This bodhisattva is like a white lotus." This lauded our own teacher, the incomparable King of the Shakyas.

### *A Concise Presentation of the Story of the Buddha's Liberation [II]*

**Initially, he developed the aspiration to awaken; subsequently, he performed bodhisattvas' conduct.**

**Finally, [he demonstrated] manifest enlightenment and aided beings.**

Here is a concise presentation or synopsis of the story of the Buddha's liberation:

Ultimately, our compassionate teacher has been manifestly awakened since time immemorial. He appeared throughout past, present, and future as various buddhas and bodhisattvas, acting for the welfare of beings. For the benefit of disciples in the age of conflict, he initially developed the supreme aspiration to attain awakening. Subsequently, he performed bodhisattvas' conduct during three incalculable ages and other periods of time. Finally, he demonstrated manifest, complete enlightenment at Vajra Seat in Magadha, then unceasingly aided beings by performing the four great miracles to guide them.

*How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening [III]*

This section has two parts: (1) how the Buddha initially developed the aspiration to attain awakening according to the lesser way's tradition and (2) how the Buddha initially developed the aspiration to attain awakening according to the great way's tradition.

*How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Lesser Way's Tradition [A]*

**According to the lesser way,  
King Luminous first developed the supreme aspiration to  
awaken for three reasons.**

**Later, [our teacher] developed the mind of awakening upon  
seeing the great buddhas Shakyamuni and God of the Pure.  
[This marked] the beginning of the first incalculable age of his  
spiritual path.**

How did our teacher develop the aspiration to awaken? According to the viewpoint of the lesser way's pious attendants, in the past, during our teacher's lifetime as King Luminous, he had three reasons to make offer-

ings, formulate prayers of aspiration, and develop the supreme aspiration to achieve highest awakening. [This viewpoint is substantiated] by the following dialogue [recorded in] *The Scripture on Monastic Discipline*:

Ananda asked such questions as,

Principal guide of the world,  
Most fortunate one,  
Tell me how you, the sage,  
First developed the aspiration to awaken.

To this, [the Buddha] replied,

I heard that the buddhas are free from attachment,  
Witnessed the elephant's overpowering arrogance,  
And saw the world's suffering,  
Then gave rise to the mind of awakening.

In a later life, when our teacher was a potter named Vast Light in the city of Vaishali, a transcendent conqueror called Shakyamuni appeared in this world. Anointing [that buddha's] body with butter and sesame oil, and presenting sweet drinks and other offerings, he developed the mind of awakening and formulated this aspiration:

May my perfect offerings ensure my rebirth in the Shakya clan  
To become a buddha with qualities, class, and family lineage equal  
to yours.  
May I fearlessly liberate those bound by misery in this world, up to  
Heaven of the Pure,  
In vast transcendent peace.

Dasabala Shrimitra in his treatise *Certainty about the Conditioned and the Unconditioned* presents the elders' viewpoint:

The Transcendent Conqueror was a wheel-monarch, lord of humanity, by the name of Exceptional God. Since time immemorial within the wheel of life, he had not seen [a buddha]. Upon seeing Buddha God of the Pure, he thought, "May I become an enlightened being like him!" That mere thought is believed to have produced [the aspiration to awaken].

In any case, [the lesser way] believes that [the Buddha first] gave rise to the aspiration to awaken upon seeing those victors, and then began the first of three incalculable ages of his spiritual path.

*How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Great Way's Tradition [B]*

The great way's tradition includes many accounts,  
 Such as that of Brahmin Ocean Particles:  
 His son, the Victor Jewel Heart  
 Caused three trillion living beings to grasp the mind of  
 awakening.  
 Finally, [the brahmin] made five hundred prayers of aspiration  
 to care for the age of conflict, and he received a prophecy [of  
 his enlightenment].  
 Other accounts include that [the future Buddha] engendered  
 the mind of awakening  
 As a strong man in Fire Chariot Hell or in the presence of  
 Buddha Sight of the Meaningful.

The following presents the great way's tradition derived from its own sources. *The White Lotus of Compassion Discourse* states:

Long ago, incalculable ages ago—as many as there are grains of sand in the Ganges—a great age called Holder occurred in this buddha realm. During that great age in this four-continent buddha realm, there lived a four-continent wheel-monarch called Spoke's Rim. His principal priest, a brahmin called Ocean Particles, had a son called Ocean Heart who, having realized manifest enlightenment, was called Buddha Jewel Heart. King Spoke's Rim, together with his thousand sons, offered him unequalled wealth. Afterward, the great Brahmin Ocean Particles made similar offerings.

Later on another occasion, Brahmin Ocean Particles placed all humans of the Land of Jambu [our continent] within the five basic precepts and the mind of awakening, and induced King Spoke's Rim, together with his thousand sons, including Open Eyes, to develop the mind of true awakening. For

seven years thereafter, they contemplated the qualities of their respective realms [of future activity], then formally developed the mind of awakening in the Transcendent Conqueror's presence, accepted their [respective] realms, and formulated prayers of aspiration.

Subsequently, Transcendent Buddha Jewel Heart foretold that Spoke's Rim would attain enlightenment as Boundless Life in the realm Blissful. Likewise, he foretold the enlightenment of all one thousand sons: To the eldest, Open Eyes, he gave the name All-Seeing One and foretold his enlightenment as King Radiant Noble Manifold Glory at dawn following the evening when Boundless Life transcends sorrow. He foretold the enlightenment of the second son, Attainment of Great Strength, as King Perfectly Stable Cluster of Jewels and that of the third son, Glorious Gentle Accumulation of Power, as All Seeing; and he foretold that the ninth prince, Sinless, being imperturbable, would attain enlightenment in the pure land Truly Joyful as Buddha Unshakable, and so on.

He then foretold the enlightenment of trillions of living beings, including the kingdom's governors and Ocean Particles' children and disciples. As well, he predicted who, during this excellent age, would become buddhas in our world-system, Endurance. [He predicted all thousand buddhas, from] Star Protector who would be [the first,] Buddha Destroyer of the Wheel of Life, to Strong Holder of Force [who would be the last,] Buddha Devotion.

All others, with the exception of Vishnu Wind, abandoned our age of conflict; therefore, Ocean Particles especially embraced this age of conflict. When he began to formulate his aspirations, the worldly realm shook strongly and was filled with many awesome appearances. To liberate us beings [living at the time of] the five degenerations' proliferation, he developed the force of incomparable courage and made five hundred prodigious prayers of aspiration.

At that time, Victor Jewel Heart lauded his innumerable qualities, such as diligence. Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions also praised him and made proclamations. Having done so, they foretold that in this world-system Endur-

ance, during the Fortunate Age when the human life span is one hundred and twenty years, [Ocean Particles] would become Transcendent Buddha Shakyamuni.

*Returning the Buddha's Kindness Discourse* relates another account [of the Buddha's initial development of the aspiration to attain awakening] in detail:

Bodhisattva King of Joy asked the Transcendent Conqueror, "How did you first develop the aspiration to awaken?"

He replied, "In the past, I took birth in Fire Chariot Hell as a strong man, who pulled a chariot of fire upon which stood Avang, a custodian of hell. At that time, a companion of mine was weak and could not pull the chariot. Avang prodded him with an iron trident and struck him with an iron hammer, causing a torrent of blood. Upon seeing this, unbearable compassion arose within me, which inspired me to develop the mind of awakening. I begged Avang, 'Be a little kind!' That infuriated him; he pierced the nape of my neck with the iron trident, killing me. I was purified of eight ages of negative acts and freed from the hell realm."

*The Three Practices Discourse* states:

Just as the Conqueror, Transcendent Buddha Shakyamuni, when the merchant's son called Truly Joyous, first developed the mind of awakening by relying on the Conqueror Transcendent Buddha Great Beauty, likewise . . .

*The Vast Enjoyment Discourse* states:

At first you offered a *sala* flower to Buddha Sight of the Meaningful.

When the future Buddha met Transcendent Buddha Sight of the Meaningful, his initial development of the aspiration to awaken is said to have been in that buddha's presence.

Thus, the lesser and great ways differ in regard to our teacher's ini-

tial development of the mind of awakening, and even within the great way, the discourses present many different accounts. Evidently, these are taught with many differing underlying intents, such as suitability in relation to disciples' specific times, circumstances, or mentalities; or in relation to different aspects of the mind of awakening—aspiration, application, or ultimate. Therefore, rigid adherence to a single viewpoint, as if to say, "This event alone marked the Buddha's initial development of the mind of awakening," while fitting them into a set chronological order, is pointless.

*How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until His Enlightenment* [IV]

This section has two parts: how the Buddha performed a bodhisattva's conduct until enlightenment according to (1) the lesser way's tradition and (2) the great way's tradition.

*How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Lesser Way's Tradition* [A]

The materialist school asserts that he reached perfection over three incalculable [ages].

Concerning these ages, the collection on discipline and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* present two different delineations.

How did the Buddha carry out a bodhisattva's conduct until his enlightenment? The scriptures on discipline state:

I made offerings  
 To seventy-five thousand buddhas  
 From Buddha Shakyamuni  
 Until the guide Protector of the Region.  
 Throughout an incalculable age  
 I venerated the victors.

Further,



For the entirety of a second incalculable age,  
 I made offerings  
 To seventy-six thousand buddhas  
 From Buddha Lamp Radiance  
 Until Sage Victory Banner of Power.

Further,

Throughout a third incalculable age,  
 I made offerings  
 To seventy-seven thousand buddhas  
 From Buddha Excellent Deeds  
 Until Buddha Guardian of the Light.

*The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states:

[Buddhas] All Seeing, Lamp Radiance, and Jewel Crown  
 Each appeared at the end [of one of] three incalculable ages.  
 The first [buddha of the first incalculable age] was Shakyamuni.

Among the lesser way's views, proponents of the materialist school believe that our teacher traversed the spiritual path during three incalculable ages. Their system clearly states that the incalculable ages begin with [the future Buddha's] development of the mind of awakening while personally serving a transcendent buddha. His subsequent veneration during three incalculable ages of two hundred and thirty thousand transcendent buddhas, from Buddha Shakyamuni until Buddha Guardian of the Light, constitutes his gathering of the accumulations.

On the same subject, *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* system asserts a literal account [of the Buddha's path to enlightenment], including that the first incalculable age extends from [his veneration of] Shakyamuni to Jewel Crown; the second, from that point until [his veneration of] Lamp Radiance; and the third, from that point until All Seeing.

Motivated by universal compassion,  
 He gave gifts, thus completed generosity.  
 Although he still had attachment and they cut off his limbs,  
 He demonstrated unshakable patience and ethical conduct.  
 When praising Star Monarch, he demonstrated diligence.

During the events mentioned in this quote, he completed the first three transcendent perfections. Later, in a cave, he saw Transcendent Buddha Star Monarch who dwelled in the meditative absorption of brilliant basic space. In great faith, he diligently stood on one leg for seven days as he praised Buddha Star Monarch with these words:

Leader of beings, there is no mendicant like you in the lands of  
 gods' domains!  
 In this world there is none, nor in the abode of Son of Renown!  
 In the gods' supreme citadels there is none, nor in any quadrant or  
 direction!  
 Where on the vastness of the earth's surface with its mountains  
 and forests [is there one like you]?

By having done this, he completed [the perfection of] diligence. He combined his accumulations, then over a period of ninety-one ages he accomplished the acts necessary [to produce a buddha's] marks of physical perfection. He then lived in Joyful Heaven for a period comparable to the duration of a lifetime in that realm.

Thus, the collection on discipline and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* have produced two slightly different delineations [of the Buddha's life as a bodhisattva]. Of the two, *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* system represents the actual belief of the Kashmiri materialist school, derived from the substantialist order. What appears in the scriptures on monastic discipline is evidently mixed with the reading of another order, since such orders in the land of exalted beings maintained different styles of recitation.

**The elders' order asserts that for seven incalculable ages, the  
 future Buddha fostered the mind of aspiration,  
 Then engaged in [a bodhisattva's] conduct for nine incalculable  
 ages.  
 For four ages he was diligent in physical, verbal, and mental  
 conduct.  
 For one hundred thousand ages, he completed minor acts, then  
 attained enlightenment.**

Among the [pious attendants'] four main orders, the elders' system asserts that [the future Buddha] first developed the resolve to awaken in [the

presence of] Buddha God of the Pure, then he pleased one hundred and fifty-five thousand buddhas over seven incalculable ages, during which he merely aspired to attain awakening. Then, over nine incalculable ages, he venerated three hundred and eighty-seven thousand buddhas, and made prayers of aspiration both mentally and verbally. Then, over four incalculable ages, he venerated twelve buddhas and diligently engaged in a bodhisattva's conduct in thought, word, and deed. Then, over one hundred thousand ages, he pleased fifteen buddhas, completed all the physical, verbal, and mental minor acts of a bodhisattva's conduct, and attained enlightenment.

**The majority order asserts that it is necessary  
To gather accumulations for a period of ten to thirty  
incalculable [ages].**

The majority order asserts that buddhas must cultivate accumulations for a period of ten to thirty incalculable ages. Nevertheless, I have not seen a major text that explicitly states that our teacher traversed the path for such a period.

*How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Great Way's Tradition [B]*

This section has three parts: (1) a presentation of systems to calculate the duration of the spiritual path, their intent, and purposes; (2) the actual way [the Buddha] engaged in a [bodhisattva's] conduct; and (3) an explanation of the practices in which [the Buddha] engaged.

*Systems to Calculate the Duration of the Spiritual Path, Their Intent, and Purposes [1]*

**The great way presents many systems of calculation of time—  
Three, thirty-three, or many [ages of traveling the spiritual  
path];  
And intents—[the ages are said to begin with] the development  
of the aspiration to attain awakening,  
The great [stage of] the path of accumulation, or awakening's  
first stage, etc.**

**These teachings' purposes are to show difficulty, to avert  
indolence,  
And to show time as inconceivable.**

In the great way tradition, most discourses and tantras state that the Buddha spent three incalculable ages gathering the accumulations and traversing the path. On this subject, noble Ajita [i.e., Maitreya] states [in *The Ornament of the Discourses*]:

It is believed that this marked awakening's first stage;  
This, attained by an incalculable age . . .

Further,

On completion of the second incalculable age,  
The path of meditation reached its conclusion.

Likewise, Venerable Abhayakaragupta states:

During the first incalculable age, he started at the stage of accumulation and completed awakening's first stage. During the second, [he completed] six stages of awakening, including [the second, called] Stainless. During the third, he started from the [eighth] stage, Unwavering, and attained enlightenment. This is stated in the discourses.

*The Twenty-two Verses* states:

The Transcendent Conqueror exerted himself uninterruptedly for three or seven incalculable ages.

*The Vast Enjoyment Discourse* states:

Over the course of seven incalculable ages, I accomplished all true roots of virtue.

Abhayakaragupta and Dasabala Shrimitra present this approximation:

When the bodhisattvas' path of accumulation is fully complete, one incalculable age will have elapsed. Following that, when the stage of devoted conduct is perfectly complete, two [more] incalculable ages will have passed. After that, each stage of awakening, from its first stage, Great Joy, up to its tenth stage, Cloud of Dharma, requires three incalculable ages to complete. Finally, the stage of enlightenment, Ever Excellent, is achieved. Thus, enlightenment is attained after thirty-three incalculable ages, so it is said.

*The Rare and Sublime Cloud Discourse* states:

The state of a transcendent buddha is fully accomplished after many incalculable ages. Child of my spiritual family, you cannot measure, conceive of, or evaluate a transcendent buddha!

Among these and many other viewpoints, some differ with regard to systems of calculation. *The Stages of Awakening* presents two frameworks. One attributes “incalculable” to the incalculable years, months, days, moments of time, etc., of each great age; the other, to the great ages themselves that are beyond calculation. The exalted elders' order believes that a number with fifty-five digits is a “small incalculable number.” Counting this as a single unit, and multiplying it to the fifty-fifth power is a “large incalculable number.” Many scholars, including Abhayakaragupta, teach in accord with *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena's* main text and commentary that “incalculable” refers to a sixty digit number. Further, *The Vast Enjoyment Discourse*, *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, and other texts present very extensive frameworks for numbers that are the experiential domain [only] of exalted beings. Such a variety of systems of enumeration were taught in relation to specific considerations.

Moreover, the incalculable ages' starting point is designated on the basis of various underlying intentions and is said to be calculated from [the Buddha's] initial aspiration to awaken. Further, *A Compendium of the Great Way* clearly states that the three incalculable ages begin with the great path of accumulation:

A bodhisattva imbued with the strength of goodness  
and aspiration  
And whose mind is becoming markedly stable

Is one who has fully begun  
The three incalculable ages.

*The Rare and Sublime Cloud Discourse* states that calculation of [the three incalculable ages] begins with attainment of awakening's first stage—the first, manifest clear sight of the ultimate awakened mind as it is.

In some cases, the period spent [on the path to awakening] is said to be long; vast accumulations of merit and wisdom are taught to show how difficult it is for a buddha to appear. There are some who become indolent and do not enter [the path of] supreme awakening [when considering] such [a long period]; thus, to make them enter it, the period is said to be short. Further, the time can be unspecified, to demonstrate that ultimately, numbers and enumeration lack an intrinsic nature, and to present the inconceivable ultimate nature, such as that time's multiplicity does not contradict its unity and that time's multiplicity converges into one. [These presentations] are suitable due to many purposes; do not consider them contradictory.

*The Actual Way the Buddha Engaged in a Bodhisattva's  
Conduct* [2]

**The most prevalent [view is that the period] from the path  
of accumulation to awakening's first stage required one  
incalculable age.**

**During the second incalculable age, he traversed six stages;  
During the third incalculable age, he traversed from  
Unwavering to the eleventh.**

**Collectively, these represent the stages of ordinary individuals  
and [exalted beings'] path of training; he thereby completed  
the twofold accumulation.**

Among these many kinds of accounts, both extensive and brief, of incalculable ages and how [our teacher] engaged in a bodhisattva's conduct, the most prevalent is as follows:

From the time our teacher venerated Buddha Great Embodiment during his lifetime as Prince Youthful Diligent Action, he cultivated the accumulations for one incalculable age, traversing the path of accumulation to awakening's first stage. Then, from the time he venerated Buddha Precious Qualities during his lifetime as the merchant Excellent Wisdom,

he traversed six stages, from the second to the seventh, during a second incalculable age. Then, from the time he venerated Buddha Lamp Radiance during his lifetime as a brahmin's child Dharma Cloud, he traversed from the eighth stage, Unwavering, to the eleventh, Pervasive Luminosity, during a third incalculable age.

Collectively, these spiritual paths represent the stages of ordinary individuals (accumulation and preparation); and the stages of exalted beings on the path of training (awakening's first stage and above). In traversing these paths, he accomplished the twofold accumulation of merit and wisdom.

**Some explain that an individual of lesser acumen imbued with faith treads the path for sixteen [incalculable ages];  
One of average [acumen endowed with] diligence, for eight incalculable ages plus a hundred thousand [ages];  
One of a high degree of acumen having sublime insight, for four incalculable ages.  
Our teacher himself belongs to this last group;  
Moreover, due to his intense diligence, he was swifter.**

Some scholars explain the general duration of a bodhisattva's journey on the path as dependent on the individual's acumen. An individual of lesser acumen also imbued with faith treads the path for sixteen incalculable ages. An individual of average acumen also endowed with diligence treads the path for eight incalculable ages, plus one hundred thousand ages. An individual of a high degree of acumen also imbued with sublime insight treads the path for four incalculable ages. Our teacher belongs to this last category. Moreover, due to his particularly intense diligence, he completed the spiritual path in a little more than three incalculable ages.

*The Teachings in Which the Buddha Engaged* [3]

[The Bodhisattva] traversed the path by maturing beings, purifying realms, and [completing] the six transcendent perfections.

Alternatively, he engaged in four forms of conduct—to foster interest in those devoted to the supreme way,

To the lesser way, or to both; and the conduct of guiding  
[beings].

He reached the end of the path through the eighty inexhaustible  
qualities and other attributes.

What teachings did the Bodhisattva engage in during those incalculable  
ages? *The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight* states:

The great being accomplished only what was meaningful:  
He brought sentient beings to full maturity, purified realms, and  
completed the transcendent perfections.

[Thus, the Bodhisattva] brought sentient beings to full maturity, purified  
buddha realms, and completed the six transcendent perfections. Alterna-  
tively, *The Ornament of the Discourses* states:

Four forms of conduct  
Foster interest in embodied beings devoted to the great way,  
Those devoted to the lesser way,  
Or to both;  
And stabilize the domains of those to be guided.

As stated, he engaged in four forms of conduct: for those devoted to  
the great way, the conduct of the ten transcendent perfections; for those  
devoted to the lesser way, the conduct of the thirty-seven aspects of awak-  
ening; for those devoted to both, the conduct of clairvoyance to inspire  
them through his powers; and to guide all, the conduct of bringing sen-  
tient beings to spiritual maturity.

Alternatively, *The Discourse Requested by Bodhisattva Infinite Wisdom*  
lists eighty inexhaustible qualities of bodhisattvas—inexhaustible devel-  
opment of the mind of awakening, intention, application, superior inten-  
tion, six transcendent perfections, four immeasurable wishes, five kinds  
of clairvoyance, four means to attract disciples, four perfect understand-  
ings, four kinds of reliance, two accumulations, thirty-seven aspects of  
awakening, tranquility and insight, retention and eloquence, four prin-  
ciples of the teachings, the unique path, and skillful means. As well as  
these, the Buddha engaged in immeasurable excellent conduct to attain



enlightenment's indescribable, inconceivable qualities, and reached the end of the path.

*Bodhisattvas' Levels of Capability* [V]

**The three points at which bodhisattvas no longer regress—  
[From] the first instance of the supreme mind of awakening,  
at awakening's first stage, or at the eighth stage—  
Indicate distinctions of capability; the sublime Sage belongs  
to the first.**

A bodhisattva of a high degree of acumen does not regress after the first time he or she develops the supreme mind of awakening; a bodhisattva of average acumen does not regress after attainment of awakening's first stage; one of lesser acumen, at the eighth stage. These are the three points [after which bodhisattvas] no longer regress. One teaching even states that those of very low acumen [no longer regress after the attainment of] awakening's ninth stage. These categories are based upon distinctions in capability. Our teacher, sublime Sage Siddharta, belongs to the first. From his very first development of the mind of awakening, when he was Brahmin Ocean Particles, he did not regress. In other words, he entered the flawless state of a bodhisattva. Dharmamitra of the middle way school elucidates this in *A Commentary on the Perfection of Sublime Insight*.

## 2. THE BUDDHA'S ENLIGHTENMENT

---

- I. A Brief Presentation of the Buddha's Enlightenment
  - II. A Full Explanation of the Buddha's Enlightenment
    - A. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Beliefs of the Lesser Way's Pious Attendants
    - B. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Perspective of the Great Way's Followers
    - C. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Approaches of the Secret Mantra Vajra Way
      - 1. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to Action and Conduct Tantras' Traditions
      - 2. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Yoga Tantras' Traditions
      - 3. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Highest Yoga Tantras' Traditions
      - 4. Various Definitions of the Unsurpassed Realm
- 

This chapter has two parts: (1) a brief presentation and (2) a full explanation of the Buddha's enlightenment.

### *A Brief Presentation of the Buddha's Enlightenment* [I]

**On the subject of how the Joyful Buddha attained enlightenment, three traditions exist:**

On the subject of how our supreme teacher, the Joyful Buddha, attained

perfect, manifest enlightenment, three traditions exist, derived from collections of the lesser way, great way, and secret mantra teachings.

The colon at the end of the line of the root text above [*ste* in Tibetan] indicates a grammatical connection to the next sentence of the root text.

### *A Full Explanation of the Buddha's Enlightenment* [II]

This section has three parts: the Buddha's enlightenment according to (1) the beliefs of the lesser way's pious attendants, (2) the perspective of the great way's followers, and (3) the approaches of the secret mantra vajra way.

#### *The Buddha's Enlightenment According to the Beliefs of the Lesser Way's Pious Attendants* [A]

Pious attendants believe that at the end of three incalculable  
ages,  
[The Buddha] completed the karmic causes of the marks and  
signs of physical perfection during one hundred ages,  
Was born in Joyful, and demonstrated the twelve deeds.  
Until he sat at Vajra Seat, his physical support was at the highest  
[stage of the] path of accumulation  
With the limitations of an ordinary being.  
At that very time and place, he reached the end of the four  
paths;  
With knowledge of extinguishing and non-arising, he attained  
enlightenment.

As stated in the last chapter, pious attendants believe that the Buddha gathered the accumulations during three incalculable ages. At the end of that time, he repeated a verse of praise to Buddha Star Monarch unceasingly for seven days, an act which equaled nine ages of accumulation. From that point, until his veneration of Guardian of the Light, the [third] buddha of this age, ninety-one ages elapsed. During those one hundred great ages, he completed the accumulation of the karmic causes of the marks and signs of a buddha's physical perfection, after which he was born as the god Sacred White Crown in Joyful Heaven. Following that, he demonstrated twelve deeds [detailed in the next chapter], including departure from Joyful.

During his final lifetime, as Prince Siddharta, although he had perfected the accumulations during three incalculable ages, his physical support was merely at the highest [stage of the] path of accumulation, with all the limitations of an ordinary being, until he sat at Vajra Seat. There, under the tree of awakening at midnight, he subdued three hundred and seventy million armies of demons. Only at that very place and time did the path of realization of the four noble truths' sixteen aspects, such as impermanence, bring him to the end of the four [remaining] paths—preparation, seeing, meditation, and beyond training. With knowledge of extinguishing and non-arising, he attained enlightenment.

Prior to this, he received pith instructions for worldly meditative concentration from Adrada and Udrada, and thereby gained freedom from desire up to the level of the meditative absorption of the pinnacle of existence. Thus, it is believed he was already an enlightened being freed from attachment.

*The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Perspective of the Great Way's Followers [B]*

**Some great way [perspectives] are in general agreement [with the pious attendant tradition].**

Some common great way perspectives are in general agreement with the pious attendant tradition's beliefs expressed above, with the exception of slight differences in the delineation of the paths and stages. *The Discourse That Presents All Qualities* states:

From the moment I first engendered the mind of unsurpassable awakening, I cultivated the accumulations with great diligence for three incalculable great ages. At the time when the human life span was one hundred years, I saw beings were blind and had no guide. Therefore, I attained enlightenment here in the Land of Jambu and turned the inconceivable wheel of the teachings.

**Alternatively, it is said that countless ages ago,  
He became a victor, such as Crown of the Powerful One.**

Alternatively, the perspective based only on the definitive meaning is that he achieved perfect, manifest enlightenment countless ages ago. *The Reunion of Father and Son Discourse* states:

In the past, countless ages ago, in a world-system that united as many realms as there are grains of sand in the Ganges, I attained enlightenment as Transcendent Buddha Crown of the Powerful One, aided beings, and transcended sorrow. Then once again, from that point until the present age, I have repeatedly demonstrated the inconceivable process of enlightenment.

I will continue, until cyclic existence is empty, to demonstrate [this process of] enlightenment, beginning with the initial development of the mind of awakening as an ordinary being.

Further,

Great hero, skillful in means,  
 Even though you, the Victor,  
 Have demonstrated the attainment of enlightenment  
 A billion times  
 To bring sentient beings to full maturity,  
 You, the guide, will continue  
 To demonstrate enlightenment many more times.

*The White Lotus of the Sacred Doctrine* states:

Sons and daughters of my spiritual family, I attained perfect, manifest enlightenment many hundred thousand million ages ago.

*A Compilation on Thatness* states:

An inconceivable number of ages ago, the Transcendent Conqueror attained perfect, manifest enlightenment, then demonstrated taking birth in the Shakya clan.

There are many accounts similar to these.

[The great way's traditions] concur that during the first  
 [incalculable age], he traversed the paths of accumulation  
 and preparation;  
 During the second, [awakening's] first seven [stages]; during  
 the third, the three pure stages.  
 In his final lifetime, he received the empowerment of great  
 radiance in Unsurpassed Realm; a vajra-like meditative state  
 arose within him.  
 He attained enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture; his  
 emanations performed beneficial deeds.

The traditions of the great way's followers concur that during the first incalculable age, the Bodhisattva traversed the path of accumulation and the path of preparation's four stages of ascertainment; during the second, awakening's first seven stages; and during the third, the three pure stages [the eighth, ninth, and tenth]. In his final lifetime in Unsurpassed Realm, he received the empowerment of great radiance from the ten directions' victors, a vajra-like meditative state arose within him, and he attained enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture. Not long thereafter, his emanated form demonstrated the process of enlightenment at Vajra Seat and performed deeds beneficial to beings.

Regarding the process of his enlightenment in Unsurpassed Realm, two perspectives concerning this realm exist: Some assert that after he attained enlightenment in Unsurpassed Richly Adorned Realm, he demonstrated the process of enlightenment in the Unsurpassed of the pure domains [in the gods' heavens]. *The Journey to Lanka Discourse* states:

In the joyous supreme Unsurpassed Realm,  
 Not part of the pure [heavenly] realms,  
 [You,] the true Buddha, achieved enlightenment there.  
 One of your emanations achieved enlightenment here.

Further,

The Buddha did not attain manifest enlightenment  
 In the desire or formless realms;  
 You, who are free from attachment, attained enlightenment  
 In Unsurpassed Heaven of the form realm.

The underlying intent of the former and latter excerpts is [that the two enlightenments] were sequential. Master Vakishvarakirti states:

In the glorious Richly Adorned Realm, he comprehended the ultimate.  
 To aid individuals in Joyful Heaven, he became Sacred White Crown.  
 Then, to benefit this world's beings, he became Crown of the Shakyas.  
 Victorious over Lord of Death, displaying magical illusions, may he be victorious!

There is no contradiction in saying that he achieved enlightenment in Richly Adorned Realm and then was born [as a bodhisattva] in Joyful Heaven. Once he attained the body of perfect rapture, he had mastery of limitless miracles of single and multiple emanations. Some evidently identify “Unsurpassed Realm” referred to in the above quote [from *The Journey to Lanka Discourse*] as an Unsurpassed Realm that is higher than another located among the pure gods’ realms, and that it was only there that he first attained enlightenment.

*The Buddha’s Enlightenment according to the Approaches of the Secret Mantra Vajra Way [C]*

This section has four parts: the Buddha’s enlightenment according to (1) action and conduct tantras’ traditions, (2) yoga tantras’ traditions, and (3) the highest yoga tantras’ traditions; and (4) a supplementary presentation of various definitions of Unsurpassed Realm.

*The Buddha’s Enlightenment according to Action and Conduct Tantras’ Traditions [I]*

The vajra way’s action tantras  
 State that he studied tantra with Buddha Showing Flowers to All.  
 He engaged in its conduct, then emanated from Joyful Heaven, and so on.  
 This accords with the general great way; conduct tantras concur with the specific details.

The vajra way's early and later translation schools present many different [accounts of the] process of the Victor's enlightenment. The principal ones are the following:

Action tantras state that he first developed the mind of awakening, then studied tantra in the presence of Transcendent Buddha Showing Flowers to All. He then engaged in tantric conduct and thereby cultivated the accumulations for three incalculable ages. He departed from his life as Sacred White Crown, took birth as King Shuddhodana's son, and attained enlightenment, etc. This concurs, for the most part, with the great way perspective and its general teaching system.

The conduct tantras state that he developed the mind of awakening, engaged in tantric conduct, manifestly achieved awakening's tenth stage, then demonstrated the process of enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture in Unsurpassed Realm. This account concurs with the general great way perspective and its specific details.

*The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Yoga Tantras' Traditions* [2]

This section has three parts. First:

**According to *A Synthesis of the Absolute*, when Siddharta sat at  
Heart of Awakening,  
The buddhas inspired him, and he rose from his meditative  
state.  
He received empowerment and achieved manifest awakening.**

The yoga tantras' *A Synthesis of the Absolute* teaches that when Bodhisattva Siddharta sat at Heart of Awakening, the buddhas inspired him: He rose from his unwavering meditative state and engendered the mind of awakening. All transcendent buddhas gave him empowerment, and he achieved perfect, manifest enlightenment.

Second:

**Shakyamitra teaches that when the Bodhisattva practiced  
hardships,  
His wisdom body went to Unsurpassed;  
The victors gave him empowerment and he attained manifest  
enlightenment.**



Master Shakyamitra and others teach that when King Shuddhodana's son practiced hardships on the bank of the Nairanjana River, the buddhas inspired him: his wisdom body went to Unsurpassed, where they gave him empowerment and he attained enlightenment. He re-entered his [human] body of ripened acts, then demonstrated the process of enlightenment as enlightenment's manifest body.

In Tibet, great Translator Rinchen Zangpo and some commentators on the tantras of Vajra Creator of Delight agree with this explanation. Likewise, Venerable Buddhajana states in *The Vital Essence of Liberation*:

Shakyamuni cultivated accumulations  
 During three incalculable ages,  
 Yet had not yet realized his goal.  
 At Nairanjana River, while he dwelled in the meditative state of  
 “nothing whatsoever,”  
 The ten directions' joyful buddhas  
 Turned him away from that unimpeded mental state,  
 And taught him nondual profound clarity,  
 Pure like the sphere of space.  
 Thus, at midnight he was like a victor;  
 By meditating on that state,  
 He attained genuine realization in an instant at dawn.  
 To guide beings,  
 He remained at Heart of Awakening  
 And there defeated huge hordes of demons.  
 Caring for beings,  
 He turned the wheel of the teachings.

Further, a tantra of the early translations, *The Highest Miraculous Display*, states:

The ten directions' victors gathered like clouds  
 Around Siddharta, the ascetic.  
 During the evening and at dawn,  
 In order that he gain perfect rapture,  
 They granted him the empowerment of the eclipse of sun and moon,  
 And revealed the sweet savor of enjoyment:  
 He became a transcendent buddha, gone to suchness.

Third:

**Anandagarbha believes that incalculable ages ago, in [the Bodhisattva's] final existence,  
The victors gave him empowerment and he attained enlightenment.  
Then he once again demonstrated taking birth in the Shakya clan.**

Master Anandagarbha, an important founder of yoga [tantra commentary], gives this excellent explanation: The Victor engendered the mind of awakening, then gathered the accumulations for three incalculable ages. He cultivated all meditative states, such as those related to [the heavens of] meditative concentration and the formless [realms], and reached his final lifetime. The buddhas gave him empowerment and he attained enlightenment many ages ago. Then he again demonstrated taking birth in the Shakya clan. *The Vajra Pinnacle Instruction Tantra* states:

Incalculable ages in the past,  
The Transcendent Conqueror attained awakening.

*The Vajra Heart Ornament Tantra* states:

Having listened attentively to the words of their supplications, Transcendent Conqueror Shakyamuni departed from Unsurpassed Realm, resided in Joyful Heaven, presented the teachings to Joyful Heaven's gods, and then manifestly saw King Shuddhodana's family.

*The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Highest Yoga Tantras' Traditions* [3]

**According to the highest yoga tantras' definitive meaning,  
A bodhisattva in his final lifetime in Great Unsurpassed Realm  
Practiced the exceptional profound path's immediate cause and  
became Buddha Vajra Bearer.  
Even when his emanation [demonstrated] enlightenment, he  
traveled the path by means of the immediate cause.**

Various masters have each taught many explanations [of the Buddha's enlightenment] based on the great highest yoga tantras' father, mother, or nondual tantras. Their general outline is similar to Shakyamitra's [mentioned above].

Nevertheless, the definitive meaning is that a bodhisattva in his final lifetime in the supreme Unsurpassed Realm engaged in the exceptional profound path's immediate cause and used such means as the five branches of manifest awakening to attain enlightenment as Buddha Vajra Bearer. Even when his emanation demonstrated the process of enlightenment in Magadha, in the Land of Jambu, he traveled the path of the immediate cause, such as enjoyment of his circle of queens, and reached the limits of renunciation and realization. *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* states:

The chief victor and his heirs came to this land of karmic action to liberate human beings.  
 He entered a human womb and with pure supreme compassion, he resolved to awaken.  
 He conquered demons and afflictive emotions, then turned the wheel of the teachings on this earth.  
 He emanated a body of magical illusion and again [demonstrated becoming] a transcendent conqueror. [These appearances] are only of his pure wisdom body.

*The Great Commentary to "The Tantra of the Wheel of Time"* states:

Buddha, the Transcendent Conqueror, had already attained the state of a lord of awakening's twelfth stage. Wise, he wielded impressive miraculous powers and was endowed with those powers' optical illusions. In Lumbini, in the land of exalted beings, he was born from the womb of Mahamayadévi, who was the goddess of King Shuddhodana, lord of the Shakya clan. The Buddha was the youth Siddharta.

This is also clearly stated in other tantras.

*Various Definitions of the Unsurpassed Realm* [4]

**Buddhaguhya defined the Unsurpassed Realm in six ways:  
Ultimate, symbolic, of awareness, secret, conceptual, and  
worldly.**

If we investigate what is meant by “the place of enlightenment, the Unsurpassed Realm,” the discourses and tantras present a number of both simple and complex explanations. The accomplished master Buddhaguhya’s *Annotated Commentary*<sup>3</sup> states:

The ultimate Unsurpassed Realm is the basic space of phenomena; this is the buddhas’ abode, no realm lies above it.

The symbolic Unsurpassed Realm is the symbol of indivisible basic space and wisdom—the appearances of a celestial palace’s colors and shapes. This is the body of perfect rapture’s abode—no symbol that represents the basic space of phenomena lies above it.

The Unsurpassed Realm of awareness is the wisdom of awareness, the realization of the abiding nature of reality as it is. This is the abode of the body of ultimate enlightenment endowed with two purities; no other awareness lies above it.

The secret Unsurpassed Realm is the female consort’s space; this is the wisdom body’s secret abode, no other place’s qualities surpass it.

The conceptual Unsurpassed Realm is a beginner’s meditation on Unsurpassed Realm’s celestial palace. This is the abode of the sacred circle’s exceptional meditative state; no other conceptual generic image to hold the mind lies above it.

The worldly Unsurpassed Realm is situated above even the pure domains’ five heavens; the abode of exalted beings, no other place in the form realm lies above it.

Further,

**Longchen Rabjam considers that the three bodies of  
enlightenment’s realms**

3. No catalog I have seen attributes this work, an annotated commentary to *The Secret Essence Tantra*, to Buddhaguhya, nor is the work itself signed or credited to a translator.

**Are true ultimate [Unsurpassed Realm], self-manifest Richly  
Adorned [Unsurpassed Realm],  
And the manifest body's natural abode and the pure domains'  
Unsurpassed Realm.**

All-knowing Longchen Rabjam Zangpo considers that the previous explanations can be subsumed into three categories of Unsurpassed Realm: [First,] “true ultimate Unsurpassed Realm,” indefinable in terms of center, limit, or direction, the essence free from all formulations, is enlightenment’s final stage, the sacred goal.

[Second,] “Richly Adorned Supreme Unsurpassed Realm” naturally arises as supreme wisdom’s appearances from ultimate enlightenment’s basic space. They arise as celestial palaces of light, and principal deities and retinues, spontaneously present as the five wisdoms’ aspects, deathless and changeless throughout all time. Each assembly of the five wisdom families’ sacred circles self-manifests throughout the infinity of the expanse of space.

[Third,] “Unsurpassed Realm, the natural realm of enlightenment’s manifest body” appears as the five wisdom families’ realms (Unsurpassed Realm’s multi-storied palace in the center, etc.), for the benefit of disciples who have attained stages of awakening. What is widely known as “Unsurpassed Realm of the pure domains,” the supreme place perceivable by beings of world-systems such as Endurance, appears for the benefit of both [exalted and ordinary beings]. In each world, Unsurpassed Realm lies within the form realm, the pure domains of the five levels of gods immersed in the fourth degree of concentration. This Unsurpassed Realm has no coarse substance: it is a place made of pure light; various specific features, such as a celestial palace, adorn it.

These three are the three bodies of enlightenment’s realms: the former two (true ultimate Unsurpassed and Richly Adorned Supreme Unsurpassed Realm) are realms of the body of ultimate enlightenment and the body of enlightenment’s perfect rapture, while the latter two (the natural realm of enlightenment’s manifest body, and the pure domains’ Unsurpassed Realm) are the manifest body’s realms.

**In addition, many explanations exist, based on distinctions of  
Unsurpassed Realm being actual or nominal, etc.**

In addition to these, Tibetan scholars have produced a proliferation of explanations, refutations, and assertions concerning Unsurpassed Realm, such as distinctions between the actual and the nominal [Unsurpassed Realm]. I will not present these explanations here, yet all-knowing Taranata captures their essence in his threefold categorization of Richly Adorned Unsurpassed Realm based on a distinction between the actual and nominal [realms]: the Unsurpassed Realm similar [to the actual realm], which appears to bodhisattvas at awakening's eighth and ninth stages; the slightly obscured realm, which appears to bodhisattvas at the tenth stage; and the very pure realm, which appears only to buddhas. It is also appropriate to affix the terms nominal, ordinary, and special to these three. These constitute Unsurpassed Realm as a realm of enlightenment's perfect rapture.

The realm referred to in *The Journey to Lanka Discourse* as situated in the form realm is the great powerful gods' heaven but is not the Unsurpassed Realm of the pure domains. The description of the process of enlightenment in that place [above, under the heading "Perspectives of the Great Way's Followers"] does not refer to the process of the body of perfect rapture's enlightenment, but to the supreme manifest body's demonstration of that process. Such a manifest body appears to bodhisattvas and it thus serves as the basic source [of further emanations], whereas demonstrations of the twelve deeds throughout the threefold thousand world-system constitute its secondary emanations. Moreover, such an Unsurpassed Realm [where the source manifest body demonstrates enlightenment] created by the collective virtuous actions of bodhisattvas who are mainly engaged in intentional conduct and exalted bodhisattvas on awakening's impure stages has a definite size. It is taught that Buddha Illuminator newly created it; thus, it is not the realm Richly Adorned, which is like the pure realm Blissful. *The Wheel of Time Tantra* states:

A transcendent conqueror who resides in the pure domains  
and other heavens does so for the pious attendants' sake.

The "pure domains" mentioned here are identical with that [Unsurpassed Realm] just described. When discourses state that [Unsurpassed Realm as the place of enlightenment] is not situated among the pure domains, their underlying intent is to identify that realm as not among the five pure domains taught in the pious attendants' collected teachings. In general

however, it is not wrong to regard [Unsurpassed Realm as the place of enlightenment] as part of the pure domains. It is not contradictory to refer to it both as exalted bodhisattvas' exclusive experiential domain and as existing for the pious attendants' sake, since [Unsurpassed Realm] provides the basis for the emanation of the supreme manifest bodies who turn the teachings' wheel for ordinary disciples, including the pious attendants.

In general, pure realms that are realms of enlightenment's manifest body (a special feature of the great way) have two kinds—sublime pure realms and lesser pure realms. Realms such as Blissful which are created mainly by exalted bodhisattvas' roots of virtue constitute independent pure realms and do not belong to the wheel of life's three realms. In this case, [Unsurpassed Realm] is explained as part of the form realm; thus, it is based upon an impure realm. *The Journey to Lanka Discourse* states:

The palace of the gods is the Unsurpassed Realm.

This statement implies that it must be classified [as a lesser pure realm].

### 3. THE BUDDHA'S TWELVE DEEDS

---

- I. A General Explanation of the Buddha's Deeds
  - II. A Presentation of Each of the Twelve Deeds
    - A. The First Deed
    - B. The Second Deed
    - C. The Third Deed
    - D. The Fourth Deed
    - E. The Fifth Deed
    - F. The Sixth Deed
    - G. The Seventh Deed
    - H. The Eighth Deed
    - I. The Ninth Deed
    - J. The Tenth Deed
    - K. The Eleventh Deed
    - L. The Twelfth Deed
  - III. Supplementary Explanation to Distinguish between Great Way and Lesser Way Views of the Buddha's Deeds
- 

This chapter has three parts: (1) a general explanation of the Buddha's deeds, (2) a presentation of each of the twelve deeds, and (3) a supplementary explanation to distinguish between the great way and lesser way views of the Buddha's deeds.



*A General Explanation of the Buddha's Deeds* [I]

[Various accounts relate] one hundred or other numbers of deeds enacted by the sublime manifest body.

There are countless perspectives, including that of the extraordinary [way] and conclusions [based on inference].

However, an account of twelve deeds is prevalent.

The Buddha's liberation and enlightened activity are as vast as the sky, and transcend the experiential domain of even exalted bodhisattvas. Therefore, it goes without saying that ordinary beings' minds can fathom only a fraction of them. Nevertheless, the sublime manifest body's display in this buddha realm appeared in common to his disciples; their oral reports based on their experience—"He acted in this way"—provided the basis for [later] accounts. Scholars of India and Tibet gathered the main [stories of the Buddha's] deeds from the precious discourses and recounted them in an enumeration of one hundred, or other number of deeds. In addition, countless other versions exist, such as those appearing in the extraordinary great way system or in systems of secret mantra, and those based upon valid deductions of logical inference. Therefore, to come to an unequivocal conclusion—"These alone are the Buddha's deeds!"—is impossible. Nevertheless, the account prevalent among the great and lesser ways' disciples in common is called "the twelve sublime deeds." *The Highest Continuity* states:

With supreme compassion, he knew the world  
And looked upon all worlds.

Without having stirred from the body of ultimate enlightenment,  
[He demonstrated] myriad [forms] that had the nature of emanations:

He took manifest birth,  
Moved from Joyful Heaven,  
Entered the womb, and was born.  
He became skilled in arts,  
Enjoyed the pleasures of his circle of queens,  
Then became disillusioned and practiced austerities.  
Having traveled to Heart of Awakening,

He subdued hordes of demons and attained perfect awakening.  
 He turned the wheel of Dharma,  
 And passed beyond sorrow.  
 In very impure realms,  
 He will display these deeds for as long as existence endures.

### *A Presentation of Each of the Twelve Deeds* [II]

This section presents each of the Buddha's twelve deeds in order, starting with his movement from Joyful Heaven:

#### *The First Deed* [A]

**Sacred White Crown taught the hundred approaches to the teachings in Joyful Heaven.  
 Seeing the five visions, he departed.**

In Buddha Guardian of the Light's presence, our teacher became the spiritual master of brahmin children and engaged in the discipline of pure conduct. He was born in Joyful Heaven as a god named Sacred White Crown, a bodhisattva with only one lifetime remaining [before full enlightenment]. Until that rebirth [in Joyful], his manifest births in emanated forms brought to completion his conduct as a bodhisattva. [In Joyful Heaven,] when he heard sounds from offered music encouraging him to work for others' benefit, he conferred with bodhisattvas equal to himself in fortune, in the mansion called Enhanced by the Teaching. In that site for the teachings, he presented one hundred and eight approaches to illuminate the Dharma, including "faith, the illuminating approach to the teachings that produces unwavering resolve."

He then placed a turban and crown on the head of Bodhisattva Loving-Kindness (Maitreya), and foretold: "After me, you shall gain manifest and complete enlightenment," thereby empowering Loving-Kindness as his regent, presenter of the teachings in Joyful. Having seen the world with the four or the five visions [listed below in "The Second Deed"], he departed from Joyful Heaven on the full moon of the third lunar month [literally: the last spring month, on the fifteenth day], at the conjunction of the constellation Pushya.

*The Second Deed* [B]

**In a central country, when the life span [of humans] in the Land  
of Jambu was one hundred years,  
He entered Mahamayadévi's womb. His father was of the royal  
caste.**

[The future Buddha saw] the Land of Jambu, an especially exalted land compared to the other three continents [of this world-system] inhabited by human beings.

He saw that during the period human life span increases to eighty thousand years, the wealth of enjoyments is so abundant that disillusionment with life is difficult. When [the maximum possible] life span decreases under a hundred years, the five degenerations' extreme spread makes human life one without leisure. A period free from those drawbacks, during which it would be easy to guide many beings, is the time that the human life span is one hundred years.

He saw that the region holding a central position [India] would not become as debased [as others] with faults that arise in other countries due to the era of conflict.

He saw that in this world the royal caste is sometimes the most honored [among castes]; at other times, it is the brahmin caste. At the time, the royalty [enjoyed the greater] respect.

Thus, [the future Buddha] saw his father, King Shuddhodana, who descended from the royal line of [the wheel-monarch] King Honored by Multitudes and whose clan was adorned with sixty-four magnificent qualities; and he saw his mother, the great Mahamayadévi, adorned with the thirty-two qualities of a woman [who will give birth to a buddha].

Having seen these circumstances, [the future Buddha] took the form of a white elephant calf with six tusks and entered his mother's right side while she observed [the eight precepts] of purification and restoration. In her womb, within a tiered palace of sandalwood, he sat cross-legged and clothed, the size of a six-month-old infant. The god Great Pure One offered him delicious and nutritious nectar dew from the three-thousandfold cosmos; he ate it and his body grew strong.

The four visions, as mentioned above, are those of continent, time, region, and clan. The five visions as they are found in scripture and in histories are those of the caste of royalty, a central region, a period when

the life span is one hundred years, the lineage of the Shakya clan, and a mother who can carry the Bodhisattva in her womb for ten months.

The five degenerations are those of life span, time, views, sentient beings, and afflictive emotions. Degeneration of life span and time causes vitality and property to deteriorate. Degeneration of afflictive emotions and views causes virtuous tendencies to decline. Degeneration of sentient beings causes their physical form to deteriorate; moreover, their health, strength, intelligence, diligence, and concentration decline.

### *The Third Deed* [C]

**Accompanied by ten million marvelous signs,  
Siddharta was born in Lumbini Grove.**

During the time [the future Buddha] stayed a full ten months in the womb, he brought thirty-six hundred billion gods and humans to spiritual maturity within the three Buddhist ways.

Thirty-two portents of his birth appeared. In the middle of [each of] forty million large continents, a holy fig tree sprouted, and on all lesser continents, a sandalwood grove grew. Around the town of Kapilavastu, immeasurable riches of happiness naturally arose; in these and other ways, ten million trillion marvelous signs completely filled all realms.

In Lumbini Grove at the time of the constellation Pushya, on the eighth day of the second lunar month, he emerged from his mother's right side without harming her. As soon as the sacred circle of his body's marks and signs of physical perfection were apparent, gods and nagas, including Brahma and Shakra, made offerings and paid homage to him. Taking seven steps in each of the four directions, he uttered melodious words of encouragement to all sentient beings in the thousandfold universe. Since his birth began with marvels, his father the king offered him the name Youth who Accomplishes All Wishes.

He was raised in Kapilavastu, nourished by thirty-two wet nurses. Since he dwelt as the most capable amidst the fierce and impetuous Shakyas, he was given a second name, Shakyamuni (mighty one of the Shakyas). All worldly protectors, including the Shakya patron-god, the noxious spirit Increase of the Shakyas, bowed at his feet. Thus, the king conferred a third name to his son, God of Gods. Seer Krishna Asita foretold that [the child] would become a buddha.

*The Fourth Deed* [D]

**He excelled in many aspects of culture and athletics:  
Composition, mathematics, art, archery, tests of strength,  
analysis, and rhetoric.**

Although the Bodhisattva had previously perfected all fields of knowledge, he went to school in order to bring innumerable disciples to full spiritual maturity. Appearing to train under the grammarian Vishvamitra, he revealed many subjects the names of which his teacher had never heard.

When [the Bodhisattva] reached sixteen years of age, he entered a contest of skills with five hundred Shakya youths. The prize to the winner was to be [the hand in marriage of] Gopa, an emanation of Great Glorious Goddess, and daughter of Shakya Dandapani. For the initial contest, the esteemed mathematician Shakya Arjuna was appointed as judge. No one competing in mathematics, including the judge, could equal even a fraction of the Bodhisattva's expertise. Similarly, he showed exceptional talent in all subjects in very many aspects of culture and athletics—including art, archery, tests of strength, analysis, rhetoric, swimming, racing, and jumping. In all of these, no one could rival him. He also subdued those proud of their caste and strength, such as Dévadatta.

*The Fifth Deed* [E]

**His enjoyment with Gopa, Yasodhara, and other women  
endowed with all qualities  
Brought his circle of sixty thousand queens to spiritual  
maturity.**

Gopa, Yasodhara, and Mrigaja were endowed with all the precious qualities of womanhood, such as an excellent body, youthfulness, freedom from arrogance, and delight in giving. Each had an entourage of twenty thousand, making a coterie of sixty thousand queens (or eighty-four thousand, according to some). They offered [the Bodhisattva] magnificent arrays of melodious songs, music, and so on, resembling those in the [divine realm's] Assembly Place of Immortality. His acts of skillful means among these women, such as in play and enjoyment, brought his circle of queens to full spiritual maturity within awakening.

*The Sixth Deed* [F]

Seeing such things as aging, sickness, death, and a pure mendicant,  
 He felt renunciation, renounced home life, and accepted saffron [robes].

At the age of twenty-nine, he saw at his city's four gates an old man, a sick person, a corpse, and a pure mendicant who had renounced home life. The ten directions' victorious buddhas encouraged him with the sounds of melodious songs and cymbals. The power of their blessings and his own aspirations made him show signs of disillusionment with the royal dominion and his circle of queens. When renunciation had risen in his mind, interpreters of portents foretold, "Now, if within seven days he does not become an ascetic, he will become a wheel-monarch." Hearing this, the Shakyas did their utmost to watch over and guard him [within the palace].

On the night of the ninth lunar month's full moon, he blessed Yasodhara's womb with a son, Rahulabhadrā, an emanation of Buddha Vajrasattva. At midnight, he mounted his horse Necklace. With his servant Chandaka and many tens of billions of gods, including Shakra, who made offerings, he traveled twelve leagues (about 120 miles) to the east, flying through the sky. Arriving at Vaishali, he cut off the hair crowning his head, and thus became a mendicant. He accepted saffron robes offered by the gods.

Chandaka returned with the horse and relieved the anguish of his father and the queens. The gods carried away his hair and garments of the finest silk, and honored them with prodigious offerings.

*The Seventh Deed* [G]

He actualized the meditative absorption of the pinnacle of existence.  
 On a river bank, he sat in the same cross-legged posture for six years and engaged in austerities.

After the Bodhisattva renounced home life and became a homeless mendicant, he met Arada, son of Kalama, at Vaishali; and Rudraka, son of Rama, at Rajgir. From these two, he received instructions on meditative

concentration. With little difficulty, he actualized their greatest realization—the basis of perception of nothing whatsoever and the basis of perception neither having nor not having discernment, the final meditative absorption at the pinnacle of existence. However, he repudiated all states of meditative concentration or absorption accompanied by contaminated grasping, showing that they did not lead to liberation.

The Bodhisattva sought out those who affirmed that there are karmic causes [for liberation] and who aspired to follow misleading [austere] disciplines. Seeing that [he could fulfill] many purposes, such as showing that [such beliefs and practices] did not lead to liberation, he passed six years on the bank of the Nairanjana River in the same crossed-legged posture. He engaged in such austerities as eating daily only a single juniper berry, or a grain of barley, or a sesame seed, or not drinking even one drop of water. Since physical and verbal austerities are pointless, he showed that even such conduct could not lead to perfect awakening; thus, he again ate solid food. His body became imbued with strength and beauty: he was known by the name Handsome Ascetic.

### *The Eighth Deed [H]*

**When he drank milk soup, the marks and signs of physical perfection appeared and he blazed with light.**

**Carrying a seat of grass, he proceeded to Heart of Awakening.**

The Bodhisattva put on religious robes he sewed together from discarded rags. Following the gods' directive, Sujata, daughter of the townsman Nandika, prepared an extract of one thousand cows' milk, seven times refined and sweetened with honey. As soon as the Bodhisattva drank this, all the marks and signs of physical perfection (a golden complexion, a full aureole of light, etc.) became vividly apparent, and he blazed with light.

He begged for grass from the grass-seller Svastika, and carried it for his seat. As he proceeded to Heart of Awakening showing fifty-one ways of movement (including "a steadfast gait" and "resembling Powerful God's offering pillar"), the earth resounded like a bronze vessel. The gods, such as powerful Brahma, lord of the three-thousandfold cosmos, fully decorated this world with a supreme array, and the ten directions' bodhisattvas each adorned the ten directions' many buddha realms with infinite displays according to their strength of cultivation of merit and

wisdom. Immeasurable shimmering light from all buddha realms relieved the sufferings of beings in the hells and other realms.

The blind naga Kalika, who lives for an eon and acquires sight when a buddha appears in this world, opened his eyes and saw. A flock of Indian jays, singing sweetly, circled clockwise in the sky. The supreme sage himself had a vision of all the beautiful displays of Heart of Awakening within every buddha realm of the three times. Having arranged the grass straws with the points turned inward, he sat in a cross-legged posture and gazed eastward. He straightened his body and settled into manifest mindful composure.

### *The Ninth Deed [I]*

**With the power of loving-kindness, he subdued the utterly  
enraged one  
And hordes of deceptive demons, along with the gods' afflictive  
emotions.**

Then, to defeat demons and to bring to spiritual maturity those demonic gods with propensities for virtue, the Bodhisattva cast light from the space between his eyebrows. This shook the demons' realms and incited them. The evil one himself experienced ominous signs, such as terrifying omens in his dreams; his mind became filled with fear, panic, and utter rage. [An area of] eighty leagues around the Bodhisattva filled with hordes of armies so terrifying that the mere thought of them would cause one's heart to burst. At the same time, one billion similar deceptive demons arrived en masse from all world systems. They hurled rains of weapons and exhaled noxious fumes. All of this, however, became only arrays of offering clouds, which beautified Heart of Awakening; [the demons] lost their power.

[The demons' king taunted him saying,] "That much merit is not sufficient for you to attain liberation. Rise [from your meditation]!" [In response,] Earth Goddess and her retinue attested to witnessing [the Bodhisattva's] practice and perfection of the two accumulations during countless eons.

The demons' daughters—Craving, Pleasure, and others—tried to entice him with seductive illusions, but they were unable to disturb his mind. Thus, he vanquished hordes of deceptive demons with their



retinues. Apart from them, he subdued the afflictive emotions of innumerable gods whose virtuous propensities had ripened, bringing them to the full maturity of awakening and other [positive states].

In summary, during the first watch of the night at Heart of Awakening he subjugated an army of one hundred thousand trillion demons with the meditative state of loving-kindness alone.

### *The Tenth Deed [J]*

**He successively saw [levels of] concentration, the four truths, and the links of interdependent causation.**

**With a vajra-like meditative state, he gained manifest, complete awakening.**

At midnight, he successively entered absorption within the four levels of concentration. With clairvoyant sight (divine eyes, etc.), he saw clearly the four truths and the links of interdependent causation in their order of sequential unfolding as well as in their reverse order.

During the last watch of the night, at daybreak when drums are sounded, the sublime one among humanity, our unsurpassed guide, developed the strength of exalted beings' wisdom. Thus, he gained the three forms of awareness through the sublime insight that encompasses in a single instant of mind all that is to be known and all that is to be achieved. His vajra-like meditative state subdued even the most subtle trace of what is to be relinquished. Within the basic space of all phenomena, he gained unsurpassable, full, and complete awakening, manifest and perfect enlightenment.

On that very night, during a lunar eclipse, Rahula was born to Yaso-dhara, and Ananda was born the son of Amritodana.

The Transcendent Buddha rose seven palm trees' height into the sky and declared, "The continuous path [of the wheel of life] has been cut!" The three-thousandfold cosmos trembled in six ways and [enlightened] guides in the ten directions proclaimed, "Excellent!," delivering the joy of the Dharma. The gods of the three-thousandfold cosmos showered homage and praise upon him.

The Buddha remained facing the tree of awakening, not breaking his cross-legged posture for a period of seven days, jubilant in the exaltation of meditative concentration. During the second week, he journeyed far

within the three-thousandfold cosmos. During the third week, he gazed unblinking at Heart of Awakening. During the fourth week, he traveled to the nearby eastern and western oceans. During the fifth week, he dwelt at the residence of the naga Mucilinda. During the sixth week, he moved from there to the foot of a banyan tree. During the seventh week, the Buddha sat at the foot of the tree of liberation.

At this time, Trapusha and Bhallika, two merchants encouraged by the gods, offered him the first alms. The Four Great Kings offered four begging bowls made of stone which [the Buddha] blessed [so that they merged] to become a single bowl. The Buddha accepted [the offered food], ate it, then recited a prayer of auspicious fortune which begins with the words, “[You have] fulfilled the auspicious wishes of the gods.” He then foretold that [the two merchants] would become buddhas.

The great way system has very many extraordinary interpretations [of this period], including accounts of inconceivable [miraculous] displays at the time of these events, and during these seven weeks, his opening of the doctrine of *The Flower Ornament Discourse*.

### *The Eleventh Deed* [K]

**At the request of Brahma and others, he taught in known and unknown places  
Expedient and definitive meanings in three successive turnings of the wheel of Dharma.**

During the time the perfect Buddha sat beneath the tree of liberation, he thought that no worldly being could realize the profound understanding he had attained. Thus, he said,

Deep, tranquil, unformulated, non-composite clear light:  
This ambrosia-like reality I have gained  
Is unfathomable by anyone I might teach.  
Thus, I will dwell at the forest's edge in silence.

He sat alone with little activity in mind.

Through the Buddha's power, Brahma with a tufted crown arrived with his retinue of sixty-eight hundred thousand, and beseeched him to teach the Dharma, but the Buddha did not do so. Brahma then called on

Shakra for assistance. After their third request, the Buddha, clearly seeing his disciples' different capabilities, promised to open the door of ambrosia-like teachings, beginning with teachings to any kind of sentient being. The tidings, "The Transcendent Buddha will turn the wheel of Dharma!" resounded as far as Brahma's realm.

The Buddha then went to seek alms in Varanasi. When he arrived at Deer Park, Descent of the Sages, the five excellent ones came to greet him. The Buddha called them forth, and they thereby became true fully ordained monks.

At that place, one thousand magnificent lion-supported thrones appeared. The Buddha circumambulated the first three; when he sat in cross-legged posture on the fourth, a great light spread throughout worlds in the ten directions, and a sound arose calling beings to listen to his teachings. A god called Bodhisattva Who Turned the Wheel of the Teachings upon Developing the Intention to Attain Awakening presented him with a one thousand-spoked wheel made of gold from the Jambu River. He and countless other bodhisattvas and gods assembled.

On the fourth day of the sixth lunar month, the Buddha taught the four truths in three enunciations: [he first explained] their essence, then their function, and finally their result. In this way, he presented that cycle of teaching in twelve aspects. As a result, the five excellent ones attained [the state of] arhat (foe-subduer), and for the first time the three jewels (Buddha, Teaching, and Spiritual Community) appeared in this world.

Beginning with instruction in the expedient and definitive meanings [of Dharma], the Buddha turned the great wheel of Dharma—virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end—in three stages. He taught in known locations—Gaya Peak, Gandhamadana Mountain, Rajgir, Vulture Peak, Shravasti, Jetavana, Kosala, Kapilavastu, and the city of Vaishali—as well as in many places unknown [to humans], such as realms of gods and nagas, and the precious vajra palace.

The Buddha led innumerable disciples of the four kinds, including the sublime pair, to the attainment of four results. He foretold the awakening of countless humans and gods who had affinity with the great way. In Shravasti, he displayed supreme miracles, both mundane and supramundane. For his mother Mayadévi's sake, he spent one summer retreat period in Heaven of the Thirty-three, then descended from the gods' realm [back to earth] at Sankashya. At glorious Treasure Mound Stupa and other places, the Buddha taught the secret mantra way to exceptional

disciples. In these ways, his display of the four taming miracles was inconceivable and indescribable.

In summary, the Buddha stayed in his father's royal residence until the age of twenty-nine. He practiced austerities during six years, and at the age of thirty-five he attained enlightenment. From then until his eightieth year, he conducted forty-five summer retreats and set in motion the highest wheel of the teachings.

### *The Twelfth Deed* [L]

**He demonstrated unlimited transcendence of sorrow.  
His relics spread throughout the world.**

When the Buddha had completed these deeds, the composite factors [that sustained] his life span were spent. [At the request of some disciples,] he blessed the composite factors [that sustained] his life-force [and thereby extended his life]. Significant portents appeared, and he proceeded to such places as the city of Vaishali together with his followers. There, he counseled them to distinguish in the future between what is Dharma and what is not: what concurs with the [collection of] discourses, appears in the collection on discipline, and does not contradict the nature of reality should be accepted as the teacher's doctrine.

[The Buddha] ate his last meal, offered by the blacksmith's son, Chunda. Then, in Kushinagara, he reclined in the lion's sleeping posture on his last bed, between a pair of sal trees. He then gave his attention to the perception of illumination, to the perception of recollection and mindfulness, and to the perception of transcending sorrow. He gave instructions to Ananda concerning the three groups of four marvelous teachings, and oral counsel. He converted the king of the celestial musicians [called] Gaiety, a wandering mendicant Subhadra, and others. Furthermore, he gave specific instructions on how to continue the teacher's acts, such as [for the community of ordained persons] to recite *The Individual Liberation Discourse* every fortnight.

The Buddha then entered absorption within of each level of meditative concentration in ascending and reverse order, and [ascended] again to the farthest limit of the fourth level of concentration. Resting there, he attained unmoving tranquil vision, and within the unlimited basic space of phenomena, he demonstrated transcendence of sorrow.

For seven days, amidst vast offerings of gods and humans, his physical remains were carried to [a stupa known as] Stupa Adorned with a Crown Offered by the Mallas. The four great pious attendants, unequaled on earth, and others made offerings, and the pyre burst into flame spontaneously. His remains became a mass of relics resembling mustard seeds, which King Ajatashatru of Magadha, the members of the Licchavi clan of Vaishali, and others divided into eight parts. Each took a part to his respective region and built stupas to enshrine these relics. They consecrated the occasion with a great holy festival during which immense offerings were made.

The Buddha's four canine teeth were distributed to Heaven of the Thirty-three, the naga king of the city of Ravana, and others, and they became objects of offering. The relics belonging to King Ajatashatru were later recovered by the Buddhist king Ashoka, who built ten million stupas throughout the Land of Jambu in one night. In the future, these [relics] became such [wonders] as the "Crown Jewel of Intelligence," which aided beings. In brief, in these and other ways, the relics of the Buddha's body were distributed throughout the entire world and they continue to increase. Thus, his deeds are endless.

*Supplementary Explanation to Distinguish between Great Way and Lesser Way Views of the Buddha's Deeds [III]*

According to the pious attendant system, the miracles occurred on the same day;

According to the great way system, in fifteen days.

This illustrates dissimilarities in explanations of cycles of teaching, length of life, etc.

There is also a major difference in scope.

However, the pious attendant system presents the account as witnessed in common by disciples, and it has become prevalent.

Therefore, when recounting the Buddha's deeds, [the two systems] must be differentiated and unmixed.

Here, I have recounted the deeds according to a scripture by the sovereign bodhisattva of awakening's tenth stage.

Accounts of Buddha's deeds as they appear in the collections on discipline and in the discourses diverge due to differences between the great

and lesser ways. To illustrate this, in the pious attendant system, the major miracles are said to have occurred [on the same day], as explained in *Various Scriptures on Monastic Discipline*. However, according to proponents of the great way system, the Buddha performed miracles over fifteen days, as related in *The Discourse of the Wise and the Foolish*. Different explanations exist regarding how the Buddha turned the wheel of the teachings, on the length of the Buddha's life, and other points. According to the common view, he lived eighty years, but scriptures of definitive meaning teach another perspective in detail:

The Buddha does not transcend sorrow,  
Nor will the teachings disappear.

Major differences in scope exist between the great and lesser ways. However, since the pious attendant system records what all the Buddha's common disciples witnessed, it has become prevalent and accepted. When [the Buddha's deeds] are presented, the two perspectives must be differentiated and unmixed; composite, blended versions should not be taught.

How the twelve deeds are enumerated is stated by the noble Nagarjuna in *The Precious Garland* and in *Ancient Praise* (a text said to be by the same author), and in many books by Tibetan scholars. I have recounted here the deeds according to the praise in verse composed by the illustrious Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, who derived his work from the text quoted above [*The Highest Continuity*] by the sovereign bodhisattva of awakening's tenth stage, the regent Maitreya. The noble master all-knowing Taranata, in his work *Meaningful to Behold*, states:

Although the stories of the Transcendent Buddha's liberation as they appear throughout the three collections are all equally [valid], we must distinguish between the great way and lesser way versions. *The Vast Enjoyment Discourse*, for instance, gives a detailed account of the events from the Buddha's residence in Joyful Heaven until his first turning of the wheel of the teachings. Since this is a great way discourse, if one wishes to continue an account of the Buddha's deeds, it would be best, in brief, to use as supplements sources that are exclusively great way discourses. These include the account of the outstanding pair of the Buddha's disciples from *The Concise Long Mantra of Precious Top Ornament*; the accounts that appear in *The*

*Reunion of Father and Son Discourse*, from the collection *The Noble Cluster of Jewels Discourse*; the great miracles explained in *The Discourse of the Wise and the Foolish*; and the circumstances of his transcendence of sorrow in *The Great Discourse of Transcendence of Sorrow*.

The discourses from the collection on observed phenomena and in the collection on monastic discipline belong to the systems of the common Buddhist way—the collections of the pious attendants. Therefore, if one is interested in furthering their accounts, it is best to supplement them only with sources found in diverse lesser way discourses. These include *The Discourse of One Hundred Actions* and *The Hundred Histories*. It is unacceptable to mix the two, making them neither one nor the other, which is incorrect.

Here in Tibet, *The Discourse of the Wise and the Foolish*, *The Great Discourse on Mindfulness*, and others are considered to be part of the pious attendants' collection, but in fact, they definitely belong to the great way collection. The presentation of the major miracles in *The Discourse of the Wise and the Foolish* is of the great way system: the pious attendant system states that there was [only] one day of miracles; the great way, fifteen days. This illustrates many marked differences among all other points [that prove the provenance of these books].

The system of the common Buddhist way (or pious attendant system) gives the account of the Buddha's activity and deeds in the world as they appeared in common to all who were in the vicinity of the Buddha's presence and were apt [witnesses]—including those holding wrong views, non-Buddhists, or even animals. The great way discourses relate how the deeds appeared in the experience of disciples for whom the extraordinary great way was taught. As a result, [the two systems] have different enumerations of the deeds in general, and in particular, very marked differences in scope. Therefore, although these two systems are not fundamentally contradictory, their styles of teaching must not be mixed. For this reason, I do not see as very acceptable [the account of the Buddha's twelve deeds by] a master known in Tibet as the second omniscient one, since he explained the first eleven deeds according to *The*

*Vast Enjoyment Discourse* and supplemented that record with the last deed according to *The Minor Scripture on Discipline*. This illustrates [a mixing of sources] that is prevalent.

Comparing the two systems' [accounts of the Buddha's twelve deeds], the great way's account is superior to the pious attendant system for various reasons: it is vaster; it relates the domain of experience of inconceivable wisdom; it reflects the perceptions of sublime disciples; it relates the esoteric story of his liberation; the great way itself has different levels [of accounts], and so forth. Nevertheless, only the common system [of the lesser way] provides a basis for various points of enquiry, such as what existed in the common perception of all individuals [at that time], the Buddha's life span, the chronology [of the events of his life], and assertions that the Buddha traveled to one place and did not travel to another.

The great way system cannot serve in that way. It is the domain of the inconceivable: it is difficult for it to provide set limits, such as, "These alone were the Buddha's places of residence, historical period, and deeds." Therefore, the system of the common Buddhist way is definitely of primary significance when writing history.





## 4. ENLIGHTENMENT'S BODIES AND PURE REALMS

---

### I. An Introduction

### II. A Full Explanation of Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Lands

#### A. How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Created the Pure Realms

1. How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Attained the Body  
of Ultimate Enlightenment's Manifest Awakening
2. How Buddha Ever Excellent Created Oceans of Self-Manifest Pure  
Realms

#### B. How Buddha Vajra Bearer Attained Peace

1. Buddha Vajra Bearer's Attainment of Peace
2. Buddha Vajra Bearer's Distinguishing Deeds

#### C. How Buddha Vajra Bearer's Two Form Bodies' Emanations Appear

1. How Enlightenment's Body of Perfect Rapture Appears
2. How Enlightenment's Manifest Body Appears
  - a. A General Description of the Manifest Body
    - i. Enlightenment's Natural Manifestation
    - ii. Enlightenment's Manifestations to Guide Beings
    - iii. Enlightenment's Diverse Manifestations
  - b. The Manifest Body according to Great Perfection
    - i. A Description of the Manifest Body
    - ii. Explanation of the Three Precious Representations of the  
Teachings

#### D. A Supplementary Statement Concerning Other Teaching Traditions

---

Chapter Four, a specific categorization of enlightenment's bodies and pure lands, according to the clear light vajra pinnacle's tradition, has two parts: (1) an introduction and (2) a full explanation of enlightenment's bodies and pure lands.

*An Introduction [I]*

**According to the highest way, clear light vajra pinnacle,**

In the secret mantra Ancient tradition of the early translations, the highest point or culmination of what are known as the nine Buddhist ways is clear light great perfection, atiyoga, the vajra pinnacle. Great perfection's tantras and textual traditions describe the extraordinary array of enlightenment's bodies and pure realms as follows.

*A Full Explanation of Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Lands [II]*

This section has four parts: (1) how the original lord [Buddha Ever Excellent] attained manifest awakening, then created the pure realms; (2) how his emanation, Buddha Vajra Bearer, attained peace in this pure realm; (3) how Buddha Vajra Bearer's two form bodies' emanations appear; and (4) a supplement introducing other systems' explanations of this subject.

*How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Created the Pure Realms [A]*

This section has two parts: (1) how the original lord [Buddha Ever Excellent] attained the body of ultimate enlightenment's manifest awakening and (2) how Buddha Ever Excellent then created oceans of self-manifest pure realms.

*How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Attained the Body of Ultimate Enlightenment's Manifest Awakening [1]*

**Prior to any division between the wheel of life and transcendent states,**

There existed self-arisen wisdom, buddha-nature, the basis  
 of being.  
 At the moment the basis of being dawned as manifest  
 appearances,  
 [Ever Excellent] recognized them as his own and gained natural  
 liberation on the basis of being.  
 Endowed with threefold greatness, master of all,  
 Buddha Ever Excellent abides in the youthful vase body's pure  
 realm—  
 Inwardly luminous subtle wisdom, indwelling but not  
 obscured.

Prior to any division between the wheel of life and transcendent states, there existed the teacher who mastered all existence and quiescence, Buddha Ever Excellent. The basis of being dawned as manifest appearances from basic space, self-arisen wisdom, buddha nature, the original ground. At the very moment those appearances arose from the basis of being, [Ever Excellent] recognized them as his own manifestations; thus, his self-arisen wisdom of awareness was liberated on the basis of being, in its own ground. He was thereby spontaneously endowed with threefold greatness—renunciation, realization, and mind. Known as Ever Excellent, master of all the wheel of life and transcendent states, he far transcends mere emptiness alone, which is taught by adherents to cause-based spiritual ways to be abiding in the complete quiescence of cessation within the sphere of all [forms of meditative] equipoise.

Thus, Buddha Ever Excellent reached the unassailable state of the spontaneously present jeweled enclosure, the original place of resolution, supreme primordial purity, the youthful vase body. He abides in the nature of the body of ultimate enlightenment—the cause or basis for the unfolding of all externally appearing qualities—inwardly luminous subtle wisdom, indwelling but not obscured, like light gathered within a crystal.

*How Buddha Ever Excellent Created Oceans of Self-Manifest  
 Pure Realms [2]*

His blessing [created] self-manifest wisdom's pure realm,  
 Richly Adorned,

**Where the self-manifest body of perfect rapture in the five  
families' assemblies appears  
Endowed with the five certainties.**

The body of ultimate enlightenment's dynamic expression or its blessings' self-manifest five wisdoms diffused as a pure realm—spontaneously present Richly Adorned. Its sacred circle exceeds the bounds of space and surpasses domains of thought, expression, or characteristics; it is not limited or localized. There, the body of perfect rapture—the convergence of the natural manifestation of the body of ultimate enlightenment's wisdoms—appears as the epitome of the five wisdom families' assemblies endowed with the five certainties. These forms dwell as a supreme display of enlightenment's indivisible bodies and wisdoms, which surpass disciples' experiential domains.

**Loving compassion for deluded sentient beings arose:  
They arrayed in the buddhas' hand implements' locations and  
within each of their pores  
Immeasurable pure realms, as numerous as the four elements'  
atoms,  
Filling the basic space of phenomena with enlightenment's  
pure realms and bodies.**

At another time, [sentient beings] had not recognized as their own the manifest appearances' dynamic expression that dawned from the original basis. As in a dream, while there was no cause for delusion, they experienced seeming delusion. [Buddha Ever Excellent] saw the movement of beings' immeasurable realms: great loving compassion arose within him and he created pure realms for their benefit.

The self-manifest body of perfect rapture's appearing aspect arrayed itself as Victor Great Glacial Lake of the five wisdom families, whose physical dimensions exceed the bounds of space. Streams of scented water flow in brimming lakes from lotuses in the interstices of the [buddhas'] hand implements, such as a wheel, and from the hollow of each of their pores. From this sphere where the streams fell, in the space of the four elements' every atom of earth, water, fire, and air, the buddhas' blessings and beings' acts create self-manifest great pure lands in immeasurable, inconceivable patterns of size, shape, and form, including round, square,

and oblong. In them, enlightenment's body, speech, mind, qualities, and activity, and the bodies and pure realms that arise from them, fill entirely wherever space and the basic space of phenomena reach; acts for beings' benefit occur in this lasting, constant wheel.

This is one original lord's deeds and realm of influence. It is vast: none can measure its extent or limits with such statements as, "It originated at just such a beginning; and finally, after this many acts, it will cease."

**In the context of the body of ultimate enlightenment, the realm is called Luminous Vajra Essence;**

**In the context of the self-manifest body of perfect rapture, Sound of Brahma's Drum;**

**In the context of the manifest body, Great Brahma Eon.**

**On the space of a hair's breadth are oceans of past, present, and future buddhas**

**In numbers equal [to the realms' atoms], etc.**

**The extent of Ever Excellent's deeds is gathered in this.**

These realms just mentioned are known as three specific realms in relation to the manifestations of enlightenment's three bodies:

In the context of the body of ultimate enlightenment, the realm is called Luminous Vajra Essence; in the context of the self-manifest body of perfect rapture, Sound of Brahma's Drum; and in the context of the manifest body, Great Brahma Eon. Upon each realm's every atom, a hair's breadth in dimension, appear the Original Lord's own emanations who appear in past, present, and future—oceans of buddhas as numerous as minute atoms.

The word "etc." [in the root text] alludes to similarly numerous oceans of sentient beings' realms, and all their four elements and encompassing space: these are included within this Great Brahma Eon Realm. There, the experience of the myriad appearances of happiness and suffering—including impure sentient beings' death and transmigration, birth and development; the buddhas' transcendence of sorrow; the Buddhist doctrine's duration and disappearance; and practice on the spiritual path—appear as in a dream.

Thus, in the space of each minute atom, immeasurable realms appear, including an axial mountain, surrounding continents, and oceans. Moreover, on each single minute atom of those world systems appearing on

each atom, immeasurable realms of sentient beings exist, brought together by causes and conditions, such as the joyful buddhas' miraculous emanations, the great force of bodhisattvas' aspirations to purify realms, the deluded perceptions of sentient beings' manifest collection of karmic accumulations, and the results of the nature of reality.

In the basic space of phenomena, relative appearances have never been originally existent; thus, they are ultimately nonexistent vivid appearances that can thereby appear as they do. The totality of Original Lord Ever Excellent's deeds is gathered within these realms.

### *How Buddha Vajra Bearer Attained Peace* [B]

This section has two parts: (1) the actual topic [Vajra Bearer's attainment of peace] and (2) his distinguishing deeds.

#### *Buddha Vajra Bearer's Attainment of Peace* [1]

Among Ever Excellent's deeds, he sent a skillful emanation to  
guide this realm:  
Innumerable [eons] ago, he offered a golden vajra to Buddha  
Exquisite Flower  
And developed the intention to attain supreme awakening.

Among Buddha Ever Excellent's deeds, he sent a great emanation, skillful in means, to guide disciples in this realm. As an ordinary individual, he demonstrated how to develop the mind of awakening, then exhibited the process of enlightenment and the display of a Buddha's deeds. Thus, innumerable numbers of eons ago, in a realm known as Natural Array, the Original Lord's emanation offered a golden vajra to Buddha Great Exquisite Flower and first developed the intention to attain supreme awakening.

In a series of incarnations he received the victors' teachings. At  
the end of settling in evenness,  
He attained enlightenment at the summit of Mount Perfectly  
Configured Profusion of Jewels  
And dwelt in the realization of the body of ultimate  
enlightenment.

Then that emanation demonstrated a seeming series of incarnations. In the second of these, he was known as Jeweled Rosary, son of the layman Excellent Generosity; he listened to the teachings in the presence of Buddha Wheel of Excellent Conduct.

Then he became the brahmin boy Excellent Splendor, son of Lightning Flash. He listened to Buddha Virtuous Intellect's teachings and settled in evenness within a meditative state for seven years. Seventy-five [years] later, he displayed the process of complete, manifest enlightenment at the summit of Mount Perfectly Configured Profusion of Jewels and dwelt in the realization of the body of ultimate enlightenment for a single great eon.

*Buddha Vajra Bearer's Distinguishing Deeds* [2]

**[Buddha] Vajra Bearer arose as the appearing aspect of the body  
of perfect rapture's array of clouds.  
Having mastery of the three mysteries' wheel  
Of endless ornaments' thirty-six deeds,  
He appears in the form of lord of the wheel of the hundred  
wisdom families.**

Within that [immersion in the body of ultimate enlightenment], the body of perfect rapture naturally arose as a circle of colors and ornaments. Within that same continual state, innumerable clouds of the five wisdom families' self-manifest victors' sacred circles took shape, arising naturally. Among these appearances, Buddha Vajra Bearer's body, with all the marks and signs of physical perfection, arose as a result of his offering of a vajra as the basis for his [initial] development of the mind of awakening. Moreover, all those [victors] had mastery of the thirty-six deeds of the panorama of endless ornaments of enlightenment's body, speech, and mind.

This account reflects one aspect of the Heart Essence style of teaching on this subject;<sup>4</sup> nevertheless, these deeds are not [deliberately] performed acts, but arise naturally as the qualities of enlightenment's essence and dynamic expression.

4. "Heart Essence" here, and "Innermost Heart Essence" in the next paragraph, refer to the highest teachings of great perfection's corpus of pith instructions, itself the highest of three approaches within that system.



Ultimately, as stated above, Vajra Bearer is merely the Original Lord's skillful emanation, and not distinguishable from him. Many varieties of names indicate him, including teacher Vajra Bearer in most secret mantra tantras; Ever Excellent, teacher of the profound vajra subjects in the Innermost Heart Essence; and elsewhere, True First Buddha and Vajrasattva. He appears in the form of lord of the wheel of the hundred wisdom families' ocean of sacred circles. *A Compendium of Wisdom's Concepts* states:

Spiritual warrior, without beginning or end,  
 Vajrasattva, supreme joy;  
 Ever Excellent, master of all;  
 Vajra Essence, chief of chiefs:  
 Without origin or ending point,  
 You are believed to be "the first sacred [buddha]."  
 Chief of all sacred circles,  
 You are the sacred powerful lord of true [buddhas].

*How Buddha Vajra Bearer's Two Form Bodies' Emanations  
 Appear [C]*

This section has two parts: an explanation of how (1) enlightenment's body of perfect rapture and (2) enlightenment's manifest body appear.

*How Enlightenment's Body of Perfect Rapture Appears [1]*

The unfolding of outwardly appearing luminosity produces the  
 semi-apparent supreme body of perfect rapture.  
 In the residences of Buddha Illuminator Great Glacial Lake  
 Are found realms and the five wisdom families' victors,  
 endowed with the five certainties:  
 The music of their vajra miraculous manifestations unfolds to  
 infinity.

Buddhaguhya's *Stages on the Path* states:

Spontaneous, perfect awareness's  
 Self-manifest realms, celestial palaces, thrones, and ornaments,  
 Appear as many lights.

As stated here, just as the catalyst of sunlight reveals a crystal's inner five-colored light, when the supreme body of ultimate enlightenment's inner luminosity that abides in the nature of reality's indwelling state unfolds in its self-manifest domain as outwardly appearing luminosity, its wisdom's appearing aspects deploy in an emanated array of enlightenment's immeasurable bodies and realms within a place of rapturous enjoyment. This array is known as the semi-apparent body of perfect rapture.

Buddha Illuminator Great Glacial Lake holds a lotus stem in his palm. On each of the petals and stamens growing from it, twenty-five realms rise in levels. Below his crossed legs, infinite streams of scented water flow; in each of these are sixty realms. In them are the five wisdom families' victors arrayed in uncountable numbers, endowed with the five certainties, epitomes of an ocean of the marks and signs of a buddha's physical perfection, enjoying their everlasting, continuous panorama. These are the array of Great Glacial Lake of Wisdom's realms and bodies, the basis for the appellation, "supreme body of rapture."

These do not contradict [the great way's statement that] there are many realms on each atom as there are atoms in infinite oceans of realms: vast oceans of enlightenment's bodies converge in a single body; moreover, each such body encompasses oceans of pure realms. These and other forms of the music of their vajra miraculous manifestations unfolding to infinity should be understood to be subjects of inconceivable mystery. *The Secret Essence Tantra* states:

Just as the three-thousandfold cosmos fits into a mustard seed,  
Invite the sacred circle from basic space, and present offerings.

**The teacher, endowed with seven special attributes and  
decorations of outer, inner, and secret marks and signs,  
Emanates a pure sacred circle.**

The body of perfect rapture, the teacher with dominion over these realms, is further endowed with special attributes of the seven natures: (1) the nature of maturation in the way things are; (2) the nature of spontaneously present, unsought qualities; (3) the nature of wisdom free from center or limits; (4) the nature of mastery of the result, the essence of which cannot be demonstrated; (5) the nature of manifest equanimity,

yet without an objective domain; (6) the nature free from one and many; and (7) the nature without joining or separation throughout past, present, and future.

Spontaneously present as the supreme epitome of these seven, the characteristics of enlightenment's body, speech, and mind appear in myriad ways according to disciples' degrees of acumen. Their changing aspects blaze as the appearances of the marks and signs of a buddha's perfection. Among them, the teacher's enlightened mind's four wisdoms reveal outer marks and signs from [the teachers'] dynamic expression; inner marks and signs from the aspect of purification of their body's channels and energy centers; and secret marks and signs from the aspect of their pure constituent, the awakened mind's fluid. They are thus endowed with beautifying, magnificent ornaments and nature.

Inherently pure, infinite arrays of sacred circles, with a center and edge, appear—the uncontaminated five aggregates as the five male transcendent buddhas; the five elements as the five female transcendent buddhas; the four sense organs—eyes, ears, nose and tongue—as the four inner bodhisattvas, including Essence of Earth; the four objects of perception—form, sound, smell, and taste—as four goddesses, including Goddess of Charm; the four [perceptions]—sight, hearing, smelling, and tasting—as the four outer bodhisattvas, including Loving-Kindness; the four times as the four goddesses, including Goddess of Flowers; the four [aspects of perception]—contact, contact's agent, contact's object, and contact's consciousness—as the four male wrathful deities; and the four [extreme] views—eternalism, nihilism, an existent self, and existent characteristics—as the four female wrathful deities. *The Secret Essence Tantra* states:

Intrinsic awareness is the center free of middle or limits;  
The four wisdoms emanate [around it] as a wheel.

*The Framework Scripture* states:

Having reached the final result, Unsurpassed Realm,  
He dwells as [the sacred circle's] center and periphery.

Moreover, these are enlightenment's self-manifest wisdoms embodied in every circumstance, the net of magical illusion's display, appearing as

realms everywhere, thrones everywhere, etc. Each sense organ even performs the functions of all sense organs, since wisdom's dynamic expression is unobstructed and encompasses the infinite basic space of phenomena. *The Lion's Perfect Dynamic Expression* states:

Ever Excellent's face sees the ten directions.  
 All-seeing Ever Excellent's body has no front or back.  
 His seeing eyes fill the ten directions.

Only a buddha's mind can encompass a buddha's experiential domain; therefore, what has been described transcends even the experiential domain of lord bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage. Self-manifest supreme clear light of the basis of being's appearing aspect arises as the worlds and beings of the panorama of infinite purity. Their appearances have the same qualities as those of a pure dream; apart from those qualities, they do not in the least exist in their own right as [things made of] substantial atoms.

Note that the former and latter presentations of the supreme body of perfect rapture refer respectively to the basis for what appears and that which actually appears.

### *How Enlightenment's Manifest Body Appears* [2]

This section has two parts: (1) a general description of the manifest body and (2) a specific description of the manifest body.

### *A General Description of the Manifest Body* [a]

This section has three parts: (1) enlightenment's natural manifestation, (2) enlightenment's manifestations to guide beings, and (3) enlightenment's diverse manifestations.

### *Enlightenment's Natural Manifestation* [i]

That very [teacher], like an image transferred into crystal,  
 Appears to tenth-stage [bodhisattvas] as the realms of  
 enlightenment's natural manifestation  
 In fivefold bodies, wisdoms, teachings, etc.

That very teacher, the supreme body of perfect rapture, the appearance of basic space, appears to his disciples who are slightly pure, lord bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage, like an image transferred into clear crystal. His appearance constitutes the five realms of enlightenment's natural manifestation: Unsurpassed in the center; and Truly Joyous, Resplendence, Tiered Lotus, and Fully Accomplished Activity in the four directions. In these realms appear five teachers, such as Transcendent Buddha King of Form, who embody oceans of the marks and signs of a buddha's physical perfection. In infinite numbers of peaceful and wrathful forms, they appraise and present the teachings. As antidotes to their disciples' five afflictive emotions, their five great pure realms, five bodies, five teachings, five wisdoms, and other aspects turn the inexpressible and inconceivable wheel of the teachings.

Because [these appearances] are gathered within these teachings' teachers—the body of perfect rapture—and the retinue—others' streams of being—it is called the semi-apparent natural manifestation. This subject is clearly presented in *The Great Tantra of the Union of Sun and Moon*.

### *Enlightenment's Manifestations to Guide Beings* [ii]

Within the continual [natural manifestation], manifestations  
to guide beings—  
Sublime emanations and the six sages who embody awareness—  
Demonstrate the four miraculous displays of training in the six  
kinds of beings' abodes.

Within the continual [natural manifestation], manifestations to guide beings appear in order to bring groups of disciples in every worldly realm to full spiritual maturity. Their skill in immeasurable techniques produces inconceivable displays: sublime emanations simultaneously demonstrate the Buddha's twelve deeds in all ten directions' infinite worldly realms. Further, in each of those, they manifest as six sages who embody awareness and guide disciples, the six kinds of beings, in forms corresponding to their species and attuned to their respective sense perceptions. They work for the benefit of each of the six kinds of beings. *The Highest Miraculous Display* [lists the six sages and their respective realms]:

In the gods' realm, Lord Shakra,  
Among demi-gods, Vemachitra,

Among humans, the subduer of demons, Lord of the Shakyas,  
 In starving spirits' abodes, Blazing Mouth,  
 The animals call him Lion,  
 In hell, Lord of Death, lord of deeds.

Sublime manifestations openly demonstrate the four miraculous displays of training using different techniques to guide disciples: by their body's tremendous merit; their mind's clairvoyance; inconceivable miraculous displays; and apt speech. Other manifestations demonstrate [such miracles'] power or similar acts to guide beings.

### *Enlightenment's Diverse Manifestations* [iii]

**Diverse manifestations appear as varied artistic creations,  
 incarnate beings,  
 Or inanimate substances—gems, trees, treasures, boats, bridges,  
 food, or medicine.**

Diverse manifestations arise from those [initial] manifestations' dynamic expression or blessings; these are things that provide the basis for significant aid to sentient beings. They appear in such varied forms as diverse artistic creations or incarnate beings, and they include inanimate substances, such as sacred images produced naturally or deliberately, fine mansions, gardens, *ghandhola* spires, cities that manifest in the midst of desolate plains, wish-fulfilling trees, wish-granting gems, boats, bridges, conveyances, food, clothing, or medicine; or [such beings as] great fish in times of famine, noble creatures which cure the intense sufferings of sickness, the foreseeing horse Balaha in the land of female ogres, or golden bees in a swamp. *The Lamp of Precious Jewels Discourse* presents this subject in an extensive version.

These latter manifestations are classified as belonging to the Great Brahma Eon Realm created by Buddha Vajra Bearer.

### *The Manifest Body according to Great Perfection* [b]

A specific description of the manifest body according to great perfection's single, extraordinary style of explanation has two parts: (1) the main topic, a description of the manifest body, and (2) an explanation of the three precious representations of the teachings.

*A Description of the Manifest Body* [i]

In particular, as appearing aspects of the body of perfect rapture  
 during this eon,  
 Twelve teachers have appeared in twelve places,  
 From Sacred Illuminator in Joyful Pinnacle  
 Until Shakyamuni in Jetavana Grove.

According to great perfection's own extraordinary style of explanation, we can distinguish specific manifest bodies as emanations of the body of perfect rapture in the form of twelve manifestations that lived during this fortunate age from the time of a limitless life span until a hundred-year life span.

During the first era, in a place called Joyful Pinnacle, the teacher was the child Inconceivable Holy Illuminator, who taught a circle of one thousand buddhas. His teaching, during a period when sentient beings were capable of a limitless life span, was the basis of all teachings, *The Unimpeded Sound Tantra*; the compiler, the god Lord Creator of Delight, was assisted by the god Sun Illuminator.

In Endurance world-system, the teacher was the child Unwavering Luminosity, who taught a circle of two hundred thousand dakinis. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a ten-million-year life span, comprised the tantras of wisdom body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities.

In Heat and Moisture Gathering Light Mass, the teacher was Illustrious Mind that Protects from Fear, who taught a circle of six hundred thousand bodhisattvas. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a one-hundred-thousand-year life span, was *Emptying the Wheel of Life's Depths*, *The Peacocks' Entwined Necks*, and *The Glorious Tantra of the Four Elements' Exhaustion*.

In Appearance in the Womb of Conception, the teacher was Youthful Playful Frolic, who taught a circle of one thousand noxious spirits and ogres. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of an eighty-thousand-year life span, was the mind section's five root and auxiliary tantras.

In Medicinal Garden of Youth, the teacher was Vajra Bearer, the sixth [Buddha], who taught a circle that included the seven successive buddhas. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a seventy-thousand-year life span, included the six transcendent perfections.

In Display of Supreme Mysteries, Charnel Ground Blazing Fire Mountain, the teacher was Youthful Powerful Warrior, who taught a circle of seven bodhisattvas, including Strength of Clouds. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a sixty-thousand-year life span, included many classes of tantras, such as father tantras and mother tantras.

In Rulu Resounding Ogre Cave, the teacher was Seer Wrathful Monarch, who taught a circle of ten million ogres. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a ten-thousand-year life span, included the ten tantras for subduing coarse phenomena.

In Vulture Peak of Rajgir, the teacher was the arhat Sacred Golden Light, who taught a circle of countless exalted pious attendants endowed with miraculous powers. His sacred teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a five-thousand-year life span, was the infinite ten thousand [teachings on] monastic discipline.

In Turquoise Eyebrows in Mongolia, at the foot of the flourishing tree of awakening, the teacher was Love's Display of Intelligence, who taught a circle of eighth-stage bodhisattvas. His teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a thousand-year life span, included the seven subtle tantras.

In Vulture Peak, the teacher was the elder Guardian of the Light, who taught a circle of seven long-lived [seers]. His sacred teaching, during a period [when human beings were capable] of a five-hundred-year life span, included the discourses, *kriya* tantra, and eighty thousand teachings of the anuyoga transmission.

In Vajra Seat, at the foot of the source tree of awakening, the teacher was Father Consummate Monarch, who taught a circle of the lords of the three kinds of beings. He taught only the definitive meaning during a period [when human beings were capable] of a three-hundred-year life span.

In Prince Anatapindata's gardens in Jetavana Grove, the teacher was Shakyamuni, who taught a circle of the four orders. His teaching was of the four truths, turning the wheel in twelve stages: suffering, emptiness, non-self, the origin of suffering, causes, circumstances, the path, awareness, the cultivation of awareness, cessation, peace, and excellence. He taught during a period [when human beings were capable] of a hundred-year life span.

As described, the twelve teachers of manifest enlightenment appeared in twelve different places.



**Endowed with the five magnificent qualities, these teachers  
epitomize the teachings' sixty gateways.  
Their deeds are enumerated in terms of ninety-six collections.**

Moreover, these teachers, who are naturally endowed with the five magnificent qualities that act to purify beings' five aggregates, appear twelve times and thus epitomize a total of sixty gateways to the teachings.

On the subject of the enumeration of their deeds of enlightened activity, omniscient Longchenpa describes their various distinctions:

Concerning the [teachers'] bodies' twelve deeds: the teacher himself appeared in twelve different places, manifesting with twelve different colors and hand implements. These emanations performed what are known as twelve different acts of infinite benefit for different groups of disciples of twelve dissimilar affinities, acts done to spread the doctrine of wisdom body, based on [the teacher's] brilliant physical glow.

While these bodies appeared, they taught twelve different wheels of the teachings' speech. These performed what are known as acts that untie twelve different bonds of beings' speech, done to spread the doctrine of wisdom speech. While this speech lasted, twelve different intentions of wisdom mind appeared, performing what are known as acts that liberate different kinds of beings from twelve concepts, done to spread the doctrine of wisdom mind.

Thus, the enumeration of the teachings of a single manifest body of the certain doctrine must have ninety-six collections. Teachers who possess them are known as lords of the doctrine; however, those without them all are known as buddhas who appeared in the world with a partial doctrine. Such buddhas, however, arose from their previous development of the mind of awakening.

*Explanation of the Three Precious Representations  
of the Teachings [ii]*

**At the same time, representations of the three bodies'  
doctrines appear:**

**A naturally produced vajra, book, and statue.**

**They have the enlightened activity of liberating in their own ground**

**Any being, along with that being's material body, who sees, hears, or touches them.**

**They move to disciples' abodes; at present they reside in this realm.**

At the same time as those manifest teachers [appear], supreme representations of the three bodies' doctrines, manifestations of enlightenment's body, speech, and mind, naturally appear and work for beings' benefit.

In this Land of Jambu, a hand-sized vajra born from one hundred precious substances naturally manifests by great perfection's blessings. That vajra is the material representation of the body of ultimate enlightenment's doctrine. A four-finger-width text that resounds with the nature of reality's innate sound, born from one hundred and one precious substances, naturally manifest by the blessings of *The Self-Arisen Doctrine Like an Only Child*, is the material representation of the body of perfect rapture's doctrine. A life-sized sacred image, naturally produced from one hundred and one precious substances, self-manifest by the twelve teachers' blessings, is [the material representation of] the manifest body's [doctrine].

These three are non-composite, and are thus not subject to creation or destruction. As they are produced naturally from blessings, they have infinite magical powers and qualities. For enlightenment's manifest bodies that have and will appear in worldly realms, they constitute sacred supports that spread the doctrines of wisdom body, speech, and mind. They epitomize the activity of causing the natural dissolution of [any being], along with that being's material body, upon seeing, hearing, or touching them.

These three precious representations move to where the clear light vajra pinnacle teachings can guide disciples. Therefore, they now abide in this realm; when they move to another realm in the future, great perfection's doctrine will no longer appear in this realm.

At the time of this realm's initial formation, the doctrine's three representations dwelt in a northern realm called Movement. When the teacher, the child Inconceivable Holy Illuminator [the first of the twelve teachers of great perfection listed above], appeared in this realm, the three representations moved here. They remain in separate locations depending

upon whether the doctrines of wisdom's body, speech, or mind guide beings.

During the duration of the wisdom body's doctrine, the vajra resides on a sea's island in the land of Oddiyana and makes appear light, sound, and infinite numbers of emanated fully ordained monks endowed with miraculous powers. During the duration of the doctrine of wisdom speech, the vajra resides on Mount Malaya, Bodhisattva Vajra Holder's abode, where the rulers of noxious spirits pay homage to it. During the duration of the wisdom mind's doctrine, it remains in the sky above Vajra Seat.

During the duration of the wisdom body's doctrine, the book resides in the care of the dakinis five hundred leagues in the sky above Vajra Seat. During the duration of the doctrine of wisdom speech, it remains together with the statue and the vajra. During the duration of the wisdom mind's doctrine, it dwells in the cave of Extremely Wrathful Seer.

During the duration of the wisdom body's doctrine, the sacred image, by its own blessings, resides together with the teacher's actual body, as well as with that teacher's primary and secondary emanations, and he or she actually sees the sacred circle of its face. During the duration of the doctrine of wisdom speech, the sacred image does not stay in one location, but circles throughout the Land of Jambu and serves as the object of worship of all special gatherings of gods and humans. Occasionally, when the teachings are harmed, light shines from the image, [the sound of] *Hung* roars from its mouth, and wisdom's flames pour from its eyes. During the duration of the wisdom mind's doctrine, it remains on the highest floor of Vajra Holder's building in the celestial palace of the gods of Heaven of the Thirty-Three. There, the one known as Magnificent One of an Even Nature worships it, and it embodies an ocean of miraculous displays.

Further, the time of limitless life span until that of one thousand years is the period of the wisdom body's doctrine, which lasts seven million, five hundred thousand years. From that point until the human life span is seventy years is the period of the doctrine of wisdom speech, which lasts two million, five hundred thousand years. From that point until the life span is ten years is the period of the wisdom mind's doctrine, which lasts two million, five hundred thousand years. These periods refer to the number of years of these doctrines' influence; it does not represent the general measure of time.

When the life span here becomes less than ten years, the three representations will move in succession to [realms known as] Elegant Configuration to the south, Protected Expanse to the north, and Melodious Top-knot in the west. Moreover, there will occur seven periods during which the representations will be present, and seven periods during which they will not be present—fourteen periods during which the teachings spread and decline, respectively. The seven times are

The eras of the essence, of completeness,  
Of supreme completeness, of two-quarters,  
Of three-quarters, of conflict, and of intense conflict.

The periods between these times, when the representations have vanished and do not appear, are said to be dark ages. After the completion of buddhas' deeds in these realms, all that exists in Great Brahma Eon Realm created by Buddha Vajra Bearer is liberated in its original ground. The environment and its inhabitants having become void, the three representations disappear as well, vanishing of themselves into the nature of reality. Then, once again beings to be guided appear from basic space, enlightenment's manifestation creates a Great Brahma Eon Realm, and the three representations naturally manifest as well, and so on. Thus, they work for beings' benefit in an everlasting, continuous wheel.

Moreover, each of enlightenment's three bodies has realms corresponding to wisdom body, speech, and mind; and each of these has outer, inner, and secret realms. Each can be divided into four—thirty-six deeds for each [of enlightenment's three bodies]. In all, they equal one hundred and eight.

In the palm of Buddha Illuminator of Form, the body of perfect rapture, there lies a lotus stamen. Upon it are immeasurable realms configured in stacks of twenty-five; at the thirteenth, directly at his heart, is located this realm Endurance, an ideal place for the teachings on natural great perfection to effortlessly arise. Such an event depends upon various conditions of [this world-system's] formation, abiding, destruction, or vacuity. After the period of formation, goddesses of water and wind, etc., place the minds of the world's possible sentient beings into a jeweled lotus tree. The sound of a lotus voice radiates in the ten directions as an invocation. This wakes into manifestation the latent seeds that dwell in the fixation aspect of consciousness even of [beings of the] formless [heavens]. These

consciousnesses' meditative states create emanated bodies that gradually spread throughout the three realms, [beginning with the highest formless realm, absorption within] neither discernment nor no discernment. Thus even now, the haphazard movement of awareness in basic space produces the arising of sentient beings' adventitious delusion.

These and many other extraordinary systems of teachings can be learned only in the writings of the omniscient lord of the teachings [Longchenpa].

*A Supplementary Statement Concerning Other Teaching Traditions* [D]

**The ways in which *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization, Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion Tantra*, and other tantras explain these subjects are boundless;  
Therefore, learn them from their individual source texts.**

The scholar Zhang Nyibüm and Ever-Excellent Drimé Özer [i.e., Longchenpa] elucidated in detail the intention concerning enlightenment's bodies and pure realms of such texts as the fundamental tantras of atiyoga great perfection's pith instructions, *The Unimpeded Sound Tantra*, *The Great Array of Ati*, and *The Great Tantra of the Flourishing Wish-Granting Tree*. All later scholars of the early translation school followed their example in their explanations, which is what I have related here.

Besides this presentation, a boundless number of slightly differing viewpoints exist, from as many scholars as have appeared, who preserve the teaching traditions of such sources as the supreme transmission of *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization, Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion Tantra*, and the five classes of supramundane practices, etc. Therefore, I have not been able to gather them all in one place. If you wish to learn them, do so from their individual source texts and commentaries.

THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE

BOOK THREE

*What the Buddha Taught*

.....

## WHAT THE BUDDHA TAUGHT

---

I have thoroughly presented above the advent of the light of the world who appeared here to guide beings.

Book Three, which systematically describes the outline of that teacher's doctrine, the sacred teachings, has four chapters: (1) identification of the sacred teachings; (2) a detailed classification of cycles of scriptural transmission; (3) how the Buddha's teachings were compiled, accompanied by supplementary explanations of the doctrine's duration; and (4) a detailed explanation of the transmission of the early translations' Ancient tradition.

# 1. WHAT ARE THE SACRED TEACHINGS?

---

- I. An Introduction to Identify the Subject, the Sacred Teachings
- II. A Full Explanation of the Sacred Teachings
  - A. The Essence of Dharma
  - B. Etymology of the Word *Dharma*
  - C. The Classification of Dharma
    - 1. The Meaning of *Dharma* Which Is the Basis of This Classification
    - 2. The Actual Classification of Dharma
      - a. A Concise Presentation of the Classification of Dharma
      - b. A Full Explanation of the Classification of Dharma
        - i. The Subject, the Dharma of Realization
        - ii. The Scriptural Transmissions That Express Realization
          - aa. A Concise Presentation of Scriptural Transmissions
          - bb. The Full Explanation of Scriptural Transmissions
            - 1' The Canon
              - a' The Essence of the Canon
              - b' Classifications of the Canon
                - i' Classification of the Canon according to Its Dominant Cause
                - ii' Classification of the Canon according to Its Subjects
                - iii' Classification of the Canon according to Modes of Expression
                - iv' Classification of the Canon according to the Disciples' Degrees of Acumen
            - 2' The Treatises That Comment upon the Scriptural Transmissions' Intent
              - a' Qualifications of Authors of Treatises
              - b' Characteristics of the Treatises



- c' Etymology of the Word “Treatise”
  - d' Classifications of Treatises
    - i' Classification of Treatises according to Function
    - ii' Classification of Treatises according to Topics
    - iii' Classification of Treatises according to Subject
  - e' A Supplementary Explanation of Which Treatises to Adopt and Which to Reject
- 

This chapter has two parts: (1) an introduction to identify the subject, the sacred teachings, and (2) a full explanation of that subject.

### *An Introduction to Identify the Subject, the Sacred Teachings* [I]

**The foremost miracle performed by the spiritual master of gods  
and humans to guide his disciples  
Is that of turning the wheel of Dharma:**

The Buddha, Transcendent Conqueror, spiritual master of all beings, including gods and humans, displayed inconceivable miracles as ways to guide his disciples. All these miracles are included in the four techniques of guiding beings to enlightenment [i.e., through the body’s tremendous merit; the mind’s clairvoyance; inconceivable miraculous displays; and apt speech]. Among these, the most sublime, or foremost one, is his turning the wheel of Dharma. Therefore, it is this I will explain in detail.

The colon in the root text [*te* in Tibetan], a grammatical particle that indicates something left over, connects that passage to the next.

### *A Full Explanation of the Sacred Teachings* [II]

This section has three parts: (1) the essence of Dharma, (2) the etymology of the word *Dharma*, and (3) the classification of Dharma.

#### *The Essence of Dharma* [A]

**The essence [of Dharma] is a wholly positive quality, the anti-  
dote to obscurations.**

The holy Dharma's essence is as follows. As it is said:

The holy Dharma  
Dispels all sufferings and all obscurations.

When the holy Dharma is correctly focused upon, it is a wholly positive quality, the antidote that exhausts embodied beings' obscurations. The Dharma is illustrated by the uncontaminated attributes gathered in [the truths of] cessation and the spiritual path, as well as the authoritative canon and treatises. The former [the truths] constitutes the subject; the latter [the words and texts] expresses it.

*Etymology of the Word Dharma* [B]

**The etymology of *dharma*: in Sanskrit, *dharma* has ten meanings.**

Etymologically, [the Tibetan word] *chos* [pronounced "chö"] is the equivalent of the Sanskrit word *dharma*, derived from *dudhrn*, which means "to hold." *Dharma* has ten meanings or denotes ten things. *The Wish-Fulfilling Discourse* states:

It holds everything; therefore it is dharma.

*A Rational System of Exposition* lists the ten meanings:

*Dharma* denotes phenomena, the spiritual path,  
Transcendence of sorrow, the mental function's domain,  
Merit, life, scriptures,  
Nature, specified conduct, and tradition.

As stated, (1) the word *dharma* denotes that which is knowable. To take examples from discourses,

Some things [*dharma*] are composite, some non-composite.

Further,

Know all phenomena [*dharmā*] to be like that.

(2) *Dharma* denotes the spiritual path, as in the following:

O monks, an erroneous view is not the spiritual path [*dharmā*];  
A correct view is the path.

(3) *Dharma* denotes transcendence of sorrow:

Having taken refuge in the Dharma . . .

(4) *Dharma* denotes the mental function's domain:

The sense bases' domains [*dharmā*] . . .

(5) *Dharma* denotes merit:

[The Buddha] enjoyed [the fruits of] merit [*dharmā*] together  
with his circle of queens and youthful maidens . . .

(6) *Dharma* denotes life:

Immature persons cherish the life [*dharmā*] they see.

(7) *Dharma* denotes scriptures:

O monks, that which is called scripture [*dharmā*] is the dis-  
courses, the melodious expressions, [and] . . .

(8) *Dharma* denotes nature:

Composite substances have this nature [*dharmā*].

Further,

Not even I have transcended the nature [*dharmā*] of death,  
and the reality of death.

(9) *Dharma* denotes specified conduct:

The four regulations [*dharma*s] for a mendicant . . .

Moreover,

O monks, killing is not specified conduct [*dharma*]; renunciation of killing is specified conduct.

(10) *Dharma* denotes tradition, as in a country's traditions [*dharma*] or a caste's customs.

What is the connection between these and the meaning of the [Tibetan] word '*dzin*' [pronounced "dzin"], "to hold"? One can infer the logic [of the connection in the following illustrations]:

(1) Phenomena hold specific and general characteristics. Holding specific characteristics is illustrated in the following:

For example, earth is firm; water, wet; fire, hot; and wind, light and mobile.

The general characteristics they hold [are expressed in this verse]:

All that is compounded is impermanent;  
 All that is contaminated is suffering;  
 All phenomena are without a self;  
 Transcendence of sorrow is peace.

(2 & 3) The path and transcendent states hold one from falling into the wheel of life. (4) The mental function's domain holds the mind. (5) Merit holds one from falling into miserable existences. (6) Vitality, or life-force, holds the body or its genus. (7) Scriptures hold incontrovertible meaning. (8) Nature holds the seeds of future phenomena. (9) Specifications hold the basis for regulations. (10) Traditions preserve conduct that conforms to its own [customs]. Similarly, awareness holds one apart from delusion.

*The Classification of Dharma* [C]

This section has two parts: (1) the meaning of *dharma* which is the basis of this classification and (2) the actual classification of Dharma.

*The Meaning of Dharma Which Is the Basis of This Classification* [1]

**Among those meanings is the holy Dharma, comprising [the truths] of cessation and of the path.**

Among those meanings just presented, what I will explain at this point is the holy Dharma, comprising the truths of cessation and of the path. The reason the “holy Dharma” has this appellation is that it is supreme among all phenomena. Alternatively, “holy” can refer to the perfect Buddha and “Dharma” to what he taught. Also, we say “Dharma” because it is the spiritual path (*dharma*) holy individuals engage in.

*The Actual Classification of Dharma* [2]

This section has two parts: (1) a concise presentation of the classification of Dharma and (2) a full explanation of the classification of Dharma.

*A Concise Presentation of the Classification of Dharma* [a]

**In the classification of Dharma, there is realization, the subject; and the scriptural transmissions that express it.**

*A Full Explanation of the Classification of Dharma* [b]

This section has two parts: (1) the subject, the Dharma of realization; and (2) the scriptural transmissions that express realization.

*The Subject, the Dharma of Realization* [i]

**The holy Dharma of realization comprises the truths of cessation and of the spiritual path:**

**These are the four kinds of exalted beings' wisdom mind  
streams, which are free from any [attachment];  
And the agent of that separation, which itself has the nature of  
antidotes.**

The holy Dharma of realization has two aspects: the truth of cessation and the truth of the spiritual path.

First, only exalted beings know [the truth of cessation]: concepts cannot analyze it and it surpasses the domain of expression. Therefore, it is inconceivable. It is naturally peaceful, therefore nondual. Dissociated from dualistic formulations, it is nonconceptual. Having these three characteristics, [the truth of cessation is the result of] antidotes applied in the four kinds of exalted beings' wisdom mind streams; they have relinquished that which must be renounced. They attain cessation through the strength of realization of the essence of ultimate truth free from any attachment.

Second, the circle of the sun is naturally pure luminosity that acts as the antidote to darkness; likewise, [the truth of the spiritual path] is purified of faults' defilements, and the qualities of its luminosity act as the antidote to obscurations and afflictive emotions. The path is that which is imbued with the three characteristics [mentioned in the last paragraph], accompanied by uncontaminated wisdom and its associated qualities, and it separates one from attachment. The spiritual path is relative [truth], the nature of antidotes. *The Highest Continuity* states:

Inconceivable, nondual, and nonconceptual,  
Pure, clear, and belonging to antidotes—  
The Dharma, which has the characteristic of the two truths,  
Is free from attachment and is that which frees from attachment.

Freedom from attachment comprises  
The truths of cessation and the path.  
Know them in that order  
With three qualities each:

[The first] is inconceivable, since it is inscrutable,  
Inexpressible, and known by exalted beings—  
Nondual, peace itself, and nonconceptual.  
[The second] has three [qualities]: purity, etc., like the sun.

*The Scriptural Transmissions That Express Realization* [ii]

This section has two parts: (1) a concise presentation and (2) a full explanation of scriptural transmissions.

*A Concise Presentation of Scriptural Transmissions* [aa]

**The essence of scriptural transmissions is twofold:  
[The Buddha's] words well spoken in ten ways and the treatises  
that elucidate [the Buddha's] intent.**

When the scriptural transmissions' sacred teachings are classified in relation to their essence, they are twofold: [the Buddha's] words well spoken in ten ways, and the treatises that elucidate his canon's intent. *The Discourse Requested by the Young God* states:

Teachings are gathered into two collections: the Buddha's words  
and the treatises.  
[The first are] well spoken; [the second] elucidate their intent.

*A Rational System of Exposition* lists the ten ways the Buddha's words were well spoken:

In what ways were they well spoken? In ten ways: the nature of their (1) drawing from an authentic [source]; being (2) attuned, (3) engaged, (4) fully taught, and (5) diversified; (6) support; (7) creation of comprehension; (8) designations; (9) timing; and (10) being replete with qualities.

[To explain these ten, the Buddha's words (1) are drawn from an authentic source] in that they were spoken following his manifest, perfect enlightenment; (2) they were attuned to all sentient beings' capacities; (3) they were spoken continually, rather than on sporadic occasions; (4) the master did not conceal some topics; (5) the Buddha's words were spoken according to beings' exact interests; (6) they were endowed with five euphonic components; (7) each euphonic component pervaded infinite world-systems, or they were spoken to be comprehended by the entire range of the circle of the Buddha's followers; (8) they delineate a spiritual

path upon which the two extremes are relinquished; (9) they were spoken to spiritually mature disciples; (10) their delivery was imbued with the sixty qualities [of the Buddha's speech].

The five euphonic components mentioned here are as follows: [the Buddha's speech was] (1) deep like the sound of thunder, (2) melodious and pleasing to the ear, (3) appealing and delightful, (4) clear and intelligible in all respects, and (5) significant and not inconsistent.

The words of the Buddha, having five qualities such as being wide ranging, etc., perform five functions, such as being audible, and so forth. These are well expressed by Master Vasubandhu:

These are the five qualities:

Wide ranging, pleasant sounding, imbued with the meaning of awareness,

Easy to retain, and varied according to the listener's wishes.

These have five branches:

They are audible, they prevent distraction, they liberate,

They are conducive to understanding, and they bring the listener to spiritual maturity:

With these, the great sage's speech has five branches.

On the subject of the sixty qualities of speech, *The Discourse Showing the Transcendent Buddha's Inconceivable Mysteries* presents them as sixty-two; *The Ornament of the Sage's Wisdom Mind* explains each extensively. In summary, [the Buddha's speech is said to be]

(1) Supple, (2) gentle, (3) compelling, (4) reasonable, (5) pure,  
 (6) Flawless, (7) clear, (8) pleasant sounding, (9) worthwhile,  
 (10) Unassailable, (11) pleasing, (12) calming, (13) not harsh,  
 (14) Not inflexible, (15) perfectly restrained, (16) pleasing to the ear,

(17) Satisfying to the body, (18) satisfying to the mind,

(19) gladdening the heart,

(20) Delightful, (21) never troubling,

(22) Worth knowing, (23) worth understanding, (24) lucid,

(25) Heartening, (26) exhilarating, (27) comprehensive,

(28) Informative, (29) logical, (30) relevant, (31) without the fault of being repetitive,



- (32) Sounding like a lion, (33) sounding like an elephant,  
 (34) sounding like a dragon, (35) sounding like the king of nagas,  
 (36) Melodious like the celestial musicians, (37) melodious like a divine bird,  
 (38) Sounding like Brahma, (39) sounding like a *chakora* bird,  
 (40) Articulate, (41) melodious, (42) resonant,  
 (43) [Resounding] like Indra's [voice], (44) like a drum, (45) not vain,  
 (46) Not degraded, (47) consistent with all forms of grammar,  
 (48) Not deficient, (49) not incomplete,  
 (50) Not timid, (51) not weak, (52) encompassing, (53) perfected,  
 (54) Fluent, (55) coherent, (56) grammatically complete,  
 (57) Satisfying to all senses, (58) irreproachable,  
 (59) Reliable, (60) not rushed, (61) sounding all around, and  
 (62) Sublime in every circumstance.

### *The Full Explanation of Scriptural Transmissions* [bb]

This section has two parts: (1) the canon and (2) the treatises.

### *The Canon* [1']

This section has two parts: (1) the essence of the canon and (2) classifications of the canon.

### *The Essence of the Canon* [a']

**The canon presents the three trainings, is expressed in flawless language,  
 Has three kinds of logic [as proof], and is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end.**

The canon's essence is described as follows: its subject presents the three trainings [in ethical conduct, meditative states, and sublime insight]; it is expressed in flawless language; it has three kinds of logic as proof; and its result is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end. Lord Maitreya states:

The Victor's canon presents the three trainings; its speech and terms are flawless;  
 It has the three kinds of logic; and it is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end:  
 He spoke these teachings in the great way.  
 Anything opposite to this should be known as others' texts.

*Radiant Discipline* states:

The wise know that the Buddha's speech  
 Fully presents the three trainings,  
 Bears the authentic three seals,  
 And is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end.

The three kinds of logic referred to here are [proofs based in] direct perception, inference, and scriptural authority. Further, *The Highest Continuity* states:

Speech fully connected to what is meaningful,  
 That causes the pervasive afflictive emotions of the three realms to be relinquished,  
 And which reveals the benefits of peace  
 Is the Seer's speech; the opposite belongs to other systems.

As stated, the subject of the Buddha's speech is fully connected to what is meaningful. Its function is to serve as a means to relinquish the afflictive emotions of the three realms. Its result is speech that flows toward and descends into peace, the transcendence of sorrow. Its dominant causal condition is that it arose based upon the perfect Buddha.

The etymology of *subhashita* [Sanskrit for "well spoken"] is explained in *A Rational System of Exposition*:

Because it was spoken correctly and incontrovertibly, it was well spoken.

Its meaning is said in the discourses to relate to the mode of speaking:

The holy Dharma is virtuous in the beginning, virtuous in the

middle, and virtuous in the end; it contains excellent meanings and excellent words; it is unadulterated, fully complete, fully pure, and fully refined.

Moreover, Master Asanga states:

[The holy Dharma] is virtuous in the beginning: those who listen to it develop abundant joy. It is virtuous in the middle: those who thoroughly apply it relinquish the two extremes with little difficulty and rely purely on the middle way. It is virtuous in the end: it is totally flawless and totally perfected. It free from attachment to anything, since it is the culmination of freedom from attachment. It has excellent meanings: it is imbued with benefit and happiness. It has excellent words: it is well composed in its collection of terms, etc.; its verbal oration is complete. It is unadulterated: it is extraordinary when compared with non-Buddhist [teachings]. It is fully complete: since it is immeasurable, it is sublime among all. It is fully pure: its nature is liberation. It is fully refined: its coherent continuity is that of liberation.

### *Classifications of the Canon [b']*

This section has four parts: (1) classification of the canon according to its dominant cause, (2) classification of the canon according to its subjects, (3) classification of the canon according to its modes of expression, and (4) classification of the canon according to the disciples' degrees of acumen.

#### *Classification of the Canon according to Its Dominant Cause [i']*

**In terms of its dominant cause, [the canon] was spoken by the Buddha;  
Blessed by his wisdom body, speech, or mind; or authorized by him.**

Among the many approaches to the classification of the Transcendent Buddha's excellent speech, a classification based upon the perspective of

the speaker—the dominant cause—yields three [categories]: the canon the Buddha spoke, the canon the Buddha blessed, and the canon the Buddha authorized.

The first refers to words the Transcendent Conqueror himself spoke from his glorious throat; for instance, *The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight*.

Second, Master Haribhadra taught that [the canon the Buddha blessed] comprises words blessed by his wisdom body, speech, or mind. As an example of the canon his wisdom body blessed, [the Buddha] placed his hand in blessing on the crown of the head of [Bodhisattva] Vajra Heart. Thus, the confidence to expound *The Discourse of Awakening's Ten Stages* was born in that bodhisattva, and Liberated Moon asked questions [to begin the teaching]. As an example of the canon his wisdom speech blessed, [the Buddha] ordered Manjushri to assuage Ajatashatru's despair. This resulted in *The Discourse to Assuage Ajatashatru's Despair*. As an example of the canon his wisdom mind blessed, the Transcendent Conqueror entered the meditative state of profound illumination and blessed Shariputra and All-Seeing One, who then spoke *The Discourse of the Heart of the Perfection of Sublime Insight*.

Further, [the Buddha's] spontaneously present qualities' and activities' blessings shone lights that illuminated transcendent buddhas' bodies, who taught the Dharma, as presented in the introduction to *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses*. [Likewise,] the teaching's melodious sounds that emerged from mountains, trees, birds, lotuses, great drums, and so on; the teachings expressed by any pious attendant through the power of the Buddha's blessing; and the teachings expressed by men, women, boys, girls, and others through the power of the Buddha's supreme activity have been compiled in the canon. *The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight* states:

However much the Victor's pious attendants teach the Dharma,  
 Explain it, and expound it imbued with pure logic,  
 And thereby edify sublime exalted beings, and attain the results  
     [of their states],  
 All is [accomplished through] the power of the person of the  
     Transcendent Buddha.

Why is this so? In whichever modes the Victor taught the Dharma,  
 Those sublime humans first trained as his disciples,

[Gained] manifest [attainment], and taught according to that training.

This is done by the Buddha's power, not by the speaker's own might.

This scripture and its reasoning validate the teachings which emerge from symbols written on yellow parchment, pure visions, or wisdom mind's manifest expression produced by treasure revealers—the sublime emanated individuals belonging to the early translation school.

Third, [words the Buddha authorized refers to] the compliers of the canon's compositions, such as those indicated in the introductions at the beginning [of texts], connections [between topics] in the middle, and affirmations at the end. *The White Lotus of Great Compassion Discourse* states:

Ananda, when those monks question you in that way, present scriptures in these words: “At one time, I heard these words: the Transcendent Conqueror first attained manifest, perfect enlightenment, then remained at the Heart of Awakening, in the region of Magadha . . .” and so on.

Then take any teaching I spoke using any meanings, terms, and words, and present it in detail with excellent meanings and excellent words, accompanied by an introduction, accompanied by an account of the teaching's primary causes, and accompanied by an account of contributory conditions.

Then, at the end of discourses, add: “After the Transcendent Conqueror had spoken these words, the fully constituted circle of his disciples rejoiced: they manifestly praised the speech of the Transcendent Conqueror.”

Ananda, follow these conventions to compile the Dharma purely.

Moreover, the scriptures on monastic discipline state:

If you don't remember the location of the teaching, declare it to be any of the six great cities.

In these and other ways, [the Buddha] granted his authorization.

*Classification of the Canon according to Its Subjects [ii']*

**From the perspective of the canon's subjects, its content comprises three collections.**

**The collection on discipline mainly teaches training in ethical conduct; the collection of discourses, training in meditative states;**

**And the collection on observed phenomena, training in sublime insight.**

The entire canon's subject matter mainly presents the three trainings. From this perspective, the content is classified into three collections; these are the discipline, the discourses, and observed phenomena. Moreover, the excellent speech that mainly presents the subject of training in higher ethical conduct constitutes the collection on discipline. The excellent speech that mainly presents the subject of training in higher meditative states constitutes the collection of discourses. The excellent speech that mainly presents the subject of training in higher sublime insight constitutes the collection on observed phenomena. [This classification describes] the characteristics [of these three]. Works that embody these characteristics include, respectively, the four texts of the scriptural transmission [of discipline], *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses*, and the seven texts on observed phenomena.

On the subject of the term for these collections and its meaning, the general term [in Tibetan] for their name is *sde snod* [pronounced "dénö"] (collection), [the equivalent of the] Sanskrit *pitaka*, because this term denotes an agglomerate or a large measure. Since many meanings are included in each, [each collection] is like a large measure, just as a large measure contains many small measures. On this subject, master Asanga states:

Why are they called "collections"? The answer is that they are inclusive, in that they include all meanings.

**Nine categories are found within [the three collections], such as discourses on discipline;**

**Thus in fact, the training is ninefold.**

The three collections are said to be divided into nine categories: the discipline's internal structure includes the discipline's discipline, discourses on discipline, etc. Therefore, it is thought that in fact the classification of the three trainings' internal structure is ninefold.

On this subject, the discipline collection mainly teaches training in ethical conduct. With that as its point of departure, the discipline's discipline gives rough overviews of the framework [of discipline] by presenting proscribed and natural [rules of conduct]. The discipline's discourses present the stages of the contemplative practice of meditative states and pure conduct. Discipline's [section on] observed phenomena comprises an extensive presentation of those topics.

The collection of discourses mainly teaches the training of the mind. Within it, the discourses' discipline presents the framework for the many vows of a bodhisattva. The discourses' discourses present profound and vast meditative states. The discourses' section on observed phenomena presents the entire range of the topics of awakening's stages and paths, retention mantras, and meditative states.

The collection on observed phenomena mainly teaches the training in sublime insight. Within it, the collection on observed phenomena's section on discipline presents instruction in easy techniques for subduing the afflictive emotions without much difficulty. The collection on observed phenomena's discourses present an ocean of ways to enter suchness. The collection on observed phenomena's section on observed phenomena presents topics that include the aggregates, sense constituents, sense bases, sense faculties, and consciousness; and constituent buddha-nature, which is naturally pure.

**Otherwise, there are nine collections in the individual liberation, bodhisattva, and secret mantra [systems].**

**[The three collections bear their] simple names, or can be adorned with the terms “higher,” or “profound.”**

In addition to what was just presented, other ways to classify the three collections exist: from the perspective of the lesser way's individual liberation system, there are three collections; from the perspective of the great way's bodhisattva system, there are three collections; and from the perspective of the secret mantra vajra way's system, there are three collections, a total of nine collections.

Further, the mere simple names of, in order, the collections on discipline, of discourses, and on observed phenomena refer to the outer collections. Since the collections teach the three higher trainings, this is indicated by adding the term “higher” (as in “higher discipline,” etc.) to the collections. Since they teach the deep inner meaning, the word [profound] can adorn them (as in “profound discipline,” etc.). [The latter two] are [referred to as] the inner collections. As is said,

Knowledge of outer disciplines and discourses  
 Effects the results of the pious attendants and solitary sages.  
 The profound discourses, discipline, and observed phenomena  
 [Effect the result] of an actively engaged bodhisattva.

This reflects the authoritative ultimate viewpoint of the second Victor, Venerable Rangjung Dorjé.

**They are called “discourses,” “discipline,” and “observed phenomena” for four reasons each.**

From the perspective of etymology, “discourse,” “discipline,” and “observed phenomena” are called by their respective names for four reasons. [The Tibetan word for discourse,] *mdo sde* [“dodé”], is *sutra* [in Sanskrit], which means a verbal expression of a synthesis of meanings. This has four aspects. *The Ornament of the Discourses* states:

Because it verbally expresses circumstances, characteristics,  
 Phenomena, and meaning, it is [called] a discourse.

As stated, a discourse relates [that teaching’s] location where and the person for whom it was spoken—the circumstances. It states the characteristics of relative truth and ultimate truth—the characteristics. It describes the aggregates, sense constituents, sense bases, etc.—phenomena. It reveals the profound meaning of [the Buddha’s] wisdom mind—meaning.

[The Tibetan word for discipline,] *’dul ba* [“dul-wa”], is *vinaya* [in Sanskrit]. *The Ornament of the Discourses* states:

[Because it elucidates] downfalls, [their] sources, recovery [from downfalls],



And definitive restoration, [as well as]  
 The individual, proscriptions, classification [of vows],  
 And specification [of vows], it is [called] the collection on  
 discipline.

This presents the discipline in two groups of four aspects. “Downfall” [refers to] the five downfalls [that contravene the vows of ethical conduct]. From what have these downfalls arisen? Ignorance, carelessness, excessive afflictive emotions, or disrespect. Recovery from these downfalls is effected through renewal [of the vows] in a spirit of relinquishing [the act that caused the downfall]. Definitive restoration from a downfall [is achieved through] acceptance of penalties, subsequent dispensation, acting with great care, [relying upon] supports [for the vows], correct discernment, and [realization of] the nature of reality. Thus, it is [referred to as] the collection on discipline because it teaches those four aspects as described, or because it expresses the following four: the individual for whom the regulation [was initially] instituted, the actual proscriptions of the training, the classification [of vows], and the specification of what does or does not constitute a downfall.

[The Tibetan word for observed phenomena,] *mngon pa* [“ngön pa”], is *abhi* [in Sanskrit]. *The Ornament of the Discourses* states:

It is called the teaching on observed phenomena  
 Because it is manifest, repetitive,  
 Overpowering, and [conducive to] realization.

As stated, there are four reasons why [the collection on observed phenomena] is so named. It teaches such subjects as the truth manifestly belonging to transcendent states. It repeatedly presents subtle distinctions for each phenomenon, such as having form or not having form, etc. It overpowers challenges, and it fosters realization of the discourses’ meaning.

**The collections eliminate doubt, detrimental behavior, and erroneous views.**

What is the reason for placing the three collections in this framework?

Those who strive for freedom must abandon three principal things: entertaining doubt toward higher spiritual paths, conduct detrimental to their own path, and detrimental views. [The Buddha] spoke the three

collections—of discourses, on discipline, and on observed phenomena—as antidotes to these.

The first collection [of discourses] comprises any teaching that instills certainty where doubt existed in relation to any subject. The second collection [on discipline] teaches conduct that rejects the two extremes. Those teachings eliminate the extreme of engaging in begging for what is desired by prohibiting engagement in inadmissible conduct, such as hoarding motivated by craving. Through dispensations, the teachings reject the extreme of exhausting oneself; for instance, they permit an ordained person to possess expensive clothing when he or she has acquired it while fully engaged in pure ethical conduct without inadmissible acts, and he or she has gained definite freedom from attachment. The third collection [on observed phenomena] was presented to teach incontrovertibly the specific and general characteristics of phenomena.

**The collections' framework is threefold**

**Because one collection presents the Dharma and its meaning,  
one collection presents its practice, and one [defines]  
terminology.**

**In relation to disciples' [degree of scope], they are gathered into  
two: the lesser and great way's collections.**

The conclusive reason for the collections as threefold is that they were spoken in stages to teach the Dharma and its meaning; to teach the practice of Dharma and its meaning; and to define the Dharma's terminology and its meaning. On what is meant by "Dharma and its meaning," *A Commentary on "The Ornament of the Discourses"* states:

"Dharma" [in this case] refers to names, words, and letters. "Meaning" refers to the subjects they express: the psychophysical aggregates, sense constituents, and sense bases. Or, "Dharma" can refer to the aggregates, sense constituents, and sense bases, etc.; "meaning," to the four intentions and covert intentions in the Buddha's speech. Or, "Dharma" can refer to the ten virtuous acts, causes that lead to the attainment of the higher realms; "meaning," to such subjects as thirty-seven aspects of awakening, causes that lead to the attainment of transcendent states.

Considering these [reasons], *The Ornament of the Discourses* states:

The collections can also be considered as threefold or twofold  
because they are compilations.  
Their primary causes are believed to be ninefold.

Alternatively, disciples are definitely of two kinds: individuals who have entered the great way and those who have entered the lesser way. Therefore, [the collections] are also grouped into two: the bodhisattva collection and the pious attendant collection. In other words, the three collections just presented are each divided into two, differentiated according to what was spoken to those drawn to a lesser scope and what was spoken before those drawn to a wide-ranging scope. It is as Venerable Asanga states:

These three become two based upon the difference between the lesser and sublime ways—the pious attendant collection and the bodhisattva collection.

*Classification of the Canon according to Modes of Expression* [iii']

**In terms of content alone, the Victor's canon  
Is divided into twelve branches of the Buddha's excellent  
speech:  
Discourses, aphorisms in verse, prophetic declarations, verses,  
Purposeful declarations, accounts to provide a framework,  
narrative stories, legends,  
Accounts of former lives, extensive teachings, marvelous events,  
and definitions.**

In terms of content or mode of expression alone, it is reasonable to divide the Victor's canon into twelve branches of the Buddha's excellent speech.

(1) The first of these is the class of the discourses. *Certainty about the Conditioned and the Unconditioned* states:

Discourses are concise syntheses of subjects, expressed in prose.

As stated, [discourses are] excellent speech that presents a subject concisely, in the mode of a dialogue in prose. The mode of dialogue has ten advantages, as stated in *A Compendium of Training*. In summary,

- [A dialogue facilitates] (1) an outline, (2) a presentation, and (3) easy retention;
- [It induces] respect; (4) the accumulations become complete; (5) realization of the nature of reality [is rapid];
- [The listener] gains faith in the three jewels (6, 7, 8);
- [It leads to] (9) abiding in happiness during this lifetime; and it (10) can be discussed informally.

(2) Aphorisms in verse refers to what is related in the melody of poetry at the middle and at the end of discourses. These are discourses of provisional meaning because they must be examined in ways other than [an analysis of their literal meaning].

(3) Prophetic declarations predict the transcendence [of sorrow] and future births of pious attendants and others. Specifically, these are discourses of definitive meaning since they reveal the Buddha's intent.

(4) Verses are what the Buddha spoke in verse, from two to six stanzas.

(5) Purposeful declarations are what the Buddha appeared to speak out of his wisdom mind's own initiative, rather than from others' encouragement.

(6) Accounts to provide a framework are what the Buddha spoke for the sake of an individual, or to relate a background story along with a proscribed point of training.

(7) Narrative stories are what the Buddha spoke accompanied by illustrative examples. *The Second Volume* states:

They are called “narrative stories” since they present extensive illustrative examples drawn from accounts of the past, so that those listening to the Dharma may come to understanding and realization.

(8) Legends are stories of the past and other similar accounts.

(9) Tales of the Buddha's past lives are stories that present [the Buddha's] conduct as a bodhisattva, such as the life of the One Who Liberates Everyone.

(10) Extensive teachings are the bodhisattva collection, teachings that are exclusively of the great way. This is also called “the category that conquers,” or “the unparalleled category.” [These names are explained in] *A Compendium of Training*:

. . . because it is the location of happiness and benefit for all sentient beings and because it presents the Dharma as extensive, vast, and profound. Why is it called conquering? Because it completely conquers all obscurations. Why is it said to be unparalleled? Because it is without equal.

(11) Marvelous events are teachings that present marvelous and wonderful qualities, such as the omniscience, miracles, and blessings of pious attendants, bodhisattvas, and buddhas.

(12) Definitions are what the Buddha spoke to define phenomena’s characteristics as they are in order to then elucidate the meanings of discourses and other works.

If you wished to gather these twelve branches of scripture as described within each of the collections previously presented, you must know the following. The [first] five—from the discourses to the purposeful declarations—belong to the collection of the pious attendant discourses. The following four, starting with accounts to provide a framework, belong to the collection on discipline. The first is the principal one because it teaches the [story of] downfalls and their corresponding points of training; the subsequent [three] complement it. The next two, the extensive teachings [and the marvelous events] belong to the collection of bodhisattva discourses since they are especially inconceivable and vast. The class of definitions alone belongs to the collection on observed phenomena of both [pious attendants and bodhisattvas].

*Classification of the Canon according to the Disciples’ Degrees of Acumen* [iv’]

**Classification based on degrees of acumen yields the three wheels of Dharma.**

An alternative approach is to correlate the entire canon with disciples’ degrees of acumen. In that case, it is reasonable to divide the canon into

three wheels of Dharma. In *The Meaning of the Scripture “The Discourse of the Definite Elucidation of the Wisdom Mind,”* all-knowing Drimé Özer [i.e., Longchenpa] states:

At the beginner’s level, the Buddha mainly taught an enumeration of the four truths—including the stages of renunciation, antidotes, and the acceptance and rejection [of conduct]—to protect the mind from the binding afflictive emotions produced by a dualistic autonomous mind stream. At the intermediate level, he taught the absence of defining characteristics to prevent manifest attachment to antidotes. Finally, he taught the way the fundamental nature abides—the ultimate and definitive enumeration of the teaching. Thus three enumerations arose.

When the canon is divided based on [the disciples’] degrees of acumen, there are three ways—the pious attendants’ way, the solitary sages’ way, and the unsurpassable way. *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri* states:

You use three spiritual systems [to foster]  
disengagement  
And to have beings dwell in the result of the single way.

### *The Treatises That Comment upon the Scriptural Transmissions’ Intent* [2’]

This section has five parts: (1) qualifications of authors of treatises, (2) characteristics of the treatises, (3) etymology of the word “treatise,” (4) classifications of treatises, and (5) a supplementary explanation to present which treatises to adopt and which to reject.

#### *Qualifications of Authors of Treatises* [a’]

**Authors must possess a degree of [qualification]—highest, medium, or minimum.**

Authors of commentaries must possess a degree of all or any of three qualifications—highest, average, or minimum. The all-knowing Lord of Dharma [Longchenpa] states:

The highest degree of qualification is to have gained sight of the truth of the nature of reality, as in the case of Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, and Asanga. The medium degree of qualification is to have seen the wisdom deity's face and to have received [that deity's] authorization, as in the case of Chandragomi, blessed by Bodhisattva Great Compassion; and Shantideva. The minimum degree of qualification is to be learned in the five subjects of Buddhist culture and to possess the profound instructions taught by a lineage of spiritual masters, as in the case of Master Shrigupta, Jnanagarbha, and Shakyamati.

Even at the present time, a qualified author is one who is endowed with a level commensurate with [one of] these three degrees of qualification.

### *Characteristics of the Treatises [b']*

[Treatises] refer to the Victor's doctrine

*The Highest Continuity* states:

Place on the crown of your head, as you would the Seer's canon,  
 [The teachings of] whoever teaches referring exclusively to the  
 Victor's doctrine  
 With a mind free from distraction,  
 And [whose teachings] concur with the path to the attainment  
 of freedom.

As stated, treatises are defined as any presentation that directly or indirectly comments upon the intent of the Joyful Buddha's excellent speech, written by an author whose intellect is free from such disturbances as wrong views or doubt. Such works concur with the path to the attainment of freedom.

### *Etymology of the Word "Treatise" [c']*

**And have the qualities of refining and protecting.  
 Three kinds of treatise are believed to be free from six faults.**

The etymology of treatises that have the characteristics mentioned above is as follows. *Bstan bcos* [“ten-chö”] in Tibetan is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *shastra*. *Shasana* means to refine; *traya*, to protect. Therefore, treatises are called [from the Tibetan “ten-chö”] “refinement of the doctrine.” *A Rational System of Exposition* states:

Texts that refine every afflictive emotion—our enemies—  
And protect us from the miserable existences are treatises,  
Since they have these qualities of refinement and protection.  
These two qualities cannot be found in other systems.

Alternatively, *The Treasury of Immortality* presents the term *shastra* as meaning “definitive teaching” or “textual tradition.” [One of Asanga’s] five treatises on awakening’s stages states:

Three [kinds of] treatise are believed to be free from these six  
[faults]:  
Meaningless, [or] irrational, [versus] meaningful;  
Stressing study, [or] debate, [versus] emphasizing practice;  
Misleading, [or] cruel, [versus effective in] relieving suffering.

The six types of deficient treatises [referred to here] are treatises that lack authentic meaning, such as the four Vedas; irrational treatises, such as those that assert that liberation can be accomplished based on such views as eternalism or nihilism; treatises stressing subjects of study, such as poetic composition; treatises stressing debate, such as polemical texts; misleading treatises, such as those concerned with victory in battle; and treatises devoid of loving-kindness that are harmful to the reader and others, such as those that assert that the sacrifice of cows or other animals constitutes a religious practice of offering or generosity.

Buddhists believe that three kinds of treatise, different from these six deficient types of treatise, should be accepted: treatises imbued with great meaning—the achievement of temporal happiness and ultimate freedom; treatises that [emphasize] the accomplishment of awakening; and treatises that promote renunciation of every suffering of the wheel of life.



*Classifications of Treatises [d']*

This section has three parts: (1) classification of treatises according to function, (2) classification of treatises according to topics, and (3) classification of treatises according to subject.

*Classification of Treatises according to Function [i']*

**In terms of function, there are three kinds of treatise:  
Treatises that encompass the vast, reveal the profound,  
or rectify order.**

In terms of function, treatises are divided into three kinds: treatises that encompass a vast [wealth of information], treatises that reveal the subject of the profound, and treatises that rectify order.

*The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* is an example of the first; *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, of the second; and *The Ornament of the Discourses*, of the third.

*Classification of Treatises according to Topics [ii']*

**Among commentaries on the intent [of the canon's] general  
or specific topics,  
The three wheels' commentaries on the view and conduct are  
distinct.**

In terms of the canon's topics, there are two kinds of treatises: commentaries on the canon in general, and commentaries on the intent of specific [passages].

The first [category] includes treatises on grammar, such as *The Kalapa Grammar* and *Chandra's Grammar*, and those on the study of logic, such as the seven treatises on logic.

The second is divided into commentaries on the view and conduct of the three turnings of the wheel; thus, it has many distinct [categories]:

Commentaries on the view aspect of the first wheel include the seven texts on observed phenomena of pious attendants and *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*; and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*, which

summarizes their meaning. Commentaries on the conduct aspect of the first wheel include *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* and *The Continual Flower Garland*.

Commentaries on the view aspect of the middle wheel comprise explicit teachings elucidating the stages [of understanding] of emptiness, such as the six collections on middle way logic; and the concealed meaning that elucidates the stages of manifest realization, such as *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*. Commentaries on the conduct aspect of the middle wheel include *A Compendium of Training*. Commentaries on both the view and conduct aspects of the middle wheel include *Entering the Conduct of Enlightenment*.

Commentaries on the view aspect of the last wheel include *The Ornament of the Discourses*, *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature*, *Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes*, and *The Highest Continuity*. Commentaries on the conduct aspect of the last wheel include *Twenty Verses on Bodhisattvas' Vows*.

### *Classification of Treatises according to Subject [iii']*

**In terms of subject, treatises mainly present**

**“All that there is,” “things as they are,” or freedom and omniscience.**

Classified in terms of subject, there are three kinds of treatises: treatises that teach “all that there is,” treatises that teach “things as they are,” and treatises that teach freedom and omniscience.

Treatises presenting “all that there is” are of two kinds, those that present common knowledge and those that present sublime knowledge. The former refers to treatises on social customs; the latter, treatises on the five [main] subjects of Buddhist culture. Among the latter, those concerned with Buddhist studies include *A Dissertation on the Five Aggregates*. Treatises presenting “things as they are” include *Ascertaining the Two Truths*, *The Thirty Letters*, and *The Ornament of the Middle Way*. Examples of treatises that teach freedom and omniscience are *The Stages of Awakening* and *The Ornament of the Sage's Wisdom Mind*.

*A Supplementary Explanation of Which Treatises to Adopt and Which to Reject [e']*

**The works by the sovereign bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage, the six ornaments, and others  
Should be venerated like the Victor's canon.  
Older Tibetan treatises as well are especially exalted.**

At this time of the disappearance of Buddha's doctrine, human beings' faint merit and intelligence result in treatises being more esteemed than the Victor's canon; Tibetan works, more than Indian works; and modern works, more than earlier ones.

Among words expressed in this world, the most sublime and magnificent are those that comprise the Victor's precious excellent speech. Thus, even though you do not understand the meaning of the Buddha's words, to merely recite them aloud has inconceivable blessing and purpose. Thus, they are to be cherished as we do our own lives.

Next to these in importance are works spoken by sovereign bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage, including the five works of Maitreya, the three cycles of commentaries by the bodhisattvas, works that definitely [record] the vajra speech of the second buddha Padmakara, and the major texts definitely composed by great adepts. These works include writings of the six ornaments who beautify this Land of Jambu, and others including the four great masters, the two outstanding masters, the six scholars, Lord Atisha, and Abhayakaragupta. It is fitting to venerate such works as though they were the Victor's canon.

Impartial treatises composed by the great translators of the early translation school in Tibet, and by the great spiritual pioneers whose works became the sources for study and practice during the later proliferation [of Buddhism in Tibet] are especially exalted. As such, they should be regarded as similar to Indian works of incontestable validity, and accepted accordingly.

On the other hand, some works cause readers to squander their time and attention: Indian works composed by mediocre scholars, Tibetan treatises compiled by those with biased views, and especially the pedantry of later generations, mindless plagiarism, and writings carelessly organized by narrow-minded adherents to a single religious tradition. There is

danger that such books might act as guides to nonvirtuous acts—they are not to be trusted. It is as all-knowing Drolwé Gönpo (Taranata) states:

Do not delight in the talk of later generations!  
Scholars of the past were accomplished masters.  
Modern scholars are frauds.



## 2. CYCLES OF SCRIPTURAL TRANSMISSION

---

- I. Perspectives on the Cycles of Scriptural Transmission
  - II. Cycles of Scriptural Transmission
    - A. The Essence of the Wheel of Dharma
      - 1. The General Essence of the Wheel of Dharma
      - 2. The Characteristics of Scriptural Transmission
    - B. Etymology of the Term “Wheel of Dharma”
    - C. Categories of the Wheel of Dharma
      - 1. The Common Wheel of Dharma
        - a. The Wheel of Dharma Classified as Three Cycles of Teaching
          - i. The General Classification of Three Cycles of Teaching
          - ii. Separate Frameworks of the Three Cycles of Teaching
            - aa. The First Cycle of Teaching
            - bb. The Middle Cycle of Teaching
            - cc. The Final Cycle of Teaching
        - b. The Wheel of Dharma Described in Terms of Aggregates
      - 2. The Extraordinary Wheel of Dharma according to the Secret Mantra Way
        - a. The Origin of Action Tantra
        - b. The Origin of Conduct Tantra
        - c. The Origin of Yoga Tantra
        - d. The Origin of Highest Yoga Tantra
        - e. Other Explanations of the Origin of Tantra
-

This chapter has two parts: (1) a general presentation of perspectives on the cycles of scriptural transmission and (2) a detailed explanation of the cycles of scriptural transmission.

### *Perspectives on the Cycles of Scriptural Transmission* [I]

**Pious attendants state that our teacher [began to] turn the wheel of Dharma**

**Seven weeks after he attained enlightenment.**

**Until he transcended sorrow, he taught only the lesser way.**

**Followers of the great way believe that there were three cycles [of scriptural transmission].**

Pious attendants of the *sandha* school assert that after our teacher, Transcendent Conqueror Lord of the Shakyas, attained manifest, perfect enlightenment at Heart of Awakening, he did not teach for seven weeks. After forty-nine days, Brahma asked him to teach. Thus, the Buddha first turned the wheel of Dharma at Varanasi. From that time until he transcended sorrow, he taught only the lesser way—the collection of teachings addressed to pious attendants, beginning with the subject of the four truths. [Adherents to that belief] do not accept a presentation [of the Buddha’s teaching that includes] two subsequent cycles.

Followers of the great way believe that the wheel of Dharma was turned in three stages. In this chapter, I will explain in detail how this was done.

### *Cycles of Scriptural Transmission* [II]

This section has three parts: (1) the essence of the wheel of Dharma, (2) the etymology of the term “wheel of Dharma,” and (3) categories of the wheel of Dharma.

#### *The Essence of the Wheel of Dharma* [A]

This section has two parts: (1) the general essence of the wheel of Dharma and (2) the specific characteristics of scriptural transmission.

*The General Essence of the Wheel of Dharma* [1]

**In essence, “the wheel of Dharma” refers to sacred teachings that cut through what is incompatible [with enlightenment].**

In general, “the wheel of Dharma” refers to sacred teachings our teacher spoke that have the power to subdue and cut through what is incompatible [with enlightenment].

**The particularist school asserts that the path of seeing [is the wheel of Dharma];**

**The discourse school, the paths of seeing, meditation, and no further training, along with enumerations of the Dharma that explain [these paths].**

Followers of the particularist school believe that the wheel of Dharma denotes the path of seeing alone. *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states:

The wheel of Dharma is the path of seeing.  
It travels quickly, etc. . . .

As stated, when a wheel-monarch’s precious wheel is set in motion, it travels swiftly to its intended destination, passing some places and entering others. It defeats unconquered regions, such as cities or villages, and naturally establishes its dominion over them. It ascends to some places and descends to others. Likewise, the wheel of Dharma moves swiftly since truth is realized in fifteen moments. It passes through the uninterrupted path and makes manifest the path of liberation, thereby entering it. Alternatively, the wheel of Dharma rejects focus on the reality [of things] and enters another [i.e., spiritual path]. Through [the power] of firm decisiveness, the uninterrupted path defeats unconquered afflictive emotions, such as the view of perishable collections [as a self]. The path of liberation is the attainment of separation from afflictive emotions. Dominion over those emotions is naturally established at the same time. Focusing on the form or formless realms, [the wheel of Dharma] ascends; focusing on the desire realm, it descends. Therefore, it is said, “The wheel of Dharma is the path of seeing alone.”



Followers of the discourse school believe that the wheel of Dharma includes three paths—seeing, meditation, and no further training—along with enumerations of the teachings that explain them. Master Jinaputra states:

. . . That being the case, the wheel of Dharma also includes enumerations of teaching, since they clearly explain the wheel of Dharma.

Further, he taught,

The paths of seeing, meditation, and no further training are also the wheel of Dharma. They enter the mind streams of beings to be guided; thus, they are called “wheel.”

**The great way places the five paths and the scriptures within [the wheel of Dharma].**

According to followers of the great way, five paths (from the path of accumulation to the path of no further training) comprise the wheel of Dharma. The middle way scholar Dharmamitra states:

Some wheels of Dharma are the path of accumulation.  
Some are the path of preparation.  
Some are [all paths] until the uninterrupted path.

The path of liberation is the most sublime among all wheels of Dharma. *The Vast Enjoyment Discourse* states this here and throughout its text:

Loving-Kindness, that wheel of Dharma [i.e., the path of liberation] is profound because its depth is unimaginable.

Further, all scriptures that present those paths are placed within the wheel of Dharma. Master Vasubandhu states:

The wheel whose nature is to present the essence of relative teachings is the wheel of Dharma.

Moreover, just as it is not contradictory to give names such as “the transcendent perfection of sublime insight” and “collection on observed phenomena” to textual traditions, the same logic applies here: [all teachings may be referred to as “wheel of Dharma”].

An acceptable alternative approach is to consider the real wheel of Dharma to be the Dharma of realization, and the paths of accumulation and preparation to be branches of it. The scriptures make these comprehensible to others’ mind streams; thus, the phrase, “turning the wheel of Dharma.”

### *The Characteristics of Scriptural Transmission* [2]

**The essence of scriptural transmission is knowledge manifest in speech.**

**Based upon the Victor’s wisdom and beings’ pure minds, Disciples’ understanding manifests as terms, words, and letters.**

**The particularist and discourse schools assert that words and terms belong to two [different] aggregates.**

The essence of the wheel of Dharma of scriptural transmission is any sacred teachings spoken by our teacher. Its main subject is the transcendence of sorrow’s cause, result, and essence; it is knowledge manifest in the form of speech.

The basis for this definition is as follows: The dominant cause [for scriptural transmission] is the Buddha’s wisdom; its causal condition is the pure mind streams of beings who are his disciples. Based on the convergence of these two, those disciples’ understanding manifests in the form of terms, words, and letters.

Since the Transcendent Conqueror did not fall under the sway of habitual patterns that motivate speech, and since he had no lack of awareness, [including] inner cognition attached to external sound, ultimately, the Transcendent Buddha did not teach through the power of intentions. Thus, in consideration of this fact, some great way discourses relate that the Joyful Buddha did not teach even one word or syllable.

Followers of the lesser way do not share that belief. *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states:

Whatever the Sage spoke  
 Are words or terms;  
 They are gathered within form or formative factors.

The particularist school believes that the essence of the scriptures is a collection of words, terms, and letters that are connected according to general rules of grammar. Therefore, the teachings belong to [the aggregate of] non-associated formative factors. The discourse school believes that the scriptures' grammar has its own identifiable attributes; therefore, the teachings belong to the form aggregate. [Both schools believe that scriptural transmission] falls within these two limits of substance.

### *Etymology of the Term “Wheel of Dharma” [B]*

**Concerning the etymology of the term “wheel of Dharma,”  
*chakra*, the latter part of the term *Dharmachakra*,  
 Denotes the movement of realization and the aggregate of  
 scriptural transmission.**

In the Sanskrit term *dharmachakra*, the meaning of *dharma* has been explained above [in the previous chapter]. The term *chakra* denotes movement or a collection. The term *chakra* (wheel) is used because the wheel of the Dharma of realization seems to move to disciples' mind streams, and because the cycle of scriptural transmission is the epitome of many aggregates of Dharma. Dharmamitra states:

The term “wheel” is used because [realization] appears to move into disciples' mind streams or because it has the meaning of a collection, since the meaning of the word “wheel” is close to those [intended meanings].

Also, in other synonyms for it, reference is made to “Brahma's wheel,” as *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states:

It [the wheel of Dharma] itself [is Brahma's wheel], since  
 in purity,  
 Brahma's [literally: the Pure's] wheel is turned by Brahma.

*Categories of the Wheel of Dharma* [C]

This section has two parts: (1) the common wheel of Dharma and (2) the extraordinary wheel of Dharma according to the secret mantra way.

*The Common Wheel of Dharma* [1]

This section has two parts: (1) the wheel of Dharma classified as three cycles of teaching and (2) the wheel of Dharma described in terms of aggregates.

*The Wheel of Dharma Classified as Three Cycles of Teaching* [a]

This section has two parts: (1) the general classification of three cycles of teaching and (2) separate frameworks of the three cycles of teaching.

*The General Classification of Three Cycles of Teaching* [i]

When scriptural transmission is classified, the first doctrine  
 comprises the four truths;  
 The intermediate doctrine, absence of characteristics; the final  
 doctrine, accurate discernment.  
 [The Buddha] spoke of renunciation, freedom, and  
 irreversibility  
 To have beings enter peace, reach spiritual maturity, and fulfill  
 prophecies;  
 And to have them turn away from what is not meritorious,  
 from the self, and from [the basis of] all views.

When scriptural transmissions are classified, the wheel of Dharma has three cycles; this is widely known and accepted among followers of the great way.

The first doctrine the Buddha taught is the scriptural transmission of the four truths; the middle one, the scriptural transmission concerning absence of characteristics; and the final one, the scriptural transmission of accurate discernment. *The Discourse Requested by Powerful King of Dharaṇis* states:

Aware of the dispositions of thoroughly impure sentient beings, the Transcendent Buddha's speeches on impermanence, suffering, absence of self, and undesirability [of the wheel of life] provoked disillusionment in sentient beings enthralled with the wheel of life—those beings entered exalted beings' spiritual discipline.

The Transcendent Buddha's diligence did not end with merely that; his later accounts of emptiness, absence of inherent characteristics, and lack of aspiration allowed sentient beings to comprehend the nature of transcendent buddhas.

The Transcendent Buddha's diligence did end with merely that; his later accounts of the irreversible wheel of Dharma and of complete threefold purity [of act, agent, and object] placed beings within the transcendent buddhas' domain.

Thus, among the three wheels of Dharma, three styles of speech deliver the teachings. The first is speech [that inspired] renunciation toward the wheel of life; the second, speech that presented the three gateways to freedom; and the third, speech that described the irreversible wheel. The reason for this order is that these stages connect disciples to supreme awakening. *The Highest Continuity* states:

The form [bodies] constitute the cause which makes the worldly  
enter the path of peace,  
Brings them to spiritual maturity, and gives prophecies.

As stated, the Buddha's initial talks of disillusionment given to those attached to the wheel of life compelled them to enter the path of peace. Then, talks on emptiness brought them to spiritual maturity in the great way. Then, talks on the irreversible wheel had them enter the transcendent buddhas' domain and receive outstanding prophecies [of awakening]. Therefore, the Buddha spoke [in this order]. Furthermore, Aryadeva states:

First, turn away from what is not meritorious;  
Later, turn away from the self;  
Lastly, turn away from the basis of all views.  
Whoever understands this is wise.

Various perspectives related to the three wheels of Dharma will appear in detail in later chapters within *The Treasury of Knowledge*.

### *Separate Frameworks of the Three Cycles of Teaching* [ii]

This section has three parts: (1) the first, (2) the middle, and (3) the final cycle of teaching.

#### *The First Cycle of Teaching* [aa]

**The four truths were repeated three times, making twelve [parts].**

The first wheel of Dharma, that of the four truths, can be characterized as sacred teachings the Buddha spoke with the intention to establish a foundation for the great way's path. He mainly taught this cycle to disciples with an affinity for the lesser way. The scriptures known to pious attendants as [collections] on discipline, on observed phenomena, and of the discourses, such as the four classes of discourses, exemplify this cycle.

Why is it referred to as the doctrinal cycle of “the four truths”? This term is used because, to guide disciples inclined to the lesser way, [the Buddha] taught the correct view and conduct starting from the principal subject of this cycle, the four truths. The main teachings of the first wheel took place in the region of Varanasi, at Deer Park, Descent of the Seers. To a circle of disciples, the excellent group of five, [the Buddha] first enunciated the four truths three times. Thus, he taught this turning of the wheel in a twelve-part format.

On the subject of that format, the particularist school considers that presentations of the four truths' essence, function, and result constitute the three enunciations. Moreover, each repetition had four aspects—words, knowledge, understanding, and realization. Thus, the teaching was carried out in twelve parts.

The discourse school maintains that the first repetition focused upon the essence of the four truths themselves; the second focused upon the essence of their functions; and the third focused upon their ultimate [result]. What was repeated was the system of the four truths; in the course of three repetitions, the focus was upon three features (essence, function, and result) of each of the four truths. Thus, this school states

that the teaching had twelve parts. This belief seems reasonable to me.

This doctrinal cycle's actual purpose included to bring the excellent group of five to the attainment of the state of arhat. Its special purpose is that, from that time until the end of the doctrine of fruition, those who attain the four results [of the lesser way's path] will be as numerous as the earth's dust motes.

Other teachings besides the ones mentioned here belong to the four truths' doctrinal cycle. For example, the Buddha spoke fragments of the scriptural transmission on discipline in six cities and in other locations. [In the same way, this doctrinal cycle was enunciated] in various unspecified times and places.

### *The Middle Cycle of Teaching* [bb]

**To teach the absence of characteristics, the explicit teaching  
presented the three gateways to freedom;  
The hidden meaning explained the eight manifest realizations  
and related topics.**

The middle wheel of Dharma can be characterized as sacred teachings the Buddha spoke with the intention to establish the great way's actual path. He mainly taught them to disciples with an affinity for the great way. The discourses on the perfection of sublime insight, including the text referred to as the mother [of all buddhas] in its extensive, medium, and brief versions, chiefly exemplify this cycle.

Why is this cycle referred to as the doctrinal cycle of “the absence of characteristics”? All phenomena, from form up to and including omniscience, dwell far removed from substantial characteristics. These teachings were apparently given to show this indescribable, inconceivable, and inexpressible ultimate nature; thus this term is used.

At the site of Vulture Peak at Rajgir, [the Buddha] taught a circle of disciples belonging to the four assemblies [of laywomen, laymen, nuns, and monks] and an infinite gathering of bodhisattvas. He began with an explicit teaching, the three gateways to freedom; then, by presenting the profound subject of emptiness, he explained the hidden meaning, the stages through which the eight manifest realizations arise in disciples' mind streams, and he included seventy related topics. He employed three

styles and eleven systems [listed here below] that serve as effective means to achieve realization.

The three gateways to freedom are as follows: the basis is emptiness; the path, absence of characteristics; and the result, aspirationlessness. The hidden meaning, the eight manifest realizations, [are listed] in *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*:

Eight points fully elucidate  
 The perfection of sublime insight:  
 Knowledge of all aspects of phenomena, knowledge of paths,  
 Knowledge of everything,  
 Manifest perfect realization of all aspects,  
 Reaching the peak, culmination,  
 Instantaneous manifest perfect awakening,  
 And the body of ultimate enlightenment. These are the eight  
 points.

The seventy related subjects are as follows: ten teachings illustrate omniscience, eleven illustrate knowledge of the paths, nine illustrate knowledge of the ground, eleven illustrate training which is complete in all aspects, eight illustrate reaching the peak, thirteen illustrate culmination, four illustrate reaching instantaneous [awakening], and four illustrate the result, the body of ultimate enlightenment.

Three styles teach [these eight points and seventy related subjects]: a condensed teaching addressed to those who understand based on a statement of the main points; a moderate length teaching for those who understand based upon mere elaboration; and an extensive explanation for those fond of words.

The eleven systems were presented in such forms as answers to the questions of Shariputra, Subhuti, Shakra, Subhuti again, Maitreya, Subhuti again, Shakra, Subhuti, Maitreya, Subhuti, and Ananda, each in turn.

This doctrinal cycle's purposes are as follows: directly, the Buddha demonstrated the way of turning the wheel; and the minds of its recipients, his disciples, were definitely liberated. Based on these purposes, they entered the transcendent buddhas' domain. Indirectly, this cycle removes all sentient beings' obscuring veils of wrong views, leading to the manifest and irreversible realization of all phenomena's abiding nature, and the



attainment of the supreme transcendence of sorrow which does not fall into the two extremes.

*The Final Cycle of Teaching* [cc]

**The final cycle principally teaches the three characteristics  
[of knowable things].**

The final wheel of Dharma can be characterized as sacred teachings the Buddha spoke with the intention of teaching the ultimate meaning. He mainly taught bodhisattvas at levels of no regression. Scriptures that principally teach accounts of buddha-nature, such as *The Flower Ornament Discourse* and *The Journey to Lanka Discourse*, exemplify this cycle.

Why are they referred to as “the doctrinal cycle of accurate analysis”? This expression is used since the Buddha mainly began with an accurate analysis of all phenomena, from form up to and including omniscience, according to three characteristics [of knowable things]: imagined, dependent, and consummate.

The final doctrinal cycle’s main part is ultimately immeasurable, yet merely in the visual and aural domain of spiritually immature persons like ourselves, the Buddha spoke at indefinite times at Mount Malaya, Heart of Awakening, Vaishali, and other places. Therefore, a single delineation—“This, and this alone, constitutes the [final cycle of teaching]”—is difficult to make. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned texts and others, such as *A Cluster of Jewels*, that have extensive [elucidations] of both the words and meanings [of the subjects of this cycle] should be placed within this cycle. Many words spoken with an underlying intention in the majority of lesser and great way discourses are largely clarified in these [discourses of the final cycle of instruction]. For example, *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* states:

Monks are permitted to eat suitable meat. This meat that is pure in three ways—[the meat has] not been designated [for the monk], nor begged for, nor ordered—will not occur; thus do not eat meat.

In this and other examples, the Buddha gave many instructions with an underlying intention.

*The Wheel of Dharma Described in Terms of Aggregates* [b]

**All scriptural transmissions are referred to as “aggregates of Dharma,”  
Of which there are eighty-four thousand.**

All scriptural transmissions are generally referred to as “aggregates of Dharma” because their various subjects’ meanings and their content’s words appear as a heaped mound. *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states that there are eighty thousand aggregates of Dharma; a commentary to *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* states that some schools believe that there are eighty-four thousand. Followers of the great way have made this latter belief prevalent. Omniscient Drimé Özer [Longchenpa] states:

Classified according to the number of antidotes [to the afflictive emotions], there are eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma. *The Radiant Lamp* states:

Among the eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma  
The great Sage spoke, . . .

**Pious attendants determine an aggregate in three ways.**

There are many beliefs concerning the ways of measuring a single aggregate of Dharma. The pious attendants have three main beliefs: Some [pious attendant] schools claim that since the main text of *Aggregates of Dharma* by Shariputra (one of the seven texts on observed phenomena, which the particularist school believes to belong in the canon; the discourse school, among the treatises) is six thousand verses long, that represents the measure of one aggregate of Dharma. They say that among the eighty thousand [aggregates], just this remains; the rest has disappeared.

Some schools believe that a complete discussion of the topic of each enumeration (such as the psycho-physical aggregates, sense constituents, sense bases, or interdependency) is a measure of an aggregate of Dharma, and they classify them accordingly.

Moreover, some schools believe that various sub-classifications and combinations of the afflictive emotions (desire, anger, stupidity, pride,

wrong view, and doubt) total eighty thousand. As an antidote to each of them, an aggregate of Dharma was taught. They believe that the measure [of an aggregate of Dharma] is the words that completely present the application of each antidote.

**Others consider that the measure is equal to [a load] on the back of the elephant Steadfast.**

According to followers of the great way (including Nagabodhi), one aggregate of Dharma denotes the number of words or terms of Dharma, written without any borders or embellishments with a pen (the tip of which is as fine as a fraction of a hair's tip) on white birch bark or palmyra paper as thin and light as the garment of the gods, that can be loaded onto the back of a full-grown elephant. *Clear Words* states:

The perspective of the unsurpassable way is that one aggregate of Dharma is however much can be written with the amount of ink that can be carried by Indra's elephant, Steadfast. That being the case, some discourses quote exalted Dévadatta as stating that this would equal the number of volumes of scriptures, suitable for chanting, that five thousand elephants could carry. This seems logical.

“Some discourses” refers in fact to the one known as *Returning the Buddha's Kindness Discourse*.

### *The Extraordinary Wheel of Dharma according to the Secret Mantra Way* [2]

This section has five parts: (1) the origin of action tantra, (2) the origin of conduct tantra, (3) the origin of the yoga tantra, (4) the origin of the highest yoga tantra, and (5) other explanations of the origins of [tantra].

### *The Origin of Action Tantra* [a]

**Among the four classes of tantra, action tantras were spoken to Gentle Splendor and others**

### **In the Unsurpassed Pure Land and at the summit of Supreme Mountain.**

Within the tradition of the secret mantra vajra way, four classes of tantra are known.

First, action tantra [was transmitted] in the Unsurpassed Pure Realm, where a sacred circle was arrayed, and the main tantra was taught to an infinite circle of buddhas and bodhisattvas. Various teachings on this tantra were spoken in the Heaven of the Thirty-three at the summit of Supreme Mountain, in the human realm, and in other locations, to circles of disciples led by Gentle Splendor and other bodhisattvas. There are other examples of this tantra, including *The Questions of Subahu Tantra*, said to be taught in Willow Grove.

Tantras [within this class] were taught in various ways, including spoken from our teacher's mouth; taught by Gentle Splendor, All-Seeing One, Vajra Holder, and other bodhisattvas, as a result of our teacher's power; and expressed by such beings as worldly gods, as a result of our teacher's blessing, etc.

#### *The Origin of Conduct Tantra* [b]

**Conduct tantra was taught to buddhas accompanied by their  
spiritual heirs**

**In such locations as Buddha Illuminator's realm, intermediate  
realms, and the Heaven of the Thirty-three.**

**The speaker appeared as a sublime body of emanation.**

Conduct tantra was spoken in such locations as Buddha Illuminator's pure realm (Flower-Filled World), intermediate realms, and Willow Grove, where sacred circles were arrayed and the tantra was taught to an ocean of victors accompanied by their spiritual heirs.

Moreover, for both action and conduct tantras, the teacher who spoke them did so in the appearing aspect of a sublime body of emanation.

#### *The Origin of Yoga Tantra* [c]

**[According to] yoga tantra, after the teacher's enlightenment  
in the Unsurpassed Pure Land,**

His emanation, a lesser body of rapture,  
 Emanated a sacred circle at the summit of Supreme  
 Mountain.  
 Moreover, he spoke [yoga tantras] in unspecified locations,  
 including the Heaven of Mastery Over Others' Creations.

According to yoga tantra, after the teacher attained enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture in the Unsurpassed Pure Land, he went to the summit of Supreme Mountain as a lesser body of rapture or as Buddha Illuminator's emanation body. There, he emanated and taught the transcendent buddhas' supreme sacred circle, and thus spoke the main [yoga tantras].

In addition, he presented [yoga tantras] in unspecified other locations, including the Heaven of Mastery Over Others' Creations.

*The Origin of Highest Yoga Tantra* [d]

[According to] the Matrix of Mystery tantra of highest yoga,  
 after the teacher subdued demons,  
 He went to Joyful Heaven or to the Heaven of Mastery Over  
 Others' Creations.  
 He emanated a sacred circle and taught the tantra to a circle of  
 disciples that filled space.  
 Alankara-kalasha and Anandagarbha affirm this.

Among the highest yoga tantras, the origin of the father tantra Matrix of Mystery is explained as follows: Our teacher attained enlightenment at midnight; he subdued demons at dawn and went to Joyful Heaven. There, he emanated a celestial palace from his wisdom body's major elements; and from his aggregates, sense constituents, etc., he emanated deities arrayed in a sacred circle. His circle of disciples that filled space then supplicated the Transcendent Conqueror [to teach]. As a result, he taught the tantra to spiritually nurture passionate individuals. Conversely, *The Radiant Lamp* states that this tantra was taught in Joyful Heaven.

Another source relates that to aid passionate individuals attracted to the tantric systems of Vishnu and other [worldly gods], the teacher went to the Heaven of Mastery Over Others' Creations, emanated a sacred circle, and taught a circle of disciples that filled space.

Scholar Alankara-kalasha affirms the former account; the great leader of the chariot of yoga tantra, Master Anandagarbha, the latter.

**Tibetan scholars and others state that while the teacher lived  
in Shravasti,  
Indrabhuti supplicated him, and he went to Oddiyana.  
He granted the empowerment and tantra in an emanated  
sacred circle.**

Tibetan scholars and “others” (among whom are some Indian authors) explain that while the teacher lived in Shravasti, King Indrabhuti of Oddiyana heard about the Transcendent Conqueror’s superlative qualities, and invited him.

When the teacher and his circle arrived, the king made offerings and asked to be liberated from existence. The Buddha advised, “Renounce home life!” In response, Indrabhuti asked for [teachings to attain] enlightenment while he still enjoyed the senses’ pleasures. Thus, the teacher dissolved his emanated body’s appearance and manifested the sacred circle of glorious Matrix of Mystery. He then granted empowerment and taught the tantra to King Indrabhuti and others who had the fortunate connection to receive it. Then he entrusted the tantra to Vajra Dharma.

**[According to] the cycle of Slayer of the Lord of Death,  
when the Buddha subdued the demons’ armies,  
[Slayer of the Lord of Death] arose from [the Buddha’s]  
three secret vajras; he emanated a sacred circle. Many other  
accounts [of this tantra’s origins] exist.**

The Slayer of the Lord of Death cycle is explained as follows: As our teacher reached manifest awakening, demons’ armies created obstacles. The teacher dwelt in a meditative state called “complete victory over the great demon.” Wrathful Slayer of the Lord of Death arose from the Buddha’s vajra body, speech, and mind, and he emanated the deity’s sacred circle. He subdued every demon and taught the extensive tantra.

Among the “other accounts,” each cycle of Slayer of the Lord of Death has its own framework story; thus, many exist. [For example,] when the teacher, Slayer of the Lord of Death, dwelled with many groups of disciples, including a thirteen-deity sacred circle, he enunciated the brief

tantra. Another account relates that the teacher dwelled (with Vajra Stupidity and others [of his circle]) in a celestial palace inside a source of phenomena called “the Vajra Queen’s *bhaga*.” He advised Vajra Holder to listen, and that bodhisattva asked him to teach; he taught Red Slayer of the Lord of Death.

**[According to] the Vajra of Delight cycle, when the Buddha  
defeated demons, he taught the root tantra  
While inside a source of phenomena. He spoke the explanatory  
tantra at another time.**

[The origin of] the mother tantra Vajra of Delight is explained as follows: *The Vajra Garland* commentary teaches that in the Land of Jambu, the Buddha’s emanation body defeated the four demons in Magadha and spoke [this tantra]. Moreover, when he dwelled in a celestial palace located within a source of phenomena called “the Vajra Queen’s *bhaga*,” a circle of various worldly and supramundane beings surrounded the teacher, the Transcendent Conqueror. When Vajra Essence, Selfless Goddess, and others requested his teaching, he spoke the extensive root tantra and the abridged tantra, *The Vajra of Delight Tantra’s Two Chapters*.

When the teacher appeared in the center of a celestial palace with the leader’s fivefold host of deities and a circle of worldly and supramundane beings, he spoke the explanatory tantra, *The Vajra Tent*. This occurred at another time than the enunciation of the root tantra.

**[According to] the Supreme Bliss tantra, victors have spoken  
this tantra since time immemorial.  
During the era of decline by one half,  
The fruition Héruka taught it again to his circle in the Land of  
Jambu.  
During the era of conflict, when Fierce Terrifying Demon, his  
consort, and retinue  
Controlled the sacred places, regions, and charnel grounds,  
The Héruka’s emanation subdued them, arrayed a sacred circle,  
and spoke [the tantra].**

[The origin of] the Supreme Bliss tantra is explained as follows: It is said that from time immemorial, all buddhas have taught this tantra, and it is

thought that since time immemorial our teacher attained enlightenment and revealed it. It is taught that during the era [in which the merit of humanity had diminished by] one half, Fierce Terrifying Demon subdued this Land of Jambu. Our teacher's emanation body, appearing as the fruition Héruka, then granted empowerment to his circle of buddhas, bodhisattvas, spiritual heroes and heroines of the five wisdom families, the tantra's compiler Lord of Secrets, and to Fierce Terrifying Demon with his retinue, and he again revealed the tantra.

It is thought that during the era of conflict, the four bodies (peaceful, enriching, magnetizing, and wrathful) of the great lord Fierce Terrifying Demon, along with his consorts, dwelled on Supreme Mountain's central and northeastern regions, in Heaven of Mastery Over Others' Creations, and in Magadha [central India]. Their followers—gods, celestial musicians, noxious spirits, ogres, nagas, and nonhuman beings (four of each, twenty-four in all); four beings who appear as humans and four *tramen* spirits (eight in all)—seized the twenty-four sacred regions and eight charnel grounds. Thus, [this demon] brought the entire Land of Jambu under his control; he engaged in evil acts and enjoined others to do the same.

At that time, the teacher Buddha Vajra Bearer had attained manifest, perfect enlightenment through the five aspects of awakening. Within the basic space of phenomena, he presented the teachings of innate clear light to infinite numbers of buddhas and bodhisattvas in Unsurpassed Pure Land. He knew the time had come to subdue the lord Fierce Terrifying Demon and his retinue: his emanation body arose as the fruition Héruka and appeared at Supreme Mountain's summit. The five wisdom families' victors emanated a celestial palace and deities such as spiritual heroes and heroines, and presented them as an offering. The teacher entered the body of rapture's meditative state and surveyed those he was to guide. He emitted various wheels of sacred circles throughout one billion four-continent world-systems. In this Land of Jambu, he manifested as four-faced, twelve-armed Supreme Bliss, and defeated Fierce Terrifying Demon and [his consort] Sign of the Times, crushing them under his feet. His emanated circle subdued the wild beings who had seized control of the twenty-four sacred regions and eight charnel grounds.

At Supreme Mountain's summit, the Transcendent Conqueror dwelt in a celestial palace. He taught the root tantra in response to Vajra Yogini's request, and the explanatory tantras at Vajra Holder's request, to his



retinue who formed a sacred circle around him—buddhas and bodhisattvas gathered in numbers equal to Supreme Mountain’s atoms—and Fierce Terrifying Demon with his followers, along with fortunate gods and humans.

It appears that various other traditions of explanation [of this tantra’s origin] exist.

[According to] the Wheel of Time, before transcending sorrow,  
 On Chaitra month’s full moon, at glorious Treasure Mound  
 Stupa,  
 Our teacher emanated Lord of Speech of the Basic Space of  
 Phenomena below;  
 And above, the glorious constellations’ sacred circle.  
 He then spoke the tantra to a fortunate circle, which included  
 King Suchandra.

The origin of the glorious Wheel of Time tantra is explained as follows: In the year before our teacher transcended sorrow, on the full moon day of Chaitra [the third lunar] month, he traveled by the power of his enlightenment to the southern glorious Treasure Mound Stupa. Below, he emanated [the sacred circle] of Lord of Speech of the Basic Space of Phenomena; and above, the sacred circle of the glorious constellations. He then sat on a lion-supported vajra throne. To his entourage arrayed in his sacred circle [of deities], and to King Suchandra, who requested the tantra, and to a circle of fortunate disciples, including ninety-six kings, he delivered *The Wheel of Time Root Tantra* in twelve thousand verses.

This is the explanation according to the system of renowned Tibetan masters of the Wheel of Time, such as Rangjung Dorjé. The lord of Jonang [Taranata] and his followers consider that the teacher spoke [this tantra] in the year following his enlightenment.

### *Other Explanations of the Origin of Tantra* [c]

Some believe that all tantras were taught only at Treasure  
 Mound Stupa.  
 Further, in different places, both relative and ultimate,  
 [The teacher] rose as the wisdom body of the lord of the wheel.

**Within great bliss, the teacher and circle of disciples indivisible,  
The *nada*'s melody proclaims the tantras at all times.**

Those explanations just given reflect specific perspectives. Nevertheless, the great way's mode of secret mantra is the apogee of depth and vastness. Therefore, it is impossible to say, "It happened only in this way and no other; he did not impart tantra apart from this."

Some believe that all tantras were taught in their entirety only at glorious Treasure Mound Stupa, yet the sources of scriptural transmission of many tantras have not appeared in that place, such as those known to have come from accomplished masters' teaching lineages. Further, our teacher rose as the wisdom body of the lord of the wheel of an ocean of sacred circles, such as glorious Supreme Bliss, Vajra of Delight, or Wheel of Time [and taught those tantras] in specific places classified as relative, such as Unsurpassed Heaven, Joyful Heaven, Supreme Mountain's summit, Oddiyana, and glorious Treasure Mound Stupa; and in ultimate places beyond the range of all formulations and characteristics, the changeless basic space of phenomena, such as the Vajra Queen's *bhaga*, the place of supreme bliss, and the source of phenomena, the palace of supreme freedom. As is said,

I am the one who teaches.  
I am the teaching.  
I am the listeners replete with accumulations.  
I am the world, the teacher, and the practice.  
I am both the mundane and supramundane.

As stated, you should understand that the teacher and the circle of his disciples are inseparable. Within their single nature of great bliss, the indestructible sound (vajra *nada*) of supreme mystery forever turns the wheel of Dharma and proclaims the tantras.



### 3. COMPILATIONS OF THE BUDDHA'S WORD

---

- I. The First Compilation
    - A. The Necessity for the Compilation of the Buddha's Word
    - B. Compilation of the Lesser Way
    - C. Compilation of the Great Way
    - D. Compilation of the Vajra Way
  - II. The Middle Compilation
  - III. The Final Compilation
- 

This chapter has three parts: (1) the first compilation, (2) the middle compilation, and (3) the final compilation.

#### *The First Compilation* [I]

This section has four parts: (1) the necessity for the compilation of the Buddha's word, (2) compilation of the lesser way, (3) compilation of the great way, and (4) compilation of the vajra way. Each of the latter three is accompanied by a supplement that delineates the teaching's duration.

#### *The Necessity for the Compilation of the Buddha's Word* [A]

To dispel the gods' scorn and to ensure the doctrine's  
duration,  
The year after the teacher transcended sorrow,

In the year after our teacher and the sublime pair [Shariputra and Maudgalyayana], accompanied by many arhats in their circles of disciples, had transcended sorrow, the first compilation of the canon took place.

The gods claimed, “The Transcendent Conqueror and monks with authority have passed away; [those who remain] do not proclaim the Transcendent Conqueror’s discourses, teachings on discipline, and mother teachings!” To dispel such scorn, and to aid ordained persons of future times who would be unable retain the words and their meanings due to severe forgetfulness and other causes, and to ensure the long-term preservation of the precious teachings, compilations of the Buddha’s words were made.

*Compilation of the Lesser Way [B]*

**Five hundred arhats gathered in Nyagrodha Cave;  
Three—Ananda, Upali, and the eminent Kashyapa—  
Compiled the [collections] of discourses, on discipline, and on  
observed phenomena.**

In Kushinagara [where the Buddha had transcended sorrow], the eminent Kashyapa ordered Arhat Purna, “Summon the spiritual community!” When he beat the wooden beam [as a signal], all monks living in different regions gathered, with the exception of Gavamyati, who had been dwelling in the Heaven of the Thirty-three in the meditative absorption of cessation. When Arhat Purna went to call him, he knew that the Buddha no longer lived [in the world], whereupon he transcended sorrow. Eminent Kashyapa decreed that from then on, no [arhat] could transcend sorrow [at that time].

Then, since King Ajatashatru provided their necessities, eminent Kashyapa and the others—five hundred monks with the exception of the one—assembled in Nyagrodha Cave in Magadha, then pledged to remain there for a monsoon season retreat.

Previously, the Transcendent Conqueror had bestowed half his seat to eminent Kashyapa and empowered him as regent by entrusting to him the entire body of teachings (the collection of mother teachings principal among them), and his four circles of followers—including Rahula and Ananda. Specifically, [the Buddha] entrusted Ananda with the discourses and Upali with the collection on discipline.

While all the other five hundred monks were arhats, only Ananda was still at the point of learning, a stream-enterer, and therefore was not yet free from attachment. Thus it was not suitable for him [to participate in their] religious council. Kashyapa saw how to guide Ananda: he publicly related his eight faults, then expelled him. Stricken with grief, Ananda left the sublime assembly and entered a monsoon-season-style retreat in Vriji province. When he taught the doctrine to the four circles of followers, including a Vriji man, the Vriji man attained the state of arhat. With clairvoyance, [this arhat] gazed at his preceptor's mind; seeing that Ananda was still training to become free from attachment, [he exhorted him with] these words:

Gautama! Don't be careless!  
 Sit in the shade at the foot of a tree, and place your mind  
 In the transcendence of sorrow! Practice concentration,  
 And without much delay you will attain the haven of peace!

Based on this profound advice, Ananda [meditated with] intense focus and attained the state of arhat.

Thereafter, Ananda returned to Nyagrodha Cave and dwelled among the five hundred arhats. Kashyapa and the arhats then conferred on the compilation of the doctrine. To begin, Ananda was appointed to compile the discourses through a two-stage formal procedure including proposal. The five hundred arhats spread out their upper robes as a throne, and Ananda took his place upon them. He turned his gaze toward Heart of Awakening and placed the palms of his hands together [at his heart] while remembering the Buddha. Filling space with his voice, he recited all the discourses in their entirety, beginning with the introductory formula: "At one time I heard these words. . ." The arhats entered absorption within the four levels of meditative concentration and considered [Ananda's presentation] with clairvoyance. Once they rose from their meditative state, they collectively confirmed [the discourses as valid].

Then Upali was appointed to compile the discipline. He ascended a lion-supported throne, and eminent Kashyapa asked, "Where did the Transcendent Conqueror first codify the foundation of training?" Upali replied: "At Varanasi." "For whose sake?" "For the sake of the five monks." "Why?" "To establish [such] precepts as, 'You will wear the lower robe draped evenly around.'" After the discipline had been presented in its

entirety by way of such questions and answers, the arhats considered it with clairvoyance and collectively affirmed it.

Then, on his own, without having been appointed, eminent Kashyapa took his place on the lion-supported throne and announced:

Elders! Of those teachings “commensurable with the mother teachings,” “commensurable with the mother teachings,” [*sic*] I alone should speak! The teachings commensurable with the mother teachings clarify the attributes of observed phenomena. They consist of the four foundations of mindfulness, . . .

After his presentation and the arhats’ collective affirmation, even the gods in the sky proclaimed [their approval], which resounded in an instant throughout space up to Unsurpassed Heaven.

This compilation of the canon is known as “the correct compilation by the five hundred.”

*Aggregates, Interdependence, and Factors of Awakening*  
Were placed into the *Long, Medium-Length, and*  
*Increasing-by-One Scriptures, etc.*

[Collections on] discipline and observed phenomena, too,  
[were compiled] in the same way.

How were the teachings compiled? The discourses were compiled as follows: discourses primarily concerned with the aggregates were compiled as *Aggregates*. Those concerned with the sense bases were compiled as *The Sense Bases*. Those concerned with knowledge gained through the noble truth of interdependent arising were compiled as [the branch of teachings called] accounts to provide a framework. Those mainly composed of explanations of the pious attendant system were compiled as *The Pious Attendants’ Explanations*. Those mainly composed of the Buddha’s explanations were compiled as *The Buddha’s Explanations*. Those concerned with the thirty-seven aspects of awakening were compiled as *Branches of the Path*. Those mainly composed of correct declarations were compiled as the class of correct declarations.

Discourses expressed in verse were compiled separately into *The Authoritative Scriptures*. The first discourses [i.e., *Aggregates*,] were placed into *The Long Scriptures*; the middle ones [i.e., *Interdependent Arising*,]

into *The Medium-Length Scriptures*; and those expressed in [groups of enumerated things] from one to eleven [*Steps on the Path*, etc.], into *The Increasing-by-One Scriptures*, and so on.

In the collection on discipline, the five classes of downfalls, the seven means to settle disputes, established precepts and subsequent precepts, the different things to be relinquished or permitted, the formal procedures involving proposal, the seventeen bases [of training], etc., were compiled into their respective divisions, and each expanded upon: this constituted the major work. The collection on observed phenomena was similarly composed through gathering [materials pertaining to the same subject] into sections.

Thus, what is known as the “first compilation of the canon” is the main part of the pious attendants’ collection and of the collections held in common [with the great way].

**The measure of the doctrine’s duration is said to be one thousand years.**

The duration of this system of the pious attendants is as discussed in *Various Scriptures on Monastic Discipline*, which believes that the main doctrine’s duration would be one thousand years. During the first five hundred years, the doctrine was valid; for the next five hundred years, a mere semblance. As to the doctrine’s farthest limit, *The Legend of the Joyful Spiritual Friend* states that it would endure until the human life span has increased to six hundred years. I will return to this last point in general below.

### *Compilation of the Great Way* [C]

**For the extraordinary great way teachings,  
One million bodhisattvas gathered on Vimalasambhava  
Mountain in south Magadha.  
Vajra Holder, Loving-Kindness, and Gentle Splendor  
Compiled the [collections] of discourses, on discipline, and on  
observed phenomena.**

The extraordinary compilation, the collection of cause-based great way teachings, occurred as follows: Scholars of the land of exalted beings



convened a million bodhisattvas upon what is called Vimalasambhava Mountain south of Rajgir city in the region of Magadha. It is said that Vajra Holder compiled the [collection of] discourses; Loving-Kindness, [the collection on] discipline; and Gentle Splendor, [the collection on] observed phenomena. *Blaze of Reasoning* states:

The Buddha spoke the teachings of the great way, since [bodhisattvas] such as Ever Excellent, Gentle Splendor, Lord of Secrets, and Loving-Kindness were their compilers. Pious attendants were not the compilers of our source teachings because the teachings of the great way are not within the realm [of their comprehension].

**Although this system proposes many measures of the doctrine's duration,  
The most prevalent states that, among ten five-hundred-year periods,  
The present is the era of scriptural transmission.  
Of the three parts of the spiritual practice era, Longchenpa and others consider this to be the period of training in sublime insight.**

Within our great way system, the extent of the doctrine's duration in the common perception [of most beings] is as taught according to the intent of each discourse. From an uncommon perspective, many statements appear, such as that the doctrine's duration is limitless. Nevertheless, the opinion most prevalent among this country's researchers, and accepted as reasonable by them, is that [the doctrine] will endure for ten five-hundred-year periods—five thousand years. From that total, it is said that the periods of fruition and spiritual practice have elapsed, and that this present period is that of scriptural transmission.

Omniscient Longchenpa and others consider that the times of scriptural transmission and spiritual practice are reversed, and that of the three parts of the spiritual practice era, the periods of ethical conduct and meditation are complete: we have arrived in the period of spiritual practice during which training in sublime insight is foremost.

Lochen Dharmashri writes this distillation of the essence of earlier and later perspectives on the doctrine's duration:

The duration of the discourse system's doctrine is as follows:  
*The Fortunate Age Discourse, Various Scriptures on Monastic Discipline,*  
 The commentary to *The Discourse Requested by Bodhisattva Infinite Wisdom,*  
*The Story of the Gold-Garlanded One,*  
 And *The Commentary on "The Treasury of Observed Phenomena"*  
 All state that the Sage's doctrine will last  
 In valid form and nominally, for five hundred years each—  
 One thousand years.

*The White Lotus of Compassion Discourse* states  
 The valid doctrine will last one thousand years; the nominal  
 doctrine, for five hundred years.  
*The Discourse Requested by Chandragarbha*  
 States that the doctrine will abide for two thousand years.  
*The Discourse of Separate Appearances Within the Unmoving Nature of Reality,*  
 And *A Commentary on "The Vajra Cutter Discourse"*  
 State that it will abide for two thousand, five hundred years.

*The Legend of the Joyful Spiritual Friend*  
 States that the doctrine will abide until the human life span  
 Has increased to six hundred years.

Damshtasena's *Commentary on "The Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses,"*  
 Venerable Vasubandhu's *Defeat of Harm to the Three Versions of the Mother of Sublime Insight,*  
 And master Manjushrikirti  
 Consider that the doctrine will abide for five thousand years—  
 That is, in ten five-hundred-year periods.  
 During the first five hundred, [the fruit of spiritual practice was]  
 the state of arhat,

Likewise, in the second, the state of non-returner,  
 And in the third, the state of stream-enterer—  
 These are three phases of comprehending wisdom.

During the next three five-hundred-year periods,  
 The three main teachings are training in sublime insight,  
 In meditative states, and in ethical conduct—  
 These are called phases of the period of spiritual practice.  
 During the next three five-hundred-year periods,  
 Many teachers will appear  
 [Who are versed in the collections] on observed phenomena, of  
 discourses, and on discipline.  
 That period is known as the three-part phase of scriptural  
 transmission.

During the tenth and final five hundred [years], leaving home life  
 is only an outward show,  
 And there are neither genuine views nor genuine conduct.  
 Therefore, it is said to be the phase of preserving outward  
 appearances only.  
 Except for this, all other frameworks have underlying intentions;  
 One should accept this five-thousand-year outline as true.

The basis for these determinations of what has passed and what remains  
 [of those five thousand years], calculations of the Buddha's birth year, and  
 different calculations of what has passed and what remains, are found  
 within various texts on the doctrine's chronology written by scholars of  
 the early and later translation schools. You should learn them.

In this case, whether the doctrine abides or not is determined on  
 the basis of whether or not the three trainings, and the collections that  
 explain them, are studied; whether or not the monastic community's one  
 hundred and one formal procedures are put into practice; and whether  
 or not there are those who keep the outer signs and attire of the pious  
 attendant tradition. From the perspective of the definitive meaning, *The  
 Sacred Golden Light Discourse* states:

The Buddha does not transcend sorrow,  
 Nor will the teachings disappear.

To fully ripen beings  
 [The Buddha] demonstrates transcending sorrow.  
 The Buddha, Transcendent Conqueror, is inconceivable;  
 For sentient beings' sake,  
 The Transcendent Buddha's eternal body  
 Is shown in arrays of many forms.

The early translation's *The Wish-Fulfilling Design Tantra* states:

As long as the great mass  
 Of all sentient beings exists,  
 The flow of enlightenment's emanations is continuous  
 And the teachings that liberate do not disappear.

*Compilation of the Vajra Way* [D]

**At Willow Grove in the North, where the three lords enjoy  
 themselves,  
 Vajra Holder compiled action, conduct, and yoga tantras.**

Among the four classes of tantra, action tantra [was compiled as follows]: At Willow Grove, Supreme Mountain's northern turret, border of Heaven of the Thirty-three, where "the three lords enjoy themselves," tenth-stage bodhisattvas Ever Excellent, Vajra Dharma, and others spread five hundred upper robes on the ground, upon which Vajra Holder took his seat. He compiled the tantra, beginning with the formal presentation, "Thus I have heard. . ." So it is taught in Shurangamavarma's *Commentary on the White Umbrella Crown Tantra*.

Vajra Holder, Ever Excellent, and others evidently compiled conduct tantra, since the formerly cited source states this. Further, *The Vajra Holder Empowerment Tantra* relates such events as how the teacher empowered Lord of Secrets and entrusted him with the teachings.

Yoga tantra [was compiled as follows]: At Willow Grove, Buddha Vajra Bearer took the guise of a sovereign bodhisattva of the tenth stage of awakening, Vajra Holder himself. At the request of sublime bodhisattvas, including Ever Excellent, he compiled the tantra. Master Anandagarbha's *A Commentary on Yoga Tantra* clearly describes this.

Highest yoga tantras were compiled by those who requested them and by those to whom they were entrusted.

Those who taught them also compiled them, etc.

Specifically, mother tantras were established

In dialogues of questions and answers among vajra dakinis.

Vajra Essence compiled *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*.

King Suchandra compiled *The Wheel of Time Root Tantra*;

Manjushrikirti encapsulated its essence in *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time*.

The highest yoga tantras were compiled by those who first requested them and by those to whom they were entrusted. An example is *The Wheel of Time Root Tantra*, compiled by Buddhist King Suchandra; many others follow that pattern. *The Glorious Secret Accomplishment Tantra* states:

There are no other compilers

Of this tantra:

I alone proclaimed it.

As stated, it is taught that in some cases a tantra's teacher also compiled it. Among these, in some specific mother tantras, yoginis such as Vajra Sow codified the tantra in dialogues of questions and answers in vajra sacred places. This is taught in *An Ocean of Dakas Supreme Bliss Tantra*.

In the case of Vajra of Delight's root tantra, *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, the sovereign bodhisattva of the tenth stage of awakening Vajra Essence compiled the tantra and also commented upon it. Buddhist King Suchandra compiled *The Wheel of Time Root Tantra* in twelve thousand verses; he also composed a sixty-thousand-verse major commentary. Exalted Bodhisattva Gentle Splendor's emanation, vajra Lineage Bearer Manjushrikirti encapsulated the essence of that root tantra in *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time*. Its five-chapter composition comprises [one thousand and thirty] four-line stanzas of twenty-one syllables each. There are limitless examples such as these.

All were manifestations of Lord of Secrets; thus, the compilers were the same.

The doctrine of supreme mystery long endures;

In particular, the mother tantras will not disappear.

All those teachers of the tantras were Lord of Secrets in person or manifestations of him, merely presented under different names; thus, the sole compiler of all [tantras] was Lord of Secrets.

To illustrate this with the father tantras, *The Matrix of Mystery Tantra* states that the tantra was entrusted to Vajra Dharma. It is thought that Vajra Dharma is Vajra Holder, to whom the tantra was entrusted; his empowerment name was Suchandra, who was, moreover, the compiler. Most of the mother tantras are said to have been compiled by Lord of Secrets in person, since Indrabhuti, Vajra Essence, and Suchandra are definitely all just his emanations.

The secret mantra doctrine of supreme mystery may vanish in one place but appear in another. Although the tantras are not commonly proclaimed, they appear to fortunate individuals; thus, they endure for a long time. In particular, it is said that the tantras of the yoginis will last without ever disappearing. *An Ocean of Dakas Supreme Bliss Tantra* states:

The wisdom tantras are self-occurring;  
 Their nature abides forever.  
 They follow the indestructible state  
 Of the factors of awakening.  
 When this eon burns,  
 They travel elsewhere and remain intact.

### *The Middle Compilation* [II]

**One hundred and ten years after the teacher had departed  
 to peace,  
 Seven hundred arhats, including Kirti,  
 Assembled in the Kusmapuri Temple  
 To refute ten points of inappropriate conduct.  
 They carried out a partial compilation  
 Known as “the correct declaration of the seven hundred.”**

After one hundred and ten years had elapsed since our teacher had departed to peace, the monks at Vaishali instituted ten points of inappropriate conduct. As is said,

Ten [points of conduct claimed to be pure]:  
 [1] “Alas!” [2] rejoicing [in wrong conduct], [3] general [land] use,

- [4] Use of drinking vessels, [5] using salt, [6] [eating after traveling on] a path, [7] [touching food with] two fingers,  
 [8] Stirring [milk and yogurt], [9] [discarding the old] mat, and  
 [10] [handling] gold.

[1] Having done what was inappropriate, they afterwards clapped their hands and uttered: “Alas!” [2] On the other hand, they rejoiced in the partially defeating acts and allowed them, saying, “They are pure!” [3] They tilled the soil like laypeople, claiming: “This land can be used by everyone; there is no fault in it.” [4] When sick, they sucked on a vessel [of alcohol] like a leech, claiming that it was admissible to drink alcohol. [5] Since adding salt makes food tasty, [they claimed it] permissible to eat food at inappropriate times. [6] After having stopped eating food [for the rest of the day, they claimed it] permissible to eat again after having traveled a path only half an earshot. [7] Having stopped eating food [for the rest of the day], [they claimed it] permissible to eat again without doing the remainder ritual, having touched the food with two fingers. [8] Having blended a liter of milk and yogurt, and stirred it, [they claimed it] permissible to drink it in the afternoon. [9] They claimed it unnecessary to use a patch the size of the Joyful Buddha’s hand span from one’s old mat [when making a new one]. [10] They fastened a small frame upon a novice monk’s head, and placed a begging bowl decorated with garlands of flowers upon it. If offerings of gold and silver, etc., were tossed into it, the fully ordained monks believed it permissible for them to later handle [such offerings]. Having conducted themselves in these ways, they proclaimed, “This is the Dharma! This is the discipline! This is the Master’s teaching!”

To refute those statements and to rid the doctrine of this corruption, seven hundred arhats who were liberated from the two [obscurations] and were well educated—including Arhat Yashah who possessed the eight [qualities of] liberation—assembled in Kusmapuri Temple. King Nandin, descendant of the Licchavi clan, was their patron. They enumerated the ten issues; since these were not included in the discourses, did not appear in the discipline, and contradicted the nature of reality, it was decided to reject them. Thus, they eliminated these inappropriate practices. This is referred to as “the correct declaration by the seven-hundred”; it constitutes a partial compilation.

*The Final Compilation* [III]

Following that,  
 The monk Mahadéva, together with his followers,  
 Proclaimed five points, through which the four basic orders  
 And the branches of these, the eighteen orders, developed.

Following the middle compilation, after the line of the seven patriarchs and others had ended, Mahadéva, son of a great merchant from the country of Maruta, committed three of the [five] acts of immediate fruition, but hid his misdeeds, went to Kashmir, and renounced home life. After he became well versed in all three collections, he diligently applied himself to meditative states in seclusion. Blessed by demons, he became known as an arhat; his riches, honor, and fame swelled. When he went with many followers to Nalanda Temple, the monks would recite *The Individual Liberation Discourse* in turns. At the conclusion of the discourse's recitation, Mahadéva chanted,

The gods are deceived in ignorance!  
 The path has arisen from the continuity of sound!  
 The doubters are converted [to the doctrine] by others!  
 This is the teaching of the Buddha.<sup>5</sup>

Exalted beings and elder, learned monks exclaimed, "These are not words from the discourses!" while the majority of young monks sided with Mahadéva. A dispute erupted. Moreover, Mahadéva distorted many aspects of the canon's meaning.

After his death, his follower Bhadra also fostered many ideas that contradicted the canon's meaning and raised many points of doubt. He then proclaimed five ways [of challenging the doctrine]: refutation, non-discernment, uncertainty, critical examination, and self-indulgence. In doubt and uncertainty, the monastic community of ordinary individuals fell into chaotic disagreement on the doctrine, and *The Individual Liberation Discourse* was recited in many different styles. Even arhats were

5. The correct formula to be recited is a four-line verse which also finishes with the line, "This is the teaching of the Buddha."



unable to settle the controversy. When Bhadra and his followers died, the monks understood [Bhadra's errors].

Later, a monk called Naga also proclaimed those five ways [of challenging the doctrine] through which he again incited a serious dispute. Thus, the monastic community split into the four main orders—majority, substantialist, elders, and followers of Mahasammata. Naga's disciple, known as Stiramati, also proclaimed these five ways, provoking a far-reaching debate. Thus, the four basic orders gradually divided into eighteen. *The Wheels of Reading of the Various Schools* enumerates these eighteen secondary orders:

[1] The dwellers in the east, [2] dwellers the west, [3] dwellers in the Himalayas;

[4] The order of the assertion of the transcendence of the world,  
And [5] the nominal assertion order—  
These five [were the divisions of the] majority order.

[6] The basis of all, [7] the order of eminent Kashyapa,

[8] The world expression order, [9] the Dharma preservation order,

[10] The well-educated order, [11] the students of Red-Robed,  
And [12] the analysis and assertion order  
Were the [seven divisions of the] substantialist order.

[13] The dwellers in Jetavana, [14] dwellers in Abhayagiri,  
and [15] dwellers in the large temple were the [three divisions of the] elders' order.

[16] Kaurukulla order, [17] the guardians' order,

And [18] Vastiputra's order

Were the three divisions of the followers of Mahasammata's [order].

[These] eighteen distinct divisions have been taught  
Based upon differentiation in terms of place, tenet, or master.

Although at that time there were different beliefs concerning the number of basic orders and the process through which they divided, etc., what is recorded here corresponds to the view of the substantialist order.

**King Kanishka summoned five hundred arhats, including  
Parshva,  
And four hundred venerable monks.  
The [different] orders were established as the canon and the  
three collections were committed to writing.  
Thus, the third compilation of the canon was carried out.**

At that time, King Kanishka summoned five hundred arhats, the consummately learned noble Parshva chief among them; four hundred venerable monks, including Vasumitra; and five hundred bodhisattvas. He welcomed them to stay at the newly built Karnikavana Temple in Kashmir, where he served them. [The council] stated,

Concerning all eighteen divisions, we consider what appears in *The Discourse on the Prophetic Dreams of King Kriki* to be an omen. The discourse states:

Great King! What you have seen in your dream—a bolt of cloth worn by eighteen men without being torn—means that, although this very doctrine will split into eighteen orders, the cloth of liberation cannot be rent.

This scriptural transmission established [all eighteen orders] as the canon. Then the collection on observed phenomena was taught in its entirety. This is known as the third compilation of the canon. At that time, the complete collection on discipline was committed to writing. Those parts of the [collections] of discourses and on observed phenomena that had not previously been written down were also recorded, and all that had been recorded was subjected to revision.

Kashmiri [scholars] believe that these events took place as just described, whereas scholars of the central regions [of India] think that the third compilation of the canon was carried out in the Kusana Temple at Jalandhara Monastery.



## 4. THE ORIGINS OF THE EARLY TRANSLATIONS' ANCIENT TRADITION

---

- I. The Descent of the Tantras
    - A. A Brief Presentation
    - B. The Full Explanation of the Descent of the Tantras
      - 1. The Victors' Lineage Transmitted through Wisdom Mind
        - a. How the Teachers Spoke the Teachings
        - b. How the Retinue Compiled the Teachings
        - c. How the Teachings Were Entrusted
      - 2. Awareness Holders' Lineage Transmitted through Symbols
        - a. The Ati System
        - b. The Systems of the Two Other Yogas
          - i. The Transmission among Nonhuman Awareness Holders
          - ii. The Transmission among Both Human and Nonhuman Beings
      - 3. Human Individuals' Lineage Transmitted through Hearing
  - II. The Transmission of the Means of Attainment
- 

This chapter has two parts: (1) a general explanation of the descent of the tantras and (2) a classification of their specific meditation practices.

### *The Descent of the Tantras* [I]

This section has two parts: (1) a brief presentation and (2) a full explanation of the descent of the tantras.

*A Brief Presentation [A]*

**In the tradition of the Ancient school of the early translations,  
The doctrine of great mysteries has three major styles of  
descent.**

In the Ancient tradition of the early translations, the vajra way's doctrine of great mysteries is presented as having three major styles of descent. *The Ocean Tantra of Explanation* states:

Victorious buddhas, bodhisattvas, and yoginis  
Transmitted [their teachings in lineages] through wisdom mind,  
awareness, and hearing  
To specific [lineage holders].

*The Full Explanation of the Descent of the Tantras [B]*

This section has three parts: (1) the victors' lineage transmitted through wisdom mind, (2) awareness holders' lineage transmitted through symbols, and (3) human individuals' lineage transmitted through hearing (and a supplementary section).

*The Victors' Lineage Transmitted through Wisdom Mind [1]*

This section has three parts: (1) how the teachers spoke the teachings, (2) how the retinue compiled the teachings, and (3) how the doctrine was entrusted.

*How the Teachers Spoke the Teachings [a]*

**In the self-manifest pure Unsurpassed Realm, the basic space of  
phenomena,  
To [his retinue,] oceans of wisdom, throughout inconceivable  
time,  
Buddha Ever Excellent naturally illuminates  
The wisdom mind of uncompounded clear light.**

The teacher is presented in two frameworks: as the body of ultimate enlightenment and as a wisdom body that has form.

First, the essence of being is originally pure and, in relation to its self-manifestation, [is free from] transitory defilements of delusion, which have been purified directly upon the basis of being. This essence of being is designated by the term “Unsurpassed Realm.” It is the basic space of phenomena, the self-manifest sacred circle of essential awakening not belonging to [the dualistic] minds [of beings in] the ten directions, and not defined by size, limits, or orientation. In that location, the teacher is the primordial lord Buddha Ever Excellent, himself the essence of self-arisen awareness, the nature of reality that transcends activity and effort, forefather of all buddhas, and sovereign splendor of all the wheel of life and transcendent states. His circle of disciples is his unobstructed manifest expression—ocean-like sacred circles of enlightenment’s bodies and wisdom, appearing as anything whatsoever. [His teaching is] wisdom mind, unimpeded and unconditioned clear light, spontaneously present as the essence of the wheel of life’s and transcendent states’ primordial manifest awakening. He naturally manifests during inconceivable time without arising, ceasing, or change.

That which is endowed with these five marvels [of location, teacher, disciples, teaching, and time] of the body of ultimate enlightenment, the very essence of empty basic space, can be embroidered with names for aspects of the youthful vase body’s qualities, yet within it, it is impossible to grasp any inherent attributes whatsoever.

**In Richly Adorned, [wisdom’s] manifest aspect, a wisdom body  
with the complete marks and signs of physical perfection,  
Expresses great perfection  
In ceaseless wisdom speech beyond self-characterized words  
and terms  
To self-manifest disciples within evenness, the fourth time.**

Second, the first wisdom body that has form is the self-manifest body of complete rapture.

The basis of being’s appearances that arise from the body of ultimate enlightenment’s basic space, supreme wisdom’s manifest aspect, constitute the self-occurring location—the spontaneously present Richly Adorned Realm. There, the teacher is Buddha Vajra Bearer, lord who pervades all families of wisdom, and who arises as a wisdom body complete with the distinct marks and signs of physical perfection. His circle of disciples comprises the five families’ gatherings, appearing as wisdom’s

natural inner glow, free from formulations of being identical or different. To them, in the continuum of unchanging evenness, the fourth time, he expresses the teachings of natural great perfection, essence of all teachings, his true wisdom mind. Throughout the three times, he unceasingly projects his wisdom speech beyond the scope of self-characterized words and terms.

Since a teacher who guides and those to be guided do not arise at this level, he dwells beyond the experiential range of even those [bodhisattvas who dwell on] awakening's tenth stage.

**As compassionate manifestations perceived by others,  
Five teachers grant three profound empowerments in the five  
wisdom families' palaces.  
With wisdom mind, symbols, and six modes of exposition,  
They teach the way of techniques to their regents.**

With true compassion for disciples, the transcendent buddhas appear within the constant state [just described].

In the objective perception of sovereign bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage, palaces of light stand in the five wisdom families' realms—Richly Adorned in the center, Truly Joyful to the East, Adorned with Jewels to the South, Blissful to the West, and Fulfilled Action to the North. In them, the teachers, transcendent buddhas, the five wisdom families' victors, grant their coexistent circle of disciples the three profound empowerments. They thereby realize the subject, the ultimate tantra, and attain enlightenment, accomplishing their goal.

Subsequently, in response to requests made to the teachers to aid others, compassion arose in them: with wisdom mind, symbolic speech, and six modes of exposition, they teach approaches to the inner way of mastery, the way of techniques, to circles of disciples who dwell at the level of regents.

The six modes of exposition are keeping the body straight, eyebrows heightened, eyes gazing half-closed, mouth open, tongue extended between conch-white teeth, and speech in Brahma's melodious voice.

**At that time, they produce in impure realms' perceptions  
Six teachers who disseminate approaches to the teachings that  
support the path.**

While presenting the teachings of the partially apparent body of rapture, [the buddhas] send forth the six teachers to impure realms, abodes of the six kinds of beings, to appear in their common perception. To disciples with impure minds and inferior attitudes, the six present and disseminate infinite approaches to the teachings that support the common spiritual path.

Moreover, during these times, in the presence of beings to be subdued, such as wrathful Fierce Terrifying Demon, buddhas are said to appear in the aspect of Glorious Héruka, who emanates wrathful deities' sacred circles. In this and other ways, they display infinite peaceful and wrathful forms to guide others in modes attuned to individuals' needs.

**In the pure domains, before the Buddha appears [in this world],  
A body with qualities similar to the body of rapture  
Teaches the transcendent perfections and the three outer  
tantras to accomplished masters and awareness holders.**

In Unsurpassed [Heaven] of the pure domains, the most sublime place in Endurance and other [world-systems], before the Buddha appears in the world, he presents himself as a buddha endowed with the adorning marks and signs of physical perfection similar to the qualities of the supreme body of rapture. To an immeasurable circle of gods, accomplished masters, and awareness holders, he teaches the transcendent perfections of the way that liberates from the origin of suffering, and the three outer tantras of the way of vedic asceticism.

*How the Retinue Compiled the Teachings [b]*

**As a manifestation perceived by others, the tantras arisen from  
symbols and words  
Were compiled by sublime Vajra Dharma, Holder of a Human  
Skull,  
Dakini Calm Purna, and others.**

All teachers who compassionately appeared in modes perceptible by other beings imparted understanding through symbols only in others' perceptions. The tantras that arose from appearances as spoken words, [audible] like the sound of a drum or an echo, were compiled by Lord of



Secrets Vajra Dharma, Brahmin Holder of a Human Skull, and Dakini Calm Purna.

The “others” [referred to in the root text] include the regent Vajrasattva, who compiled great perfection’s pith instructions; and Kunjara, sovereign awareness holder, who compiled the scriptural transmission anuyoga. They finalized every expression of the buddhas’ wisdom bodies, every symbol of their wisdom speech, and every intent of their wisdom minds as the nature of tantra, and compiled them in the non-manifest domains of awareness holders.

Further, these compilers are the self-manifestation of the primordial lord’s supreme wisdom, one in essence with Transcendent Conqueror Lord of Secrets. Therefore, the teacher and his circle of disciples were indivisible within the constant state of equanimity of their wisdom minds; individuals with autonomous mind streams did not perform this compilation.

### *How the Teachings Were Entrusted [c]*

**The doctrine was entrusted to the lords of the three kinds of  
beings,  
To the dakinis, and to those possessing the eyes of the Dharma.  
In short, the teacher’s three-body framework is the victors’  
wisdom mind transmission.**

[The teacher] directly entrusted and assigned all these profound tantras to compilers: the Victor’s spiritual heirs, lords of three kinds of beings, led by Lord of Secrets; and the queen of the wheel of life and transcendent states, great Dakini Sovereign of Activity, who has one form but many names, together with her host of wisdom dakinis. He predicted the individuals in future generations who would be lineage holders endowed with the eyes of the Dharma, thus entrusting them with the teachings. *The Framework Scripture* states:

... to the compilers, the women,  
Adepts endowed with the eyes [of Dharma], and others.

To summarize these explanations, within the context of the framework of the teacher’s three bodies, wisdom mind has a single flavor within even-

ness. Thus, there is nothing to teach and no teaching, yet the teachings appear as a seeming process that unfolds from wisdom's manifest expression. Thus it is called, "the victors' wisdom mind transmission."

*Awareness Holders' Lineage Transmitted through Symbols* [2]

This section has two parts: (1) the ati system and (2) the systems of the two other yogas [i.e., mahayoga and anuyoga].

*The Ati System* [a]

**When six [conditions prevailed], the effortless way  
Was given through empowerment by Vajrasattva to a god  
named Altruistic;  
It spread in the gods' realm.  
[The god Altruistic] then rose in the human world as  
enlightenment's manifestation Garab Dorjé,  
Who received empowerment and the tantras' treasury, and  
became the doctrine's chief.**

Of great perfection's doctrine, it is said,

The thought of awareness dawns  
When afflictive emotions are intense, when strength is weak,  
When life span is short due to karma, when the canon's meaning  
is lost,  
When evil tenets transform the doctrine's essence,  
And when meditation practice is weak due to ineffective antidotes.

When these six conditions for the doctrine of supreme mystery's arising prevailed, the time had come for the effortless way of ati, which teaches discernment of differences, resolution, self-liberation, and manifest sight. Four special prophetic signs occurred in the dreams of Altruistic, son of Déva Excellent Protector, a god of Heaven of the Thirty-three. As the omens indicated, Buddha Vajrasattva conferred upon him the empowerment of the vase of complete coronation and bestowed pith instructions. [These teachings then] circulated in the gods' realm.

How they then spread in the human world is as follows. Praharani,

daughter of Dharma Ashoka, king of Oddiyana in western India, went to bathe at the bank of a lake. A swan, emanation of Lord of Secrets, gathered Altruistic into the form of a *Hung* syllable, which he swallowed. The swan touched its beak to the princess' heart three times, then had the glowing *Hung* melt into her heart.

After the full number of months passed, a golden nine-spoked vajra ablaze with light emerged from the princess' heart, melted into light, and became her son, a small child adorned with symbolic emblems and the marks and signs of physical perfection. When he appeared, he chanted *The Vajrasattva Great Sky Tantra*. That child, a sublime individual who surpassed human limits, was enlightenment's manifestation, Garab Dorjé.

Later, Vajrasattva appeared and empowered him; he gained mastery over the treasury of great perfection's six million, four hundred thousand tantras, and thus became the doctrine's chief.

**When [Garab Dorjé] dissolved into light, Manjushrimitra received his testament.**

**Likewise, all the other regents successively received [a testament].**

Finally, when [Garab Dorjé] dissolved into a mass of light in the ground of primordial exhaustion [of phenomena], he bestowed his testament to the great master Manjushrimitra. Among the "other regents" [in the root text], Shri Singha, Jnanasutra, and Vimalamitra were each successively empowered as regent by receiving a testament [from his predecessor].

Great Master Padmakara relied on Shri Singha as his spiritual master and met Garab Dorjé's wisdom body. Padmakara demonstrated the way of liberation of the material body into a mass of light, and his vajra body of supreme transference continues to aid beings for as long as the wheel of life lasts. At present, he lives in the magnificent celestial palace Lotus Light, where he expounds the teachings.

### *The Systems of the Two Other Yogas* [b]

This section has two parts: (1) the transmission among nonhuman awareness holders and (2) the transmission among both human and non-human beings.

*The Transmission among Nonhuman Awareness Holders [i]*

[The lords of] the three kinds of beings, masters of knowledge,  
 compassion, and power,  
 Chiefly taught the view and conduct of meditation practice:  
 Gods, nagas, and noxious spirits in groups of hundred  
 thousands attained liberation.

Among ocean-like circles of bodhisattvas, the Victor's spiritual heirs, the lords of the three kinds [of beings] are the teacher's own emanations: the master of knowledge, exalted Gentle Splendor; the master of compassion, All-Seeing One; and the master of power, strength, and ability, Vajra Holder. Respectively, they taught in the abodes of gods, nagas, and human beings—[principally to] the god Renowned Eminent Protector, the naga king Black Neck, and the noxious spirit Ever Excellent—emphasizing the view and conduct of meditation practice. Thus, the teachings were gradually transmitted and spread in their worlds. [The three disciples] attained liberation, together with groups of hundred thousands of gods, nagas, and noxious spirits. Moreover, they took the forms of bodhisattvas and became the Buddha's successors.

*The Transmission Among Both Human and Nonhuman Beings [ii]*

Twenty-eight years after the Victor transcended [sorrow],  
 Five lineage-holding nobles at Mount Malaya's summit  
 Uttered twenty-three verses of lamentation:  
 Lord of Secrets manifestly appeared; he recited and taught  
 the secret tantras.

Twenty-eight years after the Victorious Lord of the Shakyas demonstrated the process of transcendence of sorrow, five nobles who held the sacred lineage rose from perfect contemplation and knew that the Light of the World had set. The five nobles gathered miraculously at Mount Malaya's meteorite summit, directed their minds toward the buddhas of the ten directions, and uttered twenty-three verses of lamentation such as these:

Alas, alas! What immense sadness!  
 Once the lamp light of our teacher has waned,  
 Who will dispel the world's darkness?

The victors therefore summoned Lord of Secrets; in fact, the lord who pervades the six wisdom families [Buddha Vajra Bearer] manifestly appeared in the form of Lord of Secrets. He repeated and taught all the secret tantras that had been previously divulged and proclaimed throughout three heavens—Unsurpassed, Joyful, and Heaven of the Thirty-three.

Here, “the five nobles who held the sacred lineage” refers to the god Renowned Eminent Protector, the naga king Takshaka, the noxious spirit Shooting Star Face, the ogre Skillful Intelligence, and the human Vimalakirti of the Licchavi clan. Their twenty-three verses of lamentation can be found in the third chapter of *The General Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization*.

#### **The ogre Skillful Intelligence**

**Recorded [the teachings] and concealed them in the sky with  
 the energy [of perfect intent].**

**The transmission among awareness holders passed through  
 symbols [occurred in this way].**

As described, the ogre Skillful Intelligence recorded every way of spiritual development spoken by Lord of Secrets in liquid lapis on folios of gold, and concealed them in the sky with the energy of his sevenfold perfect intent.

The sevenfold perfect intent is as follows: Folios of gold were intended as the perfect basis for the writing. Liquid lapis was intended as the perfect ink. Treasure chests of various types of precious substances were intended as wondrous vessels. The sky was intended as the sublime location for the treasure, since the four elements never destroy it. Since mamos and dakinis possess wisdom eyes, they were intended as special guardians of the treasure. The custodian of the teachings, King Ja, was intended as the destined being of the very highest degree of acumen whose realization and liberation were simultaneous. Exalted beings, such as bodhisattvas who dwelled upon awakening's stages, were intended to serve as accomplished lineage holders, to make [the teachings] spread and flourish.

In all these cases, since the doctrine's every meaning was comprehended

merely through symbolic indications, this transmission is known as “the transmission among awareness holders passed through symbols.”

*Human Individuals' Lineage Transmitted through Hearing* [3]

At that time, seven signs appeared in King Ja's dreams  
 As the manifestation of the blessings [of Lord of Secrets'  
 teaching].  
 [He found] a statue of Vajra Holder and the eighteen sections  
 of tantra  
 Descended upon the roof of his palace. He gradually realized  
 their meaning,  
 Then transmitted them to Kukuraja. [The transmission]  
 continued and the teachings flourished.

*The Latter Tantra of Binder of the Wheel* states:

A hundred and twelve years  
 After I cease to appear here,  
 The doctrine's sublime essence  
 Renowned throughout the three heavens  
 Will appear to one known as King Ja  
 At the Land of Jambu's eastern border.  
 Through the power of his tremendous merit,  
 Lord of Secrets will make it appear.

As written, when Lord of Secrets taught the doctrine to the five lineage-  
 holding nobles, his blessings' illumination produced seven wondrous  
 omens in King Ja of Sahor's dreams. As is said,

The insignia of wisdom body, speech, and mind dissolved  
 into him,  
 Precious volumes descended,  
 He discussed the doctrine,  
 Everyone proclaimed him to be an exalted being,  
 He presented vast offerings,  
 A rain of precious gems fell,  
 And his reaching the ground of enlightenment was foretold.

Consistent with these dream omens, he first acquired a statue of Vajra Holder, one cubit [in height]. He used it to practice meditation [on Vajra Holder] for seven months: the volumes of the eighteen tantras actually fell upon the uppermost roof of his palace. He read the chapter on seeing Buddha Vajrasattva's face; by practicing it, he saw Vajrasattva and received his blessing. Once he had purified his aggregates with the creation phase of meditation, Lord of Secrets appeared to him, bestowed empowerments, and taught the tantras. He realized their meaning, then imparted the transmission to Kukuraja, [from whom it passed] in turn to Indrabodhi, Singharaja, and others. [In this way, the teachings] spread.

**At the same time, the three classes of exoteric tantra  
Descended to Varanasi, Bird-Foot Mountain, and Blazing  
Mountain.**

**Anuyoga's volumes**

**Descended to Singha Island's forest.**

**Vajrasattva taught atiyoga at Lake Dhanakosha**

**To Garab Dorjé, who wrote it down.**

**Tantras appeared from a great variety of other sources.**

**These teachings are called the transmission among individual  
masters through hearing.**

At the same time, teachings including the three exoteric tantras gradually descended to separate places: kriya tantras in Varanasi, upa tantras on Bird-Foot Mountain and in Cool Grove, and yoga tantras at the summit of Blazing Mountain of Fire charnel ground. Anuyoga tantras, along with their volumes, actually descended upon Singhala Island, known as the region of [Sri] Lanka.

According to this system's explanation, at Lake Dhanakosha, a specific area of Oddiyana in western India, Vajrasattva overtly taught atiyoga tantras to the great master Garab Dorjé, who wrote them down. So [this system] relates.

Tantras appeared from a great variety of other sources, such as exalted deities who granted them to accomplished masters. Secret mantra's tantras have no limit. These teachings depended on the sounds of words which were transmitted from one individual to another. Because these teachings were received through the process of hearing, this [transmission] is called "the transmission among individual masters through hearing."

**To subdue thoughts, as many approaches to ways of spiritual  
development as there are  
Issue from natural great perfection.**

As many wheels of Dharma and approaches to ways of spiritual development as there are appear in order to subdue infinite beings' boundless thoughts. All such teachings issue from the blessings of natural great perfection's doctrine. *The Secret Essence Tantra* states:

Tantras of wisdom body, speech, and mind  
Resound throughout the ten directions;  
They issue from *The Secret Essence Tantra*.

*The Transmission of the Means of Attainment* [II]

**The peaceful and wrathful deities taught the means of  
attainment; Lord of Secrets compiled them.  
He entrusted them to the dakini, who concealed them in a  
stupa's vase.  
When eight masters meditated for seven nights,  
Dakini Sovereign of Activity entrusted each with a treasure  
chest.  
The designated inheritor of the convergence of them all is the  
magnificent master.**

The transmission of the means of attainment is as follows: In the sacred place Unsurpassed Realm, the sacred circle of sublime mysteries, a source of phenomena, the pure land of the basic space of phenomena, Blazing Mountain of Fire, the teacher arose as the peaceful sacred circle of glorious Buddha Ever Excellent Vajrasattva and as the wrathful sacred circle of self-occurring Great Supreme Héruka. To his circle of disciples, his own awareness appearing as a group [of wisdom deities] within the continual state of evenness of time without beginning or end, [he taught] with the nature of reality's indestructible self-appearing sound. He taught the vajra way in general, and specifically *The Gathering of Joyful Buddhas'* five general tantras, ten specific tantras, and infinite ways to practice each aspect [of the tantras], etc.

Lord of Secrets Vajra Dharma illuminated these tantras within his



own nine-deity sacred circle, and first compiled them verbally. Then he wrote them in volumes and composed five scriptures as commentaries. He entrusted these texts to the supreme Dakini Sovereign of Activity. She separated the general and specific tantras, placed them in individual treasure chests of precious substances, and concealed them in various places, principally the vase of Bliss-Giving Pinnacle Stupa.

At some time, the natural radiance of the nine wisdoms of glorious Héruka's enlightened mind manifested as nine supreme awareness holders who gained self-occurring accomplishment. Eight (all except Padma-sambhava) knew that the time had come: they convened miraculously and dwelled in meditation for seven nights. At that time, the supreme Dakini Sovereign of Activity entrusted each of these eight awareness holders with a treasure chest (such as Manjushrimitra with an iron treasure chest), and she bestowed a transmission to each of them (such as that of Gentle Splendor, Slayer of the Lord of Death [to Manjushrimitra]). In applying themselves to meditation practice, each became proficient in their respective means of attainment. They attained accomplishment and achieved the state of indivisibility from the chief buddha of their respective wisdom family.

The vajra of wisdom speech, Padmakara, demonstrated the process of requesting the teachings from each of these masters; in meditation practice, he reached a state of knowledge and accomplishment superior to each of them. At that point, urged by the dakini, he retrieved from the Bliss-Giving Pinnacle Stupa all the still-sealed tantras, scriptures, and pith instructions, such as treasure chests of eight precious substances containing the general tantras. Thus, the complete transmission, convergence of them all, was gathered in this supreme master, who became the foremost teacher of secret mantra. Throughout past, present, and future, his acts to aid beings equal the sky's breadth.

THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE

BOOK FOUR

*Buddhism Resplendent in the World.*

.....

## BUDDHISM RESPLENDENT IN THE WORLD

---

I have thoroughly presented above an outline of the doctrine, the sacred teachings, in general and with specific details.

Book Four, which describes the stages by which that doctrine grew and spread throughout this world named after its Jambu apple trees, has four chapters: (1) how the Victor's doctrine spread in the land of exalted beings; (2) a recounting of the origins of monastic discipline, the root of the doctrine, and of the enduring systems of teaching in the Himalayan province; (3) the origins of the traditional eight major chariots of lineages of meditation practice; and (4) a presentation of the spread of Buddhist culture and, incidentally, the dissemination of the doctrine in other lands.

# 1. BUDDHISM IN THE LAND OF EXALTED BEINGS

---

- I. A General Statement
  - II. How the Victor's Doctrine Spread in the Land of Exalted Beings
    - A. The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Pious Attendants' Collections
    - B. The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Great Way's Tradition
      - 1. The Spread of the Great Way's Common Collection of Teachings
        - a. The Spread of the Mind-Only View
        - b. The Spread of the Great Middle Way View
      - 2. How the Collection of Teachings of the Extraordinary Secret Mantra Way Spread in India
        - a. How Each Tantra Appeared
        - b. How Tantric Monasteries Developed
      - 3. How These Collections Will Spread in India in the Present and Future
- 

This chapter has two parts: (1) a general statement and (2) a full explanation of how the Victor's doctrine spread in the land of exalted beings.

## *A General Statement* [I]

[I will describe] how the doctrine spread in this Land of Jambu.

*How the Victor's Doctrine Spread in the Land of Exalted Beings* [II]

**In the land of exalted beings, two periods of Buddhist practice occurred:**

**One focused on the pious attendants' way, the other on the great way.**

Foremost among the Land of Jambu's six different regions is the realm where the Buddha actually appeared and which filled with exalted beings—India. There, two periods of Buddhist practice occurred: that during which Buddhists mainly engaged in the pious attendants' collections of teachings, and that during which they mainly engaged in the great way's historical tradition.

*The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Pious Attendants' Collections* [A]

**The Victor's regents  
Were Kashyapa, Ananda, Shanavasa, Upagupta,  
Dhitika, Krishnapada, and Sudarshana;  
These, plus Madhyantika, are the eight patriarchs.  
It is also said that their line continued until Bhikshu Singha.**

In his melodious voice of Brahma, the Buddha lauded eminent Kashyapa as “a great pious attendant like me,” and empowered him as his regent. Kashyapa compiled the canon and performed other acts to complete the Buddha's activity for the doctrine, which he entrusted to Ananda. Then, in the midst of three Kukkutapada mountains in the south, eminent Kashyapa covered his body with the Buddha's discarded robes, blessed his physical remains so that they would not decay before the advent of Buddha Loving-Kindness, and transcended sorrow. Gods and other beings worshipped his physical remains, then joined the three mountains into one, enveloping his body.

Ananda ordained Shanavasa, son of a trader, and entrusted the doctrine to him. Ananda emanated an island in the middle of the Ganges River, where five hundred seers took full ordination and became arhats. They became known as mid-stream arhats or mid-day arhats [the time of

their ordination]. Ananda advised Shanavasa, chief among them, to preserve the doctrine in general, and specifically to propagate it in Kashmir. Ananda then transcended sorrow in basic space without residue. Shanavasa journeyed to Kashmir, where he subdued the violent naga Audushta and his entourage, and claimed the land [which had been covered by a lake]. Shanavasa obtained saffron seeds from Mount Gandhamadana and planted them in Kashmir, consecrating them so that saffron would grow there as long as the doctrine of the Buddha lasted. It is said that Shanavasa's teaching led ten thousand persons to the state of arhat and one hundred thousand to the perception of the truth. He ordained Upagupta (son of Gupta, an incense merchant) and entrusted the doctrine to him. The teacher himself had predicted Upagupta's life when he said,

A century after my transcendence of sorrow, an enlightened being without the characteristic features [of a buddha] will perform a buddha's acts.

Using miraculous powers, exalted Upagupta subdued evil demons. He gave profound instructions for meditation in a cave eighteen cubits deep, twelve cubits wide, and six cubits high. Each [of his disciples] who attained the state of arhat cast into the cave a stick four finger-widths in length. When the cave was filled, Upagupta ordained Dhitika, son of an Ujjaini city Brahmin, and entrusted the doctrine to him.

Dhitika fully illuminated the teacher's doctrine by such acts as using miraculous powers to convert many people from the royal and brahmin castes who had entered erroneous paths. Dhitika rescued Krishna, a householder's son, from danger upon an ocean island, ordained him, and entrusted the doctrine to him.

Exalted Venerable Krishna brought many monks, ordinary beings who persisted in their belief in an existent self, to the true view. He performed a wide range of activity in the service of the doctrine, such as illuminating the teachings on the island of Sri Lanka, then entrusted the doctrine to Sudarshana (son of Darshana, a descendant of Pandu), who had previously been brought to liberation by arhat Sukayana. Eminent Sudarshana subdued five hundred nagas and noxious spirits who had no faith in the doctrine. He filled the entirety of south India with temples and members of the Buddhist spiritual community, introduced the doctrine to many minor lands, spread Buddhism a little in China, then transcended sorrow.

Thus, there were seven patriarchs of the doctrine from Eminent Kashyapa to Sudarshana, or eight, if Eminent Madhyantika (mentioned above) is added. All were arhats: they were completely free of the two [obscuring] factors, had attained meditative concentration within the eight aspects of liberation, had heard and retained the entire excellent speech of the Buddha, and preserved the complete doctrine. Their deeds were similar to those of the Buddha himself. Although many arhats followed them, none equaled their deeds. This concludes an account of the doctrine's seven patriarchs, as it appears in *Various Scriptures on Monastic Discipline*.

Within the pious attendant [tradition], there are no explicit accounts of patriarchs after these. In the great way, *A Commentary on "The Journey to Lanka Discourse"* relates a succession of subsequent patriarchs until Bhikshu Singha. This [other] line of patriarchs is as above from our teacher until Dhitika, then Dhitika entrusted the teaching to Vibhaga, who entrusted it to Venerable Buddhanandi, and so on, through Buddhmitra, Bhikshu Parshva, Sushanata, Ashvagoshā, Amrita, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Rahula, Sanghanandi, Bhikshu Arhat, Kalasha, Kumarala, Shavata, Vasubandhu, Manota, Hagalikanayanasha, and Bhikshu Singha. So it is taught.

**The earliest treatise, *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, spread.**

**Those who attained the four results were as numerous as dust motes.**

During the time of those patriarchs, there spread a custom of teaching and studying the earliest treatise, *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*. Those who received full ordination, applied themselves to meditative concentration, and attained the four results—stream enterer, once returner, non-returner, and arhat—increased daily: they became as numerous as dust motes. On the subject of *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, the omniscient master Taranata states:

“Detailed exposition” means “a thorough explanation.” Before this treatise, the exact words of the teacher’s canon were recited, followed by a presentation of their profound instructions. In the course of that teaching, the canon’s meanings were elucidated, yet no separate treatises more accessible than the discourses existed. Subsequently, for the benefit of future

beings, this treatise which provides detailed expositions was composed. Some state that arhats living during the time of Upagupta wrote it together. Others believe that Yashah, Sarvakama, and others composed it. Tibetans claim that five hundred arhats, including Sarvakama and Kubjita, wrote this treatise at Nata-bhatika Monastery in the northern Vindhya Hills. That account seems to blend the two former customary versions. In any case, those arhats' verbal transmissions were compiled in one place; what had been passed from one elder's ear to another was recorded in writing.

According to the proponents of the materialist school's tradition, the seven texts on observed phenomena belong to the canon, and the earliest treatise of commentary is *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*. Proponents of the discourse school believe that pious attendants who were ordinary beings wrote the seven texts on observed phenomena that predate *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, and that those seven texts were spuriously promoted as Shariputra's and others' compilations of our teacher's words. They therefore contend that the first treatises to comment upon the Buddha's intent were the seven texts on observed phenomena. Some masters state that the seven texts on observed phenomena were originally the Buddha's canon, but words were subsequently interpolated from pious attendants who were ordinary beings; this is possible, as in the case of some discourses that have [differing redactions] in different Buddhist ways. Therefore, errors in these [seven texts] that contradict [proof based upon] the three kinds of logic should be viewed as later contaminating interpolations. [These masters] believe that since the great way tradition has a distinct collection on observed phenomena, a similar collection must also appear in the pious attendant tradition. Although it is true that the three collections are interrelated in meaning, the other two collections did appear in distinct volumes [within the pious attendant tradition]. Therefore, there is no reason why the mother teachings should not follow the same pattern. So they contend.

While this latter proposition seems reasonable, the preeminent Master Vasubandhu appears to have agreed with the discourse school's belief; thus, I provisionally accept that view.



**[During] the pious attendant period, many hundred thousand monks—the four great noble masters and others—  
Preserved the masters' individual schools.**

The eminent monk Dharmatrata from Kashmir, the prominent monk Vasumitra from Maru in the west, the prominent monk Ghoshaka from Togar (Tukharistan), and the monk Buddhadev from Varanasi were known as the detailed exposition school's four leading masters. Each had disciples numbering in the hundred thousands. The detailed exposition school's scriptural transmission consists of *The Garland of the Three Mixtures* and *One Hundred Instructions*.

“Others” [in the root text] include the discourse school's prominent elder, Shri Lata, and Kumaralata, Yamana, and others. Each school of these prominent monks swelled to many hundred thousand fully ordained monks, who preserved each master's school.

This concludes the account of the period during which Buddhists in India mainly practiced the pious attendant teachings.

### *The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Great Way's Tradition* [B]

This section has three parts: (1) the spread of the great way's common collection of teachings, (2) the spread of the extraordinary secret mantra's collection of teachings, and (3) how these collections spread in the present and future.

### *The Spread of the Great Way's Common Collection of Teachings* [1]

This section has two parts: the spread of (1) the mind-only view and (2) the middle way view.

### *The Spread of the Mind-Only View* [a]

**Following that, noble Avitarka and others  
Received teaching from lord bodhisattvas of awakening's  
tenth stage;**

**Many masters appeared who attained the meditative state  
of the stream of the teachings.**

**Most great way [discourses] arrived in the land of humans.**

Following that, after the period of Exalted Nandamitra and others, an elder, the arhat named Nanda (born in the region of Anga) became the first to hold the great way teachings. During his lifetime, the prominent monk Avitarka and others, including Vigataragadvaja, Divyakaragupta, Rahulamitra, and Jnanatala, received teachings directly from lord bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage, including Loving-Kindness, Gentle Splendor, All-Seeing One, and Lord of Secrets. Five hundred such masters appeared who without exception attained the meditative state of the stream of the teachings.

King Lakshasha presented them offerings in faith, and donated temples and disciples. He sponsored the copying of volumes of the teachings' collections, and initiated their study and teaching. One thousand, five hundred practitioners of the great way appeared; all without exception retained countless discourses, gained unimpeded intelligence, and attained forbearance [of the nature of reality]. Each demonstrated openly to others some displays of miracles and clairvoyance. Many followers of the great way issued from them.

Concurrently, the majority of great way discourses, including the hundred-thousand-verse *The Noble Cluster of Jewels Discourse*, the hundred-thousand-verse *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, the twenty-five-thousand-verse *Journey to Lanka Discourse*, the twelve-thousand-verse *Discourse of the Richly Designed Ornament*, and the twelve-thousand-verse *True Compendium of the Dharma*, were brought to the human world from such diverse regions as those of gods, nagas, celestial musicians, and ogres. In particular, many texts came from the nagas' lands. During that period, the great way's fame filled every region, which did not meet with the pious attendants' approval. They disparaged the teachings: "The great way does not constitute the Buddha's word." Therefore, Aryapada [i.e., Nagarjuna] and other masters later proved the great way to be the Buddha's word.

**At Nalanda, Udbhatasiddhisvamin built a temple.**

**Nanda and others composed many treatises.**

**They were known as proponents of the aspects of consciousness.**

Five hundred masters of the great way then conferred. They saw that due to auspicious connections, if Buddhism were taught at Maudgalyayana's birthplace, it would merely become powerful, whereas if it were taught at exalted Shariputra's birthplace, it would flourish extensively. Noble Shariputra's birth [had taken place centuries earlier] in the brahmin town Nalada or Nalanda (translated in Tibetan as either "given continuously" or "given by reeds"). Later, in the ruins of this town, King Ashoka repaired and honored Shariputra's stupa and built a temple. It was there that the masters lived and taught.

During this period, two brahmin brothers Udbhatasiddhisvamin and Shamkarapati built eight temples there, and placed within them all the volumes of the great way's texts. Later, noble Nanda, Paramasena, and Samyaksatyā wrote many treatises to elucidate the yogachara scriptural tradition. Those three masters are known as "the early yogachara proponents." All the earlier five hundred masters, along with their followers, form what is known as the school of aspects of consciousness.

### *The Spread of the Great Middle Way View [b]*

**The ancestor of accomplished masters, Venerable Rahulabhadra,  
First elucidated the supreme vehicle's middle way tradition.**

Around that time, Brahmin Rahulabhadra, the ancestor of every accomplished master, took full ordination from Venerable Krishna. He received an ocean of great way discourses and tantras from many [human] masters, such as Avitarka, and from many supreme wisdom deities, such as Lord of Secrets. His teaching of those discourses at Nalanda marked the first full elucidation of the great way's middle way tradition.

At that time, there appeared just eight masters, including noble Kamalagarbha, who held the middle way tradition. Among them, the prominent monk Prakashdharmamani received teaching directly from the exalted bodhisattva Dispeller of Obscurations, attained the state of forbearance of unborn phenomena, then retrieved the hundred-thousand-verse, thousand-chapter *The Great Compendium Discourse* from a world beneath the ground.

**The second buddha, exalted Nagarjuna,  
Then brought the *Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred  
Thousand Verses* [to this world].**

**Nagarjuna's three collections explain the intent of the teachings' three wheels.**

**He defeated in debate believers in external reality, and proved the great way to be the Buddha's word.**

The great master Nagarjuna, whose impact was that of a second buddha, was born in the southern land of Vaidarbha. *The Journey to Lanka Discourse* states:

In the southern land of Vaidarbha,  
 The one known as the monk Shriman  
 Will be called by the name "Naga."  
 This destroyer of the extremes of existence and nonexistence  
 Will perfectly elucidate my way, the highest great way,  
 In this world.  
 He will accomplish awakening's stage of extreme joy  
 And depart for Blissful pure realm.

The Victor also foretold his life in various discourses and tantras, such as *The Great Drum Discourse*, *The Root Tantra of Manjushri*, and *The Wheel of Time Tantra*.

Nagarjuna spent two hundred years of his life in Madhyadesha, two hundred in south India, and one hundred and twenty-nine years on Mount Shriparvata. He studied, taught, and meditated, built ten million temples and stupas, provided for Buddhist communities, aided nagas and other non-human beings, and defeated challenges from non-Buddhists. He preserved the sacred teachings in these and in every way; in particular, his kindness to the doctrine of the great way was incomparable.

From the nagas' realm, he retrieved *The Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses*, after which no new great way discourses appeared. His three collections—*A Collection of Talks*, *A Collection on Reasoning*, and *A Collection of Praises*—explain the incontrovertible intent of the first, middle, and final wheels of the teachings. He was the founder who initiated this great tradition. In debate, Nagarjuna defeated the pious attendant believers in external reality, sounding a lion's roar proving the great way to be the Buddha's word. Finally, after his body clearly displayed the thirty-two excellent signs of physical perfection, Nagarjuna made a gift of his own head to Prince Shaktiman, son of King Udayana. Nagarjuna blessed his head and body so that they would not be destroyed, departed for Blissful

pure land, and purified the buddhas' realms. Before long, he will re-enter his body, transmit the doctrine, and perform acts of infinite benefit for beings.

Concerning the identification of the texts in Nagarjuna's three collections, most Tibetan scholars concur as follows. *A Collection of Talks* comprises two texts:

1. *A Message from a Friend*, a letter he sent a king from afar
2. *The Precious Garland*, a direct address to the king

*A Collection on Reasoning* comprises five texts. Four works are a collection on reasoning to refute the extremes of conceptual formulations in relation to what is to be proven:

1. *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*
2. *Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning*
3. *Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness*
4. *A Refutation of Arguments*

One work is a collection on reasoning to refute polemicists' reasoning [in their arguments] in relation to the proof:

5. *Crushed to Powder*

*A Collection of Praises* comprises [nine texts in all]; two works in relation to the basis of being:

1. *An Explicit Praise of Apparent Reality*
2. *Praises to the Basic Space of Phenomena*

two works in relation to the path:

3. *Praises to Skillful Means, Supreme Compassion*
4. *Praises to Sublime Insight, Mother of the Four Exalted Beings*

and a work concerning the result:

5. *Praises to the Three Bodies of Enlightenment*

The following are not categorized separately, but are praises made from the perspective of the essence of the view:

6. *Praises to the Ultimate*
7. *Praises to the Incomparable*
8. *Praises to the Inconceivable*
9. *Praises to the Supramundane*

In *Clear Words*, Chandrakirti lists the works of Nagarjuna: “The talks, *The Precious Garland*, the lecture, and the pure praises . . .” then explicitly enumerates *The Collection of Reasoning*’s five texts. He does not significantly contradict [the above list accepted by most Tibetan masters].

Early Tibetan masters, such as Translator Khu, add *Establishing the Validity of Designations* to *The Collection of Reasoning*’s five texts, making that collection a total of six texts. However, Jé Rinpoché [Tsongkapa] states that [*Establishing the Validity of Designations*] was not listed in *Clear Words*, nor did any of this exalted master’s direct disciples ever quote from its pertinent passages. Thus, he adds *The Precious Garland* to make a sixfold *Collection on Reasoning*.

In *A Collection on Reasoning, The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight* establishes all phenomena as emptiness, presenting this in detail through many kinds of reasoning without teaching the aspect of skillful means. *Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning* presents an outline of the corpus of the middle way. The three other works [in the fivefold *Collection of Reasoning*—*Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness, Refutation of Arguments, and Crushed to Powder*] teach emptiness alone. *The Precious Garland* presents the two aspects of the absence of self in detail, and also teaches various kinds of skillful means.

*The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight, Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning, and The Precious Garland* form the complete body of his treatises. The other three works resemble limbs of *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*.

### A succession of masters including Aryadeva preserved and transmitted the doctrine.

*The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* states:

These will gain accomplishment on the path of the ten virtuous acts: Aryadeva, Kambala, Ashvagoshā, and . . .

This and other texts foretold the great master Aryadeva, son of the king of Sri Lanka. Aryadeva relied upon the master Nagarjuna and attained many forms of accomplishment. Aryapada [i.e., Nagarjuna] entrusted the doctrine to Aryadeva, who preserved the teachings for a long time through such acts as study and teaching, building temples, and establishing centers for great way teaching. Aryadeva composed such texts as *The Four Hundred Stanza Treatise* in sixteen chapters on the subject of yogachara,

*The “Hand” Commentary to the Great Middle Way, The Precious Treasury of the Unborn, and A Compendium of the Essence of Wisdom.*

Maheshvara granted a Hindu teacher, whose many names include Matriceta, Pitriceta, and Matichitra, the boon that no one born from a womb would ever defeat him. Aryadeva defeated him in debate and had him enter the Buddha’s doctrine. He then became known as the master Shura, who composed *Thirty-four Past Lives of Buddha Shakyamuni* and other texts of great benefit to the Buddhist doctrine.

A lineage of disciples appeared in succession, including [Aryadeva’s disciple] Rahulabhadra, a commoner who took renunciant vows and attained sublime accomplishment. Further, the uninterrupted succession of excellent direct and lineage disciples of the exalted master [Nagarjuna] and his spiritual heir [Aryadeva] includes Master Nagahvaya; Nagabodhi, who attained the accomplishment of Great Seal; the accomplished master Shavaripa; Buddhapalita; Bhavaviveka; Master Chandrakirti; and the Victor’s heir, Shantideva. These masters preserved and propagated the Victor’s doctrine by both their teaching and meditation practice.

**Exalted Asanga, who dwelled upon awakening’s third stage,  
Received five doctrines directly from Maitreya  
And composed five treatises on the stages of awakening and  
two compendiums.**

At Nalanda in India’s central region, enemies of the great way teachings rose three times, resulting in the depletion of the great way collection of teachings to one-fifteenth its original size. *The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

Nine hundred years  
After my transcendence of sorrow,  
A monk named Asanga,  
Learned in the meaning of the treatises,  
Will differentiate the many aspects  
Of the discourses’ provisional and definitive meanings.  
Epitome of a teacher of worldly culture,  
He will live as a writer of textbooks.

As foretold, exalted venerable Asanga appeared and attained realization of awakening’s third stage. Although he was exceptionally erudite

in all subjects of Buddhist culture, and in the lesser and great way collections, he found the perfection of sublime insight somewhat difficult to understand. Therefore, he meditated on Maitreya for twelve years at Kukkutapada Mountain. Afterward, the mere sight of Maitreya's face led him to attain the meditative state of the stream of the teachings. Holding the bodhisattva's robe, he traveled to Joyful Heaven, where during twenty-five human years he received five treatises and other teachings directly from Maitreya. Asanga then returned to the human world to aid beings and became the supreme epitome of inconceivable qualities such as clairvoyance.

He wrote down Maitreya's five treatises and composed extensive treatises to elucidate their intent—his five treatises on the stages of awakening. He also composed general summaries of the lesser and great way: *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena* and *A Compendium of the Great Way*. In particular, this master elucidated the great way's collection on observed phenomena, which no one had been able to understand. [Through his teaching and spiritual activity,] twenty to thirty thousand persons became fully ordained monks of the great way, some of whom attained [the state of] forbearance of unborn phenomena. He illuminated the great way's historical tradition like the sun. Thus, he came to be known as the second great founder [of the great way, after Nagarjuna].

### *Maitreya's Five Treatises*

Maitreya's five treatises comprise *The Ornament of the Discourses*, *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, *Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes*, *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature*, and *The Highest Continuity*.

It is thought that the prose version of *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature* constitutes Maitreya's original teaching, whereas scholars composed the verse version. Maitreya's first three teachings spread and became widely known from the beginning, but *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature* and *The Highest Continuity* were originally unknown to other scholars. At a later time [more than five hundred years later], Métripa saw light shining from a crack in a stupa, where [he retrieved] these two texts. When Métripa prayed to noble Maitreya, the bodhisattva appeared clearly in a gap in the clouds and confirmed the teachings. Métripa gave them to Pandit Nandakirti, who passed them to the Kashmiri Master Sajjana, from whom they passed in a successive lineage. Therefore, such texts as Haribhadra's *An Extensive Commentary to "The Perfection of Sublime Insight*



*Discourse in Eight Thousand Verses*” contain no quotations from those two treatises. Further, this is said to be the reason for the relation between the source of Métripa’s Great Seal view and *The Highest Continuity*.

Tibetan scholars assign the following sequence to these treatises: The first, *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, with its [introductory] expression of homage, constitutes a treatise of pith instructions that elucidate the intent of discourses on the perfection of sublime insight. The second, *The Ornament of the Discourses*, resembles a compendium of various, miscellaneous great way discourses. They consider that those two treatises’ subjects are somewhat summarized in *Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes*; their subjects are summarized to a great degree in *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature*. The treatise *The Highest Continuity* (which includes a concluding dedication) elucidates the intent of the Buddha’s foremost excellent speech, the definitive meaning based upon the final wheel of the teachings. The three intermediate texts possess neither an [initial] expression of homage nor a [concluding] dedication. The first text has no dedication; the last, no expression of homage. Therefore, they attribute the five treatises this order as one continuous body of work. Thus it is taught.

Among these texts, *The Ornament of the Discourses* synthesizes all great way teaching into five points, which it presents. Thus, it is a commentary on the intent of infinite discourses of the great way. In twenty-one chapters, it establishes proof of the great way as the Buddha’s word, and other subjects. The stages of the path are explained in ten points, including “Spiritual affinity, the aspiration to practice the teachings . . .,” to present various provisional and definitive aspects of the teachings.

*The Ornament of Manifest Realization* employs eight main topics and seventy branch points to define the hidden meaning of the perfection of sublime insight. *Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes* employs the three characteristics [dependent, imagined, and consummate] (the text’s subject) to present the path of the middle way by differentiating between the center, which does not fall into the two extremes of imputation and deprecation, and the extremes that result from such falling. *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature* presents all phenomena by differentiating between the phenomenal, the wheel of life; and the nature of phenomena, transcendence of sorrow. *The Highest Continuity*’s seven vajra subjects primarily define buddha nature.

Tibetans scholars in general think that *The Ornament of the Discourses*

and the two *Discernings* primarily elucidate the intent of the final doctrinal cycle and present the mind-only view. Moreover, they state that *The Ornament of the Discourses* presents the view and conduct equally; the two *Discernings* primarily present the view; and *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* belongs to the perfection of sublime insight. There is no disagreement concerning [this description of those four texts].

Concerning *The Highest Continuity*, early Tibetan masters consider it to be a commentary on the intent of the middle doctrinal cycle, that it teaches the independently verifiable reason view. Lord Drakpa Gyaltzen and peerless Gampopa, along with their disciples, considered it to be a middle way text. Butön Rinpoché stated that it is a commentary to the final doctrinal cycle, and that it teaches mind-only and middle way views, as suitable. Lord Tsongkapa considered it to belong among consequentialist texts; Ludrup Gyatso, mind-only works. Various such conflicting views exist concerning the nature of this text.

Master Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Shantipa, and others explain *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* as a text that expounds the view of aspects of consciousness. Exalted Haribhadra, Jnanapada, Abhayakaragupta, Lord Atisha, and others explain it to be a text that expounds the view of the lack of inherent nature. Most earlier and later Tibetan scholars consider it a commentary on the second turning of the wheel, presenting the independently verifiable reason view. Venerable Lord Mikyö Dorjé, Tsongkapa, and others consider that it presents the consequentialist view. The omniscient lord of the Jonang teachings, the spiritual father [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen] and his heirs, consider that apart from mere differences in degree, Maitreya's five treatises are middle way texts, and that they mostly teach extrinsic emptiness, the view of the great middle way.

### *Asanga's Five Treatises*

Asanga's five treatises on awakening's stages comprise a principal text and four summaries. Among them, the main description of awakening's stages is synthesized into seventeen stages and presented as such. [*The Stages of Contemplative Practice*] itself states:

In brief, they are

- (1) The stage that has the five consciousnesses,
- (2) The stage of the mental function, (3–5) and that of these other three:

- Examination with analysis and the others [i.e., analysis without examination, and with neither examination nor analysis];  
 (6) The stage accompanied by a meditative state, (7) that without it;  
 (8) The stage with mind, (9) that which is without mind;  
 (10) The stage with listening, (11) with contemplation, and (12) with meditation;  
 Likewise, (13–15) those with the three ways,  
 (16) The stage with psycho-physical aggregates, and (17) the other stage without the aggregates.

These seventeen stages are presented in relation to their support, engagement, and result. The stage with the five consciousnesses and the stage of the mental function constitute the nature of the support. Three stages—examination and analysis, analysis without examination, and with neither examination nor analysis—show how the support is entered. Four stages—settling in evenness, not settling, with mind, and without mind—are the circumstances of the support. In relation to engagement, there are three stages: listening, contemplation, and meditation. In relation to the result, the temporary results are three stages of the three ways—of pious attendants, solitary sages, and bodhisattvas; and the ultimate result—the result accompanied by the psycho-physical aggregates as a remainder or without this remainder.

[Among the four summaries,] *A Summary of Definitive Presentations* is like a commentary to those stages. *A Summary of the Basis* presents how the preceding treatises are contained within the three collections. *A Summary of Enumerations* is so named because it enumerates the terms used, or because it explains specifically the enumeration of defilements and purifications. *A Summary of Avenues of Explanation* presents teaching methods. In this way, this fivefold collection presents the intent of the Buddha's excellent speech, Buddhism's basic texts, and its teachings methods.

### Vasubandhu and others transmitted the doctrine widely.

*The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

Afterwards, the famed one,  
 A southern brahmin,  
 Whose [name] begins with *Vā*,

Will cherish the Buddha's teachings  
 And reside at Arama Stupa.  
 On the stage of an attractive  
 Reflection of a lamp,  
 He will adorn everything  
 As far as the two oceans.

His life thus foretold, it is said of Master Vasubandhu, Asanga's younger brother, that no one as learned as he has appeared since our teacher's transcendence of sorrow. All spiritual communities of the lesser and great ways esteem him. He composed at least fifty commentarial treatises on others' works, as well as eight original works known as the dissertations. He worked widely for the doctrine, including establishing six hundred and fifty-four monasteries, and supporting over sixty thousand monks of the great way. Some Indian and Tibetan [scholars] think that the above prophecy indicates that he was an exalted being who achieved awakening's eighth stage. An unbroken succession of many scholars and accomplished masters from him include four of his disciples more learned than he himself, and further, the lord of speech Ratnadasa, Vinitadeva, Chandragomi, and master Dharmapala, all of whom spread the doctrine widely.

The eight dissertations, original texts composed by the master himself, are as follows: (1) *Thirty Verses* presents all phenomena to be mind alone; (2) *Twenty Verses* uses reasoning to prove [all phenomena to be mind alone]; (3) *A Dissertation on the Five Aggregates* validates the five aggregates as the basis for [all phenomena]; (4) *A Rational System of Exposition* validates that study and teaching; (5) *The Accomplishment of Actions* validates the actions of the three avenues [of body, speech, and mind]. Those five are independent works. (6) *A Commentary on "The Ornament of the Discourses,"* (7) *A Commentary on "The Discourse on Interdependent Causality,"* and (8) *A Commentary on "Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes,"* the three commentaries on others' works, validate the six transcendent perfections and other aspects of vast conduct; the twelve links of interdependent causality; and the three characteristics [of knowable things: imagined, dependent, and consummate]. So it is said.

Some state that since this master wrote many works, such as *A Commentary on "The Discourse of Awakening's Ten Stages,"* such a set of eight texts cannot be definitely ascertained. They further claim the number of texts related to Maitreya's teachings cannot be delineated as twenty. Those who

have settled on a definite number believe the twenty to be these: [Asanga's] five treatises on awakening's stages, [Asanga's] two summaries [of the lesser and great way], Maitreya's five treatises, and [Vasubandhu's] eight dissertations.

**Dignaga and Dharmakirti, masters of logic,  
Illuminated the path of logic and used debate to defeat  
pernicious attacks.**

Of the two masters of logic, *The Wheel of Time Tantra* states:

Dignaga, who has the motivation to aid others, is named  
Moon Lotus-Seedling . . .

And *The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

The master [named] with the syllable *Dha*, diligent in vows,  
And acclaimed in the south,  
Will refute opponents' challenges.  
Likewise, this one diligent in vows will accomplish secret mantra.

The first prophecy refers to Dignaga, Vasubandhu's disciple more learned in logic than Vasubandhu himself. He received teachings directly from Manjushri. He explained many discourses and composed an extensive collection of works on observed phenomena. Purely through his own exceptional abilities, he wrote many miscellaneous treatises on dialectics. Subsequently, with the intention of compiling them into a single work, he composed an [introductory] expression of homage. A portent [of the work's success] was a challenge from Brahmin Krishna, whom Dignaga defeated in debate. Dignaga then continued to compose a total of a hundred earlier and later treatises, including *A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*. He was the first to illuminate a system of logic. He restored many failing monasteries and established many new ones. Known as "the great bull of debate," he totally defeated in debate most of the pernicious attacks made by those expressing wrong views. His disciples filled the breadth of all directions, and illuminated the doctrine.

Dharmakirti initially studied logic under Ishvarasena, a disciple of Dignaga. The glorious Héruka granted Dharmakirti the accomplishment of universal triumph. In debate, he defeated non-Buddhist "bulls of debate"

and an inconceivable number of brahmins, who all converted to Buddhism. He spread monasteries and Buddhist spiritual communities throughout every region. He composed many treatises, including seven treatises on logic. In brief, Dharmakirti was a unique, unrivalled sun of the teachings. As he himself stated:

If the sun of Dharmakirti's speech  
 Were to set,  
 Buddhist teachings would slumber or die,  
 And the non-Buddhist teachings would rise again!

**In brief, as the Victor foretold,  
 The world's six adornments, the four supreme masters,  
 The two marvels, and others  
 Preserved the doctrine in the course of unfathomable lifetimes  
 of liberation.**

In brief, in India, the land of exalted beings, from the time the perfect Buddha appeared in this world until the barbarians' destruction of Vikramashila Temple in later times, especially exalted scholars and accomplished masters appeared uninterruptedly. The principal ones, as famous as the sun and moon, known as six adornments who beautify the world, are Nagarjuna, Asanga, and Dignaga—who wrote the classics—and Aryadeva, Vasubandhu, and Dharmakirti—who wrote commentaries. Shura, Rahulabhadra, Gunaprabha, and Dharmapala are the four supreme masters. Shantideva and Chandragomi are the two marvels; many other outstanding masters appeared, including Shakyaprabha and Haribhadra. In discourses and tantras, the Victor had predicted most of them as masters who would spread the doctrine and finally attain awakening. Their lives of liberation of amazing activity in preserving the doctrine, each in his own way, are unfathomable and inconceivable.

*How the Collection of Teachings of the Extraordinary Secret Mantra Way Spread in India [2]*

This section has two parts: (1) how each tantra appeared and (2) how tantric monasteries developed.

*How Each Tantra Appeared [a]*

After the great way spread, action and conduct tantras were practiced:

One hundred thousand awareness holders appeared who accomplished secret mantra.

In general, after the Transcendent Conqueror taught action and conduct tantras (two of the four major classes of tantra) to this world's humans, and to such beings as gods and noxious spirits, fortunate beings in India and elsewhere kept the tantras secret and practiced them, leading many to the achievement of secret mantra's sublime accomplishments. In particular, not long after the third compilation of the teachings, when all the great way discourses arrived together [in this world] and spread, [these two classes of tantra] were openly practiced, and they flourished. It has been said that one hundred thousand or more awareness holders appeared who accomplished these tantras' awareness mantras.

**Saraha brought an ocean of tantras,  
Including Buddha Skull, from the region of Oddiyana.**

Just three hundred years after our teacher's transcendence of sorrow, at the time Buddhist King Chandravardhana in Shambhala departed to the body of perfect rapture, the great Brahmin Rahula appeared in the region of Lada. He had many teachers, such as Master Avitarka and Visukalpa, king of Orissa, who went to Oddiyana, where a yogini transformed from a naga granted him Matrix of Mystery empowerment, and he attained accomplishment. In particular, Rahula received many tantras directly from Lord of Secrets and other sublime wisdom deities, and then attained sublime accomplishment. When he engaged in tantric conduct, he became known as Saraha. He brought many volumes of an ocean of tantras, including Buddha Skull, from the region of Oddiyana, and he composed *A Commentary on "The Buddha Skull Tantra"* and other texts.

Before Saraha, it seems that yoga and highest yoga tantras appeared directly only to supremely fortunate disciples but did not remain as continuous transmissions. Later, from this superb master's time forward, these tantras flourished and endured in continuous transmissions. Therefore, Saraha is the supreme source of every tantra and accomplished master.

**Due to the accomplishment of King Indrabhuti and his retinue,  
His land became the source of the vajra way.**

It has been taught that secret mantra's tantras were brought from the region of Oddiyana; how is it that all secret mantra's tantras dwelled there?

As related above, during the Transcendent Conqueror's lifetime, the western kingdom of Oddiyana was located five hundred leagues west of Shravasti. There, the king known as Indrabhuti heard the Transcendent Conqueror's name, had faith and paid homage, and mentally supplicated him. Thus, the Transcendent Conqueror appeared before him, emanated the sacred circle of Matrix of Mystery Unmoving Vajra, and granted empowerment to the king and his court. The Buddha taught the tantra that reveals special techniques to travel the spiritual path without relinquishing sensory pleasures, and he granted its subsequent profound instructions. The king comprehended the entire import of those teachings and began wide-ranging, elaborate tantric conduct. Thus he and his court attained the stage of awareness holder; this is known as this country being emptied all at once.

Immediately thereafter, a southern lake swelled; its waters along with many nagas filled the land. Vajra Holder entrusted volumes of tantras to those nagas, who changed themselves into human beings and built a city on the lakeshore. In cultivating their experience on the path, most attained accomplishment. Those who did not gain achievement became human beings; they and the monarchs who protected them all received Buddhist teaching.

Later, the lake dried up; on its dry bed stood Dharmaganja, called "Trove of the Teachings," a palace that housed all secret mantra's tantras. A city where many awareness-holding spiritual heroes and yoginis lived circled the palace. Due to the primary condition of this steady gathering of awakened beings, and a sublime convergence of auspicious connections, this land known as "Oddiyana, Land of the Dakinis" became the supreme source of the secret mantra vajra way.

**The father, the exalted master, and his spiritual heirs clearly  
elucidated Matrix of Mystery.**

The exalted master [Nagarjuna] and his spiritual heirs clearly elucidated the traditional path of glorious Matrix of Mystery as follows.



The great Brahmin [Saraha] granted the exalted master [Nagarjuna] empowerment, taught him the tantra and pith instructions; and entrusted the secret mantra doctrine to him. The master himself had also received teachings from sublime wisdom deities and others, and composed works on the secret mantra way in general, and specifically on the subject of Matrix of Mystery: [two texts] concerning the phase of creation—*An Abridged Meditation Technique for Matrix of Mystery* and *The Stages of Meditation on Matrix of Mystery Blended with the Discourses*; and, concerning the phase of completion, one major text—*The Five Stages*.

Nagarjuna's heart-son Aryadeva elucidated these works by the exalted master, expanding upon them without distortion. His works include *A Lamp for the Concise Practice*, which has the attribute of not needing other supplementary texts; and a separate small text for self-consecration of the illusory body.

The exalted master's direct disciple Nagabodhi composed *The Twenty-Part Ritual for the Sacred Circle*; *A Graded Outline* for the phase of creation; and *Discerning Activity's Culmination*, concerning the phase of completion. Chandrakirti composed a commentary to the tantra, *The Radiant Lamp*; Narotapa later composed *A Clear Summary of the Five Stages*.

In general, we count fifty-some known Indian texts concerning Matrix of Mystery, yet the undisputed forebear of all these teachings is the exalted master's cycle of root texts and commentaries mentioned above. Nevertheless, during the actual lifetimes of Nagarjuna, the father, and his spiritual heirs, those works were not commonly spread in forms such as those [in texts, which have] the three combinations [of terms, words, and letters]. The exalted master's direct disciple Nagabodhi attained vajra rainbow body and lived at Shriparvata, where about seven hundred years after Nagarjuna's passing, he accepted two disciples, the untouchable Matangipa and Prince Gomishra, to whom he gave the exalted master's cycle of teachings. Rakshitapada, a master from Kongkana, met Chandrakirti [in a vision], then acquired the volume *The Radiant Lamp*. [The teachings on Matrix of Mystery] thus spread and flourished during a later period when the secret mantra way was openly practiced.

**Luyipa, Vajraghantapa, and Krishnacharya  
Founded the tradition of Supreme Bliss.**

Three masters—Luyipa, Vajraghantapa, and Krishnacharya—initially founded the spiritual way of the tradition of glorious Supreme Bliss.

### *Luyipa*

Master Luyipa appeared roughly contemporaneously with master Venerable Asanga and the Tibetan king Lha Totori Nyentsen. He had been the king of Oddiyana's scribe by the name of Ever Virtuous. His first spiritual master was the accomplished master Shavaripa. In Bangala (eastern India), he ate fish entrails and practiced meditation, thus becoming known as Luyipa in Sanskrit, or "fish entrails man." Having attained accomplishment, he used miracles to guide Orissa's king and chief minister. Later, the king attained accomplishment as Darikapa. He and his court of sixty thousand achieved rainbow body. The minister attained accomplishment as Dingipa, and achieved rainbow body along with his circle of five hundred disciples.

Master Luyipa drew forth such tantras as *The Tantra of Yoginis' Conduct* and composed the text *Binder of the Wheel—A Description of the Deity*, for which Kambala wrote a commentary. [Both these works] spread widely throughout all India and Tibet, becoming known as the springs from which the custom of Binder of the Wheel's [another name for Supreme Bliss] practice has flowed.

### *Vajraghantapa*

Vajraghantapa was a disciple of the accomplished master Darikapa. His actual name was Matigarbhashri. Vajra Sow openly foretold that he would be a scholar able to defeat Hindus' challenges. When practicing in the region of Orissa, he first refused the king's invitation. Later, he lived with a consort; as a result, people lost faith in him. To guide them, he emanated a son and daughter, and appeared once with them in a city. When people berated him, he struck his horn drinking vessel on the ground, and water gushed from the earth below. He turned the boy into a vajra, the girl became a bell, and he bore them in his hands. The master and his consort changed into the co-emergent form of Supreme Bliss and flew into the sky. By this display of miracles, he became known as Vajraghantapa [vajra and bell master]. From that time, he accomplished beings' welfare through the secret mantra way. This master composed what is known as Vajraghantapa's trilogy: a method of accomplishment for the sacred circle of the body of Supreme Bliss, an empowerment ritual, and a text on the five stages of the phase of completion.

He had many disciples who were accomplished masters, but the main one was Kurmapada, who placed Jalandharipa in the state of accomplishment, who then did the same for Krishnacharya, and so on.

*Krishnacharya*

*The Latter Tantra of the Wheel of Time* states:

An adept will appear named Krishna, holding a tantric staff, hand-drum, and beer vessel.

*The Tantra of the Great Black Lord's Manifest Presence* states:

In that region of Uruvisha, an individual endowed with diligence will devote himself to [meditative] application. [His name will include] the first of the first set [of letters] and the fourth of the seventh, according to the alphabetical structure given by Ramana. This somewhat youthful sublime being will achieve the eight accomplishments, such as that of the sword. In this Land of Jambu, one such as he has never appeared and will not appear again. Six of his disciples will attain Great Seal's accomplishment in which the physical body's substance is abandoned.

Thus was his life foretold. One thousand, four hundred accomplished masters encircled him. He brought all the inhabitants of thirteen great districts to the state of vajra holder. His feats include retrieving *The Tantra of Union* from the hands of Dakini Subhagini. Encouraged by glorious Héruka's command, this extremely great master composed what are known as Krishnacharya's six works: three texts on the phase of creation—a method of accomplishment of Supreme Bliss, an empowerment ritual, and a burnt offering ritual; and three texts on the phase of completion—*Spring Vital Essence*, *The Four Stages*, and *The Secret Absolute*. Among the sources of the cycle of Supreme Bliss teachings, Krishnacharya's tradition flourished the most. Later, Lord Naropa also identified this tradition alone as the principal one.

**Virupaksha, Saroruha, and Lalitavajra**

**Obtained Red Slayer of the Lord of Death, Vajra of Delight,**

*The Seven Segments*, and other tantras.

*Virupa*

Soon after Master Luyipa, Virupa, a disciple of Jinadeva, abbot of Nalanda, appeared. From Nagabodhi, he received Slayer of the Lord of Death's

empowerment, together with that meditation's profound instructions; having meditated upon them, he achieved accomplishment. The sacred circle of fifteen goddesses around Selfless Goddess manifestly appeared and granted him empowerment: he eventually reached awakening's sixth stage. His miracles subdued many Hindu practitioners, including the Hindu ruler of Varanasi. He retrieved Red Slayer of the Lord of Death from Oddiyana and composed texts that include that meditation's methods of accomplishment. He was exceptional in his activity for the welfare of beings and the doctrine.

### *Saroruha*

Master Saroruha, also known as Kukuraja, practiced tantric conduct, including celebrating vajra feasts together with many spiritual heroes and yoginis in the form of dogs. Relying on *The Tantra of the Secret Moon Vital Essence*, he achieved accomplishment. From Oddiyana, he retrieved *The Tantra of Vajra of Delight*, and also composed treatises, including that tantra's method of accomplishment. He taught widely on the five esoteric tantras [listed below as Matrix of Mystery, Net of Magical Illusion Tantra, Union with the Buddhas, The Secret Moon Vital Essence, and Wrathful Manjushri] and yoga tantra.

### *Lalitavajra*

Vajra Female Zombie manifestly revealed her face to Master Lalitavajra, and gave him empowerment within Slayer of the Lord of Death's sacred circle. Having meditated on her pith instructions, he attained [the level of] meditative heat. He practiced the fearless conduct of awareness. In Oddiyana, he memorized many texts, including *The Tantra of Black Slayer of the Lord of Death's Wisdom Body, Speech, and Mind*; *The Three Vows*; and *Fearsome Vajra's Seven Segments*. He returned and elucidated them in the land of exalted beings and other places. Employing the activity of manifest wrathful conduct, he eradicated many Hindus and Persians hostile to Buddhism, and thus protected the doctrine.

### *Union with the Buddhas Tantra* and other tantras appeared in the region of Zahor.

A set of eighteen tantras, including *Union with the Buddhas Tantra*, appeared in the region of Zahor. Master Kukuraja explained and taught these to that land's king, Indrabhuti. The king and his court appeared like

the deities of the sacred circle of vajra basic space; their meditation on this led them all to sublime accomplishment. Indrabhuti's son Shakyaprabhudi with his retinue likewise meditated and gained accomplishment. Shakyaprabhudi's daughter Gomadevi with her entourage also gained accomplishment. These and other accounts are presented in *The One Hundred and Fifty Verse Commentary to the Perfection of Sublime Insight*.

It appears that this chronicle corresponds to the traditional explanation of the origin of the eighteen tantras [translated into Tibetan by] the early translation school.

**Further, countless lords of accomplishment—  
Hayagriva, Dombi Héruka, Kambala,  
Kukuripa, Gambhiravajra, Télopa,  
Venerable Shantigupta and others who appear until the end  
[of the age] of conflict—  
Illuminate the vajra way's doctrine like the sun.**

An enumeration of the accomplished masters who appeared in India in earlier and later times, and accounts of their transmission of the teaching methods of the vajra way are inconceivable. Nevertheless, the main figures are those just mentioned, and the following:

### *Hayagriva*

Born in China, Venerable Master Hayagriva attained the accomplishment of Horse Neck and Slayer of the Lord of Death. He retrieved from Oddiyana *The Root Tantra of Manjushri* and *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra in Sixteen Thousand Verses*.

### *Dombi Héruka*

Dombi Héruka, who attained accomplishment from a leather worker, Virupa's disciple, subdued Senara, king of an eastern kingdom. He liberated all the human beings and domestic animals of that land and caused them to achieve [rebirth in] celestial realms. He retrieved from Oddiyana *The Segment on Kurukullé* and *The Arali Tantra*. To ascertain the meaning of the tantras with clairvoyance, he consulted with wisdom dakinis, then drew forth the essence of *The Tantra of Vajra of Delight* and composed many treatises, including *The Meditation Technique of Selfless Goddess* and *Coemergent Accomplishment*. In the region of Oddiyana, Dombi Héruka

subjugated Vinasa, a woman who sold alcohol, who then empowered Kambala and entrusted him with the entirety of the tantras.

### *Kambala*

Kambala slept for twelve years in clear light, and thus attained sublime accomplishment. He retrieved from Oddiyana *The Tantra of Vajra of Delight* and composed many treatises, including *Svasamveda-prakrita*, which primarily teaches the phase of completion. Oddiyana's king, the middle Indrabhuti, had faith in Kambala, who placed the king in a state of sublime accomplishment.

### *Kukuripa*

Kukuripa, the great accomplished master of Bangala in the east, retrieved from Oddiyana *The Tantra of Mahamaya* and composed six treatises, including a method of practice [for that tantra].

### *Gambhiravajra*

The Kashmiri scholar Gambhiravajra retrieved *The Vajra Nectar Tantra*, which he transmitted to Master Amritaguhya. He in turn accepted Master Bhago [as his disciple], from whom the teachings spread.

### *Télopa*

Tillipa [i.e., Tilopa], the great accomplished master of the eastern region of Jago, relied on Krishnacharya and other spiritual masters of four doctrinal transmissions [fierce inner heat, illusory body and clear light, lucid dreaming, and intermediate state and transference of consciousness]. Tilopa received secret mantra's tantras in general and particularly the entire cycle of every extant empowerment, tantra, and pith instruction of the highest yoga tantras. Then for a period of twelve years in Bangala, he lived pounding sesame seeds, and thereby manifested sublime accomplishment.

Tilopa mainly received the entire vajra way from the sublime wisdom deity glorious Héruka. When he taught others, it is said that he alone emptied the kingdom of Bangala three times. In short, like the sun, he illuminated the essential doctrine of definitive secrets.

### *Shantigupta*

In later times, during the tenth sixty-year cycle [1567–1626], the great accomplished master Shantigupta appeared in the land of Khagendra in southern India. He relied on the great accomplished master Jnanamitra

with inconceivable hardship, and manifested sublime accomplishment. His exalted state and qualities definitely equaled those of such past great masters as Luyipa. This wondrous and outstanding master transmitted widely secret mantra's doctrine in such lands as southern India and Koki. His disciples, including the great accomplished master Buddhagupta, appeared in countless numbers until the end of the age of conflict. These lords of accomplishment were suns that illuminated the doctrine of the secret mantra vajra way in the land of exalted beings. The great Lord of Jonang [Taranata] states:

In general, hundreds of thousands of awareness holders in the secret mantra tradition initially appeared in India. Then, from the time of glorious Saraha until King Dharmapala passed away, accomplished masters appeared continually, and moreover, many lived contemporaneously. Such an unbroken succession of accomplished masters lasted until Abhayakara-gupta passed away. After him, sometimes not more than one appeared. In particular, during a later long period of time, Jnanamitra and Okaranata were the only living accomplished masters, but [they were unable] to greatly aid the Buddha's doctrine. Eighty years after Okaranata passed away, the great accomplished master Shantigupta achieved accomplishment. Apart from the difference in the extent of his aid to others (due to the paucity of Buddhists in his historical period), his aid to others was like that of great Lord Naropa, and this master's exalted state was even higher [than Naropa's].

**Prakashchandra of a royal family taught yoga tantra.  
His three followers learned [in yoga tantra] and others  
Widely disseminated the yoga tantra's historical tradition.**

### *Prakashchandra*

Yoga tantra's cycle of teachings began with Prakashchandra, a minor king of the eastern Indian Chandra Dynasty of Bangala. [Bodhisattva] Vajra Holder manifestly blessed him and he became an accomplished master. He taught widely on yoga tantra; three of his followers became known as the three masters learned in yoga tantra:

*Shakyamitra*

Master Shakyamitra composed such texts as *The Ornament of Kosala*, a commentary on the yoga tantra *A Synthesis of the Absolute*. This work has had a lasting effect on [the tradition of] yoga tantra.

*Buddhaguhya*

Master Buddhaguhya caused the doctrine of the three classes of kriya [action], charya [conduct], and yoga tantra to flourish widely, and he composed such texts as *A Commentary to Summarize "Vairochana's Manifest Awakening Tantra," An Extensive Commentary to "The Later Meditative Concentration Tantra,"* and *The Meditation Technique of the Vajra Basic Space of Phenomena*.

*Anandagarbha*

In Bangala, Master Anandagarbha from Magadha met many teachers, including Subhutipalita, a disciple of Prakashchandra, and became learned in every yoga tantra. Meditating on those tantras, he saw the sacred circle of the vajra basic space of phenomena and received a prophecy that he should compose treatises. He taught and wrote commentaries on many yoga tantras, such as *The Glorious Original Supreme Tantra* and *A Synthesis of the Absolute*. Moreover, he wrote commentaries to many tantras [not among yoga tantras], such as Matrix of Mystery, illuminating secret mantra in general, and the yoga tantra system in particular.

Buddhashanti, Prajnapalita, and others also emphasized yoga tantra's scholarship and meditation practice, and widely disseminated yoga tantra's historical tradition.

**Chilupa and Kalachakrapada, the elder and the younger,  
Drew forth *The Wheel of Time Tantra*, and spread the  
bodhisattvas' commentaries.**

Chilupa (also known as Pito Acharya the Elder) from Orvipa in the east became a great scholar. When he read every volume of the [three] collections and the tantras at the monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramashila, and Ratnagiri, he saw the necessity of commentaries written by bodhisattvas to reveal secret mantra's ultimate concealed meaning. Having read that in Shambhala emanated kings taught these texts, and encouraged by a



sublime wisdom deity, he decided to travel to Shambhala. On his way, the lineage-bearing monarch [of Shambhala] emanated in the form of a monk, blessed him, and granted him Wheel of Time's empowerments, tantras, and pith instructions. Once he had memorized every text, Chilupa's mind was satisfied and he returned [to India]. In Varendra, Chilupa accepted Pindopa the Younger as his disciple, and granted him the entirety of the empowerments, tantras, etc. When war's destruction erupted, this master concealed the tantra and its commentaries; thus, the root tantra and commentaries later became incomplete.

Of special import to the lineage, the one known as Kalachakrapada the Elder appeared in Varendra. He met Chilupa the Younger, who could not satisfy this disciple. Kalachakrapada journeyed to Shambhala; on his way, he met the lineage bearer's manifestation, who granted him empowerments and taught the pith instructions. After meditation [on those instructions], he attained accomplishment and arrived in Shambhala, where he received the empowerments, tantra commentaries, and pith instructions directly from the lineage bearer himself.

Kalachakrapada returned to India and extensively spread the cycle of the bodhisattvas' commentaries. Among his disciples, Shri Bhadra, "Kalachakrapada the Younger," entered discussions with five hundred scholars in Nalanda and overwhelmed them with his speech. All but Vakishvarakirti and Prajnakara touched [their heads to] his feet.<sup>6</sup> He covered the earth with these teachings. Even kings, government officials, and great merchants had volumes of [the Wheel of Time teachings] written out, and developed a [positive] inclination toward them.

If one places accomplished masters of the Wheel of Time together in one group, and all those of other teachings together in another group (apart from those before the Wheel of Time tantra reached India), the Wheel of Time accomplished masters are more numerous.

Kalachakrapada the Younger's son, named Nalandapa or Bodhibhadra, spread this tradition's activity widely, such as giving instructions to the Kashmiri scholar Somanata. It is said that illustrious Naropa also emphasized and transmitted the Wheel of Time system.

6. Not from disrespect, but because they were the principal gurus present.

*How Tantric Monasteries Developed [b]*

**Later, King Dharmapala**

**Built the secret mantra temple known as Vikramashila.**

**Tantric masters, including Venerable Buddhajana,**

**The six learned gate guardians, Lord Atisha, Abhayakaragupta,**

**And Shakyashri defended the doctrine.**

Throughout the land of exalted beings, countless monasteries of the great and lesser ways appeared, but the best known tantric monastery was Vikramashila. After the conclusion of the Chandra Dynasty [i.e., Gupta], [a series of] fourteen Pala kings arose. King Dharmapala, fourth in that line, wielded extremely great power and influence. In Magadha's northern edge, at the top of a knoll on the banks of the Ganges, he built what was lauded by the name Vikramashila, "The Nature of Complete Subjugation." This great temple hosted scholars who illuminated the doctrine—many very great masters of the secret mantra way, such as Buddhajana; and a succession of masters who defended Buddhism by uniting the discourse and secret mantra doctrines. These included those known as the six learned gate guardians; glorious Lord Atisha; Abhayakaragupta, the second buddha in this age of conflict; and the great scholar Shakyashri, who will become the seventh buddha in the future.

*Buddhajana*

Among them, Master Haribhadra's disciple Venerable Buddhajana went to Oddiyana, where he pleased Mahalakshmi [by his practice]. He also received the empowerments, tantra, and pith instructions of Matrix of Mystery from Rakshitapada, Manjushrimitra, and others. He meditated on them, achieved accomplishment, then served in Vikramashila Monastery as the great vajra master of secret mantra. He taught the three [exoteric tantras]—kriya, charya, and yoga; five esoteric tantras—Matrix of Mystery, Net of Magical Illusion, Union with the Buddhas, The Secret Moon Vital Essence, and Wrathful Manjushri; and principally explained Matrix of Mystery's tantras, thus making the vajra way's doctrine flourish widely. His composition of such works as *The Meditation Technique of Ever Excellent* and the phase of completion text *The Vital Essence of Liberation* constitutes Buddhajana's tradition of Matrix of Mystery, known as one of this tantra's major systems. He composed a set of fourteen texts,

including *Manjushrimitra's Oral Instructions*, a memorandum of [his teacher's] speech, and he wrote many other works.

Buddhajnana had a large number of disciples, of whom the principal ones were eighteen regents who dwelled on the stages of awakening, and four supreme masters who transcended sorrow during their lifetimes: Dipamkarabhadra, Prashantamitra, Rahulabhadra, and Mahasukhatavajra. The great Lord [Taranata] lists the succession of masters who followed Buddhajnana in this verse summary:

The twelve lauded masters of Vikramashila  
 Are Buddhajnana, Dipamkarabhadra,  
 Jinabhadra from Langka, Shri Dhara, Bhavabhadra,  
 Bhavyakirti, Lilavajra,  
 Durjayachandra, Samayavajra,  
 Tatagatarakshita, Bodhibhadra,  
 And Kamalarakshita.  
 Then there were the six learned gate guardians and others,  
 And a multitude of masters of secret mantra.

### *The Six Gate Guardians*

The six learned gate guardians used reason and their capabilities to guard the temple from Hindu and other challengers. The guardian of the eastern gate was Ratnakarashantipa, the omniscient master during the age of conflict; the guardian of the southern gate was Prajnakara; the guardian of the western gate was Vakishvarakirti; the guardian of the northern gate was Naropa; the guardian of the first central pillar was Brahmin Ratnavajra; and the guardian of the second central pillar was Jnanashrimitra. Each was an unrivalled prodigious scholar; they repulsed every attack from Hindus, composed a large number of treatises on the discourses' and tantras' doctrine, and performed exceedingly wondrous acts. They thus led their contemporaries to convert to Buddhism and illuminated like suns the joyous Buddha's doctrine in general, and the great way in particular.

### *Atisha Dipamkara*

Lord Atisha Dipamkara Shrijnana preserved the teachings mainly at Vikramashila and Odantapuri monasteries. He was mainly a disciple of Suvarnadvipi and meditated intensively on the mind of awakening. It is said that his qualities as a scholar and meditator, and his deeds in trans-

mitting the doctrine, were in no way inferior to those of earlier masters. Learned in all secret mantra tantras, he attained the path of seeing's qualities. He had many vajra holder disciples, such as the great master Pitopa. In particular, his kindness and activity in the Himalayan region were exceptionally impressive.

### *Abhayakaragupta*

Abhayakaragupta served as abbot at three Buddhist centers: Vajra Seat [Bodhgaya], Vikramashila, and Nalanda. A great lord of the doctrine, he was incomparable in his own time. He caused all lesser and great way teachings to flourish very widely, especially the perfection of sublime insight teaching system. After the six ornaments, it is said that no one so extensively served the doctrine and aided beings as did Ratnakarashantipa (one of the six learned gate guardians) and this master.

After Vajra Yogini blessed Abhayakaragupta and bestowed her authorization, he composed many profound and vast treatises on the secret mantra doctrine, including a commentary on *Samputa Tantra*, *Sheaves of Pith Instructions*; and *The Garland Trilogy*. For later generations, these treatises he wrote are like revitalizing nectar for someone on the point of death. It is said that no one followed him who was his equal as a prodigious scholar who illuminated the doctrine. He also knew this, so he left behind, like answering replies for future generations, eloquent treatises that clarified what had been unclear, compiled what had been scattered, and systematized what had become disorganized.

Abhayakaragupta had many disciples, such as Shubhakaragupta, who were vajra holders, were diligent vow keepers, had crossed the ocean of the Buddha's teachings, and illuminated the doctrine. In particular, Ratnarakshita attained accomplishment and composed such texts as a commentary to *The Origins of Binder of the Wheel Tantra*. While Ratnarakshita served as the master of secret mantra at Vikramashila, those known as the twenty-four *mahantas* appeared and widely transmitted the doctrine of the vajra way.

### *How These Collections Will Spread in India in the Present and Future* [3]

Secret mantra remained in Koki in the east and in the midst of the southern Vindhya Hills.

**In some small lands in the southeast and southwest,  
The Victor's doctrine lasted until later times.**

In the region of Koki (which forms one of the three regions of eastern India), monastic communities appeared from the time of King Ashoka and later increased and proliferated. Before Vasubandhu, these communities were solely composed of the lesser way's pious attendants. Some of Vasubandhu's disciples propagated the great way there, where it continued to a minor degree. From the reign of King Dharmapala, a large number of disciples from these regions came to central India. In particular, during the reign of the four Sena Dynasty kings, about half of the monastic community in Magadha originated in Koki. As a result, the great way became very widespread [in Koki], and there, as in Tibet, no distinction was made between the great and lesser ways.

From the time of Abhayakaragupta, the secret mantra way also became very widespread [in Koki]. When the Turukshas conquered Magadha, most central Indian scholars fled to Koki and spread the doctrine widely there. Later, masters who were of supreme kindness to the secret mantra tradition (such as Vanaratna, who was accepted as a disciple by glorious Shavaripa) came from this country and journeyed to Tibet.

Later, a Koki king named Vasundhara appeared. In his land, the textual traditions of the monastic discipline, the collection on observed phenomena, and the great way were very widespread, but secret mantra teachings had become extremely rare apart from a few texts such as those related to Wheel of Time and *The Garland Trilogy*. Therefore, the king dispatched two hundred scholars as emissaries to the supremely accomplished master Shantigupta and other masters in Dravida and Khagendra in southern India, to have them train in secret mantra teachings. On their return, they revived [secret mantra in their homeland].

Further, in the land of exalted beings' southern region, the doctrine flourished widely and continued without interruption. In later times in particular, the king of accomplishment Shantigupta's powerful blessings ensured that the genuine doctrine of mainly secret mantra's scholarship and practice greatly spread and was transmitted in Khagendra and in the midst of the Vindhya Hills. It is said as well that in some small lands in southeastern and southwestern India, portions of the discourse and secret mantra doctrines continued to exist until later times.

**In the future, it is thought that the sixteen elders, exalted  
[Nagarjuna], and others will appear,  
And the Victor's doctrine will long flourish.**

It is said that in the future, when the human life span increases to six hundred years, the sixteen exalted great elders will visibly reappear, fortunate individuals will renounce home life, and the doctrine will be transmitted. It is taught that the previously separated head and body of the exalted Master Nagarjuna, which still remain in India, will be rejoined, and he will aid beings.

The “others” [in the root text] refers to, among others, wise persons’ belief that the lineage-bearing [king of Shambhala] Rudrachakrin and his army will vanquish the barbarians and usher in a new age of perfection throughout this central southern continent. He will spread the doctrine, ensuring that the Victor’s doctrine will long endure.



## 2. HOW BUDDHIST MONASTIC DISCIPLINE AND SCRIPTURAL TRANSMISSIONS CAME TO TIBET

---

- I. The Origin of Tibet's Buddhist Kings, Foundation of the Doctrine
  - A. How Buddhism Reached Tibet
  - B. How Buddhist Customs Were Introduced in Tibet
  - C. How Buddhism Spread and Flourished in Tibet
- II. The Origins in Tibet of the Root of the Teachings, Buddhist Monastic Discipline
  - A. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Lower Tibet
  - B. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Kashmir
  - C. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Upper Tibet
- III. The Origins of the Teaching Traditions That Preserve Scriptural Transmissions
  - A. Scholarship and Meditation Practice in General
  - B. The Specific Teaching Traditions
    - 1. The Common Way's Teaching Traditions
      - a. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in Monastic Discipline
      - b. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Study of Observed Phenomena
      - c. The Origin of Teaching Traditions of the Perfection of Sublime Insight
      - d. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Middle Way
        - i. How the Teaching Lineage of Intrinsic Emptiness Spread
        - ii. How the Teaching Lineage of Extrinsic Emptiness Spread
    - 2. The History of the Scholastic Traditions of the Uncommon Secret Mantra Vajra Way
      - a. Teaching Systems of the Tantras of the New Translations



- i. The History of the Teaching of Action and Conduct Tantras
  - ii. The History of Teaching of Yoga Tantra
  - iii. The History of Teaching of the Highest Yoga Tantras
    - aa. The History of Teaching of Father Tantras
      - 1' The Tantras of the Desire Family
      - 2' The Tantras of the Anger Family
      - 3' The Tantras of the Stupidity Family
    - bb. The History of Teaching Systems of Mother Tantras
      - 1' The Héruka Family
      - 2' The Tantras of the Family of Permanence
      - 3' The Vajrasattva Family
  - b. The History of Teaching the Tantras of the Early Translations
  - c. A Supplementary Section
3. A Summary of the Nature of the Transmission of the Scholastic Traditions
- a. A General Explanation of the Doctrine's Transmission
  - b. A Clarification of My Specific Tradition
  - c. Praise for Another Tradition

This chapter has three parts: (1) the origin of Tibet's Buddhist kings, foundation of the doctrine; (2) the origin in Tibet of the root of the doctrine, monastic discipline; and (3) the origin of the teaching traditions that preserve scriptural transmissions.

*The Origin of Tibet's Buddhist Kings, Foundation of the Doctrine* [I]

This section has three parts: (1) how Buddhism reached Tibet, (2) how Buddhist customs were introduced in Tibet, and (3) how Buddhism spread and flourished in Tibet.

*How Buddhism Reached Tibet* [A]

**Tibet's Buddhist kings were of the Licchavi clan.  
The sacred teachings reached Tibet during Lha Totori  
Nyentsen's reign.**

When did the Buddha's doctrine reach one of the Land of Jambu's six major regions, Tibet, snowy land of red-faced people, adopted by exalted Bodhisattva Great Compassion as his own? *The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

In the Himalayas, a lake will shrink  
And a sal forest will grow.

As foretold, at first an existing lake gradually dried up, and a thick forest flourished. Then a monkey blessed by [Bodhisattva] Great Compassion arrived from the realm of Potala and cohabited with a female ogre who lived in the cliffs. Ancient Tibetan chronicles state that the Tibetan people descend from their union. [In another account,] Master Prajnavarman's *A Commentary on "The Foremost Praise from the Gods"* states that the five Pandava brothers, who lived at the outset of the era of conflict, defeated an army of eighteen regiments. At that time, a king called Rupati, fighting with a single regiment, escaped during battle disguised in women's clothing. He entered the fastness of the Himalayas and stayed there; the Tibetan people descend from his family. Many such explanations [of the origins of the Tibetan people] have appeared. In any case, nonhumans first claimed this land. Humans gradually appeared, ruled by twelve minor kings and fourteen feudal lords.

The first human king to govern all Tibet was Nyatri Tsenpo. Concerning him, scriptures affirm that Tibet's Buddhist kings descended from the Licchavi clan. Some believe the royal family comes from the continent Ominous Sound; some, that they descend from the royal Shakya line or from King Shantanika's son. Some claim that their line begins five generations after Kosala King Prasanajit's son; or five generations after the son of Tobchung, youngest son of King Bimbisara.

[Another account states that] King Udayana of Vatsa had a son whose eyebrows covered his eyes and whose fingers were connected by webs. This was feared to be a bad omen so he was put in a sealed copper container and sent down the Ganges River. A farmer found and raised him. When he had grown and the previous story was related to him, he became despondent and ran off to the Himalayan hills. In time, he reached the entrance to Lhari Yolwa. When he emerged at Tsentang Gozhi, Bönpos said that since he had arrived on a cord of light, he was a god. "Who are you?" they asked. "I am a ruler [Tibetan: "tsenpo"]," he replied. "Where

have you come from?” they asked, and he pointed to the sky. At that, they set him on a wooden palanquin [“tri”], which four people bore on the nape of their necks [“nya”]; and so it was that he was called Nyatri Tsenpo, ruler of the nape-borne palanquin. His descendents, including his son Mutri Tsenpo, ruled in dynasties designated by such names as the seven heavenly thrones, the six earthly goodnesses, the seven fragments, and five generations of kings named Tsen. During these earlier kingdoms, legends and enigmatic riddles guided the system of government.

*The Stainless Goddess Prophecy* states:

Twenty-five hundred years after my transcendence of sorrow,  
the sacred teachings will spread to the land of the red-faced  
people.

As foretold, during the twenty-seventh dynasty, when King Lha Totori Nyentsen, emanation of Bodhisattva Ever Excellent, lived in Yumbu Lagang Palace, a container fell on the palace roof. Opening it, he found *The Discourse of One Hundred Homages to Renunciation and Fulfillment*; the long mantra [of Bodhisattva All-Seeing One], *chindamani*, carved on a bowl; *The Discourse of the Container*; the six-syllable mantra [of All-Seeing One]; and a golden stupa. Although he didn’t know what these were, he understood them to be good. He called them by the name “Strict Secret,” made offerings, and venerated them; their blessings returned the sixty-one-year-old king to sixteen-year-old youthfulness. Living another sixty years, he reached the age of one hundred and twenty. He received a prophecy that after five generations in his family, the meaning of these events would be understood. Thus did the sacred teachings reach Tibet.

Although this account has been interpreted in many ways, Nelpa Pandit states that the so-called falling [of the objects] out of the sky is a Bön tale because Bönpos like space. He says that in fact Scholar Buddhira-kshita and Translator Tilésé bore the two texts on their arrival in Tibet, but as the king was illiterate and couldn’t understand their meaning, the scholar and translator returned home. This is probably the case.

Later, when Ba Salnang went to Nepal to meet the abbot Shantarakshita, the abbot said, “During the time of Kashyapa’s doctrine, the three of us—the Tibetan king, you, and I—were a poultry woman’s three sons, and we made aspirations to spread the doctrine in Tibet. The king hadn’t been born yet and you were not old enough, so I have waited here for

nine royal generations, until now.” Most scholars consider that since this is quoted in the pure *Ba Salnang’s Chronicles*, it is truthful.

### *How Buddhist Customs Were Introduced in Tibet* [B]

**Lord All-Seeing One Songtsen Gampo  
Built temples and introduced the sacred teachings’ major  
customs.**

*The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

In what is known as “land of the gods”  
Among the Himalayan mountains,  
A king called a god among humans  
Will appear in the Licchavi clan.

As foretold, in the fifth generation after Lha Totori Nyentsen, Lord All-Seeing One showed himself in the guise of a human leader: at thirteen, the Buddhist King Songtsen Gampo assumed the throne. When the king was fifteen, the emanated monk Akaramati Shila brought the self-formed [statue] of the exalted bodhisattva [All-Seeing One to Tibet]. The king commanded the Buddhist official Gar, emanation of Bodhisattva Vajra Holder: “Bring to Tibet life-size statues that are actual representatives of our teacher at the age of eight and twelve years old.”<sup>7</sup> To that end, the king conformed to worldly customs and married two women known as lotuses in the lake: the Nepali bride Tritsun, an emanation of Frowning Goddess, and the Chinese bride Princess Wencheng Gonju, emanation of Tara. Since nonhuman spirits impeded the construction of the Temple of Magical Manifestation [now called the Jokang, in Lhasa], the three—the king and the two queens—entered retreat at Kyishö Valley’s Nyangtren Rock, known as Maru Palace. They practiced the wisdom deity and gained success. Then, as foretold, on vital points on the land which is a demoness lying supine, they constructed border-subduing and suppression temples, conquering evil enemy earth spirits. They erected in Lhasa the structure and contents of Ramoché Temple and the Temple of Magical Manifestation. The king invited Master Kusara and Brahmin Shamkara from India;

7. This refers to the two most revered statues in Tibet, still located in Lhasa.

Master Shila Manju from Nepal; Master Hashang Mahayana from China, and others. They translated many of the three collections and parts of the tantras, and thus introduced Buddhist customs.

Although the king did not openly study or teach, he secretly imparted to many fortunate persons profound instruction on the peaceful and wrathful aspects of Great Compassion. They cultivated their experience and it is said that [at that time, generations] before the seven men under examination renounced home life [i.e., the first Tibetan monks], about one hundred long-haired adepts continually engaged in the contemplative practice of Great Compassion at Kyishö Valley's Nyangtren Rock.

All the teachings the king imparted during that time were compiled as the cycle of the king's testament and concealed as three treasures. Three treasure revealers—the accomplished master Drup-tob Ngödrup, Lord Nyang-ral Nyima Özer, and the teacher Shakya Ö—drew them from their treasure repositories. Now known as *The Hundred Thousand Instructions on the "Mani" Mantra*, this represents Tibet's first indigenous Buddhist text.

**Tonmi Sambhota invented an orthography and grammar,  
Opening the great door of Himalayan discourse for the first  
time.**

The king dispatched Tonmi Sambhota, emanation of Bodhisattva Gentle Melody, to India to learn linguistics and writing. Using Indian letters as a model, he invented Tibetan orthography and composed eight treatises on grammar. Previously in the Himalayan region, there had been no Buddhist discussion of what was to be adopted and what was to be rejected. This point marked the initial opening of the great gateway of the sacred teachings and Buddhist discourse.

### *How Buddhism Spread and Flourished in Tibet* [C]

**Gentle Melody's magical manifestation Lord Trisong Déutsen  
Invited the abbot and master, [and they] constructed glorious  
Samyé Monastery,  
[Aided in the] translation of all the sacred teachings, and  
founded major schools of study and practice.**

Then, after five royal generations had passed, Gentle Melody's magical manifestation Lord Trisong Déutsen appeared. His ancestor Songtsen Gampo had foretold, "Five generations of our family from now, during the time of my descendent called King Dé, the sacred teachings will appear." He engraved this on a copper plate and placed it in the king's vault. When the predicted time arrived, King Trisong Déutsen developed the intention to spread the sacred teachings. He invited the abbot from Zahor, Shantarakshita, who imparted the eight precepts to some people and gave teachings relating to the ten virtues and the eighteen sense constituents. At this, Tibet's hostile gods and demons became incensed and acted harmfully, making various obstacles.

The time [of the ripening] of previous aspirations and prayers thus arrived: as the abbot advised, the king invited to Tibet the master from Oddiyana, Padmasambhava. When the king had reached twenty-two years of age, the foundation of glorious Samyé Monastery was laid. Padmasambhava performed the earth consecration ritual; Bodhisatto [i.e., Shantarakshita], the geomancy. Using [India's] Odantapuri Temple as a model, they constructed the arrangement of [this world system's] Supreme Mountain, twelve continents, the pair of the sun and moon, and circle of iron mountains. In one [twelve-year] cycle, the work was completed, and the two—abbot and adept—performed the consecration.

Those known as the one hundred and eight scholars, including that abbot and master, as well as Master Vimalamitra, Shantingarbha, and Dharmakirti; and Tibetan translators, including Bérotsana, Kawa Pal-tsek, and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, translated the texts on monastic discipline, every discourse of the lesser and great ways, and the main treatises of commentary; and they founded major schools of study and meditation practice. Translations and teachings of secret mantra were extremely secret and reserved as private instruction.

It is said that there were twelve colleges, one hundred and eight accomplished masters each at Yerpa and Chuwori, and twenty-five great accomplished masters at Chimpu, etc. Particularly, great Master Padmasambhava accepted as disciples infinite numbers of fortunate persons, including twenty-five disciples (the king and his subjects), within the unsurpassable secret mantra way; the numbers of those who traveled to the exalted state of supreme accomplishment exceed all reckoning.

Master Padmasambhava concealed countless treasures of teaching and wealth, subdued all hostile gods and demons, and issued commands to

the twelve subterranean goddesses. He thus prevented Hindu intrusion [into the country]. He consecrated most of the land, such as mountains and cliffs, as sites for spiritual practice. The occasions of his kindness to the beings of the Himalayas, such as emanating in a series of individuals who are his representatives, cannot be contained, even by space.

**The brother princes, especially Tri Ralpachen,  
Increasingly propagated the teachings, fashioned new terms,  
and [supervised] major editing of the translations.**

Buddhist King Trisong Déutsen had three sons, brother princes. The eldest was known as Muné Tsépo; the middle, Murum Tsépo; the youngest, Mutik Tsépo or Sénalek Jingyön. They increasingly propagated the doctrine's spirit. In particular, when Muné Tsépo ruled, he established four great offering festivals at Samyé Monastery, and he equalized the want and wealth of his Tibetan subjects three times.

Mutik Tsépo constructed Karchung Dorjé Ying Temple. He had five sons, of which the most outstanding was a magical manifestation of Bodhisattva Vajra Holder—Tri Ralpachen or Tridé Tsukten. It is said that he offered seven families of his subjects to each ordained person and that he constructed a thousand temples. He had the two religious divisions [of ordained persons and yogis] place their feet on the ends of his hair ribbons, and presented them offerings and honor. Such acts of his veneration to the precious teachings' spirit were limitless.

Tri Ralpachen constructed Changdo Pémé Tashi Gépel Temple at Ön on the lower Kyichu River. From India, he invited many scholars, including Surendra Bodhi, Shilendra Bodhi, and Danashila; [and assembled] the Tibetan scholars Ratnarakshita and Dharmata Shila, and translators, such as Jnanaséna. To them he said, "In my forefathers' time, when the translators and scholars translated the teachings, among terms unknown in Tibetan, they used some words inconsistent with Buddhist scriptures and the *vyakarana* system, and which are difficult to understand. For these, search for valuable words from our language and add them, revising the translations to make them consistent with the terminology of the lesser and great ways." Thus in Penyul's Kawa Namó Ché, the extensive version of the mother [discourse on the perfection of sublime insight] was revised and made into sixteen volumes. Likewise, most of the scriptures translated during his forefathers' time were finalized using contemporary language. Since secret mantra's inner tantras were very strict, and acces-

sible only to qualified recipients, not to common, unsuitable persons, the original translations were left unchanged.

Therefore, here in Himalayan region, those who had the greatest impact on the Victor's doctrine and who were kindest to beings were these [members of what is] known as "the dynasty of Buddhist kings." Among them, the kindness of Songtsen Gampo and Trisong Déutsen was most exceptional; the kindness of Abbot Shantarakshita and Padmasambhava, translators Tonmi Sambhota, Bérôtsana, and the three—Kawa Paltsek, Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, and Zhang Yeshé-dé—was marvelous.

*The Origins in Tibet of the Root of the Teachings, Buddhist Monastic Discipline [II]*

This section has three parts: (1) the tradition of monastic discipline from lower Tibet, (2) the tradition of monastic discipline from Kashmir, and (3) the tradition of monastic discipline from upper Tibet.

*The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Lower Tibet [A]*

The sacred teachings of monastic discipline, basis of the  
Victor's doctrine, [came to Tibet] as follows:  
Shantarakshita, lord of the doctrine,  
First ordained the seven men under examination.  
Countless sublime persons, translators, and monks appeared.

Whether or not the Victor's doctrine exists [in any country] is determined entirely upon whether or not the training and practice of the vows of individual liberation exist there. [What follows is a description] of how those who hold the collection of the sacred teachings on monastic discipline, the basis of all the Buddha's doctrine, appeared [in Tibet].

When Buddhist King Trisong Déutsen heard that the great abbot from Zahor [named] Bodhisatto or Shantarakshita, lord of all collections of teachings and the entire doctrine, was staying in Nepal, he sent Ba Salnang as an envoy to invite him. With deep respect, the king served the scholar attentively and invited from India twelve monks of the substantialist order.

At one point, to determine if Tibetans were capable of living as homeless renunciants, the king requested Ba Trizik, his close advisor and a faithful Buddhist, to take ordination. Bodhisatto served as abbot; Danashila



and Jinamitra, the action master and secret teacher; and ten other scholars, the full assembly. Ba Trizik renounced home life and took monastic vows of full ordination. His monastic name was Palyang; lauded by the king, he was also known as Ba Ratna. Having meditated, he became endowed with five kinds of clairvoyance. Then, Ba Salnang, Pagor Bérót-sana, Ngenlam Gyalwa Chok-yang, Ma Rinchen Chok, Kön Lu'i Wangpo Sungwa, and Lasum Gyalwa Jangchub respectively renounced home life, changed their names to Yeshé Wangpo, etc., and took full ordination. These seven, known as the seven men under examination, constitute the first Tibetans to renounce home life. The king then concluded that Tibetans could renounce home life, so his close advisor Drama and three hundred intelligent subjects were ordained. As all Tibetans heeded the king's commands, the king instituted the major Buddhist law that the king and his subjects should all make those who had renounced home life the foremost recipients of their offerings, and should honor, venerate, and respect them. A stone pillar with this edict [engraved upon it] was erected.

One hundred translators, including Kawa Paltsek, studied with the seven men under examination. In turn, one thousand assistant translators, including Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, studied under [the hundred]: countless sublime individuals—emanations, translators, and monks—appeared.

**After Lang Darma's suppression of Buddhism, the lineage passed through Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal.**

**Lachen Gongpa Rabsal and his disciples—the ten men from central and western Tibet—**

**Revived the doctrine and established monastic communities far and wide.**

Due to perverted aspirations, a demon entered the mind of Lord Tri Ralpachen's younger brother, Lang Darma Udum Tsen, and he suppressed Buddhism. During that time, three of Ba Ratna's disciples—Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal—took the texts of monastic discipline in one mule-load and went [eastward] to Golok and Mongolia. Unable to propagate the doctrine there, they journeyed to Kham [eastern Tibet]. While meditating and living in Malung at Dorjé Drakra Enchung Nam-dzong, or the hermitage of Dentik Shel, [a man named] Muzuk Labar went to investigate, developed faith in them, and requested to renounce home life. Mar Shakyamuni served as abbot and Yo Géjung as

the master, and he was ordained. They named him Shakya Géwa Rabsal. He requested full ordination but [the necessary quorum of] five fully ordained monks was not complete. They sought Lhalung Palgyi Dorjé, who lived in Den, who replied, “Since I killed the evil king, it is impossible for me to join the full assembly. However, I will look for another monk and send him.” He sent two, the Chinese monks Kéwang and Gyipen; as this completed the assembly of five, [Shakya Géwa Rabsal] took full ordination. He studied monastic discipline for fifteen years with the abbot and master. Later, he studied monastic discipline with Gorong Sengé Drak, the perfection of sublime insight with Kawa Ö Chok-drak, and the mind cycle of great perfection with Yudra Nyingpo. The explanation of *The Sovereign All-Creating Mind Tantra* passed through him until later times. Due to his outstanding activity, illustrated by these examples, and his vast knowledge, he was also known as Lachen Gongpa Rabsal (the great lama with brilliant realization).

Five years after he received full ordination, Lord Yeshé Gyaltzen and others sent to Kham five persons from central Tibet, including Lumé Tsultrim Sherab, and five persons from western Tibet, including Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk, to repair the doctrine’s deterioration in central Tibet. On a single occasion, those ten men received the three-part full ordination in stages; they then studied monastic discipline and became learned in it.

Thus, Lachen Gongpa Rabsal granted the full ordination at one time without having completed the requisite ten-year supplementary qualification for an elder. Nevertheless, because Lachen was known to be a bodhisattva acting on his aspirations, because [the others who officiated] on this occasion—Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal—were special individuals, and because there was an important purpose in that the doctrine had reached a crossroad between its disappearance or re-emergence, holy persons deemed the ordination appropriate and authorized it as faultless. At the ordination, Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal were present, but said they were too elderly to continually keep disciples, so they served as action masters [while Lachen Gongpa Rabsal, who they themselves had ordained, served as abbot]. He appointed Lumé Tsultrim Sherab abbot; the ten men from central and western Tibet returned [to central Tibet] and became teachers to the country’s rulers.

Lumé Tsultrim Sherab’s disciples included four “pillars,” eight “beams,” thirty-two “rafters,” and one thousand “planks”; he thus restored the

doctrine's decline from its foundation. He founded countless monastic centers, such as Lamo Ragyel, Yerpa, and Baré Tsongdu. His disciple from Yamshu, Geshé Trapa, is said to have alone established one hundred and eight monastic centers. In these and other ways, it was as if monastic centers founded by Master Lumé Tsultrim Sherab and his disciples covered the earth. Every day, the ranks of the spiritual community who had renounced home life greatly increased.

This was known as the tradition of monastic discipline from lower Tibet; these were the men who renounced home life during the period of the early translations. Later, Yudra Nyingpo's magical manifestation Lochen Dharmashri transmitted widely this tradition's teachings and practices; thus, the unique ornament of the Tibetan Himalayas, Orgyen Mindrol Ling's monastic community and its branch institutions, [pre-serve] this line of the vows. Most of the earliest sublime individuals who persevered in the vows during the doctrine's later propagation, and most of the spiritual mentors of the old and new Kadampa orders, were diligent in this lineage of vows. These include many outstanding holders of monastic discipline, such as Gya Duldzin, Matso Changdor, Ja Duldzin, and Shami Mönlam Dorjé. Many well-known sublime individuals appeared uninterruptedly [later within this lineage], such as the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo, Putopa, Pu-chungwa, Sharawa Yönten Drak, Translator Ngok Loden Sherab, Dré Sherab Bar, Dakpo Lhajé [Gampopa], Drogön Pak-dru, and Chomden Rikpé Raldri.

### *The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Kashmir* [B]

**The ordination lineage of the great scholar's two disciples  
named Pal**

**Has continued until the present.**

Shakyashri, a great Kashmiri scholar known to be a magical manifestation of Great Illumination, the third buddha in the future, mastered the entirety of the discourses and tantras and had visions of many wisdom deities. He physically cultivated the twelve qualities of training and was chief among all holders of monastic discipline of his time. His widespread renown was such that it was said, "Even one offering of alms to him causes rebirth in the Heaven of the Thirty-three." When he lived in India, Translator Chal Chökyi Zangpo, Chak Drachom, and others from Tibet took full ordination in his presence.

Translator Tropu Champa Pal invited the great scholar himself to Tibet, resulting in boundless activity. Eleven men took full ordination one day at Chushul Sokma Monastery; among them, Droshul Khergé Jangchub Pal and Dorjé Pal from Tsang became his main disciples. Jangchub Pal founded Gendun Gang; and Dorjé Pal, Nyémo Tsalmik. Their two disciples Umdzé Sönam and Könchok Gyaltzen started four groups, including Chölung and Jé-dzing, from which what became known as the four communities flourished.

In the upper temple of Nyang-tö Gyen, Jamyang Sakya Pandita took full ordination; he transmitted [this vow lineage] widely. In particular, the vow lineages of the two named Pal have spread and flourished until the present within the Karma Kagyu and Sakya traditions: the omniscient Karmapas' successive incarnations have accepted Jangchub Pal's vow lineage, while Buddha Vajra Bearer Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo accepted that of Dorjé Pal. Sakya Pandita's vow lineage later flourished through the activity of the great fifth Dalai Lama.

It seems that Chölung and Jé-dzing monasteries' vow lineages no longer exist today. In general, although each vow lineage died out within each of the four communities' monastic colleges, they were passed elsewhere and transmitted. Countless sublime individuals, scholars, and accomplished masters well known during Buddhism's later propagation appeared in this vow lineage. In particular, the omniscient master of the age of dispute, Butön Rinchen Drup, and the precious lord father Lozang Drakpa [Tsongkapa] and his spiritual sons filled this great world with their especially exalted teachings and practice of the sacred teachings of monastic discipline.

### *The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Upper Tibet [C]*

**Pala's lineage, known as monastic discipline from upper Tibet, also appeared.**

After Lang Darma's suppression of Buddhism, Tibet became [politically] fragmented. However, in upper Ngari, at a period when the Buddhist kings' dynasty had only patches of authority, the later propagation of Buddhism began. Lha Lama Yeshé Ö invited from India Scholar Dharmapala, who inspired many men, including three named Pala, to renounce home life and take full ordination. Among these, Prajnapala had a disciple Zhang Zhung Gyalwé Sherab, who met many scholars. In particular,

under the Nepalese holder of monastic discipline Prétaka, he studied and became learned in all practices of monastic discipline. With the Kashmiri Jnanashila, he studied *The Concise Version of Monastic Discipline*, a commentary on *The Individual Liberation Discourse*; with the Kashmiri Shri Subhuti Shanta, the root text and commentary to *Three Hundred Verses on Monastic Discipline*; and with Samanta Shri Jnana, *The Fifty-Verse Karika for Novices* and questions [to be posed to monks at ordination]. His revisions, translations, and teachings, etc., produced excellent definitive [editions of these texts]. Zhang Zhung Gyalwé Sherab's disciple, Translator Paljor, studied *The Fully Ordained Monks' Karika* with the Nepalese Master Jayakara, and *The Discourse on the Bases of Training for Novices* with the Kashmiri masters Barahita and Mahajana: the lineage has come progressively through them.

In brief, the Pala transmission, better known as the monastic discipline from upper Tibet, did not flourish extensively, only slightly. Nevertheless, this lineage did produce a few outstanding scholars and accomplished masters, such as Translator Gö Zhönnu Pal and Chen-nga Chökyi Drakpa, who took full ordination within this lineage of vows.

All three vow lineages belong to the substantialist order. Here in Tibet, by command of the Buddhist kings, except for the middle way view and the substantialist order of monastic conduct, no other [views or monastic orders] were authorized [to be transmitted in the country]. Therefore, since Atisha, for example, belonged to the majority order, he wasn't asked to transmit that vow lineage.

### *The Origins of the Teaching Traditions That Preserve Scriptural Transmissions [III]*

This section has two parts: (1) a preface concerning scholarship and meditation practice in general and (2) an explanation of the specific teaching traditions.

#### *Scholarship and Meditation Practice in General [A]*

Scripture and realization are preserved through scholarship and meditation practice.

The sacred teachings of Buddhism can be synthesized as those found in scripture and in realization. The way to preserve these doctrines is, in the case of scriptural teachings, to come to a conclusion through teaching and study. In the case of the doctrine of realization, one makes meditation practice on the meaning of what one has heard one's spiritual path, cultivating the experience of the thirty-seven aspects of awakening in one's own stream of being. This is how the doctrine of realization must be preserved. Venerable Master Vasubandhu states:

Our teacher's doctrine has two aspects—  
Epitomes of scripture and realization.  
These can be preserved only through articulating [the teachings]  
And through meditation practice.

### *The Specific Teaching Traditions [B]*

This section has three parts: (1) the common way's teaching traditions, (2) the uncommon secret mantra's teaching traditions, and (3) teaching transmissions in brief.

### *The Common Way's Teaching Traditions [1]*

This section has four parts: the origin of teaching traditions in (1) monastic discipline, (2) the study of observed phenomena, (3) the perfection of sublime insight, and (4) the middle way.

### *The Origin of Teaching Traditions in Monastic Discipline [a]*

Concerning the teaching lineage of monastic discipline,  
In southern India, two masters—Gunaprabha and  
Shakyaprabha—  
Six masters named Mitra, and others  
Widely transmitted commentaries on the substantialist  
order's system.

I will first describe the origin of the teaching lineage of the sacred teachings of monastic discipline. In the beginning in southern India, four principal orders of pious attendants existed, each of which used a different

language, such as Sanskrit, to encode the root text, *The Individual Liberation Discourse*. In turn, each had different explanatory scriptures for that root text's four sections of monastic discipline. These four orders split into eighteen, and it was said that each kept its own separate root and explanatory scriptures. Here, I will describe the substantialist order's system—the series of their four explanatory scriptures [*The Scripture of Distinctions*, *The Minor Scripture on Monastic Discipline*, *The Basic Scripture on Monastic Discipline*, and *The Highest Scripture*] and the meaning of their contents—according to Serdok Panchen.

*The Scripture of Distinctions* provides a commentary to the words of *The Individual Liberation Discourse*. *The Minor Scripture on Monastic Discipline* expands upon the fine points of training to elucidate the general meaning of *The Individual Liberation Discourse*. *The Basic Scripture on Monastic Discipline* is a supplementary text to complete anything left out. *The Highest Scripture* is crucial in that it resolves contentious issues. Treatises of explanation include *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, which is said to present the pious attendants' own monastic discipline.

Concerning monastic discipline held in common with the great way, among Vasubandhu's four disciples more learned than himself, the one more learned in monastic discipline was a brahmin, Master Gunaprabha, who dwelled on awakening's third stage, Luminous. He systematized what had lacked order in the four scriptures, subsuming their topics into [the monastic legal code's] seventeen bases in his work, *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline*. Among his other books, he collected [the monastic community's] activity rituals into one place in the text *Karma Shatam*. The arhat Vishakhadéva wrote *The Continual Flower Garland*; the Kashmiri Sanghabhadra wrote *The Fifty-Verse Karika for Novices*; and Master Shakyaprabha wrote the root text and commentary of *Three Hundred Verses on Monastic Discipline*, and so on. Among all of these, Gunaprabha and Shakyaprabha are widely recognized as the chief authorities.

It is said that five hundred disciples of Gunaprabha could recite [from memory] the one hundred thousand sections of monastic discipline. Among these men, Dharmamitra wrote *An Extensive Commentary to "The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline,"* which became the authoritative work on the subject everywhere in India and Tibet. Six masters named Mitra—Vimalamitra, Vishésamitra, Kalyanamitra, Géwé Shenyen, and Shilamitra—and others extensively explained and transmitted this lineage.

In this land, lineages from Danashila, Jinamitra, and Chokro  
 Lu'i Gyaltsen  
 Were united by Zu Dorjé Gyaltsen into a single teaching line,  
 Which gradually spread from his four disciples.  
 Tsonapa, Gya Duldzin, Ja Duldzin, and many other especially  
 exalted individuals appeared.  
 Omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup received the legacy;  
 his activity was that of a second powerful Sage.

In this Himalayan land, Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen received [the teaching lineage of monastic discipline] from two masters from the land of exalted beings, Danashila and Jinamitra. Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Rab-sal of Tsang requested it from Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen; they in turn taught Lachen Gongpa Rab-sal; and the four of them taught Lumé Tsultrim Sherab, who taught Zu Dorjé Gyaltsen. [The lineage also passed] from both Danashila and Jinamitra to Shakyasena, Dharmapala, and to Translator Lupa and Kyok Duldzin. Zu Dorjé Gyaltsen met them, [received their lineage,] and united the two teaching lineages of upper and lower Tibet. The masters known as Zu's four sons (two sons from western Tibet—Dzimpa Sherab Ö and Néso Drakpa Gyaltsen; and two sons from central Tibet—Pochung Tsultrim Lama and Len Tsul-jang) extensively spread and transmitted this [combined] lineage. Later, Tsonapa the Great appeared [within this lineage]; in a dream, he received teachings on *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* from Gunaprabha. At the request of the protector Trakshé, he composed such texts as a detailed explanation of monastic discipline, *Rays of Sunlight*, and thereby established the foundation for the doctrine of monastic discipline.

Other famous Tibetan masters of monastic discipline during Buddhism's later propagation include Gyadulwa Wangchuk Tsultrim and Jadulwa Wangchuk Bar, each of whom wrote a commentary to *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* and founded monastic colleges such as Zulpu. Thus it was said that monastic discipline had gone to the birds [a pun on another meaning of the name Ja, "Bird"]. Furthermore, many especially exalted individuals appeared, such as Tsi Dulwa Dzinpa. The stream of his teaching lineage passed from Sönam Drak to omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup.

Moreover, the great scholar from Kashmir, Shakyashri, also taught *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* to Sakya Pandit. During a



monsoon season retreat at Narlé Moché, his teaching of Vishakhadéva's *The Continual Flower Garland* was received by both Sengé Zilnön and Shangpa Joten, and each wrote a commentary to the text. Tsémé Kyébu received teachings on this text from the former. Butön Rinchen Drup learned it from Tsémé Kyébu and then composed a lengthy commentary. Thus, omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup received the legacy of the monastic discipline teaching lineage and composed such works as *The Great Compendium of Activity Rituals* and *A Commentary on the Difficult Points of "The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline."* He exhibited scholastic prowess; at the depths of this era of dispute he was a lamp illuminating the doctrine, performing the activity of a second powerful Sage.

Furthermore, Omniscient Rongpo relied on Nakrin Panchen's instruction and received an Indian text. Another lineage of exposition appeared based on its complete explanation that informed his definitive writings. In brief, among the treatises on monastic discipline, the teaching lineage of *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* from past generations continues to the present day.

### *The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Study of Observed Phenomena* [b]

**The two collections on observed phenomena, higher and lower, written by Asanga [and his] brother, Were propagated by Stiramati, Purnavardhana, Vasumitra, and others.**

The foundation of scholastic activity is the great ocean-like collection on observed phenomena, the *abhidharma*—the sacred teachings' mother text, and all Buddhist teachings' basis and gateway. Its explanatory treatises [are twofold]: the great way's collection on observed phenomena which [originated with] Asanga, who received *One Hundred Thousand Verses on Observed Phenomena* and other texts from Maitreya and wrote *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena*. The lesser way's collection on observed phenomena [originated with Asanga's] younger brother, Vasubandhu, who wrote *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* along with an autocommentary. These two brothers' texts are known as the higher and lower collections on observed phenomena.

The Kashmiri Master Stiramati, Master Jinaputra, and others wrote

commentaries to *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena*. Vasubandhu's own master, Kashmiri Sanghabhadra, and his [Vasubandhu's] disciples Dignaga, Stiramati (who was more learned in the collection on observed phenomena than Vasubandhu himself), Purnavardhana, Jinaputra, Vasumitra, and others wrote and transmitted commentaries to *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* and further explanations of those commentaries.

**Jinamitra, Kawa Paltsek, and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen translated and taught the collection on observed phenomena.  
Wé Yeshé Gyalwa and Drum Gyalwé Yeshé caused the teachings to spread upward [from eastern to central Tibet].**

Here in Tibet during the early propagation of the doctrine, Scholar Jinamitra, Translator Kawa Paltsek and others translated and taught three [subjects]—cosmological nomenclature, cause nomenclature, and action nomenclature—from the nomenclature treatises, such as *The Victor's Spiritual Heir*, derived from commentaries and autocomentaries to the higher and lower collections on observed phenomena. Of their three disciples—Nanam Dawé Dorjé, Lhalung Palgyi Dorjé, and Wé Yeshé Gyalwa—the latter went to eastern Tibet and taught Drum Gyalwé Yeshé. From him this line of teaching spread upward into the provinces of central and western Tibet. Omniscient Dharmakara states:

Translator Gö Zhönnu Pal and others state that the lineage that spread from this time forward is exclusively that of the higher collection on observed phenomena. Although they claim that the teaching lineage of *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* did not have any succession (and it might be that this teaching tradition spread *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena* as the more important [of the two]), *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* and its commentary must have definitely appeared in this lineage because all scholars, such as omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup, refer to this source of the lineage as the principal one.

Afterward, Drangti Darma Nyingpo gained mastery in the teaching and study of *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena*. The great Translator

PangLoten composed an explanatory text, *The Illumination of Knowledge*; and the great Scholar Shakya Chok-den wrote *The Thought's Meaning: A Series of Ocean Waves* and other texts. Although they then transmitted this tradition, and in the interim the teaching and study of *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* spread, the teaching and study of *A Compendium of Observed Phenomena* were lost: the lineage no longer exists.

**Great Scholar Smriti Jnana passed *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena's* teaching lineage to Yé Chenpo Sherab Drak; Rok Chökyl Töndru, Ben Könchok Dorjé, and Togar Namdé preserved it.**

The principal present-day spread of *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena's* teaching lineage [originates with] Naropa's disciple, Scholar Smriti Jnana. He journeyed to Tibet and taught *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* at Denlong Plain in Kham. Many scholars and monks gathered; he laid the foundation for the lower collection on observed phenomena. His disciples Yé Chenpo Sherab Drak and others transmitted the teachings throughout the three regions of central, western, and eastern Tibet.

Drangti Darma Nyingpo was the designated heir of both teaching traditions of higher and lower collections on observed phenomena. His disciples Rok Chökyl Töndru and Gowo Yeshé Jungné, the latter's disciple Ben Könchok Dorjé, and his disciple Togar Namdé (or To Kunga Dorjé) spread these teachings far and wide. Chimtsön Sengé composed a commentary known as *Running Letters*, the first Tibetan commentary on the collection on observed phenomena. Subsequently, many scholars—Chim Namka Drak, Samten Zangpo, Chomden Rikpé Raldri, Rendawa, and their lineage holders—wrote commentaries and transmitted them.

**Sakya Pandit received Shakyashri's teaching, along with a proximate lineage,  
And eloquently expressed this especially exalted teaching tradition.**

The great Scholar Shakyashri taught *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* to Sakya Pandit, who received teachings from Vasubandhu in his dreams for one month. The experience that arose in his mind became [the source of] a proximate lineage. He eloquently proclaimed this especially exalted teaching tradition.

*The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*

Thus, with regard to this subject of the collection on observed phenomena, Serdok Panchen presents it summarized in two points: the subject of the collection, ultimate knowledge—the training in superior sublime insight and its attendant factors; and how that subject is expressed—the verbal collection on observed phenomena, our teacher’s excellent speech. Most Tibetans quote from *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*:

The collection on observed phenomena is flawless sublime insight  
and that which follows it.

Since this is what is to be attained, there is both this [sublime  
insight] and its treatises.

This quote refers to ultimate knowledge and representative knowledge. The first [ultimate knowledge] is flawless sublime insight that discerns phenomena’s specific and general characteristics, along with the five psycho-physical aggregates. The second [representative knowledge] has two parts: flawed knowledge and the treatises. First, contaminated knowledge is knowledge gained from listening, reflection, and meditation, [that is, knowledge that] has arisen from application or which is innate. The second is treatises, such as the seven texts on observed phenomena.

To explain those subjects, all the contents of the treatise *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* are summarized within its body’s outline into two sections—defiled afflictive emotions and complete purity—[referred to with the words] “contaminated and uncontaminated phenomena.” How these are connected in sequence within the treatise is as follows.

Phenomena that are synthesized into [two categories,] contaminated and uncontaminated, can also be summarized into psycho-physical aggregates, sense constituents, and sense bases. Therefore, Chapter One presents the framework of the aggregates, sense constituents, and so on. Since the presentation of the sense constituents is the largest part, Chapter One is said to be *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*’s chapter on the sense constituents.

Likewise, Chapter Two presents the senses, since defiled afflictive emotions and complete purity enter through the sense faculties and are the focus of them.

Chapter Three presents the world system’s vessel and contents. [This includes] the stages of birth, along with interdependent arising, of those who embody sense constituents and faculties—sentient beings imbued

with afflictive emotions, differentiated by such details as their realms and places of birth. This chapter also describes how the [world-system’s] vessel comes into being.

Chapter Four presents karma. While there is limitless diversity in vessels [worlds] and their contents [beings], karma has created them, there being no other creator.

Chapter Five presents the afflictive emotions in full detail. Karma can create [worlds and beings] together with the afflictive emotions, not without them.

Chapter Six presents the spiritual path and the individual who treads that path. This provides an overview of the complete path of purification of the afflictive emotions by describing the path’s stages, such as meditation on what is repulsive.

Chapter Seven presents wisdom and its qualities. Having entered the spiritual path, [wisdom and its qualities arise] from conquering the afflictive emotions, or through wisdom itself.

Chapter Eight presents states of meditative absorption—meditative concentration, along with its natural qualities. All aspects of wisdom depend exclusively upon meditative concentration.

Chapter Nine is called “a definitive presentation of the individual,” although it is said to be a supplementary topic to Chapter Eight.

Six topics elucidate these chapters’ subjects:

Phenomena are proclaimed in six topics:  
 Number, a presentation of definitions,  
 Classifications, synopses,  
 Proofs, and similarities.

[For example,] the number [of phenomena is presented as]

Contaminated and uncontaminated phenomena . . .

and,

Moreover, all these composite phenomena  
 Have five aggregates: form, and the others . . .

and so on. Definitions [are presented as, for example,]

The perception, “I experience sensation”  
Is the chief fixator upon characteristics . . .

and so on. Classifications [are presented as, for example,]

In this presentation, there is form alone:  
There are ten [kinds of] tangible form . . .

and so on. Synopses [are presented as, for example,]

The aggregates, sense bases, and sense constituents  
Encompass everything . . .

and so on. Similarities [are presented as, for example,] “kinds of pleasure and attachment . . .” and so on. Proofs [are presented as, for example,] “Because there are cycles, Ishvara or another [god] is not [the creator] . . .” and so on.

*The Origin of Teaching Traditions of the Perfection of Sublime Insight* [c]

The [Buddha’s] outstanding regent perfectly elucidated  
*The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, the hidden meaning  
of the perfection of sublime insight;  
Asanga and his brother illuminated it.

Two “chariot” systems of commentary emerged to explain the canon’s middle wheel, the perfection of sublime insight. [First,] the Buddha’s regent Maitreya perfectly elucidated in the scripture known as *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* the hidden meaning of the perfection of sublime insight—the stages of manifest realization. Venerable Asanga considered that this text and *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in Twenty-five Thousand Verses* shared the same meaning, and he composed the commentary *Certainty in Relation to the Ultimate*. [Second,] Asanga’s brother Vasubandhu wrote *Defeat of Harm to the Three Versions of the Mother of Sublime Insight*, explaining [the mind-only view of] consciousness. [Thus did the brothers] first illuminate these [teachings].

**Both the eminent Vimuktisena and Haribhadra elucidated  
the intrinsic emptiness method.  
Because their teaching system was excellent, their activity  
was superior.**

In particular, Vasubandhu had a disciple said to be more learned than he in the perfection of sublime insight, the eminent Vimuktisena. Consistent with the middle way style of expressing essenceless-ness, this master combined *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* and *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in Twenty-five Thousand Verses* in his commentary *Illuminating the Twenty Thousand Verses*. That text marks the inception of the tradition of joining the discourses with *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*. Later, Vairochanabhadra and others wrote many commentaries blending that text with the extensive and the medium-length perfection of sublime insight texts.

In particular, Master Haribhadra understood all systems of the perfection of sublime insight. Lord Maitreya granted permission [for his writing]; the force of that blessing led him to compose *The Eighth Chapter's Concise Meaning*, which blended [*The Ornament of Manifest Realization*] with the medium-length version [of the perfection of sublime insight text]; *The Great Commentary on "The Perfection of Sublime Insight in Eight Thousand Verses,"* which blended that text with *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in Eight Thousand Verses; An Easy-to-Understand Commentary on "The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight,"* which combined it with the concise version; and *A Commentary of Clear Meaning*, which integrated it with all three versions of the mother of sublime insight.

These elucidations in the intrinsic emptiness style constitute an excellent teaching system, thus all later masters who taught the perfection of sublime insight followed in their footsteps: their enlightened activity has proved to be especially exalted.

**Here in Tibet, the perfection of sublime insight was taught  
and practiced widely  
Due to the kindness of Lang Khampa Gocha and Bérotsana.**

It is said that all teachings of the middle wheel, the cycle of the perfection of sublime insight, which existed in the land of exalted beings came here to the province of Tibet. During the doctrine's early propagation, Lang

Khampa Gocha went to India, learned *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses* by heart and translated it thoroughly into Tibetan. King Trisong Déutsen, in great respect for the great way teachings, mixed his own blood with a white ewe's milk and had the text copied [using this mixture as ink]. Called *The Red Records*, it rests in a brick stupa in upper Lhasa. This version is also known as *The Short Length Master Copy*. Further, Wé Manjushri and Nyang Indrawaro together brought a text [of *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight*] from India and translated it. They wrote it with a mixture of ashes from the king's hair and a white ewe's milk. [This copy,] known as *The Blue Records*, is said to exist in four volumes.

Since in both *The Blue Records* and *Red Records* all the verse repetitions were not written in full, Pagor Bérotsana completed another major revision, adding the missing repetitions, etc. He lengthened some lines to facilitate their recitation. This time, the great translator wrote it out himself. Known as *The Deer-Skin Case One Hundred Thousand Verses*, after its container, it still dwells in Chimpu; it is also called *The Medium Length Master Copy*.

During the reign of King Tri Ralpachen, scholars such as Surendra Bodhi, and the two translators Kawa Paltsek and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen completed a major revision [of *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses*]; this version in sixteen volumes is *The Full Length Master Copy*. It is said that there were several such different translations. The same group also translated a cycle of commentaries, including Damshtasena's *A Commentary on "The Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses."* By the kindness of these [teachers and translators, the perfection of sublime insight teachings] have been widely taught and practiced.

**Rinchen Zangpo founded a teaching system of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*.**

**As well, Lord Atisha taught it to Ku Chenpo Lhadingpa,**

**Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné, and Chadar Tönpa.**

**In particular, great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab spread widely [the perfection of sublime insight].**

During the doctrine's later propagation, great Translator Rinchen Zangpo went to the land of exalted beings, received from Scholar Gunamitra *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* with its commentary, then founded a



teaching system. As well, illustrious Lord Atisha gave thorough instruction on the perfection of sublime insight to Ku Chenpo Lhadingpa and Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné. Atisha and great Translator Rinchen Zangpo translated the commentary *Illuminating What Is Difficult to Understand* and revised many texts from the early translations, including *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in Eight Thousand Verses*, *Illuminating the Twenty Thousand Verses*, and *The Great Commentary on “The Perfection of Sublime Insight in Eight Thousand Verses.”*

Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné taught Drom Tongtsen (also known as Go Lama) and others, thus a major teaching system emerged. Further, Lord Atisha taught Chadar Tönpa, beginning the spread of what would be called the eastern Tibetan [Kham] tradition of the perfection of sublime insight teachings.

In particular, [among these diverse later systems,] *The Root Tantra of Manjushri* states:

To the north of here, on the Himalayan slopes,  
 One [named] Loden will appear.  
 His understanding of language, grammar, and knowledge  
 Will be unimpeded.

This predicts the life of great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab. From Pandit Stirapala (or Bümtrak Sumpa [in Tibetan]), he received instruction on every scriptural tradition concerned with the perfection of sublime insight. Furthermore, he received teachings on the entire range of discourses and tantras from many learned, accomplished masters. He corrected [the edition of] *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses* in Nepal’s Pamting Temple, for example by adding missing names of meditative states. He completed many corrections and new translations of the root text *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* and several commentaries to it. He also completed definitive versions of those texts’ teaching systems, and spread them widely.

**From Dré Sherab Bar, designated heir of earlier and later  
 transmissions, and Ar Jangchub Sengé,  
 The lineage passed in stages to Yak Mipam Chökyi Lama and  
 Rongtön Shéja Kunzik.  
 These spiritual fathers’ and sons’ intelligence continues to flow  
 in an excellent, undiminished stream of teaching.**

During the doctrine's original propagation in Tibet, the teaching lineage of the perfection of sublime insight moved to eastern Tibet. Its stream, and all streams of the later propagation's teachings, including doctrinal transmissions from Lord Atisha, Rinchen Zangpo, and great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab, were united as one by Dré Sherab Bar, who among Ngok's four main disciples was the designated heir of the perfection of sublime insight instructions. He thus founded a single major system.

Ar Jangchub Sengé upheld this and valued its doctrine; thus it was passed through a lineage. Yak Mipam Chökyi Lama received it from Translator Rinchen Namgyal, the precious master Butön Rinchen Drup's main disciple and heart-son. Yak Mipam Chökyi Lama composed three commentaries—long, medium, and short. His prowess in teaching was such that it was said that the perfection of sublime insight had reached a yak! His disciple, great Rongtön Shéja Kunzik, wrote as many as forty-three detailed explanations and scriptural commentaries on the discourses, primarily those of the perfection of sublime insight, particularly such works as *Rongtön's Major Commentary on the Perfection of Sublime Insight*. He thus assumed responsibility for [this tradition's] system of teaching and study. These spiritual fathers' and sons' superlative strength of intellect has flowed in an excellent, undiminished stream of teaching until the present day.

### **Illustrious Geshé Chapa transmitted the Trolung teaching system.**

Another excellent independent teaching system was founded based upon the teaching system of Translator Ngok Loden Sherab's disciple Trolung Lodrö Jungné. Later, Geshé Chapa transmitted it widely.

### *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*

As to the meaning of the content of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, its text states:

Eight points fully elucidate  
The perfection of sublime insight.

After that synopsis, [the same text lists the eight:]

Knowledge of all aspects of phenomena, knowledge of paths,  
 Knowledge of everything . . .

These three forms of knowledge—knowledge of aspects of phenomena, knowledge of the paths, and knowledge of the bases—constitute the domain of listening and reflection.

Manifest perfect realization of all aspects of phenomena,  
 Reaching the peak, culmination,  
 Instantaneous manifest perfect awakening . . .

These four facets of application—application of complete realization of all aspects of phenomena, peak application, culmination of application, and instantaneous application—constitute the experience to be cultivated.

And the body of ultimate enlightenment [*dharmakaya*]. These are the eight points.

The result attained is the body of ultimate enlightenment, accompanied by its activity. Thus the underlying basis [of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* is synthesized in] these eight points.

Among them, point one is manifest knowledge of all aspects of phenomena. This is instantaneous direct knowledge of all aspects [of phenomena] without exception—their nature and their myriad appearances. Point two is knowledge of paths. Having realized the three paths [of pious attendants, solitary sages, and bodhisattvas] to be without an intrinsic nature, this is knowledge of the path of learning which makes manifest correct conclusions through [stages of] fulfillment, ripening, and purification. Point three, knowledge of all bases, is fleeting knowledge that realizes that all bases are empty of an individual self.

Point four is application of manifest perfect realization of all aspects of phenomena. Here, in order to gain mastery in these three forms of knowledge [of aspects of phenomena, the paths, and the bases], they are synthesized as the three facets of non-arising, and they are made the mental contemplative practice of meditation. Point five is application that reaches the peak: based on [point four, application of complete realization of all aspects of phenomena], the three facets of non-arising are synthesized and meditation is mastered through mental contemplative

practice. Point six is application of culmination: this is mental contemplative practice in gradual training in thirteen qualities, aspects of the three forms of knowledge. This is done to stabilize realization of the simultaneous arising of the aspects of the three kinds of knowledge. Point seven, application of instantaneous, manifest perfect awakening, is the ultimate mental contemplative practice of progressive meditation on the three forms of knowledge. Point eight, the result, the body of ultimate enlightenment, is the full ripening of meditation on the four applications, or the ultimate result endowed with many flawless attributes. *The Two Truths of the Middle Way* states:

Because it is the body of all phenomena,  
 Because it is the support of all inconceivable qualities,  
 Because it is the essence of what follows awareness,  
 It is the body of ultimate enlightenment of all refuges.

Further, in the [perfection of sublime insight] discourse, the chapter [in answer to questions posed by] Subhuti presents knowledge of all aspects of phenomena. The chapter on purification of the two extremes presents knowledge of the paths. The chapter on special conduct presents knowledge of the bases. The chapter on suchness presents knowledge of all aspects of phenomena. The chapter on completely pure training presents peak application. The chapter on progressive engagement presents culmination. The chapter on complete training presents instantaneous [awakening]. The chapter on the result of training presents the body of ultimate enlightenment.

The reason why there are exactly eight points is that, to attain enlightenment, an individual needs three aspects of knowledge of the domain of knowable objects, four forms of application on the path of experiential cultivation, and the accepted result—the body of ultimate enlightenment. *The Concise Meaning, the Jewel Lamp* states:

The three aspects of knowledge in the domain of knowable  
 objects;  
 During meditation, the four applications;  
 The ultimate result, the body of ultimate enlightenment . . .

An analysis of these eight points produces what is known as the seventy-part hidden meaning. Ten points illustrate knowledge of aspects,

including the development of the mind of awakening (1–10). To attain the result, omniscience, you must meditate on its cause—knowledge of the paths: eleven topics illustrate this (11–21). For perfect knowledge of the path, you must know what is uncondusive to the basis and various kinds of antidotes; nine topics illustrate knowledge of the bases (22–30). You must meditate on the three aspects of knowledge having used listening and reflection to synthesize one hundred and seventy-three subjects that define them: eleven topics illustrate application of complete [realization of all] aspects of phenomena (31–41). On the bodhisattva path of accumulation, having meditated alternatively on fulfillment and application, this meditation causes the arising of experiences mainly from meditation. This is peak application: eight topics illustrate this (42–49). Mental stabilization in consecutive order of the three forms of knowledge and their collective meanings, followed by meditation, constitutes the application of culmination: thirteen topics illustrate this (50–62). Although those stages of meditation on consummation exist right after attainment of meditative heat on the path of preparation, meditation after awakening’s first stage simultaneously actualizes all kinds of realization. Once stability in these is gained, the first instant of wisdom produces meditation upon the three forms of knowledge—certain application that immediately actualizes complete awakening. This is instantaneous application: four topics illustrate this (63–66). In the second instant of wisdom, enlightenment’s three bodies develop, along with their activity. This is the ultimate ripening of meditation on the four applications. Enlightenment’s three bodies and their deeds are [counted as] four (67–70). Thus, in total, there are seventy topics.

In the first of the eight points, omniscience is presented to instill interest in the result. The first of the seventy topics, development of the mind of awakening, is presented to make known that the mind of awakening forms the root of all great way teachings.

To summarize these subjects in relation to the basis of their classification, the ultimate result to be attained is knowledge of all aspects of phenomena. The cause for that attainment is knowledge of the paths. As a branch of the paths, what to accept and reject—knowledge of what is uncondusive to the basis and classifications of its antidotes—is the knowledge of the bases. These three forms of knowledge are the domain of cutting through imputations.

Application of complete knowledge of all aspects of phenomena

involves sequential meditation on the conclusions arrived at through listening and reflection, summarized into one hundred and seventy-three points. Peak application is the foremost realization that arises from this meditation on the condensed [meaning]. To attain stability in this, simultaneous meditation on them in sequence is consummate application. Once stability is attained, the first instant of wisdom [produces] meditation on the three forms of knowledge, which immediately and definitely actualizes the result—instantaneous application. These are the four applications of experiential cultivation.

Having cultivated your experience as described, the inseparability of the basic space of phenomena and wisdom is enlightenment’s essential body; the complete enjoyment of the great way teachings is the body of perfect rapture; deeds for sentient beings’ myriad requirements through manifold skillful means attuned to others’ needs is the manifest body; and acts for others’ benefit, summarized as twenty-seven activities, are enlightened activity. These four are the result, the body of ultimate enlightenment.

Apart from [this system], another presents an outline in three [headings]: the three forms of knowledge (counted as one), the six manifest realizations, and the four applications (or what are called “the causes of attainment,” [also] counted as one).

### *The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Middle Way* [d]

This section has two parts: how [the teaching lineages of] (1) intrinsic emptiness and (2) extrinsic emptiness spread.

### *How the Teaching Lineage of Intrinsic Emptiness Spread* [i]

Those who explicitly teach emptiness follow the middle way.  
 From the two commentaries to exalted master [Nagarjuna’s]  
 thought  
 Grew the consequentialist and independently verifiable reason  
 schools.  
 These two had many followers, including Chandrakirti,  
 Shantideva, and the three easterners.

Those who present, teach, and cultivate the experience of what is explicitly presented in [the texts on] the perfection of sublime insight—emp-

tinness—are known as [followers of] the middle way. Its meaning was incontrovertibly presented by exalted Master [Nagarjuna] in his written works, chiefly *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*. Based on commentaries to this book, written by the masters Buddhapalita and Bhavaviveka, the middle way grew into two schools of thought, [known as] consequentialist and independently verifiable reason. Holders of the former tradition include Chandrakirti and Shantideva; holders of the latter tradition include Jnanagarbha, Shantarakshita, and Kamalashila, known as the three eastern proponents of the independently verifiable reason school. Very many masters follow either of these two middle way systems.

Of eight known Indian commentaries to *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*, four were translated into Tibetan: *Fearing Nothing*, Buddhapalita's *Buddhapalita*, Chandrakirti's *Clear Words*, and Bhavaviveka's *Garlands of Lamps of Knowledge*. Among these, earlier catalogs, the omniscient master of Jonang, and other sources consider *Fearing Nothing* to be an autocommentary [by Nagarjuna]. The learned, accomplished Gélek Palzang (Kédруп Жé) states that it cannot be an autocommentary because the exalted master's disciples did not cite even one quotation from that text in their works and because the twenty-seventh chapter draws from *The Four Hundred Stanza Treatise*, beginning, "Noble Aryadeva states . . ."

Avakitavrata's explanatory eighty-section commentary to *Garlands of Lamps of Knowledge*, entitled *All-Seeing One's Fearless Conduct*, describes non-Buddhist beliefs and the beliefs of the eighteen pious attendant orders in detail. No treatise translated into Tibetan describes non-Buddhist beliefs more thoroughly. Jnanagarbha's *The Two Truths of the Middle Way* with its autocommentary; Shantarakshita's *Ornament of the Middle Way* and its autocommentary; Kamalashila's nine-section *Illumination of the Middle Way* with the stages of meditation of the beginning, middle, and end; [and the above-mentioned *All-Seeing One's Fearless Conduct*] are independently verifiable reason scriptures.

The following are consequentialist scriptures: *Entering the Middle Way* by Chandrakirti, *Entering the Conduct of Enlightenment* by Shantideva, and the root text and commentary of *Ascertaining the Two Truths* by noble lord [Atisha], follower of the elder and younger Rikpé Kuchuk, themselves disciples of Chandrakirti.

Bhavaviveka read Buddhapalita's commentary, wrote a refutation, and

started his own school. Chandrakirti refuted it and supported Buddhapalita's original tradition; thus, two schools are known. They are differentiated according to how the ultimate view develops in an individual's stream of being. [However,] in relation to the belief in the essence of the ultimate, there is no difference. Impartial scholars explain it thus and [I, Jamgön Kongtrul,] agree; both are authentic proponents of the middle way.

**Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen and Translator Ngok Loden**

**Sherab transmitted the Indian scriptures.**

**Chapa Chökyi Sengé, the eight great lions, Rongtön Shéja**

**Kunzik, and others**

**Held the independently verifiable reason school. Patsab  
with his four spiritual sons**

**Founded the tradition of the glorious Chandrakirti's  
scriptural path.**

**The upholders of the Himalayan consequentialist school  
derive from that [source].**

Initially here in Tibet, Scholar Jnanagarbha and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen translated *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight* and *Garlands of Lamps of Knowledge*. They spread the independently verifiable reason school of teaching and study based on Shantarakshita's teachings.

During Buddhism's later period of dissemination in Tibet, Translator Ngok Loden Sherab taught and studied the scriptures, principally *Garlands of Lamps of Knowledge*, and transmitted them widely. The stream of his teachings reached the holders of the seat of glorious Sangpu Monastery, particularly the fifth, Chapa Chökyi Sengé. His disciples included eight known as great lions [in Tibetan: *sengé*—Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé, Den-pakpa Mawé Sengé, Drusha Sönam Sengé, Majawa Tsöpé Sengé, Tsak Wangchuk Sengé, Nyangdren Chökyi Sengé, Denma Könchok Sengé, and Nyalpa Yönten Sengé; as well as three holy sons, three wise masters, and three accomplished masters. Among them, Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé and Majawa Tsöpé Sengé generally followed Chandrakirti. The rest and, later, the lion of speech, great Rongtön Shéja Kunzik, in whom the karmic imprints of Kamalashila awakened, trusted the independently verifiable reason school's point of view, having attained deep certainty in it. A few of their followers, such as those in some of the



monastic colleges that adhered to the early translations, also maintain the independently verifiable reason school until the present day, although the continuity of their established teaching system did not last.

As to the consequentialist school, Translator Patsab journeyed to Kashmir, where he relied on Sajjana's two spiritual sons and others, and trained for twenty-three years. Then in Tibet he translated all of Chandrakirti's works, including commentaries to *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*, *Entering the Middle Way*, and *The Four Hundred Stanza Treatise*. He finalized [these translations] through teaching and study. His disciples—Gangpa Shéu, expert in terminology; Tsangpa Drégur, expert in meaning; Maja Jangtsön, expert in both; and Zhangtang Sakpa Yeshé Jungné, expert in neither—were known as Patsab's four spiritual sons. They and their assembly of disciples opened the great systematic path of teaching, debate, and composition of Chandrakirti's scriptural tradition. All upholders of the consequentialist middle way in the Himalayan region draw from their work.

Most outstanding scholars in Tibet upheld this teaching system; such masters specifically include the erudite masters who held the seat of Zhangtang Sakpa Yeshé Jungné; the Sakya lords and their followers; the supreme scholar, the precious master Butön Rinchen Drup; Lord Rendawa; his disciple, omniscient lord precious master Lozang Drakpa, along with his lineage; and powerful victor Mikyö Dorjé and omniscient Péma Karpo, with their followers.

This tradition's continuity of experiential cultivation was transmitted through Atisha and his spiritual sons, and mainly spread to the precious Kadampa order.

Nagarjuna's *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight* has twenty-seven chapters, from the first, an examination of secondary causes, until the last, an examination of the view. [Chandrakirti's] *Entering the Middle Way* is a commentary on the meaning of *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*; its teaching system remains undiminished to the present day.

An outline of the body of *Entering the Middle Way* has two main parts, explanations of the primary cause, awakening's stages; and of the result, the state of enlightenment. The first has two parts, a presentation of the essence of each of awakening's ten stages and a presentation of their common qualities. The first [the ten stages' essence] has three parts: a brief exposition of the stages' essence, the basis of the subject; a full explana-

tion of the stages' qualities, their special attributes; and a conclusion, based on a description of the stages' qualities.

The presentation of the result, the state of enlightenment, is summarized in five points: the place where awakening is attained; how one awakens; an outline of the bodies of enlightenment, the essence of awakening; a presentation of the underlying intention of the three awakenings; and awakening and its time. Among these, the sixth chapter on the perfection of sublime insight clearly and extensively presents the meaning of the middle way.

*How the Teaching Lineage of Extrinsic Emptiness Spread [ii]*

**Maitreya and Nagarjuna elucidated the final wheel  
In the four teachings and *A Collection of Praises*.  
Asanga, his brother Vasubandhu, Chandragomi, and others  
taught and propagated it.**

The final wheel [of the Buddha's teaching], including twenty discourses on buddha nature, was well elucidated by the Buddha's regent Maitreya in four [of his five] teachings—*The Ornament of the Discourses*, the two texts of discernment [*Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes* and *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature*] and *The Highest Continuity*—and in venerable exalted Nagarjuna's *A Collection of Praises*. [This latter text] contains separate praises in the context of the basis—to phenomena and the nature of phenomena; in the context of the path—to skillful means and sublime insight; in the context of the result—to the three bodies of enlightenment; and a praise in the context of the essence of the view itself. Such masters as Asanga, his brother [Vasubandhu], Master Chandragomi, and their followers; and Shantipa, the omniscient master of the era of dispute, taught and transmitted widely the meaning of these texts.

**Translator Ngok Loden Sherab and Tsen Kawoché received  
from Sajjana  
The teaching and practice transmissions thought to be two—  
the middle way and mind-only.  
Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé, Rangjung Dorjé, the omniscient  
master [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen] and his spiritual children,  
and others**

**Sounded a lion's great roar of the incontrovertible  
meaning.**

In Tibet during both the early and later dissemination of Buddhism, countless discourses and treatises of commentary on the subject of the final wheel [of the Buddha's instruction] were translated. Especially during the later spread, great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab received the scriptures, commentary, and teaching on Maitreya's four later instructions from the Kashmiri Master Sajjana; he then transmitted them widely. From Translator Ngok, Trapa Ngonshé's disciple Tsen Kawoché received *The Highest Continuity* and the other [texts of Maitreya]. The teaching system reached Chang Rawa and others, and continued until later times. The former [Ngok Loden Sherab] inherited the teaching transmission; the latter [Tsen Kawoché], the practice transmission. It is thought that two traditions gradually developed, that of those who hold the middle way view and that of those who hold the mind-only view. In later writings, they both accept knowledge of emptiness—truly existent, naturally clear intrinsic awareness—as the potent cause of enlightenment. Thus states omniscient Dharmakara.

From the streams of these transmissions, such masters as Scholar Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé; the second Victor, Rangjung Dorjé; the great omniscient master of Jonang [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen] and his spiritual children; omniscient Drimé Özer [i.e., Longchenpa]; Minling Terchen and his brother [Dharmashri]; and Lord Tenpé Nyinjé [i.e., Chökyi Jungné], along with his followers, sounded a lion's great roar of the incontrovertible meaning and elucidated the definite meaning beyond the mind-only view, the historical tradition of the great middle way.

**Shri Dharmapala's collections of reasoning  
Are said to elucidate the final wheel's intent.**

In the land of exalted beings, the outstanding Master Venerable Shri Dharmapala wrote the treatise *The Dawn of Positive Forms* elucidating how [Nagarjuna's] six collections of middle way reasoning and *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight* in particular constitute the final wheel's intent.

Thus, in both India and Tibet, the source of this renowned philosophical school is *The Highest Continuity*, which states:

Buddha, the teachings, the assembly, the innate constituent,  
 awakening,  
 Enlightenment's qualities, and, finally, activity:  
 These constitute the body of the entire treatise.  
 In brief, they are the seven vajra points.

The content of *The Highest Continuity* is synthesized as the ultimate vajra's seven points. [The text's] seven vajra sections of four chapters [each] explain them. The connections among the topics in order are, as the same text states,

From the Buddha, the teachings arise; from the teachings,  
 the exalted assembly;  
 From the assembly, attainment of the innate constituent,  
 the wisdom of buddha nature;  
 And finally, from that wisdom, attainment of sublime awakening  
 And other qualities of acting for all beings' benefit.

This schema presents the body of complete liberation's basis, path, and result in its entirety: the Buddha, the path's teacher; the sacred teachings, the doctrine; the spiritual community, those who train in it; those endowed with the inherent propensity to be guided by them [the three jewels]; complete liberation's awakening; and [awakening's] qualities, together with its deeds.

Furthermore, to summarize these within the stages of experiential cultivation on the path of the supreme way, the development of the mind of awakening resembles a leader; thus, this work presents the stages of the correct undertaking of that intention. Further, it overtly presents taking refuge in the three [jewels]. The focus of the mind of awakening is others' benefit and awakening. The object for whom the mind of awakening is generated is others—sentient beings; thus, it presents suchness with impurities. Aiding others is taught [through explaining] activity. Its cause is awakening. Qualities accompany awakening's acts for others' benefit. All these topics are explained in each section, and all are defined in relation to the two truths.

*The History of the Scholastic Traditions of the Uncommon Secret Mantra Vajra Way* [2]

This section has three parts: (1) [teaching systems] of the tantras of the later translations, (2) [teaching systems] of tantras of the early translations, and (3) a supplementary section.

*Teaching Systems of the Tantras of the New Translations* [a]

This section has three parts: (1) the history of the teaching of action and conduct tantras, (2) the history of the teaching of yoga tantras, and (3) the history of the teaching of the highest [yoga] tantras.

*The History of the Teaching of Action and Conduct Tantras* [i]

Uttamabodhibhagavan and Buddhaguhyā taught action and  
conduct tantras;  
Wé Manjushri spread the latter's teaching system.

Among what are known in the new translation schools as the four major tantras, the first [two] are action and conduct tantras. In the land of exalted beings, the masters Uttamabodhibhagavan and Buddhaguhyā became outstanding scholars. They exhibited skill in teaching and practice (the former in action tantra, the latter in conduct tantra), and thereby transmitted them. Further, Jétari and other masters also transmitted many of these tantras.

During the doctrine's early spread in Tibet, Buddhist King Trisong Déutsen sent an invitation to Master Buddhaguhyā through Wé Manjushri and others. Buddhaguhyā declined, but the envoys received his teaching on the three [outer] tantras—kriya, [charya,] and yoga. He gave them his written commentaries, which they carried back and offered to their ruler. They also taught them to disciples and thus spread these tantras in Tibet. Thus, [during the early period of translation,] the following texts were translated into Tibetan: *The Questions of Subahu Tantra*, *The Secret Tantra of the Rites of All Sacred Circles*, *The Later Meditative Concentration Tantra*, and other [action tantras]; and these conduct tantra texts: Master Buddhaguhyā's concise commentary on *The Tantra of Buddha Illuminator's Manifest Awakening*, transcripts of Buddhaguhyā's words perfectly recalled by the translators, and a commentary to *The*

*Vajra Holder Empowerment Tantra*. It seems that these and other texts' teaching and study systems continue to exist, yet during the period of the doctrine's later spread, many sublime individuals (such as Translator Bari Rinchen Drakpa, who transmitted the streams of various doctrinal empowerments) transmitted various traditions [of action and conduct tantras], but independent lines of teaching did not ensue to any significant degree.

Buddha Vajra Bearer Ngorchon Kunga Zangpo spent three years in retreat in Gorum Library of Sakya Monastery, where he thoroughly examined all tantras and their Indian commentaries. He composed *A General Presentation of the Action and Conduct Tantras*, and devoted great energy to transmitting its doctrine.

Today, the continuity of the reading transmission exists for the tantras, and many kinds of empowerments, authorization empowerments, [empowerment] rituals to orient awareness [to the deity], and the giving of transmission of such [action tantras] as *The Three General Families of the Action Tantras*, the two flawless deities [Flawless Topknot and Flawless Light], *The Array of the Three Pledges*, the forty-seven-deity sacred circle of Medicine Buddha, Purposeful Lasso with many deities, the nine-deity sacred circle of Buddha Unmoving, Nagarjuna's tradition of eleven-faced [All-Seeing One], and Sugatigarbha's tradition of Vajra Holder; and the conduct tantras' empowerments of the sacred circle of one hundred and twenty-two deities of both genders in *The Tantra of Buddha Illuminator's Manifest Awakening*, and the five-deity sacred circle of Arapacha Manjugosha. Yet, apart from these, no continuity of teaching systems remains.

### *The History of Teaching of Yoga Tantra* [ii]

**In yoga tantra, there are three learned masters' traditions  
Initially transmitted by the great translator, his four spiritual  
sons, and Atisha.**

**In the interim, one hundred streams from Tsakyawa Tönshak,  
Nur Nyima Özer, Dzimpa Lochen, and others**

**Finally flowed into Butön Rinchen Drup's ocean of learning.**

**He restored yoga tantra doctrines from their very foundations.**

In the land of exalted beings, three yoga tantra doctrinal systems were best known: those of Shakyamitra, who was learned in the words; Buddhaguhya, learned in the meaning; and Anandagarbha, learned in

both. Buddhaguhya's tradition appeared in Tibet during the doctrine's early spread but ceased in later times. During the later spread, only Anandagarbha's tradition was introduced. Initially, the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo went to Kashmir and relied on many masters. He received many tantras and profound instructions for meditation, and became very learned in secret mantra in general, and in yoga tantra in particular. Although most yoga tantras had already reached Tibet, [Rinchen Zangpo] made new translations consistent with the commentaries. He also translated commentaries such as *Illuminating the Absolute*, a commentary to *A Synthesis of the Absolute*, and finalized them through teaching and study. He composed a text of their practical instructions, *The Definite Essence*, and gave [the entire transmission] to many disciples, principally his four heart-sons: Lochung Lekpé Sherab, Gungshing Tsöndru Gyaltzen, Drapa Zhönnu Sherab, and Kyinor Jnana. Many preserved this lineage through study and teaching.

Following [Rinchen Zangpo's death in 1050], Podrang Shiwa Ö invited to Tibet Scholar Kalasha and others, who made many translations, particularly the untranslated sections of *The Glorious Original Supreme Tantra*. Kalasha taught many disciples *The Vajra Pinnacle Instruction Tantra*. The supreme Master Atisha gave empowerments and pith instructions for *The Purification Tantra of Buddha All Knowing* to Gomi Gomchen and others. These were transmitted successively through Kyinor Jnana, Nyalpa Nyima Sherab, and others, and were spread widely.

Translator Zangkar studied the yoga tantra cycle thoroughly and made a complete translation of the three chapters of the latter part of the commentary [*Illuminating the Absolute*]. He transmitted this principally to those known as Zangkar's four sons: Nyalpa Nyima Sherab, Marpa Dorjé Yeshé, Nyentön Tsultrim Bar, and Chang Tsangpa Sengé Gyaltzen. This teaching system became very widespread. During an interim period, Tsakyawa Tönshak, Nur Nyima Özer (a disciple of Nyalpa Nyima Sherab), and Dzimpa Lochen were the three principal masters who upheld this tradition through their study and teaching. Further, several other systems appeared, such as a lineage transmitted from the Nepalese Master Ravindra to Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa, and another transmitted from Vibhutichandra to Yakdé Zémarwa.

Later, these traditions almost disappeared, becoming very slender threads. The hundred streams of these [yoga tantra traditions] flowed into the ocean of learning of Butön Rinchen Drup, whose karmic affinity

with the yoga tantras had fully awakened at the end of this later period. He composed many texts, including *The Foremost Presentation of the Concise Meaning of the Yoga Tantras*, and other rituals for sacred circles, and thereby restored the yoga tantras' doctrines from their very foundations.

These days, the scholastic tradition [of the yoga tantras] no longer exists. There number now just thirteen major and minor empowerments, including *A Compilation of the Original Supreme Glory Tantra*, *A Compilation of the Vajra Pinnacle Tantra*, and *Vajra Basic Space Tantra*; the reading transmission for those tantras; and the empowerments for twelve sacred circles related to or extrapolated from *The Purification Tantra of Buddha All Knowing*.

Within the yoga tantra tradition, there is what are known as the upper and lower traditions. In the early half of his life, the great translator [Rinchen Zangpo] followed Shakyamitra's teaching system and Anandagarbha's practical instructions. Although this occurred in the upper half of his life, this tradition is known as the lower yoga tantra tradition, because it spread toward the lowlands [i.e., eastward]. Gyalpo Chölo of upper Nyang, Sumtön of Rinpung, and Bodong Bangka Dangchung upheld this tradition.

Concerning the upper tradition, later in life, the great translator followed Anandagarbha's tradition in both teaching and practice. Although this occurred during the latter part of his life, it is known as the upper yoga tantra tradition, because it spread toward the highlands. Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa passed it to the great Sakya lama [Sachen Kunga Nyingpo], allowing it to continue as an oral lineage. Supreme Lord Drakpa Gyaltzen, fearful that the lineage would disappear because disciples of future generations would have weak intellects and memories, and would be unable to preserve an orally transmitted lineage, wrote such texts as *The Benefit of Others Trilogy*. The gradual dissemination of his works has ensured that the practical instructions of *The Purification Tantra of Buddha All Knowing* has spread widely throughout all schools to the present time.

### *The History of Teaching of the Highest Yoga Tantras* [iii]

This section has two parts: the history of teaching of (1) father tantras and (2) mother tantras.



*The History of Teaching of Father Tantras* [aa]

This section has three parts: the history of teaching of (1) the tantras of the desire family, (2) the tantras of the anger family, and (3) the tantras of the stupidity family.

*The Tantras of the Desire Family* [1']

**It is said that there were twenty-four traditions of Matrix of Mystery.**

As many as twenty-four traditions of the highest yoga father tantra, Matrix of Mystery, were said to have arisen in India. These include those of the supreme Master Padmavajra, Anangavajra, Nagarjuna, Lalitavajra, Vajrahasa, Trikandhendra, Madhuraghoshapala, Buddhajnana, Shantipa, and Anandagarbha. Among them, the last is considered incorrect since, although based upon commentaries by an Indian scholar, it elucidates what is definitely a highest yoga tantra as a yoga tantra.

**Among just the six traditions to appear in Tibet,  
The principal two are those of the exalted master [Nagarjuna]  
and Venerable Buddhajnana.**

Among those [twenty-four] traditions, six appeared here in Tibet: traditions from the exalted master [Nagarjuna], Venerable Buddhajnana, Shantipa, Vajrahasa, Padmavajra, and Anandagarbha.

During Buddhism's early spread in Tibet, [a translator] named Ché Tashi translated this tantra, and it was known among the eighteen major tantras as *The Matrix of Mystery Mind Tantra*. Teachings that elucidated it appeared, as the appearance of Vajrahasa's tradition illustrates. Nevertheless, the empowerments, teaching systems, and pith instructions of the later [four traditions on the list] were not disseminated for long. The principal traditions are those of the exalted master—Nagarjuna's tradition—and Buddhajnana's tradition. These two traditions' complete series of empowerments, teaching systems, and pith instructions reached Tibet and continue to the present day.

The former is the tradition of Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Gö Kukpa Lhétsé, Atisha, Chak Chöjé Pal, and supreme Scholar Shakyashri;

The latter is the tradition of Rinchen Zangpo, Translator Nyen, Ra Chörab, and Nyö Jungpo.

Concerning the former tradition (that of the exalted master [Nagarjuna]) at the inception of Buddhism's later spread in Tibet, the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo translated *The Matrix of Mystery Tantra* itself; a commentary to that tantra, *The Radiant Lamp*; and many other long and short related scriptures. He thoroughly mastered their empowerments, teachings, and so on. Later, many Tibetan translators studied Matrix of Mystery in India, made various translations of it, and taught them. The most renowned of these are two traditions, those of Marpa Chökyi Lodrö and Gö Kukpa Lhétsé.

Translator Marpa Chökyi Lodrö received the Matrix of Mystery cycle from masters Naropa, Jnanagarbha, and others. He taught this to his disciples in Tibet; among his foremost disciples—the “four pillars”—he particularly transmitted the complete Matrix of Mystery cycle to Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé, who passed it in turn to Khampa Ronyam Dorjé, who had started a journey to India to obtain Matrix of Mystery teachings. En route, he met two Indians who were on their way to receive Matrix of Mystery from Marpa Chökyi Lodrö; Ronyam Dorjé decided to return. Since Marpa had already passed away, Khampa Ronyam Dorjé received Matrix of Mystery, etc., from Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé. This proximate lineage from Khampa Ronyam Dorjé became known as Marpa Chökyi Lodrö's tradition.

On the subject of Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's tradition, the great Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé received Matrix of Mystery empowerments, tantras, commentaries, and pith instructions from seventy scholars, including the supreme Master Dipamkara, Dévakarachandra, and Viryabhadra, and from two dakinis. In Tibet, he made excellent corrections and revisions of the earlier period's translations of *The Matrix of Mystery Tantra* and its major and minor commentaries. He gave extensive Matrix of Mystery teachings to his disciples. Among his disciples were four who planted the tantra's pillars, eight who raised the pith instructions' beams, and innumerable ones who set the rafters—skill in minor activities and enlightened activity. These disciples include Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's six supreme

disciples, including Marab Sengé Gyaltzen. The proximate lineage that stems from them greatly spread Matrix of Mystery teachings; it is known as Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's tradition.

Atisha taught Matrix of Mystery to Translator Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa, who taught it to Rongpa Chaksorpa. This is known as Atisha's tradition. Chak Chöje Pal relied on Pandit Ravindra and others, and received Matrix of Mystery teachings. He taught it to his disciples, including Uyuk Kung-rab Lama Pal. That proximate lineage is known as Chak Chöje Pal's tradition.

Scholar [Shakyashri] from Kashmir taught Matrix of Mystery to Sakya Pandit, Chal Chökyi Zangpo, and others. This is known as Panchen's tradition. That lineage from Sakya Pandit divided into two, the Sakya tradition and the Chak tradition. Thus, we count six traditions of Matrix of Mystery [from Nagarjuna]. Further, there are various lineages that have slightly differing teaching systems.

Concerning the latter tradition that originated from Buddhajñana, great Translator Rinchen Zangpo first passed it to Kyangpo Chökyi Lodrö and others. Smriti Jnana also taught it in Kham [eastern Tibet]. Therefore, it is known as the Kham tradition. The lineage of these teachings from Scholar Sunayashri and Translator Nyen became prevalent among the Sakyapas; thus it is known as the Sakya tradition. Ra Chörab received Matrix of Mystery from Scholar Punyeshri and others, and then spread it; thus, it is known as Ra's tradition. Nyö Jungpo relied upon Baling Acharya and received Matrix of Mystery; thus his lineage is known as the Nyö tradition. These and other traditions arose.

In these two traditions [of Matrix of Mystery from Nagarjuna and Buddhajñana], there seems to have been in Tibet a very great number of writers of such works as commentaries, practice texts, rituals of the sacred circle, and pith instructions.

**The supreme traditions are Marpa Chökyi Lodrö's and Gö  
Kukpa Lhétsé's transmissions of practice and teaching.  
Marpa's teaching line flowed through Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé.  
Gö's tradition continued through the pillars, beams, rafters,  
etc.;**

**It reached the second omniscient one, Butön Rinchen Drup.**

Among those traditions, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö's and Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's traditions reign supreme. The former constitutes the transmission of

the practice of experiential cultivation; the latter, that of the teaching system.

Marpa's teaching system flowed through Tsurtön Wang-gi Dorjé [and his disciples] such as Khampa Ronyam Dorjé and Khön Gépa Kirti. Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's teaching system passed through his disciples, including the tantras' "four pillars." These traditions of teaching were united by omniscient master Chöku Özer (a rebirth of Kashmiri Scholar [Shakyashri]), who could comprehend any treatise by merely reading it. He gave these teachings to Pakpa Ö, a master of Nagarjuna's [work], yoga tantra, and Wheel of Time. From him, the precious master Butön Rinchen Drup received [the transmission of Matrix of Mystery], became greatly learned in it, and composed texts, such as *The Major Commentary: A Clear Lamp*. Butön Rinchen Drup's disciple, Kyung Lhépa Zhönnu Sönam, taught the supreme Lord Lozang Drakpa [Tsongkapa] whose teaching of Matrix of Mystery covered the entire earth. Matrix of Mystery All-Seeing One is Lord Atisha's personal tradition he gave Lhatsun Jangchub Ö. A minor tradition, only its empowerment remains today.

Only the doctrinal empowerments and the tantras' reading transmissions in both traditions of Matrix of Mystery are widespread in every [school]. Within the Zhalu tradition, the continuity of direct instruction in the five stages of meditation, along with their experiential cultivation, remains uninterrupted. Within the Géden tradition, a teaching system continues uninterrupted that proclaims a fourfold interweaving of the root tantra, *The Major Commentary: A Clear Lamp*, interlinear notes, and a concluding analysis.

It is said that Lord Marpa had seven teaching systems for Matrix of Mystery, but their streams disappeared in later times.

Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé received many textual teaching traditions based on the scriptures of Nagarjuna's fivefold cycle of Matrix of Mystery. Among them, he emphasized three traditions—from Abhijna, a scholar from Bengal; Dévikara (known in Tibetan as Tsunmo Chen), a scholar from Sahor; and Krishna-samaya-vajra, a scholar from Vajra Seat. From among these three, he took Krishna-samaya-vajra's tradition as the basis of his teachings.

### *The Matrix of Mystery Tantra*

That system (the view of the father exalted Master [Nagarjuna] and his spiritual heirs) considers that the teachings in the great sovereign Matrix

of Mystery tantra have two aspects: those determined by its true substance and those determined by specific circumstances.

Concerning the first [the teaching of the true substance of the tantra], the meaning presented in such lines [from the tantra] as, “Non-meditation within insubstantiality” is that of the inexpressible and indescribable abiding nature of nondual [relative and ultimate] truth.

Concerning the second [the teaching based on specific circumstances], the tantra can be synthesized under three categories: the tantra’s subject matter, its means of expression, and the relation between those two.

First, [the tantra’s subject:] Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé’s *The Great Teaching Session* states:

The individual, the support which enters the tantra, purifies these ordinary appearances of natural phenomena, which constitute the basis of purification. What must be relinquished are the seeds of the three kinds of thoughts present in the individual’s own mind stream. To eliminate them, the individual focuses on the focal point—the sixth Buddha Great Vajra Bearer—then cultivates experience on the two paths: the path of maturation and the path of liberation. Thus, the individual attains temporary and ultimate results. These points comprise the subject matter of Matrix of Mystery.

As stated, this tantra’s subject matter has six points: (1) the individual, the support which enters the tantra; (2) natural phenomena, the basis of purification, which the individual must know and transform; (3) what must be relinquished, conflictual impurities encountered on the path; (4) the focal point; (5) techniques of experiential cultivation; and (6) the results gained from perfecting experiential cultivation.

(1) First, there are two kinds of individuals: those to be rejected—non-Buddhists who view the self [as existent]; and those to be accepted—Buddhists, proponents of the absence of a self. This latter group comprises those of the lesser way, pious attendants and solitary sages; and those of the great way, those free from desire and those with desire. The first three [pious attendants, solitary sages, and those without desire] are not true vessels for this tantra, yet since this tantra synthesizes all approaches to the teachings, the text’s words mention them.

There are two kinds of individuals with desire: those with the afflictive

emotion of desire and those with desire for the antidotes. The first has four kinds: [the desire] to gaze [at the object of desire], to laugh [with the object of desire], to embrace, and to unite. The last [is relevant here]. There are four kinds of desire for the antidotes: devotion, compassion, faith, and wisdom, which are, respectively, desire toward the spiritual master, sentient beings, the wisdom deity, and the nature of reality. Further, among those of the lowest degree of acumen, who delight in knowledge, and those with the highest degree of acumen, who delight in methods, it is taught that the latter are worthy vessels for this tantra.

These subjects [related to individuals who enter this tantra] are synthesized under [four headings]: the individual's essence; concise and detailed classifications of the individual; characteristics [of the individual] in general, in specific cases, and of worthy recipients [for the teachings]; and the reasoning of the literal definition [of the individual].

(2) Second, the basis of purification has two parts: birth, the basis of purification of relative truth; and death, the basis of purification of ultimate truth. The former comprises two supreme victors—the sacred residence and the sacred residents. The latter entails application to each of the five stages' bases of purification.

(3) Third, impurities encountered on the path has three parts: strong defilements, unbridled thoughts of material phenomena as ordinary; subtle defilements, active dualistic thoughts; and very subtle defilements, concepts of the very essence of material substance. Each of these has two kinds of remedies: a weaker remedy that purifies coarse defilements to be relinquished, and a strong remedy that purifies subtle defilements to be relinquished.

(4) Fourth, the focal point is the supreme Buddha Vajra Bearer, the state of union beyond training, [the buddha] replete with seven features, and epitome of enlightenment's three bodies, the three times, three Buddhist ways, three sacred circles, and three truths.

(5) Fifth, the techniques of experiential cultivation has two parts: (1) the path of maturation [i.e., empowerment] that ripens those whose mind streams are immature and that makes individuals worthy vessels for the achievement of the three kinds of accomplishment; and (2) the path of liberation [i.e., instruction in meditation practice] that frees those not liberated from the three concepts.

The first has three parts: the preliminary practice of approach, the master's entry [into the sacred circle], and the disciples' entry. The first

has three degrees: the best is authorization from the deity, the middle is attainment of signs, and the last is completion of the prescribed number of mantra repetitions. The second [entry of the master] has five parts: the three rites for [the adoption of] the ground, preparation, and [setting out] the colored lines [used in drawing the sacred circle]; consecration [of the sacred circle]; its practice; offerings; and self-empowerment. The third [induction of disciples] has five parts: disciples' entry into the sacred circle, so they become of equal fortune to the deity; presentation of the sacred circle [to disciples], so they recognize the deity; bestowal of empowerment, so they will be empowered or have authorization to meditate on both the creation and completion phases; entrustment of mantras and mudras, so those entrusted can attain the two accomplishments in this very lifetime; and the presentation of pledges and vows, to prevent impairment of the customs of the great way. Each of these five has many subdivisions.

(2) Second, the path of liberation—techniques of experiential cultivation—has two parts: post-meditative conduct and settling in evenness.

Conduct has two kinds: the inferior conduct of the lesser way and the sublime conduct of the great way. The latter is of two kinds: that which is free from desire, the vast activity of the transcendent perfections; and that which has desire, the profound conduct of secret mantra. On the subject of secret mantra conduct, this is taught in general in relation to the four tantras' methods; in this case, the conduct of the final class of tantra, supreme yoga, takes two specific forms: a lord's conduct and secret mantra conduct. These are known respectively as "the conduct of total victory," and "the conduct of the young king" (or "the conduct of the illustrious regent"). The latter conduct has two kinds: the common conduct of training based on engagement in desire, and the conduct of the tantric discipline of awareness. Each of these is presented in three modes: elaborate, simple, and very simple.

The elaborate conduct of the discipline of awareness has five aspects: practices of the number of seals; two categories of the inner propensity and those who have that propensity; characteristics; time; and attributes. The simple conduct of the discipline of awareness has five aspects: union with the wisdom mudra [consort], which is the conduct of desire for the diligent to achieve enlightenment within their lifetime; the conduct of blending with death for the lazy, the primary cause for enlightenment during the interval between death and rebirth; the conduct of blend-

ing with sleep for those who have obstacles, the primary cause for their enlightenment after a succession of lifetimes; the conduct of Shakyamuni's way to enlightenment, beginning the spiritual path with the way of philosophical systems and concluding the path with the secret mantra way (the former brings attainment of awakening's ten stages; the latter, bestowal of the three higher empowerments in the highest pure land and attainment of enlightenment); and the conduct that seals the first three forms of conduct—[realization of] the absence of a self of phenomena and the conduct of union. The rituals for elaborate and simple conduct include the place, implements, and how to practice the forms of conduct. The special characteristics of the individuals who engage in these forms of conduct are presented as ancillary subjects.

Settling in evenness has two aspects: the preliminary to the practice, how to train in the motivation of the Buddha's way; and the actual practice. The latter has two parts: (1) creation phase meditation, which indirectly makes wisdom arise, and (2) completion phase, which directly makes wisdom arise.

(1) Creation phase meditation is synthesized in two parts. The first is the basis of purification, the authentic creation phase, which is presented through three subjects: its essence, classification, and the reasoning of its literal meaning. [The second part of creation phase meditation] is purification, the nominal creation phase, which is made up of two aspects: approach and practice. Approach, which pleases the wisdom deities, has two aspects: single-pointed mindfulness, which is training in single-minded concentration on coarse [phenomena] using familiarity with the deities' substantial [appearances]; and conceptual contemplative practice, attachment to and conceptualization of very subtle phenomena.

The former, single-pointed mindfulness, has two categories: [meditation on] the sacred circle's wheel and on the spiritual warrior alone. Each of these has a support, the celestial palace; and contents, wisdom deities. Or, [they can be treated separately,] with the wheel of the sacred circle as the subject of meditation—[Matrix of Mystery's] thirty-two deities. The principal deity upon which the buddha-family flower landed [during the empowerment] moves [to the center; that configuration] is counted [as a whole circle of thirty-two]. Further, each deity has both a pledge and wisdom aspect; counted together, there are ninety-six "applications." [Second,] for [meditation on] the spiritual warrior alone, individuals with the highest degree of acumen create the deity's presence using four



contemplative practices. Those with a moderate degree of acumen create the deity's presence using [a ritual comprising] the five aspects of manifest awakening. Those with a lesser degree of acumen create the deity using [a ritual comprising] the four vajras. Each has a sacred circle of thirty-two deities, with one that moves to become the principal deity, thus ninety-six "applications." The techniques for their experiential cultivation can be synthesized into two: the preliminary practices and the main practice.

Second, conceptual contemplative practice has two aspects: inner absorption, taught for those with a high degree of acumen, who delight in meditation; and absorption in mantra [recitation], taught for those of a low degree of acumen, who delight in mantra recitation. In the first, there are two aspects, the upper gate and the lower gate, applied as antidotes for the elements, afflictive emotions, and constituents of sickness. In these practices, one trains in the meditative state of the five certainties. The second [absorption in mantra recitation] has two kinds: counting recitations of the three syllables or mantra garlands, for those who delight in either concise [the first] or lengthy practices [the latter]. [In either case,] burnt offerings supplement the recitations. Each of these former and latter four categories [two aspects of inner absorption and two aspects of mantra recitation absorption] has thirty-two deities, as before [in the description of single-pointed mindfulness]; thus, a total of one hundred and twenty-eight "applications."

In a beginner's absorption to practice for desired accomplishments, the preliminary practices entail six months of engagement in the conduct of the discipline of awareness. The actual practice has two parts: practice for worldly accomplishment—the four activities [listed below]; and practice for common accomplishment—the eight supreme attainments. First, [the four activities are] concentration produced by the phase of creation; concentration produced by the phase of completion; mantra and text recitations endowed with eight distinctive features; and four devices endowed with four special absorptions: burnt offerings, yantra substances, mantras, and tantra. Each of these four has thirty-two categories of practitioners, making a hundred and twenty-eight categories. It is also taught that each of the four activities has many subdivisions in terms of the aims of the practice.

[Second,] in relation to common accomplishments, the root tantra lists six, whereas the explanatory tantra lists eight. First is the sword; sec-

ond, awareness holder, which has five kinds, one for each of the five wisdom families; third, pills, which are of two kinds: mantra pills of wisdom body, speech, and mind, and general and specific material pills; clairvoyance, which is of two kinds: practice of the array of bodhisattvas and of transcendent buddhas [in celestial palaces]; swift feet, which is of two kinds: mundane swiftness, and supramundane swiftness of wisdom body, speech, and mind; eye-salve; the excellent vase; and boots. The last three have no subdivisions.

(2) The phase of completion has two parts. [First,] three topics—the essence, classification, and etymology—present the authentic completion phase, the basis of purification. [Second,] the nominal completion phase, the agent of purification, comprises the six aspects of approach and accomplishment—five stages of approach, and accomplishment of union.

First, among the five stages of approach—three facets of solitude, illusory body, and clear light—the first is physical solitude, which has nine topics: the individual, who is the support; the essence of physical solitude; etymology; what must be known; defilements to be relinquished; the classification of physical solitude into form, nature, consciousness, and meditative states (these constitute the basis of solitude synthesized into its subjects); techniques of experiential cultivation; evaluation of signs; and the results of having cultivated the experience.

Second, vocal solitude is presented like physical solitude, in nine topics: basis, essence, etc. There are three categories: the ultimate nature of circulating energy, the basis; the ultimate nature of sound, its content; and the ultimate nature of the root of those two, the sound to be known. The first [the ultimate nature of circulating energy] has thirteen aspects: essence, etymology, outer and inner categories, function, source, gateways of movement, individual names, colors, sequence, enumeration, methods of training, evaluation of signs, and results. Second, [the ultimate nature of sound] has three general topics: mantras of the continuity of the cause, mantras of the continuity of techniques, and mantras of the continuity of the result. Each of these is presented in four topics: essence, etymology, categories, and their functions in the wheel of life and transcendence. Specifically, in the case of the mantras of the continuity of techniques, to those four topics the following are added: a full classification of terms, how mantras multiply, the mantras' meanings, the mantras' symbolism, accumulation of mantras, techniques of recitation, counting mantras,

evaluation of signs, and results. The last [nine] among those thirteen are taught in relation to both creation and completion phases.

Third, mental solitude is presented in fourteen topics: the individual who is the support; essence; etymology; categories of the object, the mind's apparent phenomena, and of the subject, the apparent phenomena of wisdom, the mind's focus; the mind's function that creates the wheel of life and transcendence; the time of mental events; the timing of engagement; the mind's characteristics; enumeration of terms; the faults of lacking realization and the qualities of realization; what must be known of mental solitude; establishing subject and object; evaluation of signs of consummation; and results. [Mental solitude] can also be presented in five topics: the support; what must be known; what must be relinquished; categories, with the characteristics of each; and etymology.

Fourth, illusory body has seventeen topics: basis; essence; etymology; categories of pure and impure [illusory body]; causes and consequences; causes and conditions; how illusory body is attained; the gradual path that makes one a [worthy] vessel; the faults of lacking attainment and the qualities of attainment; the pervasion of things and actions; what must be relinquished; what must be known; enumeration of terms; illustrative examples; techniques of experiential cultivation; evaluation of signs; and results.

Fifth, clear light has eighteen topics: the support; essence; etymology; categories such as the eighteen degrees of emptiness, or outer and inner manifest awakening; stages that make one a [worthy] vessel; what must be known; what must be relinquished, antidotes and manifest awakening; methods of practice and meditative concentration; enumeration of terms; how clear light pervades; causes and consequences; categories; characteristics; engagement and reversal; classification of pith instructions; meditation; evaluation of signs; and results.

[Sixth,] the contemplative practice of union has twelve topics: the individual who is the support; essence; etymology; categories of [stages of] learning and beyond learning; how to rise from clear light; enumeration of terms; characteristics; causes and conditions of accomplishment; what must be known; techniques for experiential cultivation; evaluation of signs; and results. Or, the accomplishment of union can be taught through these topics: the support; what must be known; what must be relinquished; illustrative examples, among which are three characteristics of union—cessation, appearance, and their interrelation; two methods of training; evaluation of consummation; and the benefits.

Among those six [aspects of approach and accomplishment], the initial three solitudes make the body, speech, and mind pliable; and they set a foundation for tranquil abiding. The latter three primarily teach insight, the abiding nature of things—illusory body, the emptiness of the [mind's] objects, is the proximate cause of the body of perfect rapture; clear light, the emptiness of mind, is the ultimate truth; and [the accomplishment of union], the emptiness of nondual mind and its objects, the indivisible two truths, abides as the result.

(6) The sixth main topic [the results of perfecting experiential cultivation] has two parts: common accomplishments and sublime accomplishment. These are categorized as twenty-four: common accomplishments are the eight great activities and the eight feats; supreme accomplishments are the eight qualities of union.

That concludes the presentation of this tantra's subject matter. Second, the means of expression, the verbal tantra, is presented by means of the six parameters and the four modes.

Both provisional meanings and definitive meanings are based on the limits of meaning: the same words can present both an obvious and an obscure meaning. Implicit and explicit meanings are based on the limits of words: words of both provisional and definitive meanings can present the same definite meaning. Literal and non-literal meanings are based in both limits of [meanings and words], since two [different] words can present the same meaning, and the same word can have two meanings.

Provisional meaning can conclusively present only the creation phase; definitive meaning can conclusively present only the completion phase. Implicit teachings mostly present the completion phase, yet [some] present the creation phase. The contrary is the case for teachings of explicit meaning. Non-literal meaning mostly presents the completion phase, yet in some cases it teaches the creation phase. The contrary is the case for the literal meaning. If two meanings are understood from one word, there is definitely a provisional and a definitive meaning. If there is an inapposite word in whichever of the two phases are taught, this is an explanation with an implicit meaning. The contrary case [i.e., no inapposite words] is an explicit explanation. Likewise, if there is just a symbolic explanation, the words will have a non-literal meaning. If the explanation can be understood by everyone, learned and unlearned, the words are to be understood literally.

Teaching using the four modes is explained in detail below [in *Systems*

of *Buddhist Tantra*, pp. 287–290]. In brief, one word [in a tantra] can have four meanings: The first two meanings are taught on the basis of the words themselves: the semantic meaning and the general meaning. The hidden meaning and the ultimate meaning are taught based on the [tantra's] meaning. All ten (the six limits and four modes) are taught in two contexts, public lectures and teaching to disciples.

Third is the relation between the tantra's subject matter and its means of expression, the connection between the subject matter's six topics and the twelve means of expression by which they are taught. For example, in the tantra's first topic, the four kinds of individual who are the support (such as an individual like sandalwood, [or like a blue lotus, or a white lotus, or a red lotus]) are taught using the provisional meaning and a semantic mode of explanation. A jewel-like individual is taught using the definitive meaning and the ultimate mode of explanation. The provisional meaning, and semantic and general modes of explanation, are used to present the phase of creation's basis of purification (the defilements of thoughts of things as ordinary); the phase of creation's focus; the vase empowerment; the phase of creation's path; the first half of physical solitude; and the worldly and common accomplishments. The definitive meaning and the hidden and ultimate modes of explanation are used to present the phase of completion's basis of purification, active dualistic thoughts; the phase of completion's focus; the higher three empowerments; the phase of completion's six stages; and sublime accomplishment. The four [of the six limits not explained here], such as implicit and explicit meaning, are taught related to all six points of the subject matter.

In brief, the subject, the ultimate Matrix of Mystery, is as stated here:

I have taught the mystery in three aspects:  
 Wisdom body, wisdom speech, and wisdom mind.  
 The assembly, expressed as a matrix,  
 Is a synonym for all buddhas.

Thus, all buddhas' ultimate wisdom body, speech, and mind are the mystery, since they are secret to those not endowed with outstanding fortune, such as pious attendants, solitary sages, and even followers of the great way. This is not a Buddha related to a limited realm and set of disciples, but one who epitomizes all buddhas' assembly or matrix, a body of integral union, known as supreme Buddha Vajra Bearer or "the one who is

all buddhas.” It is taught, “This is the place of the ultimate. Therefore, its means of expression, the verbal Matrix of Mystery [tantra], is the crown of all tantras.”

It is thought that even the bodhisattvas’ commentaries on the Wheel of Time [tantra] present Matrix of Mystery’s meaning, the tantras of Vajra of Delight are oriented toward Matrix of Mystery, and the Wheel of Supreme Bliss [tantras] elucidate Matrix of Mystery’s ultimate nature.

### *The Tantras of the Anger Family [2’]*

**Slayer of the Lord of Death spans five time periods:  
Desired Accomplishment, Various Forms of Conduct,  
Harmful, Definite Engagement, and Partial Engagement.**

Slayer of the Lord of Death’s cycle of teachings appeared in India during five successive time periods. Not long after the canon’s third compilation, the secret mantra tantras of Slayer of the Lord of Death spread: that period of two hundred years constitutes the first time period, Desired Accomplishment. Groups of many thousands of followers reached great seal’s sublime accomplishment.

The second time period, Accomplishment of Various Forms of Conduct, lasted three hundred years. All without a single exception who entered this sacred circle achieved their goal. Further, very many reached sublime accomplishment. The third period, Harmful, lasted over five hundred years. Although many attained accomplishment, this was the era of Brahmin Chanaka and others, who primarily used their powers to enact overt conduct of wrathful activity. During the fourth period (from Master Lalitavajra until Kamalarakshita), Definite Engagement, [persons] definitely engaged in and mastered the creation phase and its activity.

The fifth time period, Partial Engagement, continues until the present day. For a hundred years (from the time of the six learned gate-keepers [of Vikramashila Monastery] until Abhayakaragupta), the tantra spread in India and accomplishment of its activity was swift. Then [the tantra of] Red Slayer of the Lord of Death spread and the cycle of Fearsome Vajra fell into disuse, and it seemed that barbarian [armies] reached central India. Therefore, the supreme general remedy [to repel] barbarian [armies] is Yamantaka [i.e., Slayer of the Lord of Death], king of wrathful

deities, and great Fearsome Vajra in particular.

**Lalitavajra, Venerable Buddhajnana, and Shri Dhara  
Were the early, middle, and last designated heirs,  
And were vajra masters of the supreme sacred circle.**

Although [Slayer of the Lord of Death] spread during those five time periods, in the experience of common disciples, the actual spread of the tantra's empowerment and teaching began with Master Lalitavajra, continued with Venerable Buddhajnana, and ended with the Brahmin Master Shri Dhara. These three masters were, respectively, the early, middle, and last designated heirs of Slayer of the Lord of Death, and all three accepted the title "vajra master of the supreme sacred circle."

**In particular, the compilation of Slayer of the Lord of Death's  
cycles passed successively  
Through Shri Dhara and others. In this land, it was the first  
secret mantra tantra.**

In particular, Shri Dhara compiled all rivers of tantras and pith instructions of Slayer of the Lord of Death—the red and black forms, and Fearsome Vajra. They passed through a succession of other teachers; many of those teachings appeared in Tibet. It is said that in this land, emanated King Songtsen Gampo composed a practice text for this deity, which marked the earliest appearance of secret mantra in Tibet. As soon as communities of renunciants began to spread [in Tibet], *The Victorious Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra* was translated, and its empowerment, teaching, pith instructions, and practical instructions appeared. Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé diffused countless cycles of Slayer of the Lord of Death: many accomplished masters of awareness mantras appeared. In these ways, this became the first secret mantra tantra to appear [in Tibet].

**During the doctrine's later spread, [traditions originated with]  
Chokdru Sherab Lama,  
Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa, Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, Chal  
Chöpal Zangpo, Ra Dorjé Drak, Lama Kyo, Zhang, and  
Nyö Jungpo;**

**Among them, the tradition of Ra Dorjé Drak, Manjushri  
incarnate, is most exalted in teaching and practice.**

During the doctrine's later spread, Translator Chokdru Sherab Lama first translated such texts as *Black Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra*, *Fearsome Vajra's Seven Segments*, and the practice text of Fearsome Vajra's forty-nine-deity [sacred circle]. He also spread the empowerments and teachings of the black and red forms of Slayer of the Lord of Death, and Fearsome Vajra. Translator Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa also studied [Slayer of the Lord of Death] with Atisha and Krishna-samaya-vajra and translated the tantra's commentaries. Slayer of the Lord of Death became widespread through such activity as empowerments and teachings on the tantra.

Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo relied upon Upaya Shrimitra, then translated the tantras of Black Slayer of the Lord of Death and Fearsome Vajra, and taught them. Further, Translator Nyö Jungpo, Translator Ra Dorjé Drak, Translator Shuké Drakpa Gyaltsen, and many others made numerous new translations, revisions, and so on, of the red and black forms of Slayer of the Lord of Death, and Fearsome Vajra tantras, scriptures, and pith instructions.

In particular, this great tradition had eight founders: a group of four, including Translator Chal Chöpal Zangpo; a group of three—Translator Ra Dorjé Drak, Lama Kyo, and Zhang; and Translator Nyö Jungpo. [The four mentioned first] are Translator Chal Chöpal Zangpo, who received the cycles of Red and Black Slayer of the Lord of Death from Nishkalingka and then spread them in Tibet; Danashila, who gave them to Sakya Pandit; Translator Chak Chöjé Pal, who translated and taught texts by Virupa and others; and Translator Lowo Sherab Rinchen, who studied with Darpana Acharya and others, then transmitted the teachings. The empowerments, instructions, and pith instructions of Red Slayer of the Lord of Death have appeared from these streams of transmission.

The Ra tradition began with Translator Ra Dorjé Drak, who relied upon the Nepalese masters Baro Chak-dum and Mechalingpa, and received Fearsome Vajra's empowerment, tantras, and pith instructions. In particular, he received from the Nepalese master Mahakaruna the complete cycles of such deities as Black Slayer of the Lord of Death, Red Slayer of the Lord of Death, and Fearsome Vajra. He then turned the great wheel of the teachings in Tibet. It is said that just the disciples to



whom he gave the Slayer of the Lord of Death cycle numbered two thousand. These teachings were primarily continued by such teachers as Ra Chörab, but the way they became widespread is indescribable.

The Kyo tradition began with Lama Kyo, who fostered the spread of the Fearsome Vajra cycle he received from Amoghavajra and others. The Zhang tradition began with Translator Chokdru Sherab Lama (mentioned above), who received Black Slayer of the Lord of Death and Fearsome Vajra from Dévakarachandra. The tradition derives from those whom Chokdru Sherab Lama taught. The Nyö tradition began with Translator Nyö Jungpo, who received the threefold cycle of the Black Slayer of the Lord of Death from Baling Acharya and others.

Among these, the tradition of great Translator Ra Dorjé Drak, Manjushri Fearsome Vajra in the guise of a spiritual mentor, has a teaching system, practice, and power that continue uninterrupted; thus, its activity pervades all schools and is most exalted. In modern times, these tantras' teaching systems no longer exist, yet we still have the tantras, reading transmissions for the works of Translator Ra Dorjé Drak, and the stream of empowerments and gradual guidance in the pith instructions from seven different traditions.

The eighth lord [Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé] highly praised the Nyö tradition of Fearsome Vajra, and composed texts for the practice of its sacred circle. The streams of its empowerment and reading transmissions still exist.

### *The Tantras of the Stupidity Family [3']*

Great Translator [Rinchen Zangpo] translated the tantra of the stupidity family, *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*. Its teaching and practice instructions appear in the early and later traditions.

*The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*, chief of all tantras, comes from the chapter on the net of meditative states of the sixteen-thousand-verse *Manjushri's Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*, a tantra of the father tantras' stupidity family. The bodhisattvas elucidated it as part of the Wheel of Time tradition; Lalitavajra, as a father tantra of the highest yoga tantras; Manjushrikirti and Manjushrimitra, as a yoga tantra. It is even said that in

Tibet, it is elucidated as great perfection, and in India as the middle way.

The great Translator Rinchen Zangpo first translated this tantra; various translators later revised it. Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé received from Kyi Jéma Lungpa the teaching transmission, the stream of the empowerment, along with the pith instructions passed from the great scholar Smriti Jnana—the yoga tantra tradition. Ngoktön also received the highest yoga tantra tradition, Métripa's doctrinal custom, directly from his teacher Marpa Chökyi Lodrö. The streams of these empowerments and reading transmissions still exist undiminished, and the former lineage's teaching system [that of the yoga tantra] still survives.

When one gains certainty in this sovereign tantra, one gains certainty in the entirety of the highest yoga tantras. If one doesn't know this tantra's meaning, one won't know the essentials of the highest yoga tantras' path. *The Stainless Light Commentary to the Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* states:

To dispel sentient beings' doubts, the Transcendent Conqueror gathered [Manjushri's names] from all secret mantra ways into *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*, and taught it thoroughly to Bodhisattva Vajra Holder. Those who do not know *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri* do not know Buddha Vajra Bearer's wisdom body. Those who do not know Buddha Vajra Bearer's wisdom body do not know the secret mantra way. Those who do not know the secret mantra way are beings in the wheel of life, since they live apart from the path of the Transcendent Conqueror Vajra Bearer.

It has been said that *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri Tantra*, like a wish-granting tree or a wish-fulfilling jewel, bestows to all beings every temporary and ultimate desired goal. As stated in the chapter on this tantra's benefits, just to read this tantra's words at the very least reaps boundless benefits, such as purification of very powerful obscurations and negative karma, and rapid reception of Lord Manjushri's blessings.

On the subject of an outline of the body of this tantra, the lineage-bearing king [of Shambhala], Pundarika, divided it into fourteen chapters, as follows:

The request, the reply, surveying the groups of propensities,  
 The net of magical illusion's manifest awakening,  
 Vajra basic space, [wisdom of the basic space of phenomena,]  
 Mirrorlike wisdom, discerning [wisdom], [the wisdom of]  
 equality,  
 Accomplishing [wisdom], praise of the five transcendent  
 buddhas' qualities,  
 Benefits, praises, and rejoicing.

The chapter on the net of magical illusion forms this tantra's root. The later chapters were added as an explanatory tantra, or as branches. In them, the provisional meaning—emanation of six sacred circles—is conjoined with the teaching of the definitive meaning—six vital essences. Among those chapters, only the chapter on discerning wisdom teaches completely the result of [the paths of] maturation [i.e., empowerment] and liberation [i.e., instruction in meditation]. Within that [eighth] chapter, the [fifth] verse that begins,

In the three worlds, your youthful form is unique.  
 [An aged elder, or a chief of beings,  
 You bear the thirty-two marks of physical perfection.  
 Beautiful, you are the most handsome in the three worlds.]

teaches the meaning of the entire tantra. Therefore that verse is taught joined with the general tantra's process of manifest realization [i.e., the phase of creation].

Although many different translations of *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri* appeared, their meaning is the same. What lasting dissimilarities [between editions] exist are due to two systems of commentary. According to the yoga tantra, [the tantra reads]:

There are a thousand drops and a hundred syllables.

While the highest yoga tantra states, “. . . six syllables.”

### *The History of Teaching Systems of Mother Tantras* [bb]

Among the mother tantras' six wisdom families, I shall present three here: (1) the héruka family, (2) the family of permanence, and (3) the Vajrasattva family.

#### *The Héruka Family* [r']

**Twenty-seven traditions of Supreme Bliss appeared in India;  
Most reached Tibet.**

Supreme Bliss represents the mother tantras' innermost essence. Twenty-six or twenty-seven independent traditions of it are said to have appeared in India. Most of the root and explanatory tantras' empowerments, reading transmissions, and teaching doctrines reached Tibet. A large proportion of Indian accomplished masters gained accomplishment in this tantra. Therefore, in general, traditions of Supreme Bliss were very numerous. Nevertheless, three traditions—from Luyipa, Vajraghantapa, and Krishnacharya—predominated, as renowned as the sun and moon. Further, there were traditions from Darikapa, Dengipa, Indrabhuti the lesser, the Sri Lankan Jinabhadra, Durjayachandra, the eastern Lavapa ([also known as] Sunyata-samadhi), the first part of Vajra Holder's commentary, Bhavabhadra, and Brahmin Ratnavajra. These were independent traditions based upon the root tantra of Supreme Bliss; they have been translated into Tibetan.

There were an additional fifteen independent traditions developed in India by fifteen great accomplished masters: the accomplished Master Luyang Ken, Krishnavajra (a style in which the deity has an extended left leg), Kalahamsakumara, Dharmapa (a style in which all the deities are black), Kukkutipa (a style in which all the deities have animal heads), Ghundaripa (a style in which the male and female consorts have the same color, and all other deities have no definite color), Chatipa, Nadipa, Ghandhatapa, Vinapa (a style in which all deities have two arms), Tanta-tapa, Bhadepa, Tadakapa, Kamkalapa, and Jayanandipa (a style in which all the deities are yellow). Further, the tradition of Master Bodhivajra, whose life was foretold in *The Latter Tantra of the Wheel of Time*, did not spread for long in India but continues in Dravida until the present day.

The explanatory tantras [of Supreme Bliss] present many sacred circles.

Their empowerments, explanatory doctrines, texts, etc., were widespread in India. Among them, just six sacred circles from the explanatory tantras reached Tibet.

**Among traditions including those of Lokya Sherab Tsek,  
Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa, Marpa Dopa Chökyi  
Wangchuk, Puhrang Lochung,  
Rongpo Gargé and Yakdé Zémarwa, and Balpa Nawa,  
The most exalted was Marpa Dopa's, which Gyanam Dozepa  
Loden and others preserved.**

In Tibet, at the outset of the doctrine's later spread, the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo, Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé, and others translated many scriptures of the Supreme Bliss cycle, such as tantras, practice texts, and commentaries.

Lokya Sherab Tsek received the Supreme Bliss cycle from the Pamting brothers in Nepal and passed it to Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa and others. Translator Mal himself relied upon many masters, including the Pamting brothers, and became proficient in the Supreme Bliss cycle. When Sachen Kunga Nyingpo and others received these teachings from him, they spread widely among the Sakya father and sons, and through their lineage.

Translator Marpa Chökyi Lodrö received the highest, definitive, secret teachings of the Supreme Bliss cycle from Naropa and later taught them to his disciples in Tibet. It appears that many special systems of empowerment and instructions were transmitted through the Marpa and Milarepa doctrinal lineages. In particular, Marpa Dopa Chökyi Wangchuk relied upon many teachers, including Naropa's disciple Manakashri, and received Naropa's tradition of the empowerments, tantras, teaching system, and pith instructions for Supreme Bliss. He also translated many parts of the Supreme Bliss cycle and had many disciples in Tibet.

Various lineages appeared, which include those of Puhrang Lochung and Translator Nyö Jungpo, who received instruction from the three Pamting brothers and other masters. In particular, the lineages that passed through Puhrang Lochung had an excellent teaching system that lasted a long time. Lord Atisha gave Supreme Bliss to great Translator Rinchen Zangpo, Rongpo Gargé, and others. The latter passed this to Yakdé Zémarwa, from whom a tradition of explanatory teachings, etc.,

arose. Further, Lord Atisha gave these teachings to Translator Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa; from that current, a stream known as Balpang Nawa's tradition arose. "Including" in the root text alludes to such traditions as that of Translator Sumpa Dharma Yönten, who relied upon Scholar Jayasena and received from him *An Ocean of Dakas Supreme Bliss Tantra*, its commentary, and ancillary texts, which he translated. The doctrines of its empowerments and teaching system, etc., spread widely in Tibet.

Among the various other empowerment doctrines and teaching doctrines related to other explanatory tantras, the most exalted was that of Marpa Dopa Chökyi Wangchuk. His disciples, including the Tsang scholar Gyanam Dozepa Loden, perfectly preserved his lineage of teachings: the stream of its teaching and practice diffused throughout all schools. Among those lineages, Butön Rinpoché composed commentaries to the root tantra and *The Tantra of Yoginis' Conduct*: his teaching system continues within the Gédenpa order to this day. Over twenty minor lineage empowerments, instruction in the Luyipa, Vajraghantapa, and Krishnacharya traditions, and many kinds of creation and completion phase meditations of the female consort's [Vajra Yogini] doctrine continue to exist.

### *Explanation of the Tantra of Supreme Bliss*

This king of tantras of supreme contemplative practice brings accomplishment by having been read; it constitutes a marvelous rite for accomplishment. To explain this primordially existent great tantra, Lord Jampal Nyingpo's teaching system in *The Complete Illumination of the Hidden Meaning* provides a wonderful, brilliant analysis of the profound subjects of the discourses and tantras without relying on others' work. He presents a preliminary outline of the Buddha's word in general and then introduces the specific tantra of Supreme Bliss. Within that, he begins the main explanation of *The Short Root Tantra of Supreme Bliss* with a synthesis in three parts: the pith instructions used for the teaching, how the teaching is given, and the actual teaching.

First [the pith instructions used for the teaching], the tantras can be taught using other tantras [as models], using the bodhisattvas' commentaries, or based upon spiritual masters' pith instructions. Among those options, this explanation is based on the first and third. Thus, the tantra is taught using illustrious Master Narotapa's pith instructions: the root and explanatory tantras are correlated based upon uncommon tantras

that teach the root tantra—*The Highest Tantra of Manifest Expression*, *The Vajra Daka Tantra*, *The Origins of Binder of the Wheel Tantra*, and *The Tantra of Yoginis' Conduct*; the common *The Sambuta Tantra*; and texts by Luyipa, Vajraghantapa and Krishnacharya.

Second [how the teaching is given], *The Short Root Tantra of Supreme Bliss* has fifty-one chapters which contain the meaning of inseparable skillful means and sublime insight, related to the nature of the [Sanskrit alphabet's] fifty vowels and consonants, and to the general essential nature. According to *An Introduction to the Brief Tantra of the Wheel of Supreme Bliss* by Scholar Sumatikirti, the first chapter provides a brief presentation, chapters two to fifty give a full explanation, and the last chapter offers a summary of those chapters.

A brief outline of what is taught contains six topics: bestowal of empowerment, and within it, the presentation of the [fourteen] natures [listed below]; accumulation of numbers of mantras and the attainment of accomplishment; attainment of both [common and sublime] accomplishments through the kindness of female emissaries; tantric pledges that accompany one on the path and conduct that enriches [meditative experience]; the four seals, including great seal; and understanding signs of the swift attainment of accomplishment. The stages of the path can also be understood from this brief outline [of *The Short Root Tantra of Supreme Bliss*], due to their parallel sequence.

Third, the actual teaching, has four parts: the title's meaning, the translator's salutation, the text's meaning, and the conclusion's meaning. The text's meaning has three parts: a brief presentation, the full explanation, and a conclusion. The first [a brief presentation] has four parts: the commitment to explain the secrets, an exhortation to listen to the secrets, the techniques for completing the journey through the path's secrets, and presentation of the subject of the practice of secrets. These four are taught both in literal and non-literal language. This constitutes the first chapter [of the tantra]. Second, [the full explanation] comprises the forty-nine remaining chapters. Third, chapter fifty-one contains the conclusion.

Thus, after the commitment to teach [the tantra], its meaning has five parts: a presentation of the extreme difficulty to obtain this tantra's pith instructions; an explanation of the techniques for easy attainment, the fourteen natures; a presentation of the benefits of engaging in those natures and the shortcomings of lack of faith; a description of the process of meditation, having synthesized the fourteen natures; and a presenta-

tion of techniques to not reject any of the Buddha's excellent speech.

The fourteen natures mentioned here are the following: the nature of the clothing or residence, the five seals, etc.; the nature of the branches of sublime insight; the nature of the daggers and [protective] tent; the nature of the [Sanskrit] vowels; the nature of the [Sanskrit] consonants; the nature of preliminary emptiness, including emptiness of the cause; the nature of the entry, including sound; the nature of the concise application; the nature of satisfaction with nectar; the nature of transcendence; the nature of the hand-given offering; the nature of the empowerments; the nature of perfect protection with supreme armor; and the nature of offerings made with all mantras.

### *Taranata's Explanation of the Tantra of Supreme Bliss*

Taranata was glorious Supreme Bliss manifest in the form of a vajra-holding spiritual mentor. He opened a previously unknown door to a treasure of profound, eloquent teachings based on the power of his wisdom and realization of the threefold explanation described above, the oral transmission from great Indian accomplished masters, and his discernment of secret subjects.

Taranata's explanation of the tantras of Supreme Bliss is synthesized in two parts: its subject matter, the tantra's meaning, presented as the binding of manifest realization; and its means of expression, the tantra's words, elucidated in terms of provisional and definitive meanings. The first [the tantra's subject] has three parts: the mystery of the basis, the continuity of the cause; the mystery of the path, the continuity of techniques; and the mystery of the result, the continuity of the result.

The first [continuity of the basis] has five parts: the glorious *héruka* as the epitome of the four doors of liberation; union free from formulations; binding in all aspects; that which is pervasive and difficult to realize; and how [the tantra] comprises all the qualities of the basis of being.

The second [continuity of the path] has three parts: tantric pledges, the root of the path; the two phases [of tantric meditation], the actual path; and conduct of enrichment. The first [the pledges] has three parts: giving pledges to those who do not have them—the empowerment; preventing impairment once one has taken the pledges; and preserving the entirety of pledges. The second [the actual path] has two parts: the creation phase and the completion phase. The first has various kinds of detailed and simplified categories. The second [the completion phase] has five parts: an



outline of the channels, vital essences, and circulating energies—the basis for [the phase of completion’s] meditations; the subject of meditation—the meaning of the four seals; identification of the essence of the completion phase; the difference between metaphors and their meanings; and how the path’s stages are traversed. The third, conduct, has two parts: general and specific conduct.

Third, continuity of the result, has three parts: activities, such as pacification; the common accomplishments; and sublime accomplishment, great seal.

Second, the means of expression, the verbal tantra, has three parts: the first chapter provides a brief presentation; the second chapter up to halfway through the fiftieth chapter provides a full explanation; and the remaining one and a half chapters (from “. . . then something else must be taught . . .”) contain the conclusion.

The first [the brief presentation] has eight parts: an exposition of [the tantra’s] relevant purposes in the form of a preamble; an explanation mainly of the mystery of the result, in the form of a description of the [tantra’s] magnificent setting; advice to listen that mainly presents the mystery of the ground and path; the rite of offering to the lineage-bearing consort; identification of the mystery of the path; the entirety of the path’s secondary pledges; the meaning of the four seals; and a presentation of the [tantra’s] definite chapters.

Second is a very detailed explanation, from a presentation of the master’s qualifications to the burnt offering rite for the activity of magnetizing.

Third, the last half of the fiftieth chapter presents such subjects as awakening’s stages. The fifty-first chapter begins with a commitment to teach, then synthesizes [the tantra] in a threefold presentation of the mystery of the path, the mystery of the basis, and the gateway to them. The first [the path] has four parts: the actual mystery, the fourteen natures; their benefits; a supplement for the creation phase; and advice to have faith. Each of these four has sub-categories. The first [the fourteen natures] is presented as threefold, related to the nature of the creation phase alone, the nature of the completion phase alone, and the nature of the entire tantra’s meaning. Here, I have presented this subject according to the last of these three.

*The Vajra of Delight Tantra*

Twelve commentaries and seven complete traditions of  
**Vajra of Delight** are known:  
 Those by Saroruha, Krishnavajra, Durjayachandra,  
 Ratnakara, Naropa, Métripa, and Yashobhadra.

Many different traditions of Vajra of Delight, the ultimate mother tantra, appeared in India. The seven principal ones were complete in empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions: those of Master Saroruha, Krishna-samaya-vajra, Durjayachandra, Ratnakara, Naropa, Métripa, and the Kashmiri Yashobhadra. Twelve commentaries to this tantra are known, including *The Vajra Essence Commentary* and *Lotus Commentary Elucidating the Difficult Points*.

The three traditions from Saroruha, Krishna-samaya-vajra, and Durjayachandra each formed an independent tradition. The others resemble compilations of the best aspects of those three. It seems that “the Kashmiri Yashobhadra” is considered to be one of Naropa’s names.

**Drokmi Shakya Yeshé preserved Virupa’s lineage; there are traditions from Gö Kukpa Lhétsé and Gyijo Dawé Özer. Naropa’s lineage system passed through the teacher Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Chal Sönam Gyaltsen, and Ram Tsenchen. In particular, the teacher Marpa, Drokmi Shakya Yeshé, the teacher Métön Sönam Gyaltsen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and the Sakya [lineage holders] Have hoisted this doctrine’s victory banner that stands until the end of existence.**

Among those traditions, in Tibet, Drokmi Shakya Yeshé relied on such masters as Scholar Gayadhara and received the empowerments, teaching, and pith instructions of Master Virupa’s tradition, which preserved the lineage of Dombi Héruka and others. Drokmi’s direct lineage diffused widely from such masters as the lord of the Sakyas [Sakya Pandit]. Gö Kukpa Lhétsé received Saroruha’s and Shantipa’s tradition from Brahmin Krishnapada and spread it in Tibet. A tradition appeared from Gyijo Dawé Özer’s translations and teachings. The tradition of the great scholar Naropa’s lineage transmitted through the teacher from Lhodrak, Marpa

Chökyi Lodrö, was spread by Métön Sönam Gyaltzen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and others. Translator Chal Sönam Gyaltzen received Naropa's tradition from Pamtingpa and spread it. Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé's lineage of disciples is known as the Ram tradition. In later times, the transmission to Taklungpa is the Jnana tradition of Vajra of Delight; the transmission to all-knowing lord Taranata is the Shantigupta tradition.

Among the many traditions (of which these are the main ones), the most exalted are those whose streams of empowerments, teachings, pith instructions, and experiential cultivation have not disappeared: the lineage from Translator Marpa Chökyi Lodrö to Métön Sönam Gyaltzen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and Tsurtön Wang-gi Dorjé; and the lineage from Translator Drokmi Shakya Yeshé to the Sakyapa lineage holders. Together they have hoisted a victory banner of the doctrine of glorious Vajra of Delight's teaching and practice that stands until the end of existence.

It is said that Drokmi's followers, the fathers and spiritual sons of the Sakya line, have six traditions of Vajra of Delight: the tradition of Virupa's pith instructions, Dombi Héruka's tradition or the commentarial tradition, Saroruha's tradition, Krishnapada's tradition, Naropa's tradition, and Métripa's tradition. Since among them, the transmissions of the last two were interrupted, later generations of Sakyapas are said to have inherited four transmissions.

### *Explanation of Vajra of Delight Tantra*

A definitive presentation of Vajra of Delight's root and explanatory tantras has two parts: the general meaning and the meaning of the texts. The general meaning is taught with four methods: an outline of the tantras in general; presentation of the title's meaning; the pith instructions, techniques to explain the tantra; and manifest realization of the tantra.

[First,] the general outline has two parts: outlines of the result to be attained and of the path that leads to that attainment. [Second,] the meaning of the tantra's title has two parts: presentations of the meaning which is expressed; and the means of its expression, the verbal tantra. [Third,] the pith instructions, techniques to explain the tantra, have six parts: teaching using six profound instructions, three continuities, three natures, four locations, three aspects of purity, and seven facets of mystery. [Fourth,] the tantra's manifest realization has three parts: the preliminary continuity of the cause, the individual who is the basis [for the practice];

the continuity of techniques, the experience the individual must cultivate [in meditation]; the continuity of the result, what arises from that cultivation. The first [continuity of the cause] has four teachings: cause, family, what must be eliminated, and dependence on conditions. The second [continuity of techniques] has [fifty-three teachings]: ten on stages of conduct, four on stages of the view, four on uncommon stages, seven for the highest stages, eleven on the main part of the path, twelve stages in the temporary results, and five branches in the ultimate result. Thus, manifest realization [of the deity] is taught in fifty-seven points.

The followers of Naropa and Métripa—Lord Marpa's doctrinal lineage—have such transmissions as the four empowerments accompanied by relevant parts of the root and explanatory tantras; teaching transmissions for *The Vajra Tent Tantra*, *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, and *The Sambuta Tantra*; and guidance for [the meditation practices of] mixing and transference. Among them, in modern times the teaching of *The Vajra Tent Tantra* and *The Sambuta Tantra* has ceased. In the Marpa Kagyu, there are three traditions, of Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, Métön Sönam Gyaltzen, and Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé. In Ngoktön's tradition, a transmission from Ram Tsenchen, called the Ram tradition, is classified separately.

The teaching of the root tantra has four parts: identification of the tantra to which general and specific doctrines belong, based on their characteristics; an explanation of how the tantra appeared in the human world and how it was passed down; a presentation of the tantra's subject—an outline of the basis, path, and result; and the verbal tantra's manner of expression, the headings of its teaching method, and complete explanation of every word of the tantra, preceded by a description of the magnificent setting of its teaching.

At present, there exist fifteen different doctrines of the empowerment for Vajra of Delight and his consort, along with the root and explanatory tantras, teaching systems, and traditions of meditation instruction. All of these continue without decline.

### *The Tantras of the Family of Permanence* [2']

Due to the kindness of Translator Marpa Chökyi Lodrö and  
Gyijo Dawé Özer,

### Mahamaya, Four Seats, and Buddha Skull spread for a long time.

Some Indian doctrinal traditions of Mahamaya, such as those of Master Vinayadatta and Ratnakarashanti, were translated, taught, and spread [in Tibet] by Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé and Atisha, but now their transmission has disappeared. Lord Marpa received [Mahamaya] from Shantibhadra; from those empowerments and teachings, along with pith instructions, the great lord of Jonang [Taranata] composed instructions for the empowerments, and commentaries to the tantra, for which only the instruction through reading transmission remains.

There were two Indian traditions of the family of permanence deity, Four Seats: Aryadeva's tradition based upon the root tantra, and Master Bhavabhadra's tradition based upon the concise tantra. In Tibet, there were Gö Kukpa Lhétsé's tradition, from Scholar Smriti Jnana's own cycle of translations; and Gayadhara's and Drokmi Pönlop's [i.e., Drokmi Shakya Yeshé's] teachings and translations. The main tradition is the one Lord Marpa received from Dakini Wearer of Human Bone Ornaments and others. The complete empowerments, explanations, and pith instructions appeared [in that tradition], and even today, an unbroken transmission of the empowerments and meditation instructions continues.

In Tibet, Translator Gyijo Dawé Özer and Drongzho Salwa Drak translated and taught traditions of Buddha Skull from the great accomplished master Saraha (the pith instruction tradition) and from Master Abhayakaragupta. Now, however, only the transmission of the empowerment that derives from Marpa remains. There continues to be a reading transmission for the texts of these tantras (Mahamaya, Four Seats, and Buddha Skull) included within the collection *The Hundred Thousand Later Tantras* [i.e., the section of tantras within *The Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation*].

In brief, through the kindness of those translators, the empowerments, teachings, and profound instructions for meditation of many tantras spread for a long time, and due to that, countless accomplished masters appeared. Nevertheless, the strand of the transmission of their teachings and practice is extremely tenuous. Therefore, I ask those who care about the doctrine to apply themselves with great effort to preserve these transmissions with as much diligence as they are able.

Further, in the sovereign horse family, *The Source of Liberation Ultimate Tantra*, two traditions appeared, those of Lilavajra and Lokapada. Their empowerments, tantras, teachings, and pith instructions were

passed from the accomplished master Venerable Shantigupta to Lord Taranata, who translated and taught them. Now, only the teaching in the form of a reading transmission for the empowerments and pith instructions remains.

In this section, only Four Seats in fact belongs to the family of permanence, but I have presented the others here due to constraints in the root text's verses.

### *The Vajrasattva Family* [3']

Many Wheel of Time traditions appeared,  
From Gyijo Dawé Özer, Tsami Sangyé Drak, Ra Chörab and  
Dro Sherab Drak, Sapen the great, Chak Drachom, Chal  
Chökyi Zangpo, and Rongling Dorjé Wangchuk.

Among them, the practice and teachings were transmitted  
through the Jonang and Zhalu lineages.

The tantra's teaching was continued by the life-giving channel,  
the great master Butön Rinchen Drup.

*The Wheel of Time Tantra* was very widespread in India. Yet, since both the tantra and its commentary were very clear, there were no variant traditions. The texts Master Kalachakrapada the Elder, Manjuvajra, Master Chilupa, and Pito Acharya each brought to India from Shambhala differed [only] in having one or two more, or less, verses.

In Tibet, initially Scholar Shri Bhadrabodhi and Translator Gyijo Dawé Özer translated the tantra and its commentary. The lineage of masters to whom they entrusted the empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions, including Translator Trom, is known as the Jo tradition. Tsami Sangyé Drak received the teachings from Kalachakrapada and translated the major commentary. He taught this to his disciples, including Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé; this is the Tsami tradition. Ra Chörab received from the Nepalese Pandit Samantashri the tantra and commentary, and translated them. He then taught Ra Yeshé Sengé and others; this is the Ra tradition.

Translator Dro Sherab Drak relied upon Somanata of Kashmir, and translated the tantra and the entire commentary, except for the changeless perfection chapter. He received the empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions. Later, Scholar [Somanata] made his own translation of the changeless perfection chapter. Penyul Drapgom met this great scholar

and became both a scholar and an accomplished master of the Wheel of Time. He taught Drotön [Lhajé Dropukpa?] and others, through whom his teachings became widespread. As these teachings were based upon Translator Dro Sherab Drak's translations, this is the Dro tradition.

Further, the great Kashmiri Scholar Shakyashri taught Chak Drachom, Chal Chökyi Zangpo, and Sakya Pandit; three traditions originated from those three masters. Translator Rongling Dorjé Wangchuk, Translator Teng Tsultrim Jungné, Translator Shéu, and Translator Sé Zhönnu Tsultrim each received teachings from such masters as Tsami Sangyé Drak and Abhayakaragupta, and transmitted them. Translator Rongling Dorjé Wangchuk founded Rongling Soka Monastery. Translator Chak Chöjé Pal received the complete cycle of empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions from such masters as Rahulashribhadra and Jinarakshita. This is the source of the Chak tradition. The great Scholar Vibhutichandra gave empowerments, teachings, and instructions to many Tibetan spiritual guides. In particular, he gave his nine sublime disciples, including Ko Drakpa, the six branches of application from Shavaripa's proximate lineage. There were many other such Wheel of Time traditions.

Twenty-four variant translations of *The Wheel of Time Tantra* itself are known. Among them, the Ra, Dro, Chak, and great Scholar Vibhutichandra's traditions contained the complete doctrines of empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions. Omniscient Rangjung Dorjé received most of those traditions from Nyédo Kunga Döndrup and then transmitted them, and they became widespread. Rangjung Dorjé composed *A Compilation of All Astrology*, the subject of [*The Wheel of Time Tantra's*] chapter on the realms; *The Profound Inner Meaning*, the subject of the inner certainty chapter; an empowerment text and a practice text, the subjects of the empowerment and practice chapters; and *The Clear Essence of the Three Contemplative Practices*, the subject of the wisdom chapter. The stream of the reading transmission for pointing-out instructions, and the stream of instruction in the six branches of the completion phase continue uninterrupted. Thus, the stream of the ultimate teaching of *The Wheel of Time Tantra* continues to the present day.

Nevertheless, the main Wheel of Time traditions are the Dro tradition, heirs to the practice of experiential cultivation; and the Ra tradition, heirs of the tantra's teaching. The Dro practice tradition appears to be transmitted through the Jonang lineage; the Ra teaching tradition, through the Zhalu lineage. The lord of the Jonang teachings, the great

omniscient master [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen], diligently taught and disseminated the tantra's teaching system, and most of his fourteen disciples who had the same [degree of attainment] as himself held this transmission, yet today it is no longer extant. Butön Rinpoché received the Ra tradition's stream of teaching and taught the tantra thirty-two times. Butön Rinchen Drup composed such works on the Wheel of Time as *Kyo Rawa Dönyö Pal's* edition of Butön's notes on the tantra; *The Cherished Jeweled Key to the Teaching Method*; *The Ripened Stalks of the Definitive Meaning*; *Illuminating Light Rays: The Essence of the Profound Meaning Explained*; *A Table of Contents, an Adornment for "Stainless Light"*; the astrology treatise *The Joy of the Learned*, and its ancillary texts; and *Memorandum of Translator Tuksé*. Based on these texts, Zhalu Monastery's own Wheel of Time stream of teaching continues to the present day. The lord precious master [Tsongkapa] received these teachings from a disciple of Butön Rinpoché, Gangsumpa Déchen Chökyi Palwa. Tsongkapa transmitted these teachings only once. At that time, countless persons who preserved the collections of the Buddha's teachings gathered to receive them. Three among these masters wrote major commentaries, one of whom was Kédrup Gélek Palwa [i.e., Kédrup Jé]. Zhang Zhungpa Chöwang Drakpa added a supplementary postface to Kédrup Jé's commentary, from which a stream of teaching continues to the present day. All the doctrinal empowerments and profound and vast pith instructions of both the Jonang and Zhalu lineages continue as unbroken transmissions.

### *Explanation of Wheel of Time Tantra*

In teaching this sovereign of tantras, three subjects provide a general presentation: the meaning of what must be taught, the words used in teaching, and how the teaching is given. This last has two parts: the branches of the teaching method and the act of teaching. The first [the branches of the teaching method] has four parts: how the teacher, the Buddha, appeared; how the Buddha taught the Buddhist ways in general and the Wheel of Time specifically; the story of the source of the lineage; and how it is taught and learned. The second [the act of teaching] has three parts: the master who teaches, the disciple who listens, and how the teaching is given and received.

Following that preliminary [general presentation], the main part of the tantra's major commentary, the words used in the teaching, has five parts—the five chapters on the purity of all phenomena. [These chapters



comprise] eighty-one points, the pure signs of physical perfection.

First, Chapter One, “World Systems,” gives a teaching through ten summaries, the pure form of the powerful ten-letter mantra. The first six present teachings that cover the tantra in general; the remaining four teach what is covered, the tantra’s meaning as the external Wheel of Time. Chapter Two, “Inner Certainty,” teaches the inner Wheel of Time through seven summaries, the pure seven elements—the four elements [earth, fire, water, air], the sun, the moon, and Rahu. Chapter Three, “Empowerment,” teaches six summaries, the pure essence of the six sense constituents as the six wisdom families’ chief buddhas. Chapter Four, “The Means of Practice,” teaches five summaries, the pure aspect of the five families’ chief buddhas. Chapter Five, “Wisdom,” teaches four major summaries, the pure aspect of the four vajras. Among these, summaries from the third chapter teach the alternative Wheel of Time as the nature of suchness. The final summary teaches in full detail the purification of the buddhas’ realms, acts for beings’ benefit, and the conclusion, prayers of dedication and aspiration.

In relation to the [eighty-one] points [“the pure signs of physical perfection”], Chapter One has twenty-four points—the pure aspects of the twelve links of interdependent causation in unfolding and reverse sequences. Chapter Two has eighteen points: the pure aspects of the six senses, six sense objects, and six natures. Chapter Three has twelve points: the pure aspects of the twelve empowerments of entering as a child. Chapter Four has seven points: the pure aspects of the seven birthplaces. Chapter Five has twenty points: the twenty aspects that illustrate awakening.

As to the meaning of “summaries,” just as many small measures are contained in a larger measure, these summaries contain many confluences of words and meanings. As to “points,” just as a large measure contains many small measures, these points contain various separate words and meanings. In brief, the outer, inner, and alternative Wheels of Time are summarized as the subjects to be presented, then taught.

### *The History of Teaching the Tantras of the Early Translations* [b]

The early translations’ teaching tradition continues to  
the present day.

*The Vajrasattva Net of Illusion Tantra* is the root tantra.

**It stands above the crown of the head of all tantras like  
a victory banner.**

In the early translations of the Ancient secret mantra way, due to the kindness of the great reincarnate translators and scholars of Buddhism's earlier spread in Tibet, when Lord Atisha inspected the Indian texts stored in Samyé Monastery, he saw many tantras he had never heard of before. In praise, he remarked, "It seems as if secret mantra's doctrines have not flourished even in India as they have in Tibet." As that story indicates, countless empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions appeared [during the early period]. Nevertheless, secret mantra was zealously kept secret during that time: monastic colleges stressed the way of philosophical systems, while meditation centers emphasized the secret mantra way. Therefore, it seems that no college curriculums included [any tantras] apart from a few outer tantras, and none of the three inner tantras. From that period until the present day, the doctrines of empowerments and teachings have continued uninterrupted.

*Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion, the Secret Essence, the Sovereign Tantra of Definite Suchness* constitutes the eighteen great tantras' root or general meaning. Many special qualities make it exalted like a victory banner above the crown of the head of all tantras.

**Lalitavajra, Shri Singhaprabha, and Buddhaguhya explained  
this tantra.**

**Vimalamitra, Ma Rinchen Chok, and Nyak Jnana Kumara  
translated and taught it.**

**Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, Longchenpa, Chomden Rikpé  
Raldri, and others spread it.**

**Zurpa's especially exalted doctrinal tradition dwindled to  
become a slender hair.**

**The brothers of Mindrol Ling Monastery revived the doctrine's  
dying embers.**

The lineage of these sovereign tantras [that make up the cycle of *The Secret Essence Tantra*] passed from King Ja to his daughter [Princess Gomadevi] and Kukuraja, and from them to Lalitavajra and Buddhaguhya. The former composed the commentary *The Precious Design*; the latter, *An Explanation of Categories*. Those two masters passed the teachings to Vimalamitra, who composed a commentary, *The Framework Scripture*.

Other Indian commentaries are Chandragomi's *The Chinese Knot Commentary*, Suryaprabhasingha's *An Extensive Commentary to "The Secret Essence Tantra,"* and Padmasambhava's *The Great Explanatory Text*.

In Tibet, great Scholar Vimalamitra gave this teaching to Ma Rinchen Chok and Nyak Jnana Kumara. Ma Rinchen Chok translated the tantra into Tibetan. Further, great Master [Padmasambhava] passed this teaching to Nyak Jnana Kumara, who taught it to Sokpo Palgyi Yeshé, who taught Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé. In eastern Tibet, Ma Rinchen Chok taught Tsukru Rinchen Zhönnu and Gyéré Chok-kyong. Those two taught Darjé Paldrak and Zhang Gyalwé Yönten. Zhang Gyalwé Yönten taught Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé. Master Bérotsana translated and taught Suryaprabhasingha's commentary in the Jamchen Temple of Orru, Kham [eastern Tibet]. The transmission derived from Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé and received by the elder and nephew Zurpa is known as the Zur tradition.

Dampa Déshek of Gyalwa Katok Monastery received the teachings from Dzom Drowé Gönpö, a disciple of Lhajé Droupkpa. In Dampa Déshek's lineage, there were such masters as Buborpa Yeshé Gyaltsen, who composed a commentary to this tantra. The teaching and practice transmissions of Dampa Déshek's lineage spread back to central Tibet and later became known as the Kham tradition of *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*.

Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo inherited all the doctrines of such masters as Padmasambhava, Bérotsana, and Vimalamitra. He wrote a commentary to *The Secret Essence Tantra* entitled *The Jewel Commentary*; this constitutes the Rong tradition. Omniscient Longchen Rabjam Zangpo wrote the commentary *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*, elucidating [this tantra] according to the atiyoga tradition. Rok Sherab Ö gathered many transmissions, such as the So, Zur, and Kyo traditions; his teaching became known as the Rok tradition.

Later, when scholars of the later tantras denied [the validity of *The Secret Essence Tantra*], Chomden Rikpé Raldri obtained the actual Sanskrit text that had belonged to Master Padmasambhava, and asked Translator Tarpa Nyima Gyaltsen to translate it. Chomden Rikpé Raldri composed *Adorning Flowers for "The Secret Essence Tantra"* and other texts, and spread this teaching. From then on, even academic logicians could not dispute [this tantra's validity].

The Zur doctrinal system, especially exalted among all these traditions,

later dwindled to become a slender thread. At that time, the great translators Bérotsana and Gyalmo Yudra Nyingpo took intentional rebirth as the two brothers of Mindrol Ling Monastery to rekindle the dying embers of the early translations' doctrines. [One of the brothers,] Terchen Rinpoché, received with great effort in many ways the cycle of the early translations' canon, principally those of this sovereign tantra. He composed various outstanding texts for each tantra's practice techniques and sacred circle rituals. He also wrote a brief, clear practice for the sacred circle of *The Net of Magical Illusion of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities*, and established the custom of the regular performance of its practice-offering ritual. [His brother] Lochen Dharmashri composed *The General Meaning of the Sovereign Tantra, the Secret Essence: The Lord of Secrets' Oral Transmission* and the word-by-word commentary *Adornment of the Lord of Secrets' Wisdom*. These [two brothers] had twenty-one disciples, known as Rabjampa [master of infinite teachings]. One of them, Rabjampa Orgyen Chödrak, wrote a memorandum of instructions called *A Garland of Jewels Memorandum*. Based on these and other works, an especially exalted teaching transmission has continued until the present, thus restoring the doctrine's dying embers on its foundation.

### *The Secret Essence Tantra*

*The Sovereign Tantra, the Secret Essence*, exalted due to eight supreme qualities, is the subject; it is taught by four explanatory tantras—*The Ocean-like Exposition Tantra*, *The Unimpeded Sound Tantra*, *The Essence of Wisdom Tantra*, and *The Vajra Mirror Tantra*—and by the three sources of authority. How is it taught? In general, this supreme tantra is taught through mahayoga's seven adornments; and specifically, early masters taught it [in the following three ways]: “The explanation grasps the point, like an arrow.” This is an explanation of how all phenomena, gathered into the basis, path, and result, are found within the title.

[For the second,] “the explanation grasps the middle, like a spear.” Chapter Five [of *The Secret Essence Tantra*] states:

Long mantras endowed with the characteristics of knowledge  
and engagement  
Are the cause and contributory conditions that ripen the result.  
That which has power  
Is known as the realm of awareness holders and victors.

These lines state that the primary “cause” is the characteristic of knowing—the view; the “contributory conditions” are the characteristics of engagement—meditative states; and the path’s results are the states of the four awareness holders. Thus, this teaching [system] is based upon a synthesis into these three characteristics.

“The explanation grasps the handle, like a sword” is an explanation of the meaning of two four-line verses in the last chapter in terms of four perceptions: the natural perceptions of the basis; deluded perceptions of lack of realization; disciples’ perceptions of the path; and the transcendent buddhas’ perceptions, the result.

The Zur teaching system of the canon’s [tantras] is based upon a five-fold explanation of the nature, the abiding nature of things; of lack of realization, delusion’s perceptions; how omniscient buddhas see things; how compassion arises from love; and how beings are aided.

The present-day method of teaching is as stated in Vimalamitra’s *The Framework Scripture*:

To the best, present the title; to the medium, the categories;  
And to the least, a word-by-word commentary.

Thus, there are three styles: for those with the highest degree of acumen, the teaching of the tantra based on the presentation of the title; for those of a medium degree of acumen, a categorization of the tantra’s general meanings; and for those of the least degree of acumen, a word-by-word commentary. The first has two facets: the title can be presented in three ways, consistent with the tantra [mahayoga], the scriptural transmission [anuyoga], or pith instructions [atiyoga]; and the teaching can be related to the path of means’ upper gateway or to the secret lower gateway.

The second [a categorization of the tantra’s general meanings] has two facets: classification of meanings and classification of words. The first has five parts: the setting, the cause for the appearance of the tantra; the framework story, the conditions; the result, complete understanding of the tantra; the connection between the different purposes of the tantra; and instructions to the retinue and entrusting the doctrine.

Third, the tantra is taught through teaching the essence, definitions, and categories [for each word].

*A Supplementary Section [c]*

In later, early, and minor traditions,  
 The teaching systems for great seal's eight teaching systems,  
*The Sovereign All-Creating Mind*,  
 And other tantras, scriptures, and profound instructions are  
 indescribably numerous.

Among extant scholastic traditions mentioned above, I will list here the main best-known ones. In the category of the later translations' way of philosophical systems, teaching systems for many major and minor scriptures appeared in the past, including those based upon the monastic discipline text *The Continual Flower Garland*, *The Fundamental Verses on Sublime Insight*, the additional three works of Maitreya, *A Message from a Friend*, and *Entering the Conduct of Enlightenment*. Now, only reading transmissions for their root texts and some commentaries still remain, yet it seems that individual masters teach them based on their own powers of explanation.

In the category of secret mantra, explanatory teachings once existed for most tantras. Many teaching systems appeared, including those for Indian scriptures of the type that describe deities, illustrated by the six scriptures of profound instruction in Vajra Sow; and there were what was known as Great Seal's eight teaching systems.

In the category of the Ancient tradition, teaching transmissions that continued to exist until later times include those based upon *The Sovereign All-Creating Mind*, the root of the eighteen [tantras] of the later mind section; *The Discourse of All-Encompassing Awareness*, the root of anuyoga's scriptural transmission of the four discourses; and *The Explanatory Tantra: The Matrix of Wisdom Mind*, taught in such texts as *The Armor Against Darkness* by Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé; *The Path's Array* by Buddhaguhya; and *Clear Tantric Pledges* by Lalitavajra.

Translator Gö Zhönnu Pal states that in his time, teaching transmissions existed for forty-one texts of tantra. Thus, tantric scriptural systems and teaching systems for profound instruction in secret mantra's later and early traditions are indescribably [numerous].

*Teaching Systems of Great Seal*

Among them, great seal's teaching system began with Atisha's translation and teaching of *The Highest Continuity* and his teaching at Chimpu of the

songs of realization and the cycle of *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*. Later, Lord Marpa Chökyi Lodrö imparted the lineage of the teaching of profound instructions for meditation, which continues without interruption to the present day. Next, Vairochana Rakshita, a great scholar from Kosala, came to Tibet and translated and taught [Saraha's] trilogy of songs of realization. Then Kor Nirupa gave extensive teachings on the essential meaning.

Next, the Indian Pani, Master Vajrapani, taught the seven categories of accomplishment; the three essential meanings, which are the trilogy of songs of realization—the scripture of *The Essence of Accomplishment* with its minor parts; and twenty-seven fragments. Among these “fragments,” nine are profound instructions for meditation consistent with the way of philosophical systems, nine are profound instructions consistent with father tantras, and nine are profound instructions consistent with mother tantras. These twenty-seven fragments are bound by the four seals: the seal of activity, the seal of phenomena, great seal, and the seal of the pledges. The twenty-seven fragments have six connections: the view, related to scriptural authority and logic; meditation, related to spiritual experience; conduct, related to circumstance; the result, related to aiding others; the path, related to indications of meditative heat; and empowerments, related to tantric pledges. These teachings are known as the earlier tradition.

Next, Asu of Nepal taught the songs of spiritual realization and other texts, resulting in many tens of thousands of lineage holders. This is known as the later tradition. Then, Lord Réchungpa spread the cycle of the bodiless dakinis' teachings and Asu's profound instructions for meditation. Next, Nakpo Sherdé of Ngari received from the Indian master Vajrapani ten doctrines of mental non-engagement, including *The Treasury of Wisdom Body, Speech, and Mind*. He then translated and taught them, yet only their reading transmission now remains. All these great seal doctrines originate only from Brahmin [Saraha] and his spiritual son [Nagarjuna], and from Lord Victor Métripa.

**Jnanashri and others were famous for preserving many reading transmissions.**

**In Tibet, there were also Chomden Rikpé Raldri, Bak-tön Zhönnu Tsultrim, and others.**

Most of Buddhism's sacred teachings in scripture are found in *The Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation* [Tibetan: *Kangyur*; *bka' 'gyur*] and *The Collection of Indian Treatises in Translation* [Tibetan: *Tengyur*; *bstan 'gyur*]. On the subject of those who had the kindness [to preserve] the unbroken reading transmission of most of these collections, in India in later times, Lord Jnanashri and Punyashri (among the three masters at Vajra Seat), and others were famous as masters who preserved many scriptural transmissions. In Tibet, during the doctrine's later spread, Chomden Rikpé Raldri of Nartang initially compiled the entire *Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation* and *The Collection of Indian Treatises in Translation*, and wrote a catalogue for them. His disciples, including Upa Losal Sangyé Büm, continued his activity with great diligence, such as writing out the volumes. Further, Butön Rinchen Drup made a very detailed classification and a catalogue [of these collections].

The reading transmission exists due to the kindness of Translator Teng Tsultrim Jungné, Translator Bari Rinchen Drakpa, Upa Losal Sangyé Büm, and others. In particular, the transmission was preserved and spread by masters famed for having many transmissions, including the great treasure trove of teachings Bak-tön Zhönnu Tsultrim, Dorjé Denpa Kunga Namgyal, illustrious Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, and Gönpö Sönam Chökden.

### *A Summary of the Nature of the Transmission of the Scholastic Traditions* [3]

This section has three parts: (1) a general explanation of the doctrine's transmission, (2) a clarification of my specific tradition, and (3) praise for another tradition.

### *A General Explanation of the Doctrine's Transmission* [a]

The ten foremost pillars who sustained the teaching traditions  
 Are the Buddhist government minister Tonmi Sambhota,  
 Bérotsana,  
 Kawa Paltsek, Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, Zhang Yeshé-dé,  
 Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé,



**Rinchen Zangpo, Ngok Loden Sherab, Sakya Pandit, and  
Butön Rinchen Drup.**

**Their kindness cannot be measured, even by the bounds  
of space.**

Initially, (1) Tonmi Sambhota, an emanation of Bodhisattva Gentle Melody, founded the system of writing and grammar. Later, the great translators who were manifestations of enlightenment—(2) Bérotsana, (3) Kawa Paltsek, (4) Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, and (5) the Zhang Nanam monk, Zhang Yeshé-dé—translated every teaching of the discourses and secret mantra, and produced definitive versions with a new vocabulary. (6) Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé Rinpoché extensively transmitted the teaching transmission of such [tantras] as *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization* and *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*.

At the outset of the later spread of the teachings, (7) the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo and then (8) Translator Ngok Loden Sherab translated countless tantras and commentarial treatises, and established most systems of teaching transmission. All of these and the entirety of teaching transmissions from other sources were preserved by (9) Lord Sakya Pandit and (10) Butön Rinpoché.

These ten are known as the ten foremost pillars who raised the teaching transmissions. In the dark land of the northern country of Tibet, they were like the sun, able to illuminate the Buddha's doctrine and thereby further Buddha Shakyamuni's activity. Their kindness cannot be measured, even by the bounds of space.

**Later, it seems that the teaching doctrines were mainly  
transmitted in the Sakya and Géden orders;**

**The doctrines of the practice lineages, mainly through the  
Kagyu and Nyingma.**

From the time that separate orders diverged during the doctrine's later spread, it could be said that each maintained transmissions of both teaching and meditation practice, yet it seems that the teaching doctrines were mainly inherited by the Sakya and Géden [i.e., Gélukpa] orders, whereas the doctrines of lineages of meditation practice were mainly inherited by the Kagyu and Nyingma orders.

The term the “four doctrines” has been well known since the time of Lord Rendawa. Since the inception of the teaching system of Gyaltzap

Darma Rinchen's ten texts, the term "ten doctrines" entered common usage. The four doctrines are the middle way, the transcendent perfections, monastic discipline, and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*. The ten doctrines are those four with various additions, such as *A Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic."* The Sakya order offers an established list of six textual traditions in three pairs: the transcendent perfections and logic, monastic discipline and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*, and middle way and the three vows.

The title Rabjampa [person of infinite learning] has been in use since the time of the great Master Rongtön Shéja Kunzik's disciple, Jamchen Rabjampa Sangyé Pal.

### *A Clarification of My Specific Tradition* [b]

**My tradition, from omniscient Rangjung Gyalwa,  
Mainly emphasizes the teaching doctrines of *The Profound  
Inner Meaning, The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters,  
and The Highest Continuity.***

In the personal tradition of the followers of Lord Marpa's doctrinal lineage, the doctrines of teaching flowed through three [of Marpa's disciples]: Métön Sönam Gyaltsen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé. Moreover, these were teaching systems only of the tantras, many of which were later preserved among the Karma Kagyu, Géluk, Jonang, and Zhalu orders. Omniscient Rangjung Gyalwa [the third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé] appeared in this world, and mainly emphasized the teaching doctrines of *The Profound Inner Meaning, The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, and *The Highest Continuity*. He did this because the Dakpo Kagyu lineages, known as the four major and eight lesser orders, only transmitted various tantras' empowerments and doctrinal instruction passed down from Métön Sönam Gyaltsen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and Tsurton Wang-gi Dorjé. Apart from that, they did not stress teaching and study based in the way of philosophical systems, since they purely upheld Lord Milarepa's practice lineage and diligently devoted themselves exclusively to meditation practice. The three texts mentioned above [*The Profound Inner Meaning, The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, and *The Highest Continuity*] are sufficient in themselves for arriving at a final conclusion in the course of study and contemplation

concerning experiential cultivation of what is to be practiced in meditation; these texts are indispensable for that purpose.

The twelve chapters of *The Profound Inner Meaning* provide a general commentary to the entire range of highest yoga tantras, and they give extensive outlines of the outer, inner, and alternative [levels of the Wheel of Time], and in particular of our physical body's channels, circulating energies, and vital essences. Therefore, it is improper for practitioners of the [phase of completion's] six doctrines to not know this text. *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, sovereign of all highest yoga mother tantras, constitutes the uninterrupted stream of the profound teaching that represents Lord Marpa's display of mastery. It is vital to know this text at the outset of tantric meditations on the creation and completion phases. Concerning *The Highest Continuity*, Gampopa stated,

The source text for our profound teaching of great seal is the great way treatise *The Highest Continuity* by Transcendent Conqueror Maitreya.

Thus, Déshek Pamodrupa, Kyobpa Jikten Sumgön, and others founded orders of that tradition. Rangjung Gyalwa and the series of omniscient masters [Karmapas] displayed mastery of this text's intent above all else. Therefore, it is important to know this text for great seal meditation.

These three scriptures are not subjects for academic study or debate; they are teachings to be conjoined with experiential cultivation. Therefore it is vital above all else that holders of the practice lineage preserve the undiminished teaching transmission of these texts.

**The major scriptures' four doctrines flowed to Mikyö Gyalwa.  
He with his spiritual heirs shone everywhere the sunlight of  
eloquent teachings.  
Nowadays, the true transmission continues.**

Previously in this lineage of meditation practice, there were never a great number of monastic colleges for the study of the way of philosophical systems. The sixth lord [Karmapa] Tongwa Dönden studied many scriptural traditions with omniscient Rongtön Shéja Kunzik, who proclaimed this lion's roar: "I have a buddha for a disciple!" The seventh lord [Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso] composed *Valid Cognition, An Ocean of Texts on Logic*; many of his disciples held the title Master of Infinite Scriptural Traditions.

In particular, the third master of infinite scriptural traditions at Dakpo, the first Karma Trinlé, [named] Chok Tamché-lé Gyalwé Lha, was a great holder of the collected works of both the Sakya and Kagyu. From him, the eighth lord [Karmapa], the great omniscient master Mikyö Gawa [more commonly Mikyö Dorjé], received countless scriptural traditions. With his omniscient wisdom, and without relying on others' works, he initiated a new system. He composed such texts as a commentary to the collection on monastic discipline, *The Disc of the Sun*; a commentary to the collection on observed phenomena, *The Sovereign of All Eloquent Speech, Milking the Splendor of Easy Accomplishment; The Lord of Rest*, a commentary to *The Ornament of Manifest Realization; The Path of Pleasant Travel, the Chariot of the Dakpo Kagyu Accomplishment*, a commentary to *Entering the Middle Way*; and a commentary to texts on logic. He thus illuminated the path of the major scriptures' four doctrines; it was as if the doctrinal teachings were inherited exclusively by Mikyö Gyalwa. Monastic colleges such as Dakpo Lekshé Ling gradually appeared. Mikyö Gyalwa and his foremost spiritual sons—Gyalwa Könchok Yenlak, Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, and the second Karma Trinlé—shone everywhere the sunlight of eloquent teachings. In particular, the ninth Lord [Karmapa Jangchub Dorjé] composed commentaries to *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* and *Entering the Middle Way*; the fifth Garwang composed a commentary to *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*; and the sixth Garwang, Chökyi Wangchuk, wrote a commentary to the collection on monastic discipline and a condensation of the essential points of the Karmapas' major commentaries.

In such [monastic colleges] as Zadam Nyinjé Ling, major systems of teaching and debate appeared. The lineage of those commentaries' teaching and reading transmissions continues. Therefore, although no specific [Karma Kagyu] monastic college exists at the present time, its true scholastic tradition continues unbroken. Thus, the source of these Karma Kagyu teaching systems is mainly found in the Sakya order, and, within that tradition, in the great Rongtön Shéja Kunzik's teaching system. Nevertheless, it should be understood that the Karma Kagyu later developed its own independent teaching systems.

*Praise for Another Tradition* [c]

Upon the ocean of the doctrine of monastic discipline,  
 with waves of teaching and composition,  
 Gentle Splendid Melody incarnate, with the name Nyingpo,  
 gathered the teachings.

Light of Shakyamuni's doctrine, he was a second Nagarjuna.

As described, transmissions of teachings have originated from many sources. Further, in this last of the five-hundred-year periods of Shakyamuni's doctrine, Noble Gentle Splendid Melody incarnate showed himself in the form of a spiritual teacher who made his residence upon an ocean of the sacred teachings' doctrine of monastic discipline, with countless waves of teaching and composition that he gathered and preserved. [The fourth Karmapa] Lord Rolpé Dorjé gave him the name Kunga Nyingpo; he is famous as Lozang Drakpé Pal.

Light of Shakyamuni's doctrine, he was a second Nagarjuna appearing in the Himalayas. One can know his nature by impartially examining both the account of his life and the continuity of his activity to the present day.

### 3. THE HISTORY OF LINEAGES OF MEDITATION PRACTICE IN TIBET, THE EIGHT MAJOR CHARIOTS

---

- I. A Brief Presentation
- II. A Full Explanation of Lineages of Meditation Practice, the Eight Major Chariots
  - A. The Eight Major Chariots
    - 1. The Ancient Tradition of Secret Mantra
      - a. Identification of the Doctrine of the Ancient Tradition
      - b. Specific Transmissions within the Ancient Tradition
        - i. The Transmission from Padmakara
        - ii. The Transmission from Bérotsana
        - iii. The Transmission from Vimalamitra
        - iv. The Transmission from Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé
        - v. The Transmission from Ma Rinchen Chok, Nyak Jnana Kumara, and Others
        - vi. The Transmissions from the Later Revealers of Concealed Treasures
    - 2. The Buddha's Word as Instruction
      - a. Identification of the Tradition
      - b. The Buddha's Word as Instruction's Lineages
        - i. The General Doctrinal Lineages of the Buddha's Word as Instruction
        - ii. The Early Tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction
        - iii. The New Tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction
    - 3. The Path with the Result
      - a. Identification of the Tradition

- b. Presentation of the Lineages of the Path with the Result
  - i. A General Presentation of the Lineages
  - ii. A Specific Presentation of the Sakya Lineage
  - iii. An Ancillary Presentation of Other Lineages
- 4. Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage
  - a. Identification of the Tradition
  - b. Presentation of the Lineages of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage
    - i. The Four Pillars
    - ii. Réchungpa's Doctrinal Lineage
    - iii. The Dakpo Doctrinal Lineage Tradition
    - iv. The Outstanding Karma Kamtsang Tradition
- 5. The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage
  - a. Identification of the Tradition
  - b. Presentation of the Lineages of the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage
    - i. The Historical Lineage
    - ii. The Recent Lineage
    - iii. The More Recent Lineage
    - iv. How the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage Is Especially Exalted
- 6. Pacification of Suffering
  - a. The Actual Tradition of Pacification of Suffering
    - i. Identification of the Tradition
    - ii. Presentation of the Lineages of Pacification of Suffering
      - aa. The Initial Transmission
      - bb. The Middle Transmissions
      - cc. The Final Transmission
      - dd. A Supplementary Presentation
  - b. The Branch Tradition, Severance
    - i. Identification of the Doctrinal System
    - ii. The Lineages of Severance
      - aa. The Male System of Severance
      - bb. The Female System of Severance
- 7. Vajra Yoga
  - a. Identification of the Tradition
  - b. The Lineages of Vajra Yoga
    - i. The Appearance of Vajra Yoga in India
    - ii. How Vajra Yoga Became Known in Tibet in General
    - iii. Vajra Yoga's Seventeen Specific Traditions

- iv. Other Traditions of Vajra Yoga
  - v. The Special Historical Tradition
  - 8. Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras
    - a. Identification of the Tradition
    - b. The Lineage System of Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras
  - B. An Ancillary Account of Minor Traditions
- 

This chapter has two parts: (1) a brief presentation and (2) a full explanation [of the Tibetan lineages of meditation practice].

### *A Brief Presentation [I]*

**In Tibet, there are eight major chariots, lineages of meditation practice:**

**The Ancient Tradition, the Buddha's Word as Instruction,  
the Path with the Result, Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage,  
The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, Pacification, Six Applications,  
and Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras.**

In Tibet there appeared numerous leading historical traditions of lineages, major and minor, of meditation practice. When we synthesize them into their chief groups, there are eight major chariots: the Ancient Tradition (Nyingma) of the early translations, the Buddha's Word as Instruction (Kadampa), the Path with the Result (Lamdré), Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage (Marpa Kagyu), the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage (Shangpa Kagyu), Pacification (Zhijé) with its branch practice, Six Applications (Jorwa Druk), and Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras (Dorjé Sumgyi Nyen-drup).

### *A Full Explanation of Lineages of Meditation Practice, the Eight Major Chariots [II]*

This section has two parts: (1) the eight major chariots and (2) an ancillary account of minor traditions. [The eight major chariots are (1) the



Ancient Tradition, (2) the Buddha's Word as Instruction, (3) the Path with the Result, (4) Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage, (5) the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, (6) Pacification with its branch practice, (7) Vajra Yoga, and (8) Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras.]

### *The Ancient Tradition of Secret Mantra* [1]

The presentation of secret mantra's Ancient Tradition, first in this series of eight, has two parts: (1) identification of its doctrine and (2) how its separate transmissions appeared.

### *Identification of the Doctrine of the Ancient Tradition* [a]

The early translations' principal pillars are *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization*, *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*, and the mind category.

The class of practices forms their ornament; the secret cycle is the essence of their life force.

The Buddhist canon forms the foundation for the teachings or doctrine known as secret mantra's Ancient Tradition, since its contents are the actual teachings that appeared during the period of the early translations. Thus, this doctrine's principal pillars are the canon's *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization*, *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*, and two traditions of the mind category of instructions. The profound teachings of the eight groups of meditation practices and their ancillary texts serve as ornaments, including [the deities that represents the] wisdom body, Manjushri [Slayer of the Lord of Death]; and wisdom speech, Lotus [Héruka]. Great perfection's secret essence cycle, now known as the four-part heart essence, comprises the quintessence of the wisdom mind of two masters [Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra], and dwells as the pure essence of the tradition's life force.

### *Specific Transmissions within the Ancient Tradition* [b]

This section has six parts: transmissions from (1) Padmakara; (2) Bérotsana; (3) Vimalamitra; (4) Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé; (5) Ma Rinchen Chok, Nyak Jnana Kumara, and others; and (6) later treasure revealers.

*The Transmission from Padmakara* [i]

Due to the immeasurable kindness and altruistic intention  
 of Lord Trisong Déutsen, instigator of the doctrine in the  
 Himalayas,  
 Padmakara, the second Buddha, [came to Tibet].  
 In common perception, he merely taught *The Pith Instructions,*  
*a Garland of Views;*  
 To fortunate disciples, he imparted inconceivable cycles of  
 ripening and liberating instructions,  
 Including the eight groups of meditation practices.  
 Considering beings of the future, he concealed many treasures  
 And established three meditation communities: countless  
 accomplished masters appeared.

The great instigator who led the dawning sun of the Victor's doctrine into the Himalayas' dark continent was Bodhisattva Gentle Melody [incarnate], King Trisong Déutsen. Due to his marvelous altruistic intention and immeasurable kindness, [Guru Rinpoché,] who adorns the crown of all accomplished masters, Lord Buddha Boundless Light risen in the form of a vajra master, the second Buddha whose one body was graced with eight names, such as Padmakara, actually appeared in Tibet.

In common disciples' perception, [Guru Rinpoché] taught at Samyé Monastery, merely imparting *The Pith Instructions, a Garland of Views.* For his disciples endowed with uncommon fortune (including the five referred to as "the king, [the king's three] subjects, and [Guru Rinpoché's] companion"), he taught mainly at the five major sacred sites for meditation practice, [each] associated with wisdom's body, speech, mind, qualities, or activity. He bestowed inconceivable profound instructions for spiritual ripening and liberation, including unimaginable peaceful and wrathful means of practice and supplementary activity rituals related to the eight groups of meditation practice, and cycles of profound instructions for meditation on the peaceful and wrathful spiritual master, the quintessential extract of the innermost essence of all sacred teachings, clear light great perfection.

[Guru Rinpoché] saw that there were not the circumstances nor was there the need to transmit most of his profound instructions for meditation during that period and considered the infinite numbers of beings of

the future. In the country's four directions and in its central region, he sealed [his instructions] with seven levels of seals and concealed them in ten million treasure sites with names, illustrated by the five great treasures sites, and innumerable unnamed ones.

At Chimpu, Yerpa, and Chuwori, he founded three major meditation communities. Moreover, in a miraculous display, there is no area anywhere in Tibet, such as central, western and eastern Tibet, so much as the size of a horse's hoof, which his feet did not touch. He consecrated every cliff as a meditation site. Due to the instructions he granted to fortunate disciples, countless accomplished masters appeared, such as twenty-five supreme accomplished masters at Chimpu, fifty-five realized adepts of Yang Dzong, one hundred and eight persons who attained a body of light both at Yerpa and Chuwori, thirty mantra adepts at Sheldrak, and twenty-five dakinis who departed into a body of light.

*The Transmission from Bérotsana* [ii]

**Experiencing hardships, Bérostana received Shri Singha's  
heart essence.**

**It spread through the five links and the teacher Pang-gen  
Sangyé Gönpö.**

**The mind and spatial categories of instruction produced the  
kingdom of Buddha Ever Excellent.**

The majestic Buddhist King Trisong Déutsen dispatched Bérotsana, Tibet's first bilingual great translator, to India. Within a nine-storied cave in a forest of cooling sandalwood at Dhanakosha, he met the great awareness holder Sri Singha (in Tibetan: Palgyi Sengé). When Bérotsana asked for an effortless spiritual way, [his teacher] revealed his wisdom mind's essence: he gave such instructions as great perfection's eighteen sections of the mind category of instruction, all empowerments and pith instructions of sixty tantras, and the white, black, and multicolored cycles of the spatial category of instructions. Fearing a [local] ruler's punishment if he did not keep complete secrecy, Bérotsana trained in the teachings of the way of philosophical systems during the day and received [these secret teachings] at night, using skillful means and auspicious connections. During his travels he underwent extreme hardships, including confronting fifty life-threatening situations.

Moreover, Bérotsana met twenty-one scholars and, in a large charnel

ground, a sacred gathering place, he encountered Garab Dorjé, from whom he received the transmission of the ultimate meaning of great perfection's six million, four hundred thousand [tantras]. Thus, at that very time, he gained the accomplishment of simultaneous realization and liberation.

Using his power of swift walking, he returned to Tibet, where he taught the king in private and translated the mind category of instructions' first five [of eighteen] cycles. Due to slander, [he was forced] to journey to Gyalmo Tsawa Rong [in eastern Tibet]. There, he taught Yudra Nyingpo at Gönpö Monastery in Gyalrong Drak, Sangtön Yeshé Lama at Tsarong Taktse Kar, and Pang-gen Sangyé Gönpö in Red Cliff Göndzong at Tongkung Rong. In central Tibet, he taught Nyak Jnana Kumara and Liza Sherab Drönma. These five individuals to whom he taught great perfection's teachings are known as the five links. Lineages from them, and in particular from Pang-gen Mipam Gönpö, gradually spread: these instructions of the mind and spatial categories produced [realization of] Buddha Ever Excellent's infinite kingdom.

Among those instructions, the continuity of the mind category exists today in what are known as Nyang's tradition and Aro's tradition. The former consists of the transmitted teachings Bérotsana gave Nyak Jnana Kumara, which were passed in stages to masters including Nyang Yeshé Jungné and the Zur clan's grandfather and grandson. The latter [Aro tradition] consists of the instructions transmitted by the incarnated master Aro Yeshé Jungné of Dokham, who mastered the profound teachings of the lineage of seven Indian and Chinese masters. Teacher Pang-gen Mipam Gönpö transmitted the vajra bridge of the spatial category, the sole instruction through which many generations of masters accomplished a body of light.

### *The Transmission from Vimalamitra [iii]*

**Vimalamitra and Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo's pith  
instructions give birth to [liberation in] a body of light.  
Longchenpa, the second Garab Dorjé, spread this doctrine.**

Master Vimalamitra, who attained a vajra [i.e., indestructible] rainbow body and crowned the heads of five hundred sublime scholars, traveled to Tibet, where he imparted instructions of great perfection's pith instruction category to Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo, who became endowed with

the eyes of clairvoyance. Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo departed into light. Yudra Nyingpo served as translator and translated the thirteen remaining sections of the mind category [that Bérotsana had not translated]. Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo bestowed the doctrinal transmission [of this set of teachings] to Bé Lodrö Wangchuk. The textual transmission encoded as a treasure was [later] revealed by Dangma Lhungyal, who also received their doctrinal transmission. He gave these pith instructions to Chétsun Sengé Wangchuk, who also attained liberation in a body of light. These instructions were passed successively to Gyalwa Zhangtön and others, and came to be known as *The Heart Essence of Vimalamitra*.

Péma Lédrel retrieved Padmasambhava's profound instructions, *The Heart Essence of the Dakinis*, from [concealment as a] treasure, and gave it to the incarnate master Rangjung Dorjé and to Sho'i Gyalsé Lekpa. Of the former of these masters, *The Unimpeded Sound Tantra* states:

A bodhisattva dwelling on awakening's stages  
Will spread [this teaching] to the ocean's shores.

As foretold, Rangjung Dorjé performed the act of spreading this teaching throughout the world, and the profound teachings known as Karma Heart Essence arose from the expanse of his wisdom mind.

The latter master [Sho'i Gyalsé Lekpa] gave instruction to the omniscient master Drimé Özer [i.e., Longchenpa], who composed treatises that overflowed from the expanse of Buddha Ever Excellent's wisdom mind, including the root texts and commentaries of *The Innermost Essence of the Spiritual Master*, *The Profound Innermost Essence*, *The Innermost Essence of the Dakinis*, *The Seven Treasures*, and *The Trilogy on Relaxation*. He produced many outstanding disciples as lineage holders. In brief, the *Secret Heart Essence* doctrines lead to the birth of a body of light from the material body. He who is known as Longchen Rabjam Zangpo, the second Garab Dorjé incarnate, made these teachings spread far and wide.

### *The Transmission from Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé [iv]*

From four masters of India, Nepal, and Drusha,  
Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé received *The Discourse That Gathers  
Wisdom's Realization*, the cycle of *Slayer of the Lord of  
Death*, and other [teachings].

The accomplished master Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé Rinpoché, who dwelt on awakening's [third] stage, Luminous, received anuyoga's transmission of the four discourses, including *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization*, and their gradual path; that cycle of discourses' empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions; and infinite numbers of profound instructions for meditation, such as the cycle of Slayer of the Lord of Death, principally Slayer of the Lord of Death who Overpowers with Gestures. He received these from the Indian masters Black Héruka and Dharmarajapala, Vasubhasha of Nepal, Master Chétsen Kyé of Gilgit, and others. He transmitted the teachings to four cherished disciples, including So Yeshé Wangchuk. Particularly, his own son, Yönten Gyatso, transmitted these teachings and spread them. Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé concealed the majority of the wrathful mantras as treasures.

*The Transmission from Ma Rinchen Chok, Nyak Jnana Kumara, and Others* [v]

The canonical transmission, mainly *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*, Yangdak Héruka, and Vajra Dagger,  
 Was preserved by an uninterrupted series of excellent  
 accomplished masters,  
 Including Ma Tok Rinchen, Nyak Jnana Kumara, Nupchen  
 Sangyé Yeshé, Nup Namké Nyingpo, So Yeshé Jungné,  
 Nyang Sherab Chok,  
 The teacher Khön Lu'i Wangpo Sungwa, Lhazig Lang, Odren  
 Palgyi Wangchuk, Gyu Palgyi Zhönnu,  
 Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, [and members of the] Zur, Nyo,  
 Chal, Chim, Kyo, and Yung [clans].

Concerning most of the canonical transmission of the tantras and meditation practices (principally *The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra*, Yangdak Héruka, and Vajra Dagger), Ma Tok Rinchen [probably Ma Rinchen Chok] initially translated and taught *The Secret Essence Tantra*. Likewise, many learned, accomplished masters studied this tantra, taught, meditated, and gained accomplishment in it, and thus produced definitive versions [of its text] and preserved the doctrine.

Moreover, as the saying relates, "The vajra way's doctrine was first transmitted to Nyak, then to Nup, and finally to Zur." Four doctrinal

transmissions' streams from the great masters Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Bérotsana, and Yudra Nyingpo collected in Nyak Jnana Kumara. [The four streams are] the stream of scriptures of explanatory texts, accompanied by major commentaries and [summaries of] the main points; the stream of profound instructions for meditation from the oral lineage, accompanied by texts on crucial points of instruction and direct guidance; the stream of empowerments' blessings, accompanied by techniques for their conferral and pointing out instructions; and the stream of the practical instructions for accomplishing activities, accompanied by [rituals for] the doctrine's guardians and wrathful mantras. Nyak Jnana Kumara's principal disciples were eight whose name included Pal, among whom Sokpo Palgyi Yeshé imparted every profound instruction to Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé.

Further, Nup Namké Nyingpo traveled to India and requested from the accomplished master Hungkara the complete teaching cycle of Yangdak Héruka; he accomplished the body of nondual wisdom. The lineage through him, the So tradition of Yangdak Héruka's profound instructions for meditation, is still extant in the present day. So Yeshé Jungné's disciple, Nyang Sherab Chok, had a disciple Nyang Yeshé Jungné, whose disciple was Lhajé Zurpoché Shakya Jungné. Moreover, among the instructions which the great master [Padmasambhava] imparted to Khön Lu'i Wangpo Sungwa, both Yangdak Héruka and Vajra Dagger were transmitted through the glorious Sakyapas in a lineage which continues in the present day.

Moreover, many of Lhazig Lang's family descendents, such as Khampa Gocha, Palgyi Sengé the later, Odren Palgyi Wangchuk, Kharchen Palgyi Wangchuk, Drokmi Palgyi Yeshé, Nyen Palyang, and Nanam Dorjé Dujom, were accepted as disciples by the sublime masters [mentioned above]. Most of the sublime individuals who became translators of the later translations were born within the hereditary lines of the Ancient Tradition's series of accomplished masters and awareness holders. In addition, after those masters, there appeared Gyu Palgyi Zhönnu, Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, and an infinite lineage of family descendents and disciples famed throughout the world as the Zur grandfather and grandsons: Lhajé Zurpoché Shakya Jungné, Zurchung Sherab Drak, and Sangdak Dropukpa. The Nyo clan's family line included in later times the major treasure revealer Péma Lingpa and the king of the teachings Terdak Lingpa. This flawless family line continues to the present day. The Chal clan produced Chal Pakpa Pal and the sublime omniscient Men-

lung Lama. The Rok family line includes Rok Shakya Ö. Members of the [Chim] clan stem from Chim Shakya Prabhava; the Kyo clan, from Ö Jung; and a clan line issues from Yung-tön Dorjé Pal.

*The Transmissions from the Later Revealers of Concealed Treasures* [vi]

Two sublime [treasure revealers], eight masters named Lingpa,  
capable masters, and others  
Appeared successively, attuned to their historical periods.  
During the final times,  
They will, with their disciples, prevent the secret mantra  
doctrine's decline and cause it to flourish.

*The Exalted Discourse on the Meditative State That Gathers All Merits* states:

O Stainless Brilliance! For great bodhisattvas who yearn for  
the teachings, the teachings' treasures have been placed in  
mountains, in ravines, and in forests. Long mantras and in-  
finite gateways to the teachings made into volumes will come  
into their hands.

Again, *The Discourse of the River's Play* states:

Conceal the scriptures of my doctrine's teachings  
As mind treasures that issue from wisdom mind  
Or even as the essence of the earth.  
Why? Non-Buddhists with wild thoughts  
Will surely adulterate [my teachings'] meanings.  
Thus, their river's flow will not be interrupted.

In these and other texts, the Buddha taught this at length.

The great master of Oddiyana foretold the coming of his physical representatives, predestined individuals. He concealed his verbal representatives, eighteen kinds of treasures, illustrated by master treasures and heart treasures. He entrusted his wisdom mind's intention to his destined spiritual children, such as the trio [known as] the king, [the king's] subject, and [Guru Rinpoché's] companion; and sealed their aspirations. Thus,



when the appointed time came in later generations, those disciples' manifestations appeared as sublime beings, emanations of awareness holders. Their succession includes Nyang-ral Nyima Özer and Guru Chökyi Wangchuk, known as the two sublime treasure revealers or the earlier and later treasures; many who bore the name Lingpa, of whom eight were most important—Sangyé Lingpa, Dorjé Lingpa, Rinchen Lingpa, Péma Lingpa, Ratna Lingpa, Kunkyong Lingpa, Do-ngak Lingpa, and Tennyi Lingpa; Rikzin Gökyi Dem-truchen and others who practiced the Northern Treasures; twenty-one known as powerful masters [i.e., “nuden”], the principal of whom was Dudul Nuden Dorjé; and he whose appearance in this nadir of degenerate times was as amazing and marvelous as an *udumvara* [flower], the magical manifestation of glorious Prince Damzin Chökyi Lodrö, leader of an ocean of treasure revealers—Orgyen Chokgyur Déchen Lingpa. These masters opened the doors to a supreme trove of profound teachings and of sacred substances that bring liberation by taste and other means, and they spread wondrous activity imbued with the four ways of liberation. The chief masters of their teachings, along with their lineage-holding disciples, preserve the sacred teachings during the darkest of evil times. Even in places where the doctrines of scriptures on monastic discipline no longer exist, the secret mantra vajra way does not vanish into fragments but spreads and flourishes. Its wide-reaching, continual activity liberates every being who is difficult to guide.

The scholar Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo taught of secret mantra's sevenfold transmission—successive transmissions from Master Padma, Nup Namké Nyingpo, Shantingarbha (who is said to have consecrated Samyé Monastery and from whom most of the Slayer of the Lord of Death cycle derives), Bérotsana, Vimalamitra twice, and Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé.

### *The Buddha's Word as Instruction* [2]

This section has two parts: (1) the identification of the tradition and (2) an enumeration of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [a]

Lord [Atisha] emphasized the view and conduct  
And presented *A Lamp on the Path to Awakening*, which integrates scriptures and profound instructions for meditation.

Buddha Boundless Light's magical manifestation, Lord Dipamkara Shri-jnana [i.e., Atisha], mainly taught the middle way view and the conduct of monastic discipline. He integrated scriptural traditions with profound instructions for meditation in the composition of his major treatise entitled *A Lamp on the Path to Awakening*, the complete gradual path for three kinds of individual. He presented it as encompassing every approach to the sacred teachings.

*The Buddha's Word as Instruction's Lineages* [b]

This section has three parts: (1) its doctrinal lineages in general; and the specifics of (2) the early tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction and (3) the new tradition, presented separately.

*The General Doctrinal Lineages of the Buddha's Word as Instruction* [i]

**Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa's doctrinal lineage and others are infinite, yet**

Lord Atisha's learned, accomplished disciples were extremely numerous in both India and Tibet, yet his first Tibetan disciple who invited him to Tibet was Translator Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa. He relied on Atisha for nineteen years and received the majority of his instructions. In addition, he relied upon Jnana-akara and other masters; his principal transmission is known as Naktso's doctrinal lineage. Rongpa Chaksor-wa, a disciple of Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné and other masters, received from Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa many instructions in secret mantra. Following [Naktso's] prophetic advice, Rongpa Chaksor-wa built a monastery at Rong Lak-sor. An outstanding lineage emerged from those known as Rongpa's four spiritual children, including Ja Duldzin.

During the intermediate [period of this tradition], three [disciples] in western Tibet [referred to as] Gar, Gö, and Yol; and during its final [period], three in central Tibet named Khutön Sherab Tsöndru, Ngok Lekpé Sherab, and Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné became well known. Among them, Ngok Lekpé Sherab founded the monastic college of Sangpu Ne'utok. In such ways, Dipamkara Shrijnana's activity in turning the wheel of the Dharma was infinite.

The word “yet” in the root text connects that line to the next.

*The Early Tradition of the Buddha’s Word as Instruction* [ii]

The principal lineage is that of Lord All-Seeing One, Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné.

The precious Buddha’s Word as Instruction has seven deities and teachings,

The three brothers’ system of scriptures, profound instructions for meditation, and pith instructions.

Many great exalted beings spread this excellent path to awakening.

Among all those lineages, the principal one is that of Bodhisattva Lord All-Seeing One incarnate, Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné, whose life as a layman who would spread the teachings was foretold in *The Flower Ornament Discourse* and *The White Lotus of Compassion Discourse*. This lineage has four especially exalted deities and the teachings’ three collections; it is known as the precious Buddha’s Word as Instruction, custodian of the doctrine endowed with seven deities and teachings [four deities and the three collections]. The Victor Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné’s disciples, known as the three brothers [Potowa Rinchen Sal, Chen-nga Tsultrim Bar, and Pu-chungwa Zhönnu Gyaltzen], received the transmission of the three major doctrinal systems—of scriptures, profound instructions for meditation, and pith instructions. Among those who held these three lineages were great exalted bodhisattvas dwelling upon stages without return, who transmitted and elucidated this excellent, unmistakable path to awakening.

The transmission of scriptures in this lineage has a teaching system of six texts: *The Buddha’s Past Lives* and *Intentional Teachings*, scriptures for developing faith; *The Stages of Awakening* and *An Ornament of the Discourses*, scriptures for developing meditative states; and *A Compendium of Training* and *Entering the Conduct of Enlightenment*, scriptures on conduct. He who upheld this system, Potowa Rinchen Sal, had such disciples as Langri Tangpa and Sharawa Yönten Drak, related like the sun and moon. Among Sharawa’s disciples was Tumtön Lodrö Drak, who founded glorious Nartang Monastery. These individuals mainly preserved the teaching system.

The transmission of profound instructions for meditation constitutes a teaching system that present the four noble truths as profound instructions for meditation. Chen-nga Tsultrim Bar's disciples, such as Ja Yulwa, produced an especially exalted lineage known as Chen-nga's doctrinal lineage; it emphasized the transmission of meditation practice. At the present time, it is thought that its doctrines have flowed into the Dakpo Kagyu order.

The transmission of pith instructions—the sixteen drops' empowerments, instructions, and supportive authorizations, accompanied by precious volumes of teachings—were transmitted to Pu-chungwa Zhönnu Gyaltzen. He gave them to Tap-kawa Rinchen Gyaltzen; after him, they continued as a transmission from one master to a single disciple until Zhönnu Lodrö of Nartang Monastery. The seal of secrecy was then lifted and the transmission was passed in stages to the great Scholar Nyukpa; glorious Tsuklak Trengwa received it from him, and it arrived in the Kamtsang lineage of meditation practice. Gyalwa Gendun Drup received it from the great Translator Tuk-jé Palwa, and its stream arrived in the Géden [tradition].

*The New Tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction* [iii]

**This tradition pervaded every school,  
Yet later, Manjushri's magical manifestation, Tsongkapa,  
Principally emphasized the path of scriptures, known as the  
new tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction.**

During that [early] period, spiritual mentors who held this tradition filled the land of Tibet, and their monasteries spread far and wide throughout eastern and central Tibet. As a result, their gradual path's instructions, such as four thoughts which turn the mind away [from the wheel of life], appear at the beginning of all teaching systems of the later and early traditions, for example, and pervade every spiritual school in the Himalayas. Yet later, when it seemed that institutions that preserved this tradition's own systems were becoming somewhat eclipsed, there appeared Lord Manjushri's magical manifestation with irrefutable supreme knowledge and masterful compassion; like a Buddha appearing in this world, he was known as Tsongkapa Lozang Drakpé Pal.

Tsongkapa emphasized the Buddha's Word as Instruction's scriptural

teaching system. He condensed its three traditions' profound meanings into pith instructions in *The Wide Gradual Path to Awakening*. The tradition that holds this as the vital core of its instruction is called the new tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction, known everywhere as the Gédénpa [now more commonly known as Gélukpa].

This holy individual's great qualities are inconceivable; this is evident in the exchange of questions and replies Master Umapa and the great accomplished master of Lhodrak, Lékyi Dorjé had with [the bodhisattvas] Gentle Splendor and Lord of Secrets. Further, Machik Lapdrön clearly predicted that for as long as Shakyamuni's doctrine endures, no one will appear comparable to the sovereign Karmapa and this holy individual. His acts, typified by four great deeds, including the establishment of the [yearly] great prayer festival during the miracle month [i.e., the first lunar month] at Lhasa, are unfathomable for ordinary beings. The streams of his activity—his disciples who held the collections of the Buddha's doctrine, and the over one hundred and forty monasteries they established, are visible to the eye today. In brief, in this end time of the Buddha's doctrine, the kindness he has shown toward the doctrine of scriptural transmission is unique.

Thus, it is said that the Buddha's Word as Instruction originated at the time of Lord Atisha; the precious master Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné founded the system; it grew and flourished during the time of the three brothers; and spread widely during the lifetimes of such masters as Langri Tangpa, Sharawa Yönten Drak, and Ja Yulwa.

### *The Path with the Result* [3]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [a]

Nine cycles of the path from Virupa, Saroruha, and others  
 Were transmitted as essential profound instructions for  
 meditation to the great Master Drokmi Shakya Yeshé.  
 The teachings that resulted from his spiritual connections  
 with the six gates' [scholars], the pith instructions without  
 root [verses],

**Concealed teachings of the path in a direct lineage, and  
*Clarification of the Meaning through Symbols*  
 Are the most important wisdom speech in the Path with the  
 Result.**

The lord of yogis, known [in Tibetan] as Jikdral Palden Chökyong or [in Sanskrit] as the great accomplished master Virupa, was given empowerment within a sacred circle emanated by Selfless Goddess. Virupa attained the realization of awakening's sixth stage. Based on three tantras of Vajra of Delight, he conferred *The Vajra Lines* to Krishna[charin or Kanha] of the East, and thus founded the cycle of instructions the Path with the Result.

Based on Vajra of Delight's root tantra, *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, the great accomplished master Saroruha composed a [teaching] cycle of the path: the phase of creation, the nine profound means, and on the phase of completion, *Like the Tip of a Lamp Flame*. "Others" in the root text includes Nagarjuna, who composed a cycle of the path, *Commentary on the Awakened Mind*, based on the Matrix of Mystery tantra; and Dombi Héruka, who composed a cycle of the path, *Realizing Coemergence*, based on *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*. Indrabodhi composed a cycle of the path, *The Complete Path of the Seals*, based on *The Wisdom Essence Tantra*. Kuddala composed a cycle of the path, *The Inconceivable*, based on *The Tantra of Union*. Krishnacharin composed a cycle of the path, *Olapati*, based on the Supreme Bliss tantras. Vakishvara composed a cycle of the path, *The Unwritten Great Seal*, based on the Matrix of Mystery tantra. Krishna Utsita the Immortal composed a cycle of the path, *Straightening the Crooked*, based on every mother tantra.

These nine teaching cycles of the path were transmitted to the great master, Translator Drokmi Shakya Yeshé. Drokmi initially trained with Shantipa to become learned in all teachings on monastic discipline, the perfection of sublime insight, and secret mantra. He then received profound instructions for meditation, including [nine] cycles from Gayadhara and Viravajra. [On the subject of the Indian lineage,] Virupa composed a very concise teaching on the tantra and an extensive version of the oral lineage's pith instructions for experiential cultivation. These he gave to Krishnacharin of the East. Krishnacharin passed the teachings to Damarupa; he to Avadhutipa; and he to Gayadhara, who journeyed

three times to Tibet. During his first visit, he bestowed all the profound instructions for meditation to Drokmi Shakya Yeshé. This is known as the tradition of Vajra of Delight's pith instructions, now well known as the Path with the Result. The eight [cycles of teaching] mentioned above [after the first, Virupa's] are known as the later lineage of the Path with the Result.

In general, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Gö Kukpa Lhétsé, and Drokmi Shakya Yeshé are the three sources of secret mantra vajra way's later spread [in Tibet]. In particular, both Marpa and Gö initially trained with Drokmi, who was remarkably exalted: for example, it is said that he attained Great Seal's sublime accomplishment in the intermediate state after death. He received all nine cycles of teaching on the path, which are the ocean-like profound essence of meditation instructions. When he was about to return to Tibet from India, he asked for profound instructions for meditation as a spiritual connection from the scholars of the six gates [at Vikramashila Monastery]: he received instructions for integrating the discourses and tantras; techniques for dispelling three levels of obstacles—external demons, disturbances of the body's constituent elements, and mental obstacles to meditative states; great seal that dispels three sufferings; and *Clear Recollection of the Natural State*.

In addition, powerful Lord Virupa gave Dombi Héruka a very extensive teaching on the tantra and taught him a very concise version of the pith instructions. Dombi Héruka taught Alalavajra; [and the lineage passes in turn to] Shavaripa, Garbharipa, Jayashri, Durjayachandra, and Viravajra. In east India, Drokmi Shakya Yeshé requested this from Viravajra, who gave him what is known as the Path with the Result without root verses. This refers to the fact that while previous versions had vajra verses, there were none in this case. This is known as the commentarial tradition to Vajra of Delight tantra.

Drokmi Shakya Yeshé, Gyijo Dawé Özer, and Drom Dépa Tönchung translated *The Vajra Lines* according to the Indian text. Without having an Indian text, Chagen Wangchuk Gyaltsen and Jonang Kunpang revised the translation by mixing the order [of the topics]. Zungkyi Palwa's textbook states that Scholar Rahula made a translation; thus there were six initial translations of this text. Moreover, later on, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo received concealed teachings of the path in a direct lineage and Drakpa Gyaltsen [composed] *Clarification of the Meaning Through Symbols* [based on a vision]. These and the other main profound instruc-

tions comprise the sixty texts of the precious speech of the Path with the Result, with its minor pith instructions.

*Presentation of the Lineages of the Path with the Result* [b]

This section has three parts: (1) a general presentation of the lineages, (2) a specific presentation of the Sakya lineage, and (3) an ancillary presentation of other lineages.

*A General Presentation of the Lineages* [i]

The spiritual sons of body and mind, and Sé Karchungwa,  
propagated three lineages.  
Later, among those who received the full, medium, or minimal  
[transmission],  
Three lineages—the male and female Zhama traditions and a  
blended lineage—are derived from the medium transmission.  
The male lineage had disciple and son lineages; the female,  
three lineages;  
And the blended lineages resulted in four traditions—  
From Dumbu Kodrakpa, Chagen Wangchuk Gyaltzen, Jonang  
Kunpang, and Latö Wangyal.

Drokmi Shakya Yeshé had eighteen [outstanding] disciples: seven—three men and four women—who gained accomplishment; seven, such as Khön Könchok Gyalpo and Gyijong Ukar, who held all the scriptures; and four, such as Sé Karchungwa and José Indra, who held all the pith instructions. The traditional lineage of the path with the result flowed from them as follows: [Drokmi Shakya Yeshé's] own sons Indra and Dorjé, his heart spiritual heir Drom Dépa Tönchung, and Sé Karchungwa propagated three lineages. Subsequently, from the teacher Sé Karchungwa, the Zhangtön brothers received the full transmission; Zhama and his sister received the medium transmission; and Ségom Jangchub Yeshé received the minimal transmission.

Among these, Zhama and his sister, who received the medium transmission, disseminated a male, a female, and a combined lineage. Within the male lineage, two traditions evolved: of the disciples and of the son. The male Zhama was Lord Khön Puwa Chökyi Gyalpo. The lineage



passed through disciples including Ségom Drak-gyal. The son lineage was passed from Zhama Dawé Özer to Pang-jé Nyima Drak. The female lineage of Machik Zhama Naljorma grew into three traditions, from her disciples Nyang-gom, Mön Karpa Tön-zhung, and Pönmo Sher-tsul. In the combined lineage, four traditions developed: a combination of the male and female Zhama traditions resulted in Dumbu Kodrakpa's tradition. A combination of three lineages—the Zhama male and female, and the Sakya—resulted in Chagen Wangchuk Gyaltzen's tradition. A combination of Drokmi Shakya Yeshé and Gyijo Dawé Özer's lineages resulted in Jonang Kunpang's tradition. A combination of three lineages—the path with the result, the six applications, and great perfection—resulted in Latö Wangyal's tradition.

**The full transmission,  
The Zhangtön lineage, [was received by] the particularly exalted  
Sachen Kunga Nyingpo.  
His former heirs were Pakmo Drupa and Chégom; the later  
heirs, the proximate and historical lineages;  
And Mang-lam and Zhing Pukpa's tradition. Among the total  
of eighteen traditions,  
The Sakya and Zhama traditions spread for a long time.**

The particularly exalted holder of the lineage of the full transmission received by Zhangtön Chöbar was the illustrious Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. His two former spiritual heirs, Pakmo Drupa and Chégom founded two traditions. His later spiritual heirs formed the historical and proximate lineages. Mang-lam Zhikpo's tradition compiled treasuries of cherished teachings from four lineages: two from Drokmi Shakya Yeshé and José Indra, and two from the Zhangtön brothers. The minimal transmission was passed from [Ségom] Jangchub Yeshé to Zhing Pukpa.

Thus, it is said that there are eighteen traditions of the Path with the Result: two lineages of the body and mind heirs; among the Sé lineages, two—disciple and son—in the male Zhama lineage, three in the female [Zhama lineage], and four combined lineages; four Sakya lineages; two lineages of Mang-lam and Zhing Pukpa; and the Jonang tradition, which will be explained later. Among these, the Sakya and Zhama traditions spread for a long time; and even more, the Sakya tradition has spread and flourished widely until the present day.

*A Specific Presentation of the Sakya Lineage* [ii]

In particular,  
 The Sakya tradition has the exoteric teachings of Ngor, Dzong,  
 and Gang-kar [lineages],  
 And the esoteric teachings that the Tsarchen father and sons  
 upheld, practiced, and transmitted.  
 Vajra of Delight's creation and completion phases swelled like  
 a lake in the summer.

In particular, on the subject of what is known as the Sakya tradition, Lord Atisha clearly saw seven *Dhi* letters and one *Hung* on the white cliff face [at Sakya], and foretold that seven emanations of Gentle Melody and one of Vajra Holder would appear. The first of these was the glorious master of great loving-kindness, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, who received the three Vajra of Delight tantras from Drokmi Shakya Yeshé, Supreme Bliss from Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa, yoga tantra and the protector from great Translator Rinchen Zangpo, and *The Hundred Meditation Techniques* from Bari Rinchen Drakpa. He thus received these and other doctrinal transmissions of profound instructions for meditation from four great translators.

Most significantly, at the age of forty-seven, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo beheld Lord Virupa in a fivefold sacred circle [comprising the masters Virupa, Krishnacharin, Gayadhara, Kotalipa, and Vinapa], bringing teachings. They stayed for one month and conferred on him four profound doctrines that were not to leave the iron fence enclosure [of the main temple at Sakya Monastery]; empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions of seventy-two tantras; and the hidden teachings of the direct lineage of the Path with the Result. As his master foretold, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo had three disciples who gained accomplishment, seven who attained the stage of forbearance, and eight who gained realization. It is said that four arrays of his wisdom body now manifestly dwell in the pure lands of Blissful, Potala, Oddiyana, and the northern Golden Land, where they work for the welfare of fortunate beings.

Kunga Nyingpo taught his sons Lord Sönam Tsémo and Drakpa Gyaltzen: the former traveled to the celestial realms without leaving his body; the latter was endowed with the life of liberation of a great vajra master of Tibet. At the age of fifty-six, Drakpa Gyaltzen beheld Sachen

Kunga Nyinpo's wisdom body; that master bestowed *Clarification of the Meaning Through Symbols*, the very proximate lineage of the Path with the Result. From him, the lineage went successively to such masters as Jamyang Sakya Pandit and Drogön Chögyal Pakpa.

The illustrious spiritual master Sönam Gyaltzen had a disciple, Yarlung Sengé Gyaltzen; his nephew, Sönam Gyalchok, had eight spiritual heirs who preserved his wisdom speech. Among the traditions that grew from them, such as the traditions of Ngor, Dzong, Bodong, and Géden, and various lineages, the chief [are the Explication for the Assembly and the Explication for Disciples of the Path with the Result].

Buddha Vajra Bearer Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo received the Explication for Disciples teachings from the great accomplished master Buddhashri. That teaching's stream of activity has done prodigious deeds for the benefit of the doctrine and beings; it is widespread, continual, and universally known to the present day. The lineage from the mantra holder Zungkyi Palwa is known as the Dzong tradition of the path with the result. Omniscient Kunga Namgyal appeared from this transmission; he disseminated a separate teaching transmission called Gangkar-wa, which Rikzin Tséwang Norbu and others highly praised in later times.

As for the Explication for the Assembly, Dakchen Lodrö Gyaltzen's disciple, the great Doring Kunpong-wa, gave [the transmission of] the precious wisdom words to Tsarchen Losal Gyatso. This became the separate tradition called the Tsarchen Explication for the Assembly. [Tsarchen's] heart spiritual heirs included Jamyang Kyentsé Wangchuk, like the sun; and the erudite Ludrup Gyatso, like the moon. In brief, these great learned, accomplished masters upheld, preserved, and transmitted the Sakya tradition. Thus, the activity of Vajra of Delight's creation and completion phases swelled during these final times like the waters of a lake in the summer.

### *An Ancillary Presentation of Other Lineages [iii]*

#### **The tradition of Gyijo Dawé Özer merged with that of the great Jonang Kunpang.**

It is taught that during great Scholar Gayadhara's second visit to Tibet, he transmitted the profound instruction of the [precious] wisdom speech to Translator Gö Kukpa Lhétsé; on his third visit, he transmitted it to Gyijo Dawé Özer and to Translator Nyö Jungpo. Gyijo Dawé Özer passed it to

his disciples including Zhu Korlo and Zhu Darma Gyaltzen. Later, this transmission merged as a single stream with the Drokmi tradition in the person of the great Jonang Kunpang.

*Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage* [4]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

*Identification of the Tradition* [a]

**Lord Translator Marpa—regent of [Tilopa] who unites four  
doctrinal lineages, Naropa, and Métripa—  
Received doctrines of teaching and meditation practice.**

Télopa [i.e., Tilopa], lord of accomplished meditators, chained his foot to the west [Indian] Somapuri Temple and practiced meditation for twelve years. After that, he followed the prophetic advice of his spiritual master and wisdom deity and became a prostitute's servant. Having trained in the path's realization, he reached a stage of sublime accomplishment. By merely singing vajra songs of realization, he liberated the residents of one million, two hundred thousand cities. It is said that his eight disciples who attained accomplishment worked for beings' welfare as he had. Télopa received two doctrinal transmissions—one historical and one proximate. Of the first, he stated:

Nagarjuna, [Krishna]charya, Lavapa,  
And Subhagini  
Are the spiritual masters of my four doctrinal transmissions.

Télopa received the doctrinal transmission of fierce inner heat from [Krishna]charya, illusory body and clear light from Nagarjuna, lucid dreaming from Lavapa, and intermediate state and transference of consciousness from Sukasiddhi. Moreover, from the middle Indrabhuti he received instruction in [union with] the other's body, sublime insight; and from Matangipa, instructions for entering a corpse. Although many opinions exist concerning to Télopa's historical lineage, glorious Rangjung Dorjé states:

The true, perfect great Buddha Vajra Bearer taught Lord of Secrets and other bodhisattvas, who passed these teachings to the four doctrinal transmissions' spiritual masters: Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Chandrakirti, and Matangipa—the southern lineage. Dombi Héruka, Vinapa, Lavapa, and Indrabhuti form the western lineage. Luyipa, Dengipa, Darikapa, and Sukadhari form the northern lineage. Suka Mahasiddhi, Tanglopa, Shinglopa, and Karnaripa form the eastern lineage.

These four directions are given in terms of the regions of India where most of [those masters] originated. Concerning the proximate lineage, [Tilopa] states:

I, Télo, do not have human masters;  
My master is omniscience.

As stated, he received instruction on secret mantra's four levels of tantra directly from Buddha Vajra Bearer, and Vajra Yogini entrusted him with the treasury of the oral lineage's threefold cycle of jewels. He thus gathered the essence of all profound instructions for meditation.

In this lord's presence, great Scholar Naropa underwent twelve major hardships and then gained full comprehension of all subjects of secret mantra based on symbols and words, and achieved accomplishment. Marpa Chökyi Lodrö of Lhodrak, Dombi Héruka's magical manifestation, traveled three times to the land of exalted beings. During earlier and later journeys, he relied on Naropa for a total of sixteen years and seven months. He received the empowerments, teachings, and profound instructions of many tantras, principally Vajra of Delight and Matrix of Mystery, as his vajra songs state:

India's great Scholar Naro  
And Tibet's Marpa the Translator  
Met due to their same previous training and aspiration.  
I relied upon [Naropa] for sixteen years and seven months . . .

and,

I met many accomplished spiritual masters,  
Narotapa chief among them.  
In general, I received the four classes of tantra's pith instructions.

When Marpa journeyed [to India] for the last time, Naropa had already departed for the celestial realms, yet due to [Marpa's] supplications, Naropa manifestly appeared in the north [Indian] Pushpahari Monastery, dwelled there for six months, and imparted to Marpa the entire oral lineage of Supreme Bliss and his consort. Marpa also relied upon many learned, accomplished masters, including Victor Métripa, who had been accepted as a disciple by glorious Shavaripa; Jnanagarbha, a scholar from Dulakshétra in the west; the accomplished master Shantibhadra who lived on an island in a poisonous lake in the south; and Dakini Adorned with Bone Ornaments. From them he received an infinite number of discourses and tantras. In particular, Naropa and Métripa empowered this lord translator as their regent to guide the Himalayan region; he has two major doctrinal traditions: a lineage of teaching and a lineage of meditation practice.

*Presentation of the Lineages of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage* [b]

This section has four parts: (1) the four pillars, (2) Réchungpa's Doctrinal Lineage, (3) the Dakpo Doctrinal Lineage, and (4) the outstanding Karma Kamtsang Kagyu.

*The Four Pillars* [i]

[Marpa's] transmission reached the four pillars; in particular,  
 Lord Milarepa's oral lineage  
 Was held by his two disciples like the sun and moon.

The lord from Lhodrak's inconceivable array of mystery guided infinite numbers of disciples in the Himalayan region. Among them, many upheld the profound instructions for meditation, including his four heart spiritual heirs, ten leading spiritual mentors, and chiefly, those known as the four pillars who received the doctrinal transmission of teaching and meditation practice. Among the four, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé of Zhung, Tsurtön Wang-ngé Dorjé of Dolpo, and Métön Tsönpo of Tsang-rong mainly received the doctrinal transmission of teaching, whereas Mila Zhépa Dorjé [i.e., Milarépa] mainly received the doctrinal transmission of meditation practice.

Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé departed to celestial realms without leaving his body. Seven lineage bearers followed Ngoktön, each imbued with wis-

dom, compassion, capability, and the power to wield the vajra and bell [as vajra master]. Most famous masters in the Himalayan region gathered as their disciples; thus, their activity was very widespread. Nevertheless, the special ornament of Tibetans' ears, Lord Milarépa, was inseparable with the sovereign accomplished masters of India. In his lifetime, he manifestly attained the culminant state of union, then guided immeasurable numbers of human and nonhuman beings. Among his disciples who gained notoriety were three sublime guides of beings; three men and four women who departed to the celestial realms; and eight supreme cotton-clad adepts. Foremost among them were two especially exalted holders of the oral lineage who were like the sun and moon [Gampopa and Réchungpa].

### *Réchungpa's Doctrinal Lineage* [ii]

**The profound instructions of Réchungpa, heart-son of Machik  
Drupé Gyalmo and Tépupa Vimalamitra,  
Nurtured all Himalayan schools.**

Réchung Dorjé Drakpa, Milarepa's moon-like heart spiritual heir, was accepted as a disciple by Machik Drupé Gyalmo and Tépupa Vimalamitra, and given their wisdom minds' treasure troves of the essence of profound instructions for meditation. This sublime spiritual heir brought to this world the later *Teaching Cycle of the Disembodied Dakini*. He traveled to the celestial realms without leaving his body and later accepted many fortunate beings as his disciples, including Palden Drukpa. Among his disciples were twelve heart spiritual heirs to whom he directly conferred the instructions; foremost among them was Gyalwa Kyung-tsangpa, to whom he entrusted the oral lineage's treasury. That master taught Machik Angjo; the teachings passed in a lineage from her until the lord of beings Tsangpa Gyaré, who spread this tradition widely. He gave profound teachings (including one called Lord of the World, Ocean of Victors) to Lama Zangri Répa, who passed the teachings to Drogön Réchen, through whom this doctrinal transmission entered the Kamtsang Kagyu: the sovereign accomplished master Karma Pakshi [the second Karmapa] attained accomplishment mainly through these very teachings.

*The Manifold Instruction on the Buddha of Infinite Life That Accom-*

*plishes Beings' Welfare*, one of [Réchungpa's] eighteen manifold profound instructions, has been accepted by all orders, chiefly the Sakya, Karma Kagyu, and Gédenpa. Likewise, this supreme being's other profound meditation instructions have nurtured all schools in the Himalayan region.

*The Dakpo Doctrinal Lineage Tradition* [iii]

[Gampopa] the monk physician whose life the Victor foretold  
 Had spiritual heirs who founded four major orders: Barom,  
 Pakdru, Kamtsang, and Tsalpa;  
 With the lineage holders of his main monastery, there were five.

Victor Shakyamuni clearly foretold the life of [Gampopa] Milarepa's sun-like heart spiritual heir as a monk physician in such scriptures as *The Sovereign Meditative State Discourse* and *The White Lotus of Compassion Discourse*; he was also known as incomparable Dakpo Lhajé. To his ordinary disciples, he taught the stages of the path from the tradition of Buddha's Word as Instruction and the meditative states of the discourse system adorned with the name of great seal. To his uncommon disciples, he taught the extraordinary great seal of secret mantra related to his spiritual master Milarepa's path of skillful means. His turning of the wheel of the teachings with impressive miracles led infinite numbers of disciples, including five hundred destined persons who were like arhats, to spiritual maturity and liberation. In brief, this great being had qualities similar to the Buddha appearing in the world. Even in the present day, the sight, hearing, thought, or touch of him can bring one's stream of being to spiritual maturity and liberation: his life is inconceivable.

His chief disciples were the following [four masters]: Barompa Darma Wangchuk, who founded the Barom Kagyu; Pakdru Dorjé Gyalpo, who founded the Pakdru Kagyu; Khampa Usé, otherwise known as Lord Dusum Kyenpa, founder of the Karma Kamtsang; and Zhang Tsalpa Tsöndru Drakpa (disciple of Öngom Tsultrim Nyingpo), founder of the Tsalpa Kagyu. These are known as the four major Kagyu orders.

The main monastic seat at Gampo hosted an uninterrupted succession of masters, including Dakpo Lhajé, his uncle [Dakpo Gomchung], and nephew [Öngom Tsultrim Nyingpo]; Dakpo Duldzin; and, later,



the great learned, accomplished master Tashi Namgyal. Thus, with this Dakpo Kagyu order, there are five Kagyu [founding] traditions.

**Pakmo Drupa's disciples [founded] the Drigung, Taklung, Tropu, Ling-ré, Martsang, Yelpa, Yazang, and Shukseb: these are the four root and eight branch [Kagyu orders].**  
**Ling Répa Péma Dorjé's spiritual heirs founded the upper, lower, and middle Drukpa Kagyu orders.**

Glorious Pakmo Drupa was either Buddha Destroyer of Cyclic Existence or Buddha King of the Shakyas, showing themselves in the form of a spiritual mentor. Therefore, his life and activity are immeasurable. Moreover, the foremost among his five hundred famous disciples adorned with parasols founded what are known as the eight lesser Kagyu traditions. Kyobpa Jikten Sumgön founded the Drigung Kagyu; Tangpa Tashi Palwa founded the Taklung Kagyu; Drogön Gyaltsa Kuön founded the Dropu Kagyu; Ling Répa Péma Dorjé founded the Ling-ré Kagyu; lord of the teachings, Marpa Drup-tob founded the Martsang Kagyu; Yelpa Yeshé Tsekpa founded the Yelpa Kagyu; Zarawa Yeshé Sengé founded the Yazang Kagyu; and the great Nyipu Gyergom founded the Shukseb Kagyu. These are the renowned four root [listed above] and eight branch Kagyu orders. Each order had teaching transmissions, monastic seats, and enlightened activity—large hives bursting with infinite numbers of learned, accomplished masters.

In particular, a heart spiritual heir of Ling Répa, the lord protector of beings Tsangpa Gyaré had disciples who filled the land as far as a vulture can fly in eighteen days. Chief among them was Gö-tsangpa Gönpö Dorjé, who founded the upper Drukpa Kagyu order, known as the celestial star. Gyalwa Yang-gönpa appeared in his lineage of disciples; in turn, his lineage of disciples included Latö Sherab Gönpö and Barawa Gyaltsen Zangpo. Lo Répa Darma Wangchuk founded the lower Drukpa Kagyu order, [known as] the pride of the earth. Sengé Gu-tsar, head of the monastic seat, founded the middle Drukpa Kagyu order. Such orders [proliferated] in inexpressible numbers. Moreover, glorious Pakmo Drupa's disciples—Sherab Tartuk Parpuwa, Mé-nyak Gomring, the accomplished master Nyakré Séo, Jor Chökuwa, and others in infinite numbers—sustained their school's enlightened activity.

*The Outstanding Karma Kamtsang Tradition* [iv]

The main lineage is that of the sixth buddha, Lion's Roar.  
 With the Zurmang and Nédo traditions, there are three [Karma  
 Kamtsang streams].  
 The last has filled most of eastern Tibet with holders of the  
 Karma Kagyu and Nyingma lineages.

The future sixth buddha, Lion's Roar, in the guise of a bodhisattva, appears as the Karmapas: illustrious Dusum Kyenpa, great adept Karma Pakshi, omniscient Rangjung Dorjé, and the rest, renowned in the world as lions among men. The garland of their lives, like those of second buddhas, now numbers fourteen; in each life, their activity has gathered incalculable numbers of disciples. The Karmapa's chief disciples are the series of lifetimes of the realized master Drakpa Sengé, Buddha Boundless Light incarnate, sovereign lords of the dance—the ten holders of the red crown [Zhamar]; Goshri Paljor Döndrup's series of lifetimes, Lord of Secrets—the five Gyaltsab incarnations; great Drogön Réchen's magical manifestation, [Shakyamuni's] regent, lord protector Loving-Kindness incarnate, the series of thirteen Situ incarnations; treasure revealer Rinchen Lingpa's emanated incarnations, the series of nine Pawo incarnations; and Tréchen Chökyi Gyatso's emanations, the series of Trého incarnations. These masters [Karmapa and his disciples] upheld, preserved, and transmitted the main Kamtsang Kagyu order.

The great accomplished master Télopa placed a vajra seal on his lineage as one-master-to-one-disciple for thirteen generations. He foretold that once the thirteen were complete, he himself would enjoy [those transmissions] like a wealth god. As predicted, the fifth Karmapa Dézhin Shekpa's heart spiritual heir, Masé Tok-den Lodrö Rinchen, received the doctrinal transmission of the dakinis' oral lineage of Supreme Bliss. Among his disciples appeared eight realized masters, three joyful adepts, and others. Their series of reincarnations have upheld over time this lineage of teachings and its monastic seat, the Zurmang Kagyu.

A disciple of the tenth lord [Karmapa] Chöying Dorjé and the sixth Garwang, Chökyi Wangchuk, was Great Compassion's magical manifestation who attained accomplishment: Venerable Karma Chakmé. The tradition that upholds his doctrinal system is the Nédo Kagyu. Thus these three [Kamtsang, Zurmang, and Nédo] Kagyu orders appeared.

Regarding the latter tradition, due to Venerable Nédo Karma Chakmé's special aspirations and auspicious connections, holders of his lineage of teachings filled most of the lower [eastern Tibetan] regions of Amdo and Kham. These include his main lineage of teachings, Nédo [Kagyü], which emphasizes the Karma Kagyü tradition; and his disciples who emphasize the Nyingma tradition—awareness holder Kunzang Sherab of Palyul Monastery; and Vimalamitra's magical manifestation, Péma Rikzin of Dzokchen Monastery.

**In particular, when the doctrine of meditation practice was  
setting over the western mountains,  
The intentional manifestation of the translator [identical]  
with Vajra of Delight  
Shone the light of the doctrine's sun.**

In the past, groups of Kagyü masters filled the breadth of the Land of Jambu and lesser continents, yet later only a semblance of Buddha's doctrine in general remained, and the doctrine of the precious lineage of meditation practice in particular was setting over the western mountains. At that time, Marpa the Translator, [the wisdom deity] Vajra of Delight incarnate, intentionally arose as a manifestation of wisdom, Karma Tenpé Nyinjé Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa (commonly known as Tai Situ, omniscient Chökyi Jungné). The great light of his wisdom, love, and power shone forth, nurturing the vitality of the doctrine of meditation practice.

**The Dakpo Kagyü's accomplished masters are [as numerous]  
as particles of earth:  
They will continue to appear unceasingly for as long as the  
Victor's doctrine exists, exalted above all others.**

As described, the number of accomplished masters who appeared in the incomparable Dakpo Lhajé's [i.e., Gampopa's] Kagyü order equals the great earth's particles: I am incapable of fully describing such details as their teaching lineages that have served the doctrine and beings. Naropa states:

This lineage of teaching will extend further than a river's course.

Marpa foretold that for as long as the Victor's doctrine exists, this lineage of meditative experience and realization would continue without interruption. As stated, this lineage, which upholds the doctrine of realization through meditation practice, is especially exalted above all other schools.

### *The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage* [5]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [a]

From one hundred and fifty masters, including wisdom dakinis,  
scholars, and accomplished masters,  
Kyungpo Naljor, endowed with the five culminant practices,  
received their wisdom minds' treasure trove.  
Of his three paths of teaching, debate, and meditation practice,  
the essence of the last  
Is the five cycles of teachings, of which the golden doctrines  
form the root.

Kyungpo Naljor, endowed with the five culminant practices, received the entire treasure trove of teachings, the essence of wisdom mind, from one hundred and fifty learned, accomplished masters, including thirteen especially exalted masters, four root spiritual masters, and two wisdom dakinis, Niguma and Sukasiddhi, who received teachings directly from Buddha Vajra Bearer.

[In his early life,] the learned, accomplished Kyungpo Naljor gradually received an education and gained accomplishment in the Bön and Nyingma traditions, yet the time came [to realize] aspirations he made [during past lives] when engaging in bodhisattvas' deeds. Thus, he journeyed to India in search of the discourses' and tantras' profound teachings. He accomplished the ability to manifestly display at his five physical centers the wisdom bodies of the five tantras' deities: Vajra of Delight, the culmination of fierce inner heat; Supreme Bliss, the culmination of the action seal; Matrix of Mystery, culmination of clear light and illusory body; Mahamaya, culmination of lucid dreaming; and Fearsome Vajra,

culmination of enlightened activities. Kyungpo Naljor dwelled on a level of accomplishment not different from that of masters who achieved a wisdom body, such as venerable Archer [i.e., Sahara]. He established his monastic seat at Zhang Zhong, in Tsang Yéru Shang; thus he became known as Lama Shang and the holders of his lineage, the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage. He lived for one hundred and fifty years, and employed inconceivable great miracles to turn an infinite wheel of teachings.

His system of the spiritual path can be summarized into a threefold gradual path, of teaching, debate, and meditation practice. His teachings' gradual path covered the discourses, their treatises of commentary, tantras, and tantric commentaries. He taught correctly the way of philosophical systems' four major schools, and the vajra way's four major classes of tantra. In the gradual path of debate, he learned the seven works on logic of latter-day logicians' systems, yet he mainly followed earlier systems of logic to define the three characteristics with the four major proofs. Valid cognition is classified as direct perception, inference, and belief, after which the subject is definitely ascertained with refutation of objections.

Regarding the gradual path of meditation practice, he taught every form of experiential cultivation of the cause-based way of the perfections and the result-based vajra way encapsulated as pith instructions of how to cultivate experience through the general and special crucial points of the thirty-seven aspects of awakening. Thus, this one teacher who appeared in the Himalayas provided infinite approaches to the teachings and incomparable enlightened activity: he was an inconceivable master.

Among all those teachings, only the essence of his gradual path of meditation practice has lasted to the present day. This is known as five cycles of teachings, the root of which are the golden doctrines of Niguma and Sukasiddhi. The five cycles are those Kyungpo Naljor received from Niguma, Sukasiddhi, Dorje Denpa, Métripa, and Rahula, accompanied by various pith instructions.

### *Presentation of the Lineages of the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage* [b]

This section has four parts: (1) the historical lineage, (2) the recent lineage, (3) the more recent lineage, and (4) how the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage is especially exalted.

*The Historical Lineage* [i]

Kyungpo Naljor brought to spiritual maturity and liberation  
 one hundred and eighty thousand persons who became  
 spiritual mentors,

[Including] his six earlier and later spiritual heirs.

The vajra seal of the single lineage was lifted by Drogön Chöjé  
 Tönpa, the seventh precious master of that line.

Lineages of disciples arose from three learned, accomplished  
 masters and Latö Né-nying's monastic seat.

The highly accomplished master Kyungpo Naljor brought to spiritual maturity and liberation disciples equal to this great earth's particles. These included one hundred and eighty thousand spiritual mentors, chief among them his five earlier spiritual heirs and one later one. Of his five elder heirs, Méu Tönpa represented the trunk of the tree of flawless sublime insight; Yorpo Gyamoché, its branches of altruistic motivation; Ngultön Rinwang, the leaves of compassion; Latö Könchok Kar, the flower of loving-kindness; Zhang-gom Chöseng, the sap of clear light; and Kyungpo's younger heir, Mok-chokpa Rinchen Tsöndru, the ripened fruit of illusory body and lucid dreaming.

Kyungpo Naljor transmitted the doctrine of the single-disciple lineage of Buddha Vajra Bearer's secret words only to Mok-chok Rinchen Tsöndru. They were then passed successively to Öntön Kyer-gangpa, Sangyé Nyentön, and Drogön Chöjé Tönpa. As predicted by Vajra Bearer and the wisdom dakini [Niguma], the vajra seal of a lineage passed from one master to a single disciple lasted until the seventh jewel, Drogön Chöjé Tönpa, who lifted [the seal]; his accomplished disciples filled the Land of Jambu up to minor adjacent continents. His chief disciples, three learned, accomplished masters—Tsangma Shangtön, Samdingpa Zhönnu Drup, and Jak-chen Gyaltzen Büm—upheld the independent Shangpa lineage and wrote down its profound instructions.

Shangtön's disciple Kyungpo Tsulgön and others formed a marvelous lineage known as the later seven jewels. Countless lineages of disciples appeared at the monastic seats of Jak-chen Gyaltzen Büm and Samding Zhönnu Drup. Moreover, infinite lineages developed from Drogön Chöjé Tönpa's direct disciple, Serlingpa Tashi Pal; and from Latö Né-nying's [temple] family line, endowed with ten great qualities, in which

it was predicted that eighty-eight magical manifestations of Bodhisattva All-Seeing One would appear and work for the good of the doctrine and beings. The first generation of that line, Latö Könchok Kar, had a monastic seat which produced lineages from its leaders and disciples.

*The Recent Lineage* [ii]

**On three occasions, early and later, Tangtong Gyalpo received Niguma's doctrinal transmission.**

Omniscient Dolpo Sangyé's later rebirth, the accomplished master Tsöndru Zangpo, or one person with five names, including Tangtong Gyalpo, received from Jang-sem Jinpa Zangpo the oral transmissions known as the Rigong Tö lineage that had passed from Muchen Gyaltzen Palzang, disciple of the historical lineage bearer, the learned, accomplished master Tsangma Shangtön. Tangtong Gyalpo cultivated his experience and thus the wisdom dakini accepted him as her disciple—he received a recent lineage from her on three occasions. First, at Riwoché in Tsang, Niguma manifestly appeared to him and gave him her six doctrines, great seal, integration on the spiritual path, instructions for deathlessness, and the spiritual master and the protector inseparable. Second, at the foot of a juniper tree at Dokmé Sin-dzong, Niguma gave him those practices' empowerments. Third, Niguma's instructions for the celestial dakinis arose as symbols without words. These three, an early, later, and middle transmission, were passed from Mang Karwa Lodrö Gyaltzen and others to separate lines whose doctrinal lineages continue without interruption to the present day.

*The More Recent Lineage* [iii]

**Drupé Pawo [Kunga Drolchok] received twenty-five historical and recent lineages.**

**The dakini accepted him as her disciple; within this marvelous recent lineage,**

**Lord of Secrets Drolwé Gönpö's doctrinal system is exceptional.**

Over one hundred times, Jamgön Drupé Pawo Palden Kunga Drolchok received instruction in [a total of] twenty-five systems [of the Shangpa

Doctrinal] Lineage: twice, Vajra Queen Nigupta revealed herself to him in visions and bestowed special profound instructions for meditation; this was the recent lineage. In all, there were twenty-four historical lineages, such as those from Jak-chen Gyaltzen Büm, Samding Zhönnu Drup, and Tangtong Gyalpo. Kunga Drolchok bestowed this instruction system over one hundred times, leading many fortunate disciples to states of accomplishment. Thus, Shangpa doctrinal transmissions included both historical and recent lineages, along with the marvelous more recent lineage that resulted from the wisdom dakini's acceptance of venerable Kunga Drolchok. Together, this constituted the entirety of the root Shangpa oral lineage's golden doctrines, adorned with the recent lineage's sharp, fresh profound meditation instructions carrying the dakini's warm breath—the exceptional doctrinal system of Lord of Secrets Drolwé Gönpö [i.e., Taranata], including [his work on Niguma's six doctrines,] *The Profound Meaning That Covers the Plains*. In the present day, his mode of instruction is especially exalted in many respects compared to any other.

*How the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage Is Especially Exalted* [iv]

**This lineage is a series exclusively of bodhisattvas in their final life.**

**The dakinis' vajra words are unmistakable and unadulterated.**

**Even in these final times, the fruit of accomplishment ripens.**

This doctrinal lineage has three distinctive qualities more exalted than other lineages. Holders of this lineage are especially exalted: [the lineage] is a series exclusively of bodhisattvas in their final life; no ordinary individual has interrupted their succession. This lineage's profound instructions for meditation are especially exalted: unmistakable in meaning and unadulterated in words, the vajra verses the dakinis sealed have not been created or altered by ordinary individuals' imagination or composition. This lineage's blessings are especially exalted: even in these final times of degeneration, diligent persons whose tantric pledges have not been impaired exhibit visible evidence of the ripened fruit of accomplishment beyond mere exegesis.

**The enlightened activities of Swift Acting Protector and other wisdom deities are infinite.**



If we take for example only the teaching cycle of Swift Acting Wisdom Protector, in past times the upper tradition was commonly prevalent. Later, the lower tradition, the Rigong lineage, became widespread, passing from the holders of its monastic seat to fill the Pakdru Kagyu, Kamtsang Kagyu, and the four assemblies. [This teaching cycle] spread from Samding Zhönnu Drup to each of the lineage holders of the southern Severance tradition. From Jak-chen Gyaltzen Büm, three lineages—upper, lower, and middle—emerged; in particular, Lord Tsongkapa received this teaching from Jak-chen Jampa Pal, and the lord of reasoning Gélek Palwa received it from Muchen Namka Naljor: this teaching cycle thus filled central, western, and eastern Tibet, China, and Mongolia.

Among the “others” referred to in the root text are practices from later lineage holders, such as Kyer-gangpa’s meditation on Great Compassionate One and the secret practice of Horse Neck; and Sangyé Nyentön’s physical exercises of deathlessness, which are accepted by most schools. The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage’s enlightened activity is boundless.

### *Pacification of Suffering* [6]

This section, the historical tradition of Pacification of Suffering, has two parts: (1) the actual tradition and (2) its branch tradition.

#### *The Actual Tradition of Pacification of Suffering* [a]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [i]

**Padampa Sangyé received the essence of fifty-four accomplished  
masters and thirty-six celestial beings.**

**He traveled to Tibet five times;**

**In forms attuned to others’ needs, he liberated many beings.**

Venerable Kamalashila relied upon fifty-four male and female accomplished masters, and attained the eight common powers, such as extracting the essence [of matter]; he thus lived for five hundred and seventy

years. He saw as many buddhas as stars in the heavens, including the twelve joyful buddhas who were his meditation deities, and he saw thirty-six masters of marvelous celestial realms. Having received their blessings and the essence of their profound instructions for meditation, he attained sublime accomplishment.

Well known in India and Tibet by the name of Padampa Sangyé, he traveled five times to Tibet. On his first visit, he arrived at Tsari from Dring Tangla, and his footsteps covered all parts of Amdo and Kham [eastern Tibet], where he predicted the doctrine would flourish. On his second visit, he arrived at Ngari through Kashmir. He accepted as disciples Zhang Zhung Lingkawa and Bönpo Dro-tsang Drukha. On his third visit, he arrived in western Tibet from Nepal and bestowed profound instructions for meditation to Yarlung Mara Serpo and Kyotön Sönam Lama. On his fourth visit, he arrived in Nyal from Sha-uk Takgo. He purified his consort's obstacles and proceeded to central Tibet, where he aided Ma Chökyi Sherab, So-chung Gendün Bar, and Kam Yeshé Gyaltzen. On his fifth visit, he traveled to China, where he lived for twelve years, then returned to Dingri [in Tibet].

During these visits, Padampa Sangyé saw each individual's exact character and capabilities, and to each he gave corresponding profound meditation instructions that led to liberation. Although his teaching did not belong to one specific scripture or system, it was based mainly on *The Great River Tantra of Ali Kali* and *The Tantra of the Great Seal's Symbol*. His teaching brought liberation through the skillful techniques themselves; it was endowed with the three levels of vows; the path was followed with hardships; and the result was three forms of conduct for others' benefit. Thus he drew destined beings, as many as the number of stars in the heavens, to the state of enlightenment.

His teaching became known under a separate general name, Sacred Teachings to Pacify Suffering. In other systems, [suffering's] causes, the afflictive emotions, are initially purified, which naturally prevents suffering. In this case, the result, suffering, is directly purified, which naturally uproots the afflictive emotions; this is a very profound technique. It is thought that this system's name is given based on the following passage [from *The Discourse of the Heart of the Perfection of Sublime Insight*]:

The mantra that entirely pacifies all sufferings . . .

*Presentation of the Lineages of Pacification of Suffering* [ii]

This section has four parts: (1) the initial transmission, (2) the middle transmissions, (3) the final transmission, and (4) a supplementary presentation.

*The Initial Transmission* [aa]

[Pacification of Suffering] was taught three times: an initial, middle, and final transmission.

The Kashmiri master and Translator Angpo received the first transmission.

The teachings just described, renowned as the lineage of Pacification of Suffering, are known to have been taught three times—an initial, middle, and final transmission. Among these, the initial transmission comprises Padampa Sangyé's teaching to the Kashmiri Jnanaguhya of *The Three Cycles, Lamps of the Pacification of Suffering* and techniques of practice for such deities as Slayer of the Lord of Death. Both Padampa Sangyé and Jnanaguhya taught Translator Angpo. The Kashmiri master also taught Puhrang Lochung. Both lineages, from the Kashmiri master and Translator Angpo, were transmitted to Rok Sherab Ö.

*The Middle Transmissions* [bb]

[The middle transmissions] are those given to Ma Chökyi Sherab, So-chung Gendun Bar, and Kam Yeshé Gyaltzen, along with the three lesser lineage traditions, and various diverse teachings.

The principal middle transmissions are known as the transmissions to Ma Chökyi Sherab, So-chung Gendün Bar, and Kam Yeshé Gyaltzen. To Ma Chökyi Sherab, Padampa Sangyé gave the verbal lineage of awakening mind in disparate universally recognized directives, and the lineage of the meaning in sixteen practical guidelines.

To So-chung Gendun Bar, he gave both the verbal and meaning lineages—meditation instructions from fifty-four male and female accomplished masters, and other approaches to the teachings. The verbal transmission is twofold, a full lineage of the fifty-four masters and a lesser

lineage of thirty-two sections. The lineage of the meaning is twofold, partial and impartial. The former comprises a lineage of meaning from each of the fifty-four accomplished masters, thirty-two lamas, and seventeen holy teachers. The impartial meaning lineage comprises *The Two Cycles of Teachings of the Dakini Who Opens Eyes*. The first cycle is known as the four children and four mothers; the second is known as Master So-chung Gendun Bar's cycle of the four great heads. The teaching that is like the essential root of these is the meaning lineage of the Lion of Speech, which uses terminology consistent with the tantras; and a meaning lineage that is lesser known, a fourth lineage with terminology inconsistent with Buddhist usage. In brief, these are So-chung Gendün Bar's four oral lineages of direct access to awareness.

Padampa Sangyé gave Kam Yeshe Gyaltzen profound instruction on the perfection of sublime insight; two lineages ensued, an upper and a lower. The former has the scripture's first chapter, the four truths as meditation instructions, and miscellaneous practical instructions. The latter has two introductions [to awareness] based on the essential meaning or manifest realization, addressed separately to those who progress gradually or to those of sudden realization. Following this, the entire range of discourses is taught in terms of four movements of interdependent arising. This is known as the lower lineage of profound instructions given directly in meditation.

Three lesser lineage traditions arose in this middle period. [First,] Padampa Sangyé gave Geshé Drakpa *The Cycle of Nine Lamps of the Pacification of Suffering*. [Second,] he gave Ché Chandrakirti profound instructions that join the discourses and tantras, interrelating *The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight* with *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*; and fifty-eight accomplished masters' pith instructions. [Third,] he gave Jang Kadampa wordless profound instruction in the perfection of sublime insight. All these lineages were transmitted to Rok Sherab Ö.

The diverse lineages were those that Padampa Sangyé gave Drogom—*The Golden Needle of the Litany of Manjushri's Names*; those he gave Bugom, profound instruction on action seal; and those he gave Machik Lapdrön—profound instruction on Severance. It is said that Padampa Sangyé gave as many as fifteen diverse minor profound instructions for meditation. These diverse minor lineages are included within the middle transmission's cycle of teachings.

*The Final Transmission* [cc]

**The final [transmission] was given to four authorized adepts and others.**

**[Padampa Sangyé's] systems of profound instructions for spiritual ripening and liberation were as numerous as stars in the sky.**

The final transmission originated when Padampa Sangyé returned to Tibet from China and lived at Dingri. His disciples included twenty-six destroyers of delusion, such as Chokro Nyönpa, who first saw Padampa Sangyé; twenty-four female practitioners, including Jomo Sangyé; and twelve adepts who occupied seats [of honor]. Among them all, the foremost were known as the four authorized adepts. In the east, Dampa Jarchen compiled and composed the cycle that integrates discourses and meditation [instructions]; in the south, Vajra Kroda compiled and composed the cycle that collects the precious meanings; in the west, Jarchung compiled and composed the cycle of brief guidelines; in the north, Jangchub Sempa Kunga collected and composed the cycle on *bka' cho lu* [?]. Every single oral instruction Padampa Sangyé gave other disciples was written down; thus, the streams of his systems of profound instructions for spiritual ripening and liberation were as numerous as stars in the sky.

*A Supplementary Presentation* [dd]

**The middle transmissions conform to [discourses of] the definitive meaning; the final one concurs with the tantras.**

The middle transmissions mainly conform to discourses that [that teach] the definitive meaning; the last lineage mostly concurs with the tantric path.

**The most exalted tradition is that of Jangchub Sempa Kunga, equal in realization to Padampa Sangyé himself.**

**Due to Translator Chöpal [Dharmashri]'s kindness, a bridge rope [of this lineage] remains.**

The most exalted among all those lineages, due to its having every aspect of the path of spiritual ripening and liberation, is the system of the tradi-

tion of Jangchub Sempa Kunga, of whom Padampa Sangyé stated, “Only Kunga is my equal.” During five lifetimes, Padampa Sangyé accepted Jangchub Sempa Kunga as his disciple who equaled him in realization. His cycle of teaching has two sections, common and extraordinary.

The common section contains discourses and tantras, with their practical applications; the doctrinal transmission, with an oral lineage; the “immaculate,” with the jewel drops [of instructions]; and the “strainer,” along with one hundred thousand teachings. The first set includes a general discourse, *The Discourse of the River’s Play*; a specific discourse, *The Discourse of the Heart of the Perfection of Sublime Insight*; a general tantra, *Elucidating the Teachings’ Collections*; and a specific tantra, *The Great River Tantra of Ali Kali*. The practical applications are the large and middle sacred circles for empowerment, and the threefold gradual path, major and minor. The doctrinal transmission and its oral lineage comprise four doctrinal transmissions and four oral lineages for having them arise as the path. Concerning the “immaculate” and the jewel drops, the “immaculate” has six cycles, including the root upon which the teachings are established. The jewel drops consist of profound instructions by Jangchub Sempa Kunga in answer to Patsab Gompa’s questions concerning hindrances caused by unhappiness. Concerning the “strainer” and one hundred thousand teachings, the “strainer” consists of eight teachings, such as *The Strainer Cycle of the Nectar of Oral Instructions*, which are talks by Patsab Gompa transcribed by Gyalwa Tené. The hundred thousand teachings contain teachings by such masters as Gyalwa Tené, Zhikpo, and Nyé-dowa.

The extraordinary section of teachings consists of the tantra with its main points; the empowerment, accompanied by the spiritual path and guidelines; and three secret troves, five cycles on the path, and eight volumes [of collected pith instructions].

Padampa Sangyé and Jangchub Sempa Kunga gave all these profound instructions to learned, venerable Patsab Gompa, who passed them to Gyalwa Tené, from whom the great joyful buddha Rok Sherab Ö received Pacification of Suffering’s entire doctrinal transmission. The teachings passed in succession through omniscient Master Rok Sherab Ö and others, and flourished greatly. In later times, as this lineage’s thread became increasingly thin, the patterns [of a former life as] the omniscient master Rok Sherab Ö awakened in the great translator of Mindrol Ling Monastery, Dharmashri. With great diligence, he received the streams of this lineage’s [empowerments for] spiritual ripening and [its instructions

for] liberation, and composed texts and rituals for its empowerments and practical guidelines. Due to his kindness in teaching and spreading this lineage, even today, a bridge rope to this tradition continues unbroken.

### *The Branch Tradition, Severance* [b]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of its doctrinal system and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Doctrinal System* [i]

**A branch is the sacred teaching of severing demons.**

The sacred teaching of severing demons is a branch that belongs to Pacification of Suffering. It consists of the wisdom of such masters as Brahmin Aryadeva and Lord Métripa; its essence is the perfection of sublime insight; and it follows the tantras' teachings. In this practice, the four demons that bind us to the wheel of life are severed only upon the mind's egoistic thoughts and self-clinging. Just as you must identify the ground as the place to cut trees, the place where the demons of egoistic thoughts are severed is the perfection of sublime insight. The profound instructions for meditation related to that domain are called Severance.

#### *The Lineages of Severance* [ii]

This section has two parts: (1) the male system of Severance and (2) the female system of Severance.

#### *The Male System of Severance* [aa]

**Padampa Sangyé gave Kyo Shakya Yeshé and Yarlung Mara Serpo  
Six portions of profound instruction, the male system of  
Severance.**

Padampa Sangyé gave Kyo Shakya Yeshé and Yarlung Mara Serpo what are called the six portions of profound instruction, an independent Severance tradition of the discourse system, which represent the meaning of

Aryadeva's small scripture, *The Fifty Verses*. Kyo Shakya Yeshé transmitted this teaching to his nephew, Sönam Lama. It is said that Sönam Lama gave Machik Lapdrön four [of the six] portions. Mara Serpo taught them to the attendant Nyönpa Beré, who passed them to Rok Sherab Ö; she learned, accomplished master Samding Zhönnu Drup; and others, who spread these teachings known as the male system of Severance.

*The Female System of Severance* [bb]

**The female system of Severance, the intended meaning of the  
perfection of sublime insight, the teachings that Machik  
Lapdrön realized,  
Encompasses doctrinal transmissions of father, mother,  
nondual, and the dakinis' meditative experience,  
Or [lineages of] her sixteen spiritual children.**

After Padampa Sangyé arrived in Tibet, four black birds, miraculous manifestations of dakinis, flew toward him. When he saw them, they became four dakinis: Yé Lapdrön, Majo Jangchub of Nyaltö, Zhangmo Gyalting from Tsang, and Lhasa Nyönma.

When Machik Lapdrön read the discourses of the perfection of sublime insight, the view of emptiness arose within her. Padampa Sangyé gave her a single piece of personal heart advice, which liberated her stream of being and she became a natural yogini. Machik Lapdrön opened wide a system born from her wisdom mind's meditative experience. This is known as the place of Severance, the teachings she realized—the intended meaning of the perfection of sublime insight. She composed texts of inconceivable, profound instructions for meditation, among which there are *The Great Collection of Teachings*; *The Essential Collection in Twenty-five Chapters*; and eight chapters of common, extraordinary, and special teachings—twenty-four in all. Their stream of transmission continues to the present day and constitutes the female system of Severance.

This tradition is divided into four doctrinal transmissions: the father doctrinal transmission, skillful means; the mother doctrinal transmission, sublime insight; the nondual doctrinal transmission, the meaning; and the doctrinal transmissions of the dakinis' meditative experience. Alternatively, [it can be considered to comprise lineages from Machik Lapdrön's] sixteen spiritual children: her four heart-sons—her son Gyalwa



Döndrup; Ngak-gi Wangchuk, leader of a thousand lineage holders; her heart-son Drolde Gyalwa Jungné; and Kugom Chökyi Sengé; her four daughters—Droktsa Gyen, Palden Gyen, Sönam Gyen, and Rinchen Gyen; and eight disciples who equaled her—Kyémé Gayen, Po-nyön Sengé, Nyönpa Rangnang, Dolpa Zangtal, Zhikpo Hurtön, Kalden Sengé, Gyagom Hartön, and Jétsun Zilnön. These were the foremost among her many groups of disciples, including one hundred and eight female and male accomplished masters, who filled the land of Tibet. Among them, the holder of the lineage of the discourses, her son Lang-lungpa Gyalwa Döndrup's eldest son Tséwang, had three sons. The middle one, known as Tönyön Samdrup, was an unequaled accomplished master and holder of the secret mantra lineage. He had twenty-one male and female disciples, and eighteen spiritual daughters who were accomplished masters. From this point, a special Severance lineage appeared, known as Gangpa.

The lineage of union was constituted solely of accomplished masters, from its holder Kugom Chökyi Sengé until Drogön Sangyé Tönpa and Samding Zhönnu Drup; after them, the lineage was transmitted widely. Lord Rangjung Dorjé received this lineage from Namtso-wa Mikyö Dorjé; he composed texts, which became the Rupa Severance lineage. Later, the Zurmang lineage emerged, from which emerged a secondary stream of Severance, Kyab-ché, founded by Nédo and Kyasé Tokden. This illustrates how each lineage has increased boundlessly.

**Machik Lapdrön's daughter's historical lineage, the direct lineage in Gyaltang's tradition, Kunpang Tsöndru Sengé and Ladu Dorjé Drönma's treasure Severance tradition, and others  
Have continuing marvelous and widespread enlightened activity.**

Further, the historical lineage passed from Machik Lapdrön's daughter Lacham to others in stages. Samten Özer of Gyal-tang received the historical lineages of peaceful Severance, wrathful Severance, and the integrated system of peaceful and wrathful Severance, then traveled to a hundred wild, secluded places. At Ocho-lhatsé in upper Tsang, he met Machik in person; through her blessings, he composed *The Profound Meaning, the Essence of Wisdom Mind*. This is known as Gyaltang's direct lineage. He did not spread it to disciples but concealed various profound

teachings as treasures. Later, the incarnation of Kugom Chökyi Sengé, Kunpang Tsöndru; and Machik Lapdrön's magical manifestation Ladu Dorjé Drönma retrieved them from their places of treasure concealment. Among these cycles of profound and vast teachings of Severance, the former [historical] transmission—the Gyatön Severance lineage—has continued unbroken to the present day. Since Severance is a profound technique, its enlightened activity in these and other ways is amazing: it has become widespread, filling the entire Himalayan region. Until the present, all spiritual masters regardless of their original tradition cultivate its experience, and it continues to be indispensable for subduing external and internal conditions that are difficult to subdue by other means.

In general, this doctrinal system's own terminology states:

The four pair and eight discrete lineages create the framework,  
and six illustrative examples express its superb qualities.

First, based on the individuals who requested specific transmissions, there are male and female lineages. Based on the essence, there are [lineages] associated with systematic texts and those with diverse texts. Based on well-known histories, there are earlier and later periods of propagation. Based on the teachings' sources, there are canonical lineages and treasure lineages. These are the four pairs or eight discrete lineages that appeared.

Some present Severance in eight pairs or sixteen single [lineages]: male and female Severance, canonical and treasure Severance, Indian and Tibetan Severance, discourse and tantra traditions, the spiritual children's lineages and the lineage of the meaning, heaven and earth teachings, systematic and unsystematic teachings, and diverse and minor lineages.

Among these, the first [male Severance] consists of Padampa Sangyé's transmission that includes the six portions and the three cycles on the final conclusion. Second, [female Severance] consists of Machik Lapdrön's transmission that includes Vajra Sow's Severance cycle, and long and short texts of commentary. Third, [canonical Severance] consists of the uninterrupted transmission from the Great Mother of All Buddhas and the chief of the doctrine [i.e., Buddha Shakyamuni]. Fourth, [the treasures] consists of *The Udumvara Tantra*, which Padampa Sangyé retrieved from Vulture Peak; great seal Severance and other treasures he drew from Treasure Mound Stupa; treasures Tröma concealed and

Machik revealed; and treasures Machik concealed and lineage holders revealed. Fifth, [Indian Severance] includes Aryadeva's major and minor scriptures, Télopa's *Five Nails of Equanimity*, and Naropa's *Secret Conduct*. Sixth, [Tibetan Severance] consists of the cycles of teachings that arose in Tibet. Seventh, [the discourse tradition] includes thirty groups of teachings. Eighth, [the tantric tradition] includes empowerments, and creation and completion phase meditations based on the four tantras of Tara. Ninth, [the spiritual children's lineages] consists of lineages through four masters: Gyalwa Döndrup, Tö-nyön Samdrup, Kambu Yalé, and Gyené. Tenth, [the lineage of the meaning] consists of Kugom Chökyi Sengé's transmission. Eleventh, [heaven teachings] consists of teachings concerning planet guardians who protect from hail and lightning. Twelfth, [earth teachings] consists of teachings of geomancy, and Severance of nagas, *nyen* spirits, and earth gods. Thirteenth, [systematic teachings] includes *The Profound Meaning, the Essence of Wisdom Mind*. Fourteenth, unsystematic teachings are illustrated by *The Ornate Knot* and *Clear Words*. Fifteenth, diverse lineages are [illustrated by] *The Hundred Thousand Visualizations*. Sixteenth, [minor lineages] consist of a source and its three branches—the common, extraordinary, and special teachings, and their subdivisions, the lineage of meditative experience. Each of these contains specific doctrinal teachings and pith instructions in infinite numbers.

The six illustrative examples are as follows: Severance is like a white glacier: when snow falls on a glacier, it is white, but a glacier stays white even when snow doesn't fall. Likewise, it is good if a Severance adept has knowledge acquired from education, but fine if not. Severance is like a lion: intimidating to a crowd yet fearless alone. Likewise, an adept is fine befriending the public, but fine traveling alone. Severance is like a large drum's sound: a large drum's beat can be accompanied by other instruments, but can be played alone. Likewise, there is no difference whether or not this practice is accompanied by other virtuous activities. Severance is like a spring of accomplishment: water of accomplishment flows in quantity equal to the number of people [present to drink it]. Likewise, in this tradition, the training suits an individual's mental acumen. Severance is like a broken piece of a turquoise or gold: if large, it will be valuable, and even if small, it will have value according [to its size]. Likewise, countless good qualities ensue from knowing a great deal about the Severance cycle, but even a little knowledge is helpful to oneself and others. Severance is

like a stallion's hair. A stallion's color has no bearing on its fine gait. Likewise, individuals who have perfected Severance, be they high or low, have blessings superior to those who practice other traditions.

### *Vajra Yoga* [7]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the historical tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineages.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [a]

**All extensive root tantras teach the essence—  
Vajra Yoga, the pinnacle of all phases of completion.**

All extensive root tantras—*The Wheel of Time Root Tantra* in twelve thousand verses, *The Vajra of Delight Root Tantra* in five hundred thousand verses, *The Manifest Expression of Supreme Bliss* in one hundred thousand verses, *The Matrix of Mystery Root Tantra* in twenty-five thousand verses, *The Fearsome Vajra Subsequent Awareness Tantra* in thirty-six thousand verses, *The Net of Magical Illusion* in sixteen thousand verses, and others—unanimously teach the phase of completion. The essence of them all is the sixfold application, related to the three vajras' yoga. This is the final destination of the two phases [of tantric meditation] taught in the highest tantras, the pinnacle of all contemplative practices, and as well known throughout both India and Tibet as the sun and moon.

#### *The Lineages of Vajra Yoga* [b]

This section has five parts: (1) an account of Vajra Yoga's appearance in India, (2) how Vajra Yoga became known in Tibet in general, (3) Vajra Yoga's seventeen specific traditions, (4) other traditions of Vajra Yoga, and (5) identification of the special historical tradition.

#### *The Appearance of Vajra Yoga in India* [i]

**[Vajra Yoga] has an excellent source: it originated from the  
mouths of [Shambhala's] Buddhist kings and lineage bearers,**

**Greater and lesser Kalachakrapada, Shavaripa,  
Anupamarakshita, Ravishrijnana,  
Naropa, the Kashmiri scholar, Shantigupta, and others.**

Vajra Yoga has an excellent source: it was passed orally, and from mind to mind, among the seven Buddhist kings [of Shambhala], including Suchandra, and the vajra lineage bearers, including Manjushriyashas. It arrived in India at an early time, but he who made it known publicly was the greater Kalachakrapada, the initiator of this system. Therefore, we mark his as the first of this tradition's systems. Many systems appeared after him, including those of Kalachakrapada the lesser; a recent lineage given by the accomplished master Shavaripa; Anupamarakshita, directly accepted as disciple by [the wisdom deity] Wheel of Time; his follower, Ravishrijnana; Kalachakrapada's disciple, the great Scholar Naropa; Shakyashribhadra, the great scholar from Kashmir; and, later, Shantigupta, lord of accomplished masters.

“From” in the root text indicates [the kings and lineage bearers as] the sources of the latter traditions.

*How Vajra Yoga Became Known in Tibet in General* [ii]

**In Tibet, the best known [systems of Vajra Yoga] were four  
earlier traditions,  
Five middle ones, and two later ones.**

In Tibet as well, many earlier and later individuals spread this teaching. Among them, the best known were four that arrived earlier, traditions from Gyijo Dawé Özer, Dro Sherab Drak, Ra Chörab, and Dingri Chökyi Drakpa; five middle ones, from the great scholar of Kashmir [Somanata], Menlung Guru, Vibhutichandra, Translator Tarlo Nyima Gyaltzen, and Orgyen Rinchen Pal; and two later ones, traditions from the great Scholar Vanaratna and Buddhagupta-nata.

*Vajra Yoga's Seventeen Specific Traditions* [iii]

**These seventeen traditions, of Gyijo Dawé Özer, Ma  
Géwé Lodrö,**

Translator Trom Péma Özer, Atisha, Dro, Ra Chörab, Tsami Sangyé Drak, Réchung Dorjé Drak, Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé's three, the Kashmiri scholar's two, Vibhutichandra's two, Translator Chak Chöjé Pal, and Men-lungpa, Were united in great Kunpang Zhang Tukjé Tsöndru.

[The lineages of this teaching are the following:] the great translator Gyijo Dawé Özer's pith instructions of the six applications and the short tantra specific to the six applications and its commentary; Translator Ma Géwé Lodro's six applications tradition; Translator Trom Péma Özer's six applications; the six applications that glorious Lord Atisha received from Lama Krishnabhijna; the six applications transmitted by Chandranata to the great Kashmiri scholar [Somanata], known as the Dro tradition; the six applications Translator Ra Chörab received from Scholar Samantashri; the tradition of *The Garland of Six Applications*, composed by Translator Tsami Sangyé Drak and transmitted through Translator Sé Zhönnu Tsultrim and Nyötön Öma, known as the Tsami tradition; and the six applications that Réchung Dorjé Drak received from Amoghavajra.

Although three lineages transmitted through glorious Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé passed through Translator Tsami Sangyé Drak, they are different from *The Garland of Six Applications*. Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé gave the six applications of the Wheel of Time's own tradition to Zhang Tsalpa; six applications of the mother tantra Vajra of Delight to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo; and six applications of the father tantra Matrix of Mystery to the spiritual mentor Kyura A-kyab. Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé received these from Tsami Sangyé Drak, yet they are counted as separate traditions because the two traditions of *The Garland of Six Applications* and those from Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé have significant differences in their modes of presenting the profound instructions for meditation.

Furthermore, the great scholar from Kashmir [Shakyashri] gave Translator Chal Chökyi Zangpo a transmission, and the teaching of Naropa's *The Great Commentary on Vajra of Delight* in the form of pith instructions; Chal Chökyi Zangpo also possessed a text known as *Naropa's Treasure Box*. The [Kashmiri] Scholar [Shakyashri] gave the lord of the teachings Sakya Pandit an oral lineage distinguished by six vajra verses. These are

the two traditions passed through the Kashmiri Scholar [Shakyashri]. Scholar Vibhutichandra received the accomplished master Anupamarakshita's tradition of the six applications from master Ratnarakshita: this is known as Vibhutichandra's historical lineage. Later, at the Stam Vihar in Nepal, Shavaripa revealed his face directly [in a vision] to [Vibhutichandra]; what he gave on this occasion constitutes the six applications' proximate lineage. These are Vibhutichandra's two traditions. Further, Translator Chak Chöjé Pal received pith instructions from a Nepalese guru, the great Scholar Ravindrarakshita; and from an Indian sublime being Rahulashribhadra.

[Finally,] a master known as Menlung Guru (the accomplished master Punyashri, known in India as the accomplished master Dipamkara) achieved the immortal vajra body and now dwells on Potala Mountain. He first meditated on the Ra and Dro traditions' unified pith instructions, mainly Dro's tradition, yet when he achieved accomplishment, he did not have to rely on other lineages. In any event, he composed *The Six Applications of the Litany of Names*.

These seventeen transmissions were received by an emanation of the lineage bearers [of Shambhala], the lord of the teachings, great Kunpang Zhang Tukjé Tsöndru, who united these lineages into a single stream. He also received Vibhutichandra's proximate lineage from four of that master's direct disciples; if these are counted, there are a total of twenty lineages.

### *Other Traditions of Vajra Yoga* [iv]

**In addition, many major and minor traditions emerged:  
Kodrak, Rong, Bodong, and Latö Wangchuk Gyaltzen and  
Sönpa Kun-gyalwa.**

In addition, Kodrak Sönam Gyaltzen invited Vibhutichandra from Nepal in order to request his proximate lineage of the six applications; this is the Kodrak tradition passed through the great accomplished master Golung Zhönnu Pal. The separate tradition of Rong came from such masters as the son of Translator Rongpa Ga, Sherab Sengé; and Dorjé Gyaltzen. Bodong Rinchen Tsémo, one of Nyalpa Zhikpo Jampal Dorjé's nine spiritual sons, requested the tantra's profound instructions for meditation from the accomplished master Sémo Chéwa. The Bodong tradition

passes from him to Tak-déwa Sengé Gyaltzen, Translator Shong Dorjé Gyaltzen, Translator Pang Loten, the great Translator Jang-tsé, and Translator Drakpa Gyaltzen, until the omniscient Jikdral Chenpo. A major system of study and practice originated with his disciples, including the great scholar Jampa Lingpa and Jangdak Namgyal Drak-zang.

Further, great Kunpang Zhang Tukjé Tsöndru had four disciples known as Kunpang's four children; among them were Latö Wangchuk Gyaltzen and Sönpa Kun-gyalwa, from whom a distinct system arose. Many other major and minor traditions emerged, such as the Gökar's tradition and that of Kok. Later, when Vanaratna, a great learned master from eastern India, journeyed to Tibet, he bestowed on disciples, including Translator Gö Zhönnu Pal and Chen-nga Chökyi Drakpa, the entire profound instructions of accomplished master Anupamarakshita's historical lineage and Shavaripa's recent lineage. Even later, Buddhagupta-nata, disciple of the great accomplished master Shantigupta, gave Shantigupta's extraordinary oral lineage of the six applications to the great lord of Jonang [Taranata]. These were the lineages that appeared [in Tibet].

*The Special Historical Tradition* [v]

**In particular, the omniscient lord endowed with the four  
reliances  
And Drolwé Gönpö, a true Buddha Vajra Bearer in the age  
of conflict,  
Originated the superior oral transmission of the two lineage  
bearers.**

The most exalted of all these systems is that of the omniscient lord of the teachings, Sherab Gyaltzen Pal Zangpo [Dolpo Sangyé], whose life was foretold in such scriptures as *The Great Drum Discourse* as the monk with the name "Capable One." An emanation of the lineage bearers [of Shambhala], this great master from Dolpo was endowed with the ultimate four reliances regarding the Victor's teachings. Lord Drolwé Gönpö [Taranata], who took intentional rebirth during the depths of the age of conflict as a sovereign displaying the conduct of great accomplished masters, attained the state of a second Buddha Vajra Bearer in the subjects of profound mysteries. The tradition pioneered by these two masters [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen and Taranata], the two lineage bearers'



oral transmission, is superior to others and is the chief repository of this lineage of practice.

### *Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras* [8]

This section has two parts: (1) identification of the historical tradition and (2) a presentation of its lineage system.

#### *Identification of the Tradition* [a]

**Vajra Yogini bestowed her wisdom mind's fundamental essence—**

**The three vajras, undifferentiated in the basis, path, and result,  
The branches of familiarization, practice, and supreme  
practice—to Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal.**

The bases of purification are the three vajras of wisdom body, speech, and mind, which are continuous throughout the circumstances of the basis, path, and result, and thereby have the characteristic of inseparability. The objects of purification are incidental clinging of delusion in relation to body, speech, and mind, along with the habitual patterns of life's four circumstances, which create obscurations. The agents of purification are the three branches of [this path]: withdrawal of the senses, the branch of familiarization; effort in circulating energy, the branch of practice; and mindful meditative states, the branch of supreme practice. The result of purification is, for those endowed with a high degree of acumen and diligence, actualization of enlightenment's three bodies in a single lifetime.

The mother of the victors, Vajra Yogini, directly bestowed the pith instructions, her wisdom mind's fundamental essence, to the great accomplished master Orgyen Rinchen Pal. This accomplished master had reached consummation in training in both discourses and secret mantra. He received Wheel of Time's tantra and commentaries, along with the pith instructions, from Sangyé Dorjé, a Wheel of Time specialist who held the Rong tradition's lineage; Orgyen Rinchen Pal became outstanding in his erudition and achieved ultimate realization based on Gyalwa Gö-tsangpa's teaching.

He journeyed to many sacred places and regions in India, such as Jalandhara; in particular, he went to Oddiyana in western India, overcom-

ing with the brilliance of his view and conduct of tantric discipline every obstacle, danger, and miraculous appearance. In the central region of Dhumatala's four directions, dakinis of the four wisdom families blessed him. Emanating as beautiful women, they foretold that in the city of Kaboka, Vajra Yogini would first reveal herself to him as a prostitute. As predicted, she gave him food and drink, and the pleasure of touch, thus liberating all his channels' knots. In the midst of impressive signs, such as sounds and earthquakes, Vajra Yogini appeared to him directly [in her own form] and bestowed these complete profound instructions for meditation. The four dakinis mentioned before and a fifth, Lion-Faced Dakini, each gave him some instructions. Thus, he came to abide at the level of sublime accomplishment. As the dakinis foretold, when he returned to Tibet, he wrote down the teachings in response to the entreaty of Ya Zangpa and Rinpoché Kar-chuwa, a nephew of Nup Dulwa Dzinpa.

*The Lineage System of Approach and Accomplishment  
of the Three Vajras [b]*

Rinpoché Kar-chuwa, Dawa Sengé, Butrapa Kétsun Sönam  
Özer,  
Zur-pukpa Rinchen Pal, and the Nyédo brothers began many  
traditions.  
Lord of the teachings, the second Victor Rangjung Dorjé,  
Untied the vajra verses and illuminated this excellent path  
of profound instructions.

Rinpoché Kar-chuwa offered a mandala of a measure of gold for each topic [of the instructions] and wrote a concise memorandum on them. The realized master Dawa Sengé, custodian of the teaching, collected the pith instructions into volumes. Even later masters emphasized this system of teaching.

Golung Zhönnu Pal asked questions of that lord [Dawa Sengé] and recorded the answers he received. I have not heard clearly whether Butrapa Kétsun Sönam Özer wrote any text book. What are called the four great commentaries are the following: [Zhönnu Pal's writing,] a major commentary by Zur-pukpa Rinchen Pal, and books of the complete explanation of the vajra verses by Scholar Shang-tön and by Nyédo Kunga Döndrup.

From Butrapa Kétsun Sönam Özer, the lineage passed to Chöjé Gangpa, until the glorious spiritual master Sönam Gyaltzen. A lineage also spread from the spiritual brothers of Nyédo [Monastery]. Thus, these and many systems appeared. Lord of the teachings, the second Victor, omniscient Rangjung Dorjé, received the complete profound instructions for meditation from the accomplished master Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal. He untied the vajra verses' knots and illuminated better than other masters the profound instructions' vital points in an exalted, excellent path. Lord Rolpé Dorjé [the fourth Karmapa] and his other incarnations, along with their disciples' successive lineages, transmitted these teachings far and wide.

*An Ancillary Account of Minor Traditions* [B]

**Infinite authentic, minor [lineages] appeared,  
Including those from Mitrayogi and Latö Marpo, and Karak  
Gom-chung Lodrö Wangchuk's three cycles of teaching.**

Translator Tropu Jampa Pal invited to Tibet the accomplished master Mitrayogi, who possessed eighteen marvelous teachings. Asked for profound instructions for meditation, Mitrayogi gave a common cycle of teaching that presents the branches of knowledge; a cycle on specific forms of experiential cultivation that presents inner techniques of meditation practice; and a special cycle of teachings that presents the secret gateway of blessings. These teachings passed in a lineage from Tropu Jampa Pal. Further, on Dönmo Mountain, Mitrayogi gave the great Master Tsenden Trul-zhik the profound instructions Saraha had given him: *The Great Seal That Ends the Turning of the Wheel of Life*. Master Tsenden Trul-zhik gave them to the realized Master Drakpa Sengé. Further, a master called Belré disguised himself as a yogin and gave Drakpa Sengé the approach and practice of the Celestial Dakini. The realized Master Kachö Wangpo composed a text on the two teachings just mentioned. Further, Mitrayogi conferred what are called the six guiding instructions to Scholar Shariputra, who passed them to Minyak Drak-rin and Kuchor Tokden; the vajra garland's hundred empowerments were passed to the great Scholar Dönyö Dorjé. These and other lineages appeared [in Tibet from Mitrayogi's teachings].

Further, the incarnate Master Latö Marpo received from the elder

Dorjé Denpa a cycle of teachings on the Great Compassionate One and a cycle of profound instructions for meditation given by the five kinds of dakinis at Cool Grove.

Tsang Karak Gom-chung Lodrö Wangchuk merged teachings on the mind [of awakening] from Aro with the doctrinal transmission of mind training from Lord Atisha and composed a treatise, *Training in the Awakening Mind*. This was later called Karak's three cycles, spread widely by such masters as Lhopa Dharma Kyab and the three Jang-gom brothers.

“Including” in the root text indicates infinite minor lineages that did not become doctrinal systems of separate lineages of meditation practice. These include various profound instructions for meditation, such as four types of direct guidance in [meditation on] Bodhisattva All-Seeing One, threefold space teachings passed from the elder and younger Kalachakrapada to the Nepalese Kayashri and others; a cycle on great seal's vital essence; and Menlung-pa's *The Stages of Meditation: Knowledge of One That Liberates All*; and empowerments and techniques of meditation practice, such as Abhayakaragupta's *The Vajra Garland* and *The Hundred Meditation Techniques*, and Darpana Acharya's *A Compendium of Activities*.

This concludes the commentary to Chapter Three, “The History of the Lineages of Meditation Practice.”



## 4. A HISTORY OF BUDDHIST CULTURE

---

### I. A History of Buddhist Culture

#### A. The Major Fields of Culture

##### 1. Sanskrit Grammar

a. How Grammar Appeared in the Heavens

b. How the Study of Sanskrit Grammar Spread in the Human World

i. Panini's Grammar

ii. Chandragomi's Grammar

iii. The Kalapa Grammar

iv. The Sarasvati and Other Grammars

##### 2. Logic

a. Non-Buddhist Logical Analysis

b. Buddhist Logic

i. Buddhist Logic in India

ii. Buddhist Logic in Tibet

iii. The Philosophical Traditions That Logic Is Associated With

##### 3. Sacred Art

a. Representations of Wisdom Mind

b. Representations of Wisdom Form

i. How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in India

1' How Painted Images Appeared

2' How Sculpted Images Appeared

ii. How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in Tibet

iii. Textual Sources of Art Forms

c. Representations of Wisdom Speech: A History of Written Language

- 4. Medicine
  - a. Who First Conceived of Medicine and the Source of Its Lineage
  - b. How the Buddha Later Taught Medicine
  - c. How Medicine Spread in India, China, and Tibet
    - i. The History of Medicine in India
    - ii. The History of Medicine in China
    - iii. The History of Medicine in Tibet
      - 1' A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Early Spread in Tibet
      - 2' A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Later Spread in Tibet
      - 3' The History of Enlightened Activity Based on the Glorious Four Medical Tantras
- B. The Minor Fields of Culture
  - 1. Astrological Calculation
    - a. Stellar Calculation (Indian Astrology)
    - b. Victory in Battle
    - c. Element Calculation (Chinese Astrology)
  - 2. Poetics
  - 3. Metrical Composition
  - 4. Lexicography (with an Ancillary Statement on Theater)
- C. Epilogue
  - 1. A Note on the Minor Fields of Culture
  - 2. A Note on Culture in General
- II. An Account of How Buddhism Appeared in Other Major Countries
  - A. Buddhism in Shambhala
  - B. Buddhism in China
  - C. Buddhism in Khotan
  - D. Buddhism in Dravida
  - E. Buddhism in Other Islands

---

This chapter has two parts: (1) the actual history of the fields of Buddhist culture and (2) an ancillary account of how Buddhism appeared in other major countries.

*A History of Buddhist Culture* [I]

This section has three parts: (1) the major fields of culture, (2) the minor fields of culture, and (3) an epilogue.

*The Major Fields of Culture* [A]

This section consists of four parts: (1) Sanskrit grammar, (2) logic, (3) sacred art, and (4) medicine.

*Sanskrit Grammar* [1]

This section has two parts: (1) how grammar appeared in the heavens and (2) how the study of Sanskrit grammar spread in the human world.

*How Grammar Appeared in the Heavens* [a]

**In the first of the fields of culture, Sanskrit grammar,  
Indra composed a treatise on the study of grammar; Brihaspati  
learned it.  
As that scholar's pride was shattered, he observed "days of  
restriction."**

What are known as fields of culture, studied and learned by non-Buddhists and Buddhists of all philosophical persuasions alike, are of two kinds: major and minor. From the Buddhist perspective, the former are said to be the five major fields of culture, the first of which is the study of Sanskrit grammar.

In Heaven of the Thirty-three, a god called All-Knowing God composed the first great treatise on grammar. It is said that Indra studied with him and composed his own treatise, *Indra's Grammar*. The seer Brihaspati studied this treatise under Indra, became proficient, and served as teacher to the gods. Venerated as "guru of the gods," strong pride swelled within him, at which Indra remarked,

Knowledge of grammar in its entirety  
Is boundless, like an ocean;



My own knowledge is like a full vase,  
Your knowledge amounts to just a single drop!

This shattered Brihaspati's pride: disheartened, he vowed never to speak of grammar again, but Indra commanded him, "Nevertheless, you must teach whatever you know." Since Brihaspati had made his vow, he observed the practice of not speaking on four restricted days, but he taught at other times. This account is found in ancient Tibetan histories.

On the four restricted days, Indians proscribed not only learning grammar but study in general. *Swift Realization*, a text belonging to the later translations, lists five restricted days:

On the eighth [lunar day], the teacher is vanquished.  
On the fourteenth, the students are vanquished.  
On the thirtieth, both are vanquished.  
On the fifteenth, everyone is vanquished.  
The action of reading on the first [day of the lunar month],  
Diminishes one's very intelligence,  
Just as when Gangaja's arrows  
Struck Yudhishtira's army.

### *How the Study of Sanskrit Grammar Spread in the Human World* [b]

This section has four parts: (1) *Panini's Grammar*, (2) Chandragomi's grammar, (3) *The Kalapa Grammar*, and (4) the Sarasvati and other grammars.

#### *Panini's Grammar* [i]

Brahmin Panini, the grammarian whose life the Buddha  
foretold,  
Was blessed by Lord of the World and composed the ancestor  
of grammar texts,  
Commented upon by Shesha and Vararuchi.  
Panini's tradition includes *The Mahabhasha's* root text and  
commentaries, *Moonlight of Analysis*,  
*An Introduction to Form*, *Shakatayana*, and Katyayana's  
[*Grammar*].

His life foretold by the Buddha in *The Journey to Lanka Discourse*, which refers to “the grammarian Panini,” and in *The Root Tantra of Manjushri*, Brahmin Panini was born in Bhiruka Grove in west India. He consulted a palmist to ascertain whether or not he could learn grammar. When the palmist predicted that he could not, Panini took a small knife and cut the missing lines on his palm, then studied with every grammarian in the world. He acquired an excellent knowledge of grammar but was left dissatisfied. He practiced [Bodhisattva] Lord of the World’s awareness mantra and saw the exalted bodhisattva, who asked, “What is it you wish?” Panini said, “Bestow upon me the knowledge of grammar.” The bodhisattva then recited the [Sanskrit] alphabet: “A, I, U, . . .” etc. Through the exalted bodhisattva’s blessing, that act alone gave Panini understanding of all grammars in the three worlds.

Panini then composed the thousand-verse *Panini’s Grammar* and the thousand-verse *Discourse That Distinguishes Particularities*. Until that time, except for the various grammar texts found in non-Buddhist traditions (such as *Indra’s Grammar* that Shariputra is said to have studied for twelve years), no treatise in the Buddhist tradition combined every application of grammar. Therefore, these two texts by Panini are like the source text or ancestor of all works on grammar.

To help King Udayana learn grammar, Brahmin Vararuchi used the power of an awareness mantra to summon naga King Shesha and compel him to teach a hundred-thousand-verse commentary to *Panini’s Grammar*. The naga, behind a curtain, dictated while Vararuchi transcribed his words. Once, Vararuchi wondered, “What does [Shesha’s] body look like?” He lifted the curtain and saw a great rearing serpent. The naga fled in embarrassment. At that point, only twenty-five thousand verses had been written. Vararuchi composed the rest of the text, another twelve thousand verses; it was called *The Mahabhasha (Great Speech)*. Teaching and study of Panini’s works with this commentary have not declined but continue in India to the present day.

Grammar texts that follow Panini’s tradition include *Bhasha (Speech)*, a root text by Purushottama of about nine hundred verses, accompanied by an autocommentary; *Moonlight of Analysis* by Ramachandra; *An Introduction to Form: A Commentary to the Meaning of Panini* by illustrious Dharmakirti; *Shakatayana*, a text included as a part of *Panini’s Grammar*; and the writings of Katyayana.

It is said that Translator Darpa later translated just the root text of *Panini’s Grammar*, but this was not a literal translation.

*Chandragomi's Grammar* [ii]

Chandragomi's discourse, commentaries, and ancillary texts  
 Provide a perfect summary [of *Panini's Grammar*], being  
 concise, clear, and complete;  
 From among many texts written by him and others,  
 Translator Shong Dorjé Gyaltzen first translated and taught  
 the root text.

His life foretold in *The Latter Tantra of the Wheel of Time*, Master Chandragomi was born in Varendra in east India. He knew all the general fields of culture, such as grammar and logic, without having studied them. From the age of seven, he was able to refute non-Buddhists' doctrinal challenges. Chandragomi received scriptural transmission from Master Ashoka, attained accomplishment in the practice of the awareness mantras of All-Seeing One and Tara, and became a great scholar. Encouraged by exalted Bodhisattva All-Seeing One, Chandragomi adhered to the discipline of "gomi," or layperson. The marvelous story of Chandragomi's life is inconceivable; he is alive even now, residing in Potala pure land.

He composed one hundred and eight praises, Buddhist treatises, non-Buddhist treatises, and treatises on the arts, a total of four hundred and thirty-two different texts on various subjects. In Dakshina, Chandragomi read *The Mahabhasha*, the commentary composed by [the Naga king] Shesha. He criticized it with these words:

A commentary should contain few words and many meanings; it should be without repetition and be complete. The Naga, very dull of mind, [composed a commentary] that has many words and little meaning, is repetitive and incomplete.

Chandragomi then composed *Chandra's Grammar*, which has seven hundred verses [divided into] twenty-four chapters. This commentary provides a perfect summary of the meaning of *Panini's Grammar* and has the qualities of being concise, clear, and complete. He also wrote such ancillary texts as *A Discourse on Letters*. In Nalanda, however, Chandragomi read *The Ever-Excellent Grammar Discourse*, written by Chandrakirti. "This has been composed with perfect wording," Chandragomi thought. "My work is not as good as this." Feeling his grammar would not help

beings, he threw the volume of *Chandra's Grammar* down a well. However, Tara appeared to him and said, "You wrote with the noble intention of aiding others. Therefore, in the future your text will be immensely useful for beings. Chandrakirti wrote out of pride in his scholarship, so his work will prove to be of little use to others. Therefore, retrieve your text from the well." Heeding her prophetic instruction, he retrieved it. Such is the exalted quality of this text that it was said that just drinking that well's water imparted great knowledge.

Chandragomi's maternal uncle, Dharmadéva, wrote a commentary to his work; Ratnamati wrote a commentary to Dharmadéva's text, and Purnachandra composed a commentary to Ratnamati's commentary. [This tradition includes] many other texts, both those by Chandragomi himself, such as *A Discourse on Unadi*, etc. along with its autocommentary and *A Discourse on Verbal Roots*, as well as texts composed by others.

Translator Shong Dorjé Gyaltsen translated this tradition's principal source text [*Chandra's Grammar*]. Since that time, its teaching transmission has continued uninterruptedly in Tibet. A number of Tibetan commentaries have also been written, such as those by great Translator Tuk-jé Palwa and Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo. A major commentary [in this tradition] later composed by all-knowing Dharmakara is a great treasure of eloquence free from errors, indistinguishable [in quality] from Indian texts.

### *The Kalapa Grammar* [iii]

To understand the grammar Indra taught Indradhruva,  
Saptavarman followed Udayana's command  
And practiced meditation on Six-Faced Youth.  
The *Kalapa* treatise was introduced [to Tibet] through  
the kindness of translators Shong Dorjé Gyaltsen and  
Pang Loten.

Further, during Chandranapala's reign, Indra taught Brahmin Indradhruva the definite points of grammar; his instruction resulted in the twenty-five thousand verse *Indravayakarana* or *Indra's Grammar*. Not long afterward, to gain understanding of this grammar, Brahmin Saptavarman followed King Udayana's command and practiced meditation on Six-Faced Youth [Indra]. When he gained accomplishment, [the deity]

asked, “What is it you wish?” Saptavarman requested knowledge of *Indra’s Grammar*. By the deity’s mere enunciation, “*Siddho varna samamnayah*,” Saptavarman acquired full knowledge of grammar, then composed *The Kalapa Grammar*. As this belongs to the tradition of *Indra’s Grammar*, a large number of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist commentaries on it have appeared.

In Tibet as well, many have studied *The Kalapa Grammar*. Translator Shong Dorjé Gyaltsen first translated the principal text. Then, over time, Translator Pang Loten and others translated such *Kalapa Grammar* commentaries as *The Durga Singha Commentary*, *Syadanta*, and *Tyadyanta*. A number of both good and poor-quality commentaries on *The Kalapa Grammar* have been written in Tibetan.

### *The Sarasvati and Other Grammars* [iv]

**Noble Sarasvati taught a grammar to Anubhuti.**

**The lord of Jonang and Chökyi Nangwa translated and taught the root text and commentary.**

During the lifetimes of the six learned gate guardians [of Vikramashila Monastery], exalted Sarasvati taught *Sarasvati’s Grammar* directly to Master Anubhuti, a brahmin from Maharashtra in southern India. This grammar became widely studied throughout the land of exalted beings.

In Tibet, the lord of Jonang, Drolwé Gönpö [Taranata] studied *Sarasvati’s Grammar* with the scholars Krishna and Palabhadra, then made the first Tibetan translation of the text and its commentary, and also composed his own commentary. It is thought that Translator Darpa revised Taranata’s translation of the main text and made a new translation of the commentary. It is possible that Darpa’s translation of some of the text’s chapters were well done, yet when one compares his Tibetan version of the commentary to the Sanskrit original, they are usually different. It seems that his work must be classified as original rather than as a translation. Nevertheless, a lineage of teaching spread based on this text.

Omniscient Chökyi Nangwa, having first questioned Brahmin Vishnupati of Nepal, gained a perfect understanding of the difficult points of *Sarasvati’s Grammar*. He then made a new translation of *The Clear Distinction*, Master Anubhuti’s own commentary to [*Sarasvati’s Grammar*]. It seems that in India, both Buddhist and Hindu scholars wrote

many commentaries [to *Sarasvati's Grammar*], such as *Punjaraja: The Long Commentary*.

**Translator Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo translated  
Manjushrikirti's grammar text.**

Manjushrikirti is said to have written a grammar text, as well as a commentary to the second line of its fifth chapter. Translator Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo translated them, but a lineage of their teaching and study did not ensue.

**In India and Tibet, countless good and poor-quality  
commentaries on grammar have been written.**

For those four great texts (the main treatises on grammar translated into Tibetan), Indian and Tibetan scholars have composed countless excellent, valid treatises to comment upon difficult points, to explain, and to provide full details. Likewise, they have composed branch texts of commentary on *unadi*, *tingsupra*, *samdhi*, *ling*, and *dhatu*. In addition, authors with dim intelligence and little education have composed countless poor-quality commentaries.

*Logic* [2]

The history of logic has two parts: (1) [Indian] non-Buddhist logical analysis and (2) Buddhist logic.

*Non-Buddhist Logical Analysis* [a]

**Non-Buddhist logical analysis, though earlier, is defective.**

Many [texts on logic] by non-Buddhist teachers, such as Seer Dvaipayana's *Treatise of Logical Analysis* and Brahmin Akshapada's *Treatise That Presents the Eight Aspects of the Words and Meanings of Logical Analysis* appeared before Buddhist texts on logic, yet are faulty, invalid treatises dedicated purely to the process of debate itself. Therefore, I will not endorse them here. Logic is known as a field of culture common [to Buddhists and non-Buddhists], but since [non-Buddhist logic] is formulated

merely for debate, its premises differ [from Buddhist logic] and significant differences separate the two.

### *Buddhist Logic* [b]

This section has three parts: (1) the history [of Buddhist logic] in India, (2) the history [of Buddhist logic] in Tibet, and (3) an ancillary discussion of the philosophical traditions that logic is associated with.

### *Buddhist Logic in India* [i]

The first Buddhist text on logic was *Establishing Debate*.

The Victor's excellent speech clearly presents direct valid cognition, whereas inferential valid cognition is not denied and can be known through axioms' implications. *The Discourse of the Definite Elucidation of the Wisdom Mind* presents an outline of the four bases of reasoning:

The nature of reality, dependence, function,  
And rationality are the four bases of reasoning.

It is taught that these four also appeared in the past, during the time of the doctrine of [the previous buddha,] Kashyapa, when the human life span was twenty thousand years. In our teacher's doctrine, the first Buddhist text on logic is *Establishing Debate*. Some assert that its author was Master Vasubandhu, but in the autocommentary to *A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*, this opinion is clearly refuted at length: the Vasubandhu [commonly referred to as] the "younger brother" [of Asanga] clearly did not write it. Early Tibetan masters think that the text was composed by another master also named Vasubandhu, such as Vridhacharya Vasubandhu.

Dignaga composed *A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*,  
a discourse in six chapters  
That present both direct and inferential [logic], exclusion  
of other,  
Examples, and refutation.

The great Master Dignaga composed one hundred and eight miscellaneous treatises on logic, such as *Analysis of the Object* and *Analysis of What Is to Be Excluded*. Seeing that these texts did not form a complete whole, he later compiled them, creating *A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*. In six chapters, it teaches both direct and inferential [logic], exclusion of other, examples, and the reasoning of refutation. This was taught by [his disciple] Master Ishvarasena and others.

**As commentaries to that text,  
Dharmakirti composed long, medium, and concise texts,  
which constitute the root,  
And four branch [treatises], initiating the tradition of the  
seven treatises.**

The sun of eloquence Dharmakirti composed, as the main body of his work, three root treatises of commentary to that text: the long *Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic,"* the medium-length *Ascertainment of Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic,"* and the concise *Drop of Reasoning*. He also wrote four ancillary "branch" treatises: *Analysis of Relations, A Drop of Reasons, Reasoning for Debate,* and *Establishing Other Continuums*. In this way, he initiated a major tradition known as the seven treatises of logic.

**Devendrabuddhi, Shakyamati, Vinitadéva, Alamkara  
Prajnakara, Shankarananda, and others explained these  
works.  
Alamkara Prajnakara's followers were Jina, Yamari,  
and Suryagupta.**

Dharmakirti instructed his principal disciple Devendrabuddhi to write a commentary to his *Ascertainment of Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic."* Devendrabuddhi's commentary continued from where Dharmakirti's own commentary to the first chapter ended. Old histories relate that Devendrabuddhi wrote two commentaries [that Dharmakirti] burned and washed with water. He accepted the third commentary, saying, "Only the evident meaning is taught in this text." Devendrabuddhi's commentary and Dharmakirti's own commentary are collectively known as *Twelve Thousand Verses on Logic*.



Devendrabuddhi's disciple Shakyamati wrote a commentary to *Twelve Thousand Verses on Logic*. It is said that Master Vinitadéva wrote commentaries to all seven treatises of Dharmakirti. The illustrious Scholar Alamkara Prajnakara wrote *An Elaboration on Logic in Three and a Half Thousand Verses*, explaining Dharmakirti's *Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic."* In a supplementary section, he composed an extended explanatory commentary to the third chapter establishing logic; he explained its intent in terms of the middle way school. This is known as *Eighteen Thousand Verses on Logic*. Many other commentaries, such as those by Brahmin Shankarananda, have also appeared. Followers of the illustrious scholar Alamkara Prajnakara—Master Jina; the Kashmiri Jamari, who is also known as Yamari the logician; and Suryagupta—taught extensively.

**Trijayadhaka explained *Ascertainment of Dignaga's Logic and A Drop of Reasoning.***

**Kamalashila explained Shantarakshita's *Compilation on Thatness.***

Master Dharmottara composed the twelve-thousand verse *Great Validity*, a commentary to *Ascertainment of Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic."* He also wrote *Helping Disciples*, a commentary to *A Drop of Reasoning*. Trijayadhaka ("triple victory drum") beat a drum of victory three times after defeating non-Buddhists in debate, then was known by that name. He composed many minor texts on logic to explain Dharmakirti's philosophy. The illustrious scholar [Alamkara Prajnakara] and both [Dharmottara and Trijayadhaka] were known for their extremely great skill in the analysis of logic. Master Shantarakshita composed *A Compilation on Thatness*, synthesizing the meaning of all earlier texts on logic. Kamalashila explained Shantarakshita's philosophy in what is known as *The Great Commentary on Logic*.

**Chandragomi and others composed many minor texts.**

Chandragomi composed *The Lamp of Proof of Reasoning* and other texts. Shubhagupta wrote such works as *Proof of Omniscience* and *Proof of the Significance of the External*. Jétari's works include *Teaching on the Nature of the Proof*. Ratnakarashanti, Prajnakaragupta, Jnanashrimitra, and

others wrote a very great number of minor texts, some of which were translated into Tibetan.

*Buddhist Logic in Tibet* [ii]

Some of the later texts among [Dharmakirti's] seven were translated during the early translations.

Ma Géwé Lodrö, Ngok Loden Sherab, and Sakya Pandit translated texts on logic during the later propagation.

In Tibet, during the doctrine's early propagation, Kawa Paltsek and Drenpa Namka translated a few texts on logic, such as the root text and commentaries of *A Drop of Reasoning* and *Analysis of Relations*, the last of Dharmakirti's seven treatises. During the later propagation, Zhama Sengé Gyaltzen translated such works as Dignaga's *Compendium of Logic*. Ma Géwé Lodrö initially translated Dharmakirti's extensive treatise, *A Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic," The Twelve Thousand Verses on Logic*, and other texts; Kyungpo Draksé and others taught them. This is known as the early school of logic, which spread only slightly.

Translator Ngok Loden Sherab revised these translations and produced completely new translations of the *Ascertainment of Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic," A Drop of Reasoning*, and other texts. This new school of logic spread, primarily derived from the systems of Scholar Alamkara Prajnakara and Dharmottara. A holder of this lineage, Chapa Chökyi Sengé, composed a pair of long and short summaries for the middle way and other subjects. In particular, he composed *A Summary of Logic: Eliminating the Mind's Darkness* and established a college, thus founding the "summary" tradition. The meaning of the name "summary" is as stated:

The learned give [this tradition] the name "summary"  
Because it summarizes every intention  
Contained within the Victor's canon and the treatises of  
commentary.

Later, Kashmiri Pandit Shakyashri and Sakya Pandit Kunga Gyaltzen reviewed the translations of Dharmakirti's *Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic"* and produced a definitive edition. Although

many who translated logic texts appeared, I hold the teaching systems of Sakya Pandit and Translator Ngok Loden Sherab as supreme.

**The latter [Sakya Pandit] composed the root text *Logic*:**

*A Treasure of Reason* and its commentary.

**The holders of the teaching lineage—Sharpa Sherab Jungné,**

**Nupa Uyük-pa Rikpé Sengé, and Gungpa Kyotön Drimé—**

**Disseminated it into the transmissions of Khang-tön Özer**

**Gyaltsen, Nyen Darma Sengé, Zhang Dodé-pal, and**

**Zur-kangpa Kar Shakya Drakpa:**

**Many exalted masters appeared.**

Of the three masters mentioned (Ma Géwé Lodrö, Translator Ngok Loden Sherab, and Sakya Pandit), the latter, [Bodhisattva] Gentle Melody [incarnate] Sakya Pandit, lived twenty-five successive lifetimes as a scholar. The force of such propensity gave him inconceivable wisdom and freed within him a great treasure of fearless confidence. He was especially famed as a sublime influential scholar of logic. He composed the root text *Logic: A Treasure of Reason* together with a commentary, which contain the essence of [Dharmakirti's] seven treatises and discourses on logic. He had countless disciples throughout India and Tibet. Among those who held his lineage of realization, his principal disciples were Tsok, Drup, and Ön; among those who held the pith instruction lineage, his principal disciples were Lhopa Kunkyen Rinchen Pal and Mar Chökyi Gyalpo. Among these and others, the holders of the teaching lineage of logic were two brothers, Sharpa Sherab Jungné and Dorjé Özer. They and Nupa Uyük-pa Rikpé Sengé, and Gungpa Kyotön Drimé spread the tradition widely, so that many exalted masters of logic appeared. Nupa Uyük-pa Rikpé Sengé's nephew, Nyi-tokpa Sangyé Kun-mön, had four disciples known as the three pillars (Khang-tön Özer Gyaltsen, Nyen Darma Sengé, Zhang Dodé-pal), with an addition (Zur-kangpa Kar Shakya Drakpa), of whom the last was foremost. Omniscient Lhopa Rinchen Pal also composed various works [on logic].

Nupa Uyük-pa Rikpé Sengé and these masters taught for a long time; within their teaching transmissions, Jamyang Kyapo, great Translator Nya, Chöjé Lama Dampa, and Nya-ön Kunga Pal appeared at various periods, early and late. The last, Nya-ön Kunga Pal, was especially learned in this field, so that a saying circulated, “Logic has reached the fish (*nya*)!” Nya-ön Kunga Pal's disciple Yak Mipham Chökyi Lama was followed by

a succession of many lords of eloquence, such as Rongtön Shéja Kunzik, Jamchen Rabjampa Sangyé Pel, and Gorampa Sönam Sengé. Rongtön Shéja Kunzik's disciple was Lord Dönyö Palwa; in brief, from him there appeared lions of speech like a string of pearls, including the great Scholar Shakya Chok-den. Chöjé Lama Dampa's disciple was great Translator Jang-tsé; from him there developed a separate tradition of logic named the logic of manifest reason. This developed through a successive transmission from Jang-tsé, through Lochen Drakpa, to the omniscient master Bo-dong Jikdral Chenpo. Another transmission passed from Zhang Dodé-pal through the learned Norzang Pal, Nyak-ön, Rendawa Zhönnu Lodrö, Lord Tsongkapa, and from him to Gyaltsap Darma Rinchen, Kédруп Gélék Palwa, and others. This teaching system, unbroken to the present, is a tradition of logic that resounds like a lion's roar.

**In particular, Lord of the World,  
The seventh supreme Victor, compiled *An Ocean of Texts  
on Logic*,  
Which contain all streams of Dharmakirti's thought.**

As described, many scholars elucidated the path of logic without distortion. Later however, those with inferior merit and intelligence squandered the textual traditions of the lords of logic with false semblances of analysis. Thus, to fully elucidate past masters' systems without error, Lord of the World, Bodhisattva All-Seeing One took rebirth as the supreme Victor, the all-knowing seventh [Karmapa] Chödrak Gyatso. Propensities from his earlier life as Dharmakirti awakened: wisdom speech arose in his mind and he dictated it to a scribe without any effort such as making preparatory notes, or reading and contemplating existing texts. The result, his work known as *Valid Cognition: An Ocean of Texts on Logic* has many wonderful, exalted qualities and was compiled to nurture intelligent readers. Thus all streams of Dharmakirti's thought are contained in this vast all-inclusive reservoir.

*The Philosophical Traditions That Logic Is Associated With* [iii]

**There are three Tibetan modes of commentary: Translator  
Ngok Loden Sherab's [middle way] essencelessness,  
The Sakya tradition's [middle way] yogacharin, and others'  
[middle way that accepts] conventional consensus.**

Lord Tsongkapa and others considered that these texts of logic reject wrong views, and that they are treatises that present an outline of the four truths without mistakes. Sublime Scholar Ngawang Chödrak states, “We must call these texts treatises of complete inner knowledge. Their essence is application to external knowledge, because they are treatises of the knowledge of logic.” From the point of view of the established subject matter, there are three Tibetan modes of commentary on logic. Great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab explains them according to middle way essencelessness; those of the Sakya tradition, the yogacharin middle way; while most others, the middle way that uses conventional consensus. Further, omniscient Sönam Sengé states:

In the textual tradition of the two crown jewels of logic,  
 Among these three modes of teaching in this Himalayan region,  
 [In one,] the former and latter seven collections on logic are  
     combined and taught;  
 [In another,] what is excellent within the Indian commentaries is  
     synthesized and taught;  
 And [in the last,] teaching is given based on the teacher’s own  
     concepts.  
 The Sakya mode of instruction is considered best,  
 Since [Sakya Pandit] was familiar with the path of logic over many  
     lifetimes  
 And received a faultless lineage of pith instructions—  
 He mastered the wisdom of Gentle Melody’s mind.

As stated, Sakya Pandit combined diverse fragments of the content of former and later texts—the logic discourses, Dharmakirti’s seven treatises, and his autocommentary to the first chapter—into a coherent whole, upon which he based his teaching. Most other Tibetan teachers based their teaching on compilations of the excellent parts of commentaries by Devendrabuddhi, Shakyamati, Alamkara Prajnakara, and Dharmottara. Gyaltsap Jé and Kédруп Jé both taught primarily by way of their own understanding. These are considered to be the three modes of teaching logic.

*Sacred Art* [3]

This section has three parts: (1) representations of wisdom mind, (2) representations of wisdom form, and (3) representations of wisdom speech.

*Representations of Wisdom Mind* [a]

**Sacred supports for the three jewels constitute the most sublime art form.**

**The first among all was the Lotus Mound Stupa.**

**Faithful persons gradually built other stupas.**

All fields of art can be gathered into physical, verbal, or mental arts. What I will describe here is principally art produced physically and, among all artistic endeavors, that which provides both immediate and long-term inexhaustible aid and pleasure: representations of wisdom form, wisdom speech, and wisdom mind related to the three jewels.

The first among this doctrine's three sacred supports to appear was the sacred support of wisdom mind, the body of ultimate enlightenment. After our teacher's birth in the Lumbini Grove, King Shuddhodana and others erected Lotus Mound Stupa. Subsequently, the second such support was the stupa of awakening and others known collectively as the eight stupas. Faithful persons, such as King Bimbisara, gradually built many other stupas, sacred supports of the Buddha (i.e., those that held his hair or nails, for example), or stupas dedicated to pious attendant arhats [after their passing into transcendence].

*Representations of Wisdom Form* [b]

This section has three parts: (1) how representations of wisdom form appeared in India, (2) how they appeared in Tibet, and (3) an ancillary statement on textual sources of art forms.

*How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in India* [i]

This section has two parts: (1) how painted images appeared and (2) how sculpted images appeared.

*How Painted Images Appeared [I']*

When the human life span was one hundred thousand years,  
 Subduer of Fear learned painting from Brahma and  
 Vishvakarma.  
 Since then, until Lord of Sages' transcendence of sorrow,  
 [paintings] could be mistaken as real.

Painted images antedate sculpted images. *The Proclamation of Brahma: Characteristics of Painting*, written by Seer Atreya, states that in the past during the first eon, when the human life span decreased from one hundred thousand years, a human monarch called Subduer of Fear appeared. He ruled this world according to spiritual principles; thus the life span increased again to one hundred thousand years and great happiness prevailed. The king practiced disciplines of asceticism and attained Ishvara's eight qualities. Brahma gave him the supreme boon of understanding all treatises and made a promise that the gods' armies and weapons would not intrude into the human world. Then, when a brahmin's beloved young child died suddenly, the brahmin said to the king,

Because you do not rule your kingdom according to spiritual principles, premature death has befallen your subject: my son has died! If you do not raise my son [from death], I will kill myself here.

The king led the brahmin into the presence of the King of the Lord of Death, blazingly resplendent as the sun. He prostrated and asked that the brahmin's son be returned. The Lord of Death replied, "I did not take him: his own karma was exhausted!" The king demanded, "Give him back!" The Lord of Death repeated again and again that it was not right, until finally they prepared for battle, and poured a deluge of weapons upon one another. The king's downpour of weapons from the gods defeated all the Lord of Death's followers. The Lord of Death raised his club [to attack] and the king hoisted a club bearing Brahma's head [to parry]: the whole world shrank in terror. At this point, Brahma appeared and said,

As [the child's] individual karma was exhausted, the Lord of Death has done no wrong. Nevertheless, paint a painting of the brahmin's son.

Accordingly, the king produced the painting, which Brahma brought to life and gave to the brahmin. It is said, “As starving spirits [i.e., including the Lord of Death] are called ‘the naked,’ it is good to subdue them.” Therefore, the king was called Subduer of the Naked. As he was the first to fashion a formal painting, he was also called First Artist. Brahma ordered the king to offer prostrations and gifts to the Lord of Death, and everyone was pleased [at the outcome]. The king then went to the world of Brahma, and asked how to paint. He heard such eulogies as,

Supreme among mountains is Mount Meru;  
 Of those born from an egg,  
 The greatest is the garuda;  
 Chief among humans are the rulers of the land;  
 Likewise, painting is the chief craft.

And,

O King, likewise all crafts  
 Fully depend upon the art of painting . . .

Then following the god’s prophetic advice, he studied with his teacher Vishvakarma, who emphasized the proportions of an image of a wheel monarch, such as the faults of [a painting] lacking correct proportions, and the benefits of having them. He also taught him the requisites of beauty:

If the body’s beauty is incomplete,  
 What is the point of having the proportions?

From that time forth, human artists with the ability to create illusions, makers of wondrous works of art, have always appeared. As the scriptures on discipline clearly relate, until Buddha Lord of the Sages’ transcendence of sorrow, forms in paintings could create the illusion of reality. Many such paintings appeared during the hundred years that followed our teacher’s transcendence of sorrow.

**The earliest sacred supports of the wisdom body during this  
 Buddha’s doctrine**



**Are said to be paintings of the Buddha's wisdom  
body—"Drawn from Water" and "Light Rays"—  
Sent to Udayana and Muktikakhatti.**

The paintings sent to Udayana and Muktikakhatti, known as "Drawn from Water" and "Light Rays," are said to be the earliest sacred supports of the wisdom body during this Buddha's doctrine.

King Bimbisara of Magadha and King Udayana of Ravana sent one another gifts and became friends without having met. Udayana sent Bimbisara the gift of a suit of armor of priceless jewels; in reply, Bimbisara ordered a painting of the Buddha's body to be made on cotton and sent it [to Udayana]. Our teacher's brilliant splendor was unendurable; the artist was unable to paint him. The Buddha sat at the edge of a bathing pool and his likeness reflected on the water was painted on cotton. Above and below [the central figure of the Buddha], the artist painted the links of interdependent causation, in unfolding and reverse order, and the five bases of training in refuge, together with their benefits. When this was sent to Udayana, he perceived the truth. It is said that this painting was known as "The Sage Drawn from Water."

When the Transcendent Conqueror proclaimed the teachings in Kapilavastu, the wife of Mahanaman sent a maidservant named Rohita to fetch a garland. On the way, a cow about to give birth gored her, and she died. As she had faith in the Buddha, she immediately entered the womb of the queen of Sri Lanka. At her birth, it rained pearls: she was given the name Mukтики ("Pearl"), or Muktikakhatti ("Pearl Throne"). She heard stories of the Buddha from a merchant from central India and was moved to faith, then sent the Buddha a letter. In reply, the Buddha sent a painting an artist made on cotton, depicting how our teacher had shone light rays onto it, together with a metrical line of instruction. On seeing it, Muktikakhatti perceived the truth. This painting was known as "Light Rays Sage." As this painting came from a pure source, religious artists of India and eastern countries all developed [their style] from it.

*How Sculpted Images Appeared [2']*

**Many precious sculptures were made for the seat of honor  
at the noontime meal  
After the Buddha gave permission to Anāpindata.**

**When the Buddha visited the heavens, the king of Kashi  
(Benares)**

**Fashioned a sandalwood statue that now dwells in China.**

When faithful householder patrons invited the monastic community for noonday meals and the Buddha did not attend, his seat of honor was seen to lack majesty. Thus, Anāpindita requested, “If you the teacher allow it, we will make images and place them [on the seat of honor].” In reply, the Buddha gave him permission, and many sculptures of precious materials were made.

During the Transcendent Conqueror’s absence while he visited the heavens, the King of Kashi (Benares) built a sandalwood statue as an object of veneration. When the teacher descended from the heavens, that statue took sixty steps forward to greet him. When the Buddha exhorted it, “To promote virtue in China, go there,” it flew through the sky to China, where it still dwells. It is known as the “Sandalwood Lord,” and many silk embroidery hangings were made as copies of it. These were the first sculpted images.

**Later, Rahula made with naga jewels**

**Great Glacial Lake, which was placed in the outer ocean.**

Later, when our teacher was about to transcend sorrow, he ordered, “Make representative images of my body in order that the teachings endure and to convert Hindus.” Accordingly, Rahula made from many naga jewels a statue of the body of perfect rapture, Buddha Illuminator Great Glacial Lake. It was eighty leagues in height and breadth; it dwells in the outer ocean.

**Shakra, with various miraculous acts, made from many jewels**

**Physical representations of the Buddha at eight, twelve, and  
twenty-five years of age.**

**The last dwells with the gods; the other two reside in Tibet.**

**Directly blessed by the Buddha, they have the same blessing as  
our teacher.**

Lord of gods Shakra began making images of our teacher from various jewels—five kinds of jewels of gods and humans, and five hundred and

one quartz stones. Vishvakarma undertook to measure the Buddha, tying a thread to our teacher's little toe, but before he completed his task, he arrived in the presence of Buddha Joyous Splendor in the world Joyful Glowing Light. That buddha said, "Set aside thoughts of the Buddha's size; instead, bring your teacher to mind." As soon as Vishvakarma did this, he arrived in the teacher's presence. With various miraculous acts, he produced statues of the Buddha at the ages of eight and twelve, with measurements provided by the Buddha's former nursemaids; and a statue of the Buddha at the age of twenty-five, with measurements corresponding to common perception. Our teacher's face shone and gathered light to bless the statues.

Shakra invited the latter of these statues (the one the size of his body at the age of twenty-five) to the heavens. For many years, the other two statues dwelled in the heavens, Oddiyana, the nagas' lands, and at Vajra Seat. Then, during King Dévapala's reign, the statue of the Buddha at twelve years of age was invited to China; the statue of the Buddha at eight years of age, to Nepal. Eventually, both arrived in Tibet: these statues are those that sit [in Lhasa] in the Temple of Magical Manifestation [i.e., the Jokang] and Ramoché Temple. Since the Buddha manifestly blessed them, they have the same blessing as our teacher himself.

**After the Buddha's transcendence of sorrow, divine artists  
emanated as humans:  
Three brahmin brothers made statues,  
And many sacred supports were built, such as the eight  
wonders of Magadha.**

After our teacher's transcendence of sorrow, hardly any human artists had magical powers [of creation]. Thus, many divine artists emanated as humans and helped in the building of especially exalted sacred supports.

During the time of Venerable Upagupta, nearly eighty years after our teacher's passing, three brahmin brothers appeared in Magadha. In Varanasi, the eldest built a temple and a statue made of precious stones. In Rajgir, the middle brother built a temple and a statue made from the earth of eight sacred places. At Vajra Seat, the youngest brother built an excellent structure, outwardly in the shape of a stupa, and containing a *gandhola* shrine room. Within this, he built a statue of the Buddha at the age of thirty-five made from a mixture of gaushirsha sandalwood and

powdered precious substances. Its eyes are emeralds, and the marks and signs of physical perfection adorn it. This image lacks the tongue that can cover the face, clothes suspended four finger-widths away from contact with the body, an aura that extends one arm-span, and the three forms of conduct; the statue's hair is blue and its hair between the eyebrows is indistinct. Apart from eight such differences, this statue, called Mahabodhi ("Great Awakening"), is said to be similar to the actual Buddha.

Later, various patrons gradually sponsored many statues, such as Drumbeat Gentle Splendor and the other eight wondrous sacred supports of Magadha.

**During Ashoka's reign, noxious spirit artists  
Built the eight stupas at the eight major sacred places and  
at Vajra Seat's inner enclosure.  
During Nagarjuna's lifetime, nagas produced many works  
of art.**

During King Ashoka's reign, noxious spirit artists built such structures as stupas at the eight major sacred places and at Vajra Seat's inner enclosure. During Nagarjuna's lifetime, naga artists produced many works of art. For many years after their construction, the noxious spirits' and nagas' artistic work could create the illusion of being real. Later, even though they ceased to be like this due to [declining] time, their creations remained special works of art that no one knew [how to replicate].

Then, over a long period, various talents were responsible for many different lines of artistic creation, but no coherent systems were established.

**The traditions of Bimbisara, Srighdhari, and Dhiman developed,  
Modeled upon art of gods, noxious spirits, and nagas.  
Their traditions became known as central, old western,  
and eastern art.**

After that period, [the following artists] gradually appeared, their work modeled upon the art of gods, noxious spirits, and nagas:

During King Buddhapaksha's reign, [an artist] named Bimbisara appeared in Magadha. During King Shila's reign, Srighdhari (meaning "Garland Holder") appeared in the land of Maru. During Dévapala's reign,

Dhiman appeared in Varendra; his son, Bitpalo, lived in Bengal. These were great masters of painting, sculpture, metal casting, and carving. The many holders of their traditions eventually became known respectively as “central artists,” “artists of the old western tradition,” and “eastern artists.” The eastern artists were followers of the father, and became identified as eastern painting. Followers of the son spread in Magadha; [their work] was identified as central painting.

**Nepal [followed] the old western style in the early period,  
and one similar to eastern [in the middle period].**

**In Kashmir, there were three traditions: central, old western,  
and indigenous.**

In Nepal, the earlier artistic tradition was similar to the old western style. The middle period’s painting and bell-metal casting was Nepal’s indigenous tradition, although it mainly resembled the eastern [Indian tradition]. No distinct tradition is found in the later period.

In Kashmir, artists first copied the central and old western traditions. Later, an artist named Hasuraja created a new tradition of both painting and sculpture, currently called the Kashmiri school. Where the Buddha’s teachings lasted, there lived masters of religious art. Where Muslims dominated, the art of image making ceased; where Hinduism flourished, unskilled religious artists thrived. Thus, very little of the traditions mentioned above remains today in those [non-Buddhist] regions.

In later times an established tradition of sculpture spread in Pukkan and Dakshina, although it is clear that their artistic traditions did not reach Tibet in the past. It is said that in those lands live very many followers of three masters—Jaya (“Victory”), Parajaya (“Victory over Others”), and Vijaya (“Complete Victory”).

### *How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in Tibet [ii]*

**In Tibet, the statues at the three spiritual centers were  
the earliest.**

In Tibet during the reign of the emanated King Songtsen Gampo, it is said that the main sacred supports in the Tradruk [temples] were only self-arisen statues and such images as the self-arisen [statue] of Bodhisattva

Great Compassion at Rasa. During Trisong Déutsen's reign, Tibet's earliest paintings and sculpted images were those at Samyé Monastery, which portrayed the three turnings of the wheel of the teachings, principally the great awakening.

Translator Taksang relates that "The Sage Drawn from Water," Tibet's earliest model of a painted image, came from [the statue of] great awakening at Vajra Seat having been sprinkled with saffron water, then covered with moist clean cotton. When the cloth was lifted away, the two arms directly appeared upon the cloth due to the statue's blessing. A style of painting was transmitted using this model. Though others concur with [another] account mentioned above, I think this later story is accurate, since on examination one sees [in examples of this style] a short throat, great width, etc. Therefore this style's works are not proportional and their appearing aspect is somewhat unattractive. Nevertheless, all known traditions accept it as a valid model.

**Painting [developed in] the Nepalese style, then both the Menri and the Kyenri appeared.**

**Chiuri was the third. Three artists named Tashi founded the Gardri tradition.**

**In sculpture as well, a succession of masters appeared.**

At first, Nepalese- [Tibetan: Béri-] style painting was the only widespread system. Then [Bodhisattva] Gentle Melody took birth in human form as Venerable Menla Döndrup in [Tibet, at] Mentang, Lhodrak. He originated the use of that area's vermilion. Because of his wife, he left his homeland and moved to Tsang, where he studied painting under Dopa Tashi Gyalpo. He remembered a previous lifetime in China during which he had seen paintings made of embroidered silk. He then constantly created wonderful paintings, including the great Mentang painting. He inspired lines of both father-son and master-disciple lineages. Further, a tradition known as Kyentsé Chenmo appeared in Gongkar Gangtö, an artistic tradition derived from the earlier one. These two, the Menri and Kyenri, became two distinct, original systems, as famous in the Himalayas as the sun and moon.

An artist known as Tulku Chiu traveled tirelessly for the sake of [mastering] this field of art. Endowed with unsurpassable talent, he created an artistic lineage [the Chiuri], that differed from the earlier two [the

Menri and Kyenri], and excelled in coloring and shading. Later, Chöying Gyatso of Tsang founded the New Menri tradition. This and many other artistic lineages appeared, but they mainly belong within the previous systems.

In Yartö, an artist known as Tulku Namka Tashi appeared. Venerable Lord Mikyö Dorjé affirmed that artist was one of his own emanations, and foretold that he would spread the [Karmapa's] physical enlightened activity. As Zhamar Könchok Yenlak and Gyaltsap Drakpa Döndrup instructed, Tulku Namka Tashi learned the Menri tradition from Kalden Sharchokpa Könchok Pendé of Ené, known as an emanation of the Chinese princess [Wencheng]. He then developed the painting tradition known as Gardri, in which he used Indian bronze casting and the Mentang school styles of facial and physical depiction as a basic framework, and followed the Ming dynasty style of silk embroidered hangings for such details as landscape, and for coloring and shading. After him, an artist known as Chö Tashi, and later, Karshö Karma Tashi continued this unrivalled system of painting which still exists today. In brief, the three artists named Tashi [Tulku Namka Tashi, Chö Tashi, and Karshö Karma Tashi] founded the widespread Gardri school.

Similarly, the foremost masters of sculpture were Tulku Léu-chungpa and Péma Karpa. Later, a Gardri tradition master, an official of Dakpo Gopa Monastery known as Kundün Karma Sidral, or Go-nyön, had unequalled intelligence and was known as a physical emanation of the eighth Lord [Karmapa]. They, Karma Rinchen, and many others master sculptors appeared, but no lineages from them can be found today.

During the time of the great fifth [Dalai Lama], there was a sculptor known as Épa Kukpa, or Hordar; and Tulku Baptro, known as an emanated artist. Their lineages definitely led in the later times to such artistic lineages as the Döpal style, which is outstanding in sculpture.

**Particularly, [painting by] the master of art, supreme Lord  
of the World,  
And the genius of Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa  
Are nectar for the eyes that transcends ordinary beings'  
rational mind.**

Especially exalted when compared to all these was the master of art, Lord of the World, glorious [tenth] Karmapa Chöying Dorjé, who studied painting under the Menri master Chu-kyer Tulku Tsering of Lhodrak. In

his early life, he worked in the Menri tradition, and with that as a basis, his later art was in the style of silk-embroidered hangings and the Kashmiri tradition. His paintings, sculptures, and silk embroideries can still be viewed today. There also exist the more recent paintings and sculptures born from the genius of omniscient Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa. All their works are compositions of great miraculous power that transcend the limits of ordinary beings' rational mind. Even now, their creations are directly perceivable nectar for the eyes of ordinary beings. This superiority is evident in *An Account of the Paintings to Accompany "The Wish-Fulfilling Vine, the Buddha's Past Lives,"* written by the omniscient master [Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa] himself.

### *Textual Sources of Art Forms* [iii]

**There are many Indian and Tibetan textual traditions that teach proportions,  
Such as *The Wheel of Time, The Origins of Binder of the Wheel Tantra,* and *The Discourse Requested by Shariputra.***

What are the sources and outlines [of artistic endeavor in Buddhism]? There are many writings that teach proportions. Indian scriptures that do so include the glorious root text and commentary to *The Wheel of Time Tantra*; the root text and commentary to *The Origins of Binder of the Wheel Tantra*; *The Discourse Requested by Shariputra*; *The Kriyasamuccha*; *Classification of the Aspects of a Stupa*; *An Extensive Commentary to "The Perfection of Sublime Insight Discourse in Eight Thousand Verses"*; and *The Ornament of Kosala*. Tibetan texts include those by Menla Döndrup and Kyentsé Chenmo; by Butön; *The Mirror of the Great Sun* by Lord Mikyö Dorjé; and, later, *Removing Rust* by the renowned Dési Sangyé Gyatso.

### *Representations of Wisdom Speech: A History of Written Language* [c]

**Many kinds of script developed in different countries.**

Writing follows language and speech. Therefore, even within any country, many slight variations in spoken and written language arise that cannot fit into a single framework.



Hindus believe in twenty-four creators, among whom they believe the creator of letters to be the god Always Peaceful, Maheshvara. Many families of Indian scripts and other written words appeared in India in each region; earlier forms fall into disuse and are replaced by new ones, and so on. While Buddhism lasted in India, such scripts as Lancha, Vartula, and Nagara predominated, whereas after the doctrine's decline, only the Arabic script was widespread.

In China during the reign of the five Dhi [emperors] and others, carved and impressed letters originated; later, written letters were devised by the high official Li Tse while at war. He used a rabbit's tail as a brush and smoke of pinewood as ink. Such accounts [of the origins of the Chinese characters] are extremely numerous.

The first volume of the sacred support of wisdom speech was one from the middle cycle of teachings [*The Perfection of Sublime Insight*], written by [the god] Shakra on pages of gold using liquefied beryl as ink. He also wrote out the text of *The Manifold Adornment of the Victory Banner's Tip*, which he attached to the top of a victory banner and used to repel the demi-gods' attack.

The scriptures on monastic discipline forbid the sale of volumes of the teacher's canon but permit the sale of non-Buddhist texts. This proves that written texts existed [during the Buddha's lifetime]. During the teachings' compilation, the compilers wrote scriptures out in their own regions in their own languages and gradually transmitted them in that form.

**In Tibet, Tonmi Sambhota studied grammar and written  
language with scholars in India.  
He took [Indian scripts] as a model  
And devised a script with the omissions and additions  
necessary for Tibetan.  
He composed eight texts on grammar,  
Including *Thirty Verses* and *Tibetan Grammar*.  
Kyungpo Yutri, Sumpa Nöjin, and others disseminated  
[Tibetan calligraphy] widely.**

*The Stainless Light Commentary to the Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* makes such [predictions] as, "In Tibet, the three Buddhist ways will be written in Tibetan." At first, no proper system of letters, or of [written] representation [of language], existed in Tibet. Tonmi Sambhota, an ema-

nation of [Bodhisattva] Gentle Melody, was Buddhist King Songtsen Gampo's prime minister. Commanded by the Buddhist bodhisattva king and propelled by the timely awakening of his own special aspirations to engage in the conduct of awakening, he journeyed to India with a retinue of sixteen people. He studied Sanskrit grammar and [Indian] written language perfectly from scholars such as Pandit Dévavidyasingha and Brahmin Livikara, and returned to Tibet, where he pleased the king with poetic compositions of praises in intricate structure.

In [Lhasa's] Maru Palace, Tonmi Sambhota created a new Tibetan script based on the [Deva]nagara script, omitting the [Sanskrit] vowels and consonants unnecessary for the Tibetan language, and adding six necessary letters [not in the Sanskrit alphabet]. He thus founded the written language tradition known as "the thirty mother letters and the six child letters." He is said to have composed eight grammar texts, including *The Thirty Letters* and *Tibetan Grammar*; however, it is said that the six others apart from these two were lost during King Lang Darma's reign. The lineage of this script was gradually transmitted: Kyungpo Yutri, Sumpa Nöjin, and others gave Tibetan calligraphy its definitive form and disseminated it widely.

### I have not related here the minor histories of art.

Most physical, verbal, or mental activities, such as the eighteen branches of art, are commonly taught to be included within the field of art. Their minor histories are difficult to research; I have not related them here as it would serve no purpose.

### *Medicine* [4]

This section has three parts: (1) who first conceived of medicine, and the source of the lineage; (2) how our teacher later taught medicine; and (3) finally, how medical knowledge spread in India, China, and Tibet.

### *Who First Conceived of Medicine and the Source of Its Lineage* [a]

Brahma first conceived of *The Life Veda*;  
He sought nectar and composed *One Hundred Thousand Verses*  
*on Healing Treatments*,

**Subsequently transmitted to Indra.**

**His disciple, Atreya, composed the treatise *A Summary of Brahma's Teaching*.**

In fact, Buddhist tantric texts widely refute the Vedas' lasting validity. Nevertheless, in this chapter dealing with the common subjects of culture, I accept the view of Shura and other Buddhist masters, and present unchanged what is known in the Vedas' source texts.

In the past, during [the eon of] perfection, the unlimited life spans of gods and humans decreased slightly and death occurred. The gods then conferred on ways to attain immortality. The text *Moonlight of the Words' Meanings* states that naturally occurring sounds *Om*, *Ah*, and *Ta* emerged effortlessly from Brahma's cheeks; some Vedic texts state that they flowed naturally from his mouth. In any case, it is said that immediately thereafter, the four Vedas arose from his four mouths. As is stated:

Brahma's central mouth

Spoke *The Life Veda*;

The other mouths

Spoke the Songs, the Hymns, and the Sacrifices.

Therefore, *The Life Veda* first emerged from Brahma's central mouth: thus, knowledge of medicine had naturally come into his mind. The other Vedas appeared successively thereafter. All four are believed to possess three qualities: they are permanent since no one created them; they are self-occurring since no effort contaminated them; and they are valid since they describe everything.

Following [Brahma's proclamation of the Vedas], when [the gods] sought the nectar [of deathlessness] from the ocean, they used Mandara [Mountain] as a churning rod and [the naga] Vasuki as the rope to turn it. Brahma added the world's medicines and vital essences to the ocean and churned it vigorously. First, a heap of darkness was produced; Brahma threatened it with [the syllable] *Hung* so that it merged into the animate and inanimate, becoming what is called poison. Then in succession such riches appeared as [the goddess] Shridévi, the supreme horse, the elephant, the sun, and the moon. When what is called alcohol emerged, those who were too frightened to drink it were known as non-gods [or demi-gods]; those able to drink it, gods. Finally nectar arose, filling eight great vessels.

The demi-gods carried these off, but Vishnu and Indra repossessed them, stealing them back using deception. It is said that because the gods drank the nectar, they became immortal.

The major text *One Hundred Thousand Verses on Healing Treatments* arose; Brahma taught it to his own son Dasha Prajapati. It was taught and transmitted in succession: Dasha Prajapati taught the gods' physicians, Ashvini's twin sons; they taught Indra. He taught Atreya, Dhantantari, Kanyī Chō, Nemindhara, Gopurarakshita, and Sholdro Kyé. The first of these, Atreya, composed the major text *A Summary of Brahma's Teaching*.

**From Agnivesha and other gods, the lineage passed to human beings.**

**Harichandra composed *Charaka*;**

**Other erudite seers composed many medical texts.**

The great seers just mentioned taught Agnivesha, Bhela, Jatukarna, Parashara, Ksharapani, and other gods, who composed a variety of generalized and specific texts. This teaching was eventually passed on from those divine seers to a human lineage. *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine* states:

Brahma taught this Veda of Preserving Life in the higher realms. Eventually, the King of Kashi taught it to humans.

This text thus teaches that medical treatment first appeared [in this world] in the land of Kashi in India, then gradually spread. A great number of texts were written by many healers, including the holder of an ocean of medical Vedas, Seer Zhung-la Kyékyi-bu, Surya, Chandragarbha, Shalihotra, Agastih, Vasistha, and King Maharishi and Shri Mapayanti, who wrote *Diagnosis*. The lord of all Vedas, Seer Harichandra, also known as Very Venerable Charaka, composed the medical treatment treatise entitled *Charaka*. In his family lineage appeared the great physicians Shri Krishna, Lalita, Mukachandra, Ratnakara, and Avatara, who all had the name Shri. Shri Krishna's son was Brahma; his son was Maheshvara, famed as the greatest scholar under the sun. He composed *The Clear Variety of Synonyms*.

Further, erudite seers composed many medical treatment texts; it is

said that among their great number, the eight best known texts include *A Summary of Brahma's Teaching* by Atreya, *Specific Treatments* by Sushruta, and *A Compilation of Essentials* by Very Venerable Shri Vardhana.

### *How the Buddha Later Taught Medicine* [b]

**Our teacher gave instruction on medicine in disparate scriptures, including those on monastic discipline, discourses, and tantras.**

**At that time, such doctors as Atreya and Jivakumara appeared. Some believe the Buddha taught the tantras in the Forest of Medicine.**

In our teacher Lord of Shakyas' first cycle of teachings, in the medicine section of the third volume of *The Scripture on Monastic Discipline*, he taught just a few remedies, including the use of medicine and anal infusions. His teaching consists primarily of instructions on the four types of medicine permissible for fully ordained individuals. Medicines include broths, which can be kept only during appropriate times [for eating] (i.e., before noon); drinks consisting of fruit juice or yoghurt, which can be kept for one period of time (i.e., one whole day); molasses or clarified butter, which can be kept for a week; and herbal medicines, which can be kept for a lifetime. The text also contains a supplementary general account of the physician Jivakumara.

When the Buddha taught *The Sacred Golden Light Discourse*, he said that in the past, during the time of Buddha Jeweled Crown's doctrine, he himself was a merchant's son Chubep. At that time he questioned his father Jatadhari, who was a great doctor, on how to become learned in the elements. Jatadhari recited nine verses, which begin,

Know three months to be summer,  
Three months to be autumn . . .

The Chinese translation of the longer form of this discourse describes this in a little more detail with the words,

There I studied the illness-healing treatments  
Of seers of the past . . .

Thus, this translation has the Buddha's former father, the merchant Jatadhari, repeat the words according to the tradition of seers.

In *The Ocean of Dakas Tantra*, [the Buddha] taught extracting the essence with such words as,

Therefore, to aid all beings,  
I gathered together the essence of everything . . .

[This tantra also teaches] the origin of mercury, along with methods for its preparation, with such words as,

In past times, such as the previously occurring  
First eon of great bliss . . .

[The tantra also] includes rough outlines of such subjects as each of the six kinds of flavors, good and bad sources of various herbs and precious substances, and rough descriptions of the formation, manifestation, and subsiding of illnesses during the four seasons, in such words as,

When it is very cold and very cloudy,  
And particularly in the pre-monsoon month . . .

*The Wheel of Time Tantra* teaches how the body forms with such words as,

Within this body, all mental formations come from eating and drinking foods of the six flavors . . .

The same tantra teaches how to take external and internal medicines with such words as,

The salty and sour fully cure ailments of circulating energy.  
The sweet and bitter are the enemies of bile . . .

The same tantra teaches such subjects as protection from smallpox, etc.; methods of healing; extraction of essences; exercises and other means to enable a pregnant woman to give birth easily; and the change of location of the inner spirit, in such words as,

Truly defeating Kandara, the demon that brings the fear of death . . .

These teachings concur with the Vedas, such as *The Life Veda* and *A Treatise on Desire*. Further, tantras such as *The Red Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra* teach how to cure minor diseases and give information on many disparate subjects, such as extracting essences.

During the Buddha's lifetime, there lived Atreya, the court physician of King Padmagarbha of Taxila. His student was Jivakumara, a supreme physician who exceeded human limits; they and others are not known to have written any books on medicine. It seems that some believe a passage in *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition* that begins, "Four years in the Forest of Medicine . . ." to refer to [the Buddha] teaching the four medical tantras and other [instructions on medicine] while living there.

**Due to erroneous statements concerning *A Cluster of Jewels*,  
A great deal of nonsense has been written on this subject.  
However, the teachings of the later Zurkar Lekshé Tsol are  
unmistaken works.**

Some believe *A Cluster of Jewels*, a text written and taught by the three sons, including Tsenpa Shilaha, to be the Buddha's own words. Primarily due to this erroneous belief, some who are renowned as Tibetan scholars have written a great deal of nonsense on this subject. Nevertheless, Lord Tenpé Nyinjé and his spiritual heirs concur that the detailed verification and refutations in the later Zurkar Lekshé Tsol's writings (such as *The Framework of Medicine*) constitute excellent compositions that present the facts.

### *How Medicine Spread in India, China, and Tibet* [c]

This section has three parts: (1) the history of medicine in India, (2) China, and (3) Tibet.

### *The History of Medicine in India* [i]

Afterwards, Suryapala composed *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine*.

The exalted master [Nagarjuna] composed *The Hundred Prescriptions* and other medical texts.

After the Victor appeared in our world, the physician Suryapala, who came from a family of horse breeders in west India, composed the text *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine*. However, since the eight branches [of medicine] are not effectively complete [in this work], knowledge of it does not make one a doctor, just as knowledge of *The Kalapa Grammar* does not make one a grammarian. *A Treasury of Verse* states:

A grammarian who knows few tantras,  
A physician who knows *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine*,  
And a swordsman who wields a stick—  
The world ridicules these three.

The exalted master Nagarjuna composed *The Hundred Prescriptions* on the basis of the seers' texts. The "other medical texts" [in the root text] refers to *The Discourse on Healing, in Verse; Ava Herb Preparation; The Series of Important Medicines; The Jewel Garland of Mercury Prescriptions; Transmutation into Gold; and Aroma Prescriptions*.

In the histories of Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé's tradition of Four-Armed Protector, it is taught that the exalted master [Nagarjuna] drew forth *Black Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra*, together with *The Knowledge of Healing Tantra* and other texts, from the naturally arisen stupa of Dharmabhadramegha's inner fortress in the land of Ashoka in east India.

Amidst eighteen virtuous signs on the three planes of existence,  
Vagbhata composed *The Eight Branches*,  
A superior treatise that contains the correct essentials.  
Chandranandana wrote a commentary, *Moonbeams*.

Superior to all other medical texts is a treatise in one hundred and twenty chapters entitled *The Eight Branches*. It contains the essence of all the excellent passages of treatises by Brahma and many seers. Eighteen excellent, virtuous miraculous omens on the three planes of existence accompanied its composition: three marvelous portents appeared in the naga realm below, three in the gods' realm above, and twelve in the intermedi-



ate realm of human beings. The author was known by many appellations, such as Son of Doctor Sanghaguhya, Vase of Medicine, and in honor of his father, Vagbhata. Scholars question whether or not he is identical with Master Shura. Whatever the case, he is renowned, as in this verse,

The lord of wealth is Captain All-Protecting,  
 The lord of war is Kanishkani,  
 The goddess of groves is Beautiful Brilliance,  
 The lord of healing is glorious Vagbhata.

He composed both a commentary and a supplementary text to his own work.

His student, Chandranandana, the ultimate physician Pushpam, came from Kashmir in the family line of Shri Kushala. He composed an extensive commentary, *Moonlight of the Words' Meanings*, and *The Definitive Use of Terms: A Compilation of the Names of Medicines*. According to the illustrious physician Drangti, his lineage is as follows:

Shura, Chandranandana, Gajé Dampa,  
 Yul-nying Kun-tso, Ring-zhön Ngépar-nyé,  
 Trim-jom Sogé, Bagen Tsojé Drup,  
 Tu-chen Tokden, Bunja Tséten,  
 Upaya Kusala, supreme Janadhana,  
 The great Translator Rinchen Zangpo, and the successive lineage  
 from him.

Cherjé Zhangtön Zhikpo presents the lineage differently, with Bagen Tsojé Drup meeting Chandranandana, and so on.

### *The History of Medicine in China* [ii]

**In China, following the end of the age of perfection,  
 Emanated kings and officials composed a series of texts.**

New translations of historical accounts by learned Chinese physicians contain detailed descriptions of how in China, following the end of the age of perfection, emanated kings and officials composed a series of medical texts. Here I will sketch a mere outline of this subject.

The first of the five Dhi Dynasty emperors, Fu Hsi, invented the eight trigram symbols. He also devised the first ideograms by making representations of them with knots in string. He taught his people things they did not know: the causes of illness. Later, Emperor Shen Nung originated medical treatments by investigating the flavors of trees and plants. Later, Emperor Huang Ti lauded the official Kyé Pa [Chi Po?], a master of pulse diagnosis, with the title Divine Doctor; he composed *The Discourse on Pulse Diagnosis*. Then, as the emperor had commanded, Wui Kung mastered medicine and composed *The Twelve Chapter Discourse* and extensive writings on blood-letting and moxibustion. Later, the very skilled Divine Doctor Wui Ti composed a twenty-one chapter commentary to that discourse, entitled *The Natural Liberation of Doubts*.

Two famous physicians, Chung Chung and Hua To, lived during the reign of Emperor Hwan [the Han emperors?]. Many other learned physicians appeared, and major and minor medical texts were written throughout Chinese history. In later times, the fourth Ching Dynasty Emperor Kyen Nong composed a major medical treatise which apparently came into the hands of the great omniscient master [Chökyi Jungné].

### *The History of Medicine in Tibet* [iii]

This section has three parts: (1) a history of medicine during Buddhism's early spread in Tibet, (2) a history of medicine during Buddhism's later spread in Tibet, and (3) a history of enlightened activity based on the glorious [collection] *The Four Medical Tantras*.

### *A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Early Spread in Tibet* [1']

**During Songtsen Gampo's reign, a text of the three great traditions was composed.**

**During Mé Atsom's reign, many translations and compositions were done,**

**Including the traditions brought by his Chinese bride, those by a Chinese monk, by Viji, and others.**

**The combined efforts of many skilled physicians resulted in the text *Somaraja*.**

During Songtsen Gampo's reign, Princess Wencheng brought [from China] astrological and medical texts translated by a Chinese monk Mahadéva and by Dharmakosha. Three doctors were invited to Tibet: Bharadvaja from India, Han Wang Hwang from China, and Galenus from Persia. They translated *'Bu shag ma bu che chung*, *Miscellaneous Chinese Treatments*, *A Brief Introduction to Medicine*, and other works. The three doctors worked together to produce *The Weapon of Fearlessness*, known as the text of the three major traditions. From Galenus originated the family lineage of physicians named Dzoro.

During Mé Atsom's reign, texts on medicine and astrology brought by his Chinese bride, Princess Kimsheng, were translated by a Chinese monk Mahakyinda, Kyungpo Tsitsi, Do-tzuk Jatruk Garken, Chola Mönbar, and others. The skilled physician Viji Champa Shilaha was summoned from Persia and was honored as "Divine Doctor." He composed such works as an extensive cycle called *Three Mothers, Fourteen Sons, and Four Exceptional Secret Sons*; a medium-length cycle of *The Purple Collection: A Quintessential Drop*; and a brief cycle, *The Small Red Notebook*. He translated various Chinese texts. It is also known that he wrote many other works, and there originated a family line of physicians named Viji. Many skilled physicians, such as the Chinese monk Mahakyinda and Kyungpo Tsitsi, worked together and extracted the essential meaning of the new medical translations to compose a major text entitled *Somaraja*.

All these earlier and later books were gathered together and placed in a brocade container, and became a collection known as *Discourses on Healing, Texts Concerning the Treatment of the Life Essence*.

**During Trisong Déutsen's period, the text of the three  
emanated sons,  
*The Yellow Manuscript; A Compendium of the King, Officials,  
and Subjects*;  
And a text by skilled doctors from China, Zhang Zhung,  
Mongolia, Tibet, and Azha were established.**

When Buddhist King Trisong Déutsen's rule began, three great physicians known as the three emanated sons met in Tibet: Dharmaraja from India, Mahakyinda from China, and Viji Champa Shilaha from Ferghana or Persia. They worked together to compose a major text, a medical treatise

that conforms with their kingdoms' traditions; its root text was entitled *A Cluster of Jewels*; its commentary, *Wheels of the Sun and Moon*. When Champa Shilaha was about to return to his homeland, he gave his son a cycle of instructions entitled *The Yellow Manuscript of Miji*. Since it was offered to the king, it is also called *Blazing Radiance: The King's Master Copy*.

The Chinese monk Mahatseta translated *A Compendium of the King, Officials, and Subjects*, comprising a root text, *The Five Treasuries of Jewels*, and a branch work, *The Great and Medium Treasures*. The commentary on its general meaning constitutes outer advice to the subjects; inner advice to officials; and secret advice to the king, accompanied by methods to dispel obstacles.

The account of nine royal physicians from Tibet's four frontiers coming to Tibet during the last part of the king's life lacks substance. What occurred is that a beloved horse of the king fell ill, so that the king ordered, "Find and bring me nine physicians who are skilled healers." Thus, five [physicians] were brought to Tibet and cured the horse: Trugu Ze'uto from China, Khulö Muken of Zhang Zhung, Mugen Trizik of Mongolia, Choro Mangpozi of Tibet, and Tana Chukyé of Azha. At the king's command, these five masters composed a text uniting the essential medical instructions of all five kingdoms. This was offered to the king and its tradition was thereby established.

Towards the end of Trisong Déutsen's life, an illness struck him. Once again, physicians were summoned from the kingdom's four frontiers. However, except for Tongsum Gangwa from China, no others came. While on his journey, he composed *White Healing: The Torch of the Path*, which he presented to the king as a gift, and cured him of his illness. As one man had accomplished the task [given to doctors] of the four frontiers, he was given the name Tongsum Gangwa of the Four Frontiers ("Filling the Cosmos' Four Frontiers"). His lineage was passed on through Sacha Jaga of Yertö; members of that line became [known as] doctors of the four frontiers.

**Treasure texts relate that Bérotsana translated [texts] on astrology and medicine, etc.  
Dzoro, Viji, and the four frontier doctors comprise the lineages of royal physicians.**

Learned and wise scholars refute what is asserted by others who quote as reliable some treasure texts' accounts, such as "The great translator Bérotsana translated a mixture of Buddhist and Bön medicine and astrologies," and that many accessible Tibetan texts were Bérotsana's translations from Indian texts. Likewise, accounts that the "nine master physicians of Tibet" lived during the reign of the Buddhist kings are also very mistaken, since these physicians lived mostly at the time of Buddhism's later spread. It is the three mentioned above—Dzoro, Viji, and the four frontier doctors—who belong without mistake to lineages of the Buddhist kings' royal physicians.

*A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Later Spread  
in Tibet [2']*

**During Buddhism's later spread, many earlier and later Indian texts were translated.**

**Rinchen Zangpo's transmission of *The Eight Branches*  
Started lineages from the four Pu-hrong physicians,  
Cherjé Zhangtön Zhikpo, Darma Gönpö, Yutok Yönten  
Gönpö, and others;**

**This represents the initial proliferation of Tibetan doctors,  
those able to help others.**

During the period of Buddhism's later spread in Tibet, during the early life of the ordained King Yeshe Ö, there were many (such as Translator Nyéwor Yikgi Rinchen) who translated and transmitted earlier and later Indian texts, including *The Condensed Essence of the Eight Branches* with its autocommentary, and *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine*. The chief figure, however, was the sublime being Rinchen Zangpo, who offered a hundred measures of gold [one *sang* measure equals two troy ounces] to the Kashmiri Scholar Janardhana and studied *The Condensed Essence of the Eight Branches* with him. Rinchen Zangpo had many students whose translations and teachings transmitted such texts as *Moonlight of the Words' Meanings*, *Horse Treatments*, and *Shalibotra*. Principal among these students were those known as the four Pu-hrong physicians: Nyang-dé Sengé Dra, Shaktri Yeshé Jungné, Ong-men Alé, and Mang-lo Men-tsun. Among them, Mang-lo Men-tsun was the most skilled and had the greatest impact: most physicians of central and western Tibet sought

him out. In particular, he taught the complete texts and commentaries to Cherjé Tipa.

The fourth successor in [Cherjé Tipa's] family lineage was Cherjé Zhangtön Zhikpo, who wrote medical overviews, text outlines, instruction collections, commentaries, practical instructions, etc. Among his students, Darma Gönpö of upper Tsang wrote *The Grasped Quintessence* and *The Innermost Quintessence*. The lineage continued through the Bodong tradition.

Another student of the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo was Zhang Zhung Sherab Ö, who taught Gyatön Drakpa Sherab. He taught Yutok Gyagar Dorjé, who clarified medical writings. The lineage continued through Yutok Jipo and Yutok Kyungpo to Yutok Yönten Gönpö. Another lineage passed from Zhang Zhung Sherab Ö to Dok-jang Men, Yungdrung Ö, and Yutok Drak-sé to Yutok Yönten Gönpö.

In brief, it is due to the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo's kindness that Tibetan physicians, "those able to help others," first proliferated.

**Those known as the nine skilled doctors also followed these [teachings].**

**Medical writings composed by Tibetans are beyond enumeration.**

It was at this time that those known as the nine skilled doctors appeared in central and western Tibet: Yoru Ya Gyongpo, the skilled doctor of lower Tibet; Summen, the divine doctor of Tölung; Tazhi of Uru; Yutok Gyagar Dorjé, the skilled doctor of middle Tibet; Dadrak of Minyak; Drangti Gyalpo; Viji Lhuné, the skilled doctor of upper Tibet; Ukpa Chöseng; and Cherjé Takla Gasum. They all followed the transmission of the great Translator Rinchen Zangpo's teachings. The earlier and later writings composed by these and other skilled Tibetan physicians are beyond enumeration.

**Zhangtön Ziji Barwa and Tötön Könchok Kyab traveled to India,**

**Became masters of *The Eight Branches*, composed texts, and engaged in widespread activity.**

Zhangtön Ziji Barwa of Yarlung and Tötön Könchok Kyab of Tsalung

were unimpressed by Tibetan physicians and left for India. The former met Seer Chandra Sirya at Nalanda, and the latter met omniscient Shantipa. They became skilled physicians through studying *The Eight Branches*; Zhangtön Ziji Barwa composed such texts as *Stainless Brilliance* and a commentary, *The Moon's Radiance*. His five students produced an uninterrupted lineage of skilled physicians. Tötön Könchok Kyab composed *The Jewel Garland of the Summary of Treatments and Notes to the Main Text*. He taught this to Yutok Yönten Gönpö, and his activity thus flourished.

**In later times, authentic texts appeared plentifully among  
the canonical and treasure teachings,  
Including *Secret Treatments, Mercury Prescriptions, and  
Treatments of Epidemics.***

Books classified as medical texts include Padampa Sangyé's *Trilogy of White, Black, and Multicolored Secret Treatments*, Translator Tropu Jampa Pal's *The Pristine Wisdom Dakini's Instructions for Curing Illness*, the Nepalese Master Dévachandra's *A Drop of Nectar from the Whispered Lineage*, and the great accomplished Master Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal's *Trilogy of Mercury Prescription Texts*. Among treasure texts, works on medicine are very numerous; to somewhat summarize them,

Dorbum Chödrak Bönpo Drak-tsal's *A Large Vase of Nectar*  
Latö Marpo's and Gyaben Dorö's *Cycles on the Extraction of the  
Essence of Nectar*  
Kusali Physician Bönpo Lhabum and Ramo Shelmen's *Varieties of  
Protective Medical Substances*  
Nanam Sok-men's *Relying on Turquoise for Poisoning, Withering  
Flesh, and Sores*  
Nuptön Zhangtrom's *Cures for Bird Demons and Rabies*  
Nyang-ral Nyima Özer's *Three Deities' Collection of Activities and  
Healing Treatments*  
Guru Chökyi Wangchuk's *The Seer's Heart Essence Medicine  
Consecration Cycles*  
Rikzin Gökyi Demtruchen's and Péma Lingpa's *A Small Vase of Nectar*  
Sangyé Lingpa's *Eye Medicine*  
Rinchen Lingpa's *Mercury Prescriptions*

Ratna Lingpa's *Treasure Vases, Wild Garuda, and A Vase of Nectar*  
 Dorjé Lingpa's *The Precious Lotus Garland of Blazing Dharma*  
 Tang Tong Gyalpo's *Red Pills and White Pills*  
 Tang-men's *Nectar Which Cures Death*  
 Létro Lingpa's *Life Vase of Nectar*  
 Many mantras and medicines from the heaven treasures

Thus, authentic instructions in both canonical and treasure texts are very plentiful, so they will not all be enumerated here.

*The History of Enlightened Activity Based on the Glorious  
 Four Medical Tantras [3']*

All lineage systems converged in Yutok Yönten Gönpö,  
 Medicine Buddha incarnate.  
 Shrimala directly bestowed upon him her secret treasury.  
 He received the essence of all lands' instructions, [composed]  
 long and short tantras,  
 And turned the common and special wheels of the teachings.

The transmission of every teaching system of *The Eight Branches* converged in Yutok Yönten Gönpö. Outwardly, he was an outstanding scholar who mastered the five fields of Buddhist culture; inwardly, he was an outstanding vajra holder dwelling on awakening's exalted stages; and secretly, he was Transcendent Conqueror Medicine Buddha incarnate in a physician's form to guide the beings of Tibet. Even on a merely apparent level, he traveled with miraculous powers throughout the Land of Jambu; in particular, he journeyed to India six times. Oddiyana's principal dakini, Shrimala, entrusted him with her secret trove of instructions, including *The Eight Branches* and *The Tantra of Black Tresses*. He also directly met [in visions] many gods and great human seers, who granted him their instructions for medical treatments. He extracted the pith instructions in medicine from all lands of Jambu and its islands, including Sri Lanka, and he received the essence of learned, accomplished masters' profound instructions.

During his early life, he composed *A Synthesis of the Eight Branches' Essence* and a commentary to its first chapter. During the latter part of his life, he manifested inconceivable miracles in turning the wheel of the



teachings, composing *The Essence of Nectar: The Four Great Tantras of the Eight Branches' Secret Pith Instructions*, a synthesis of the meaning of all medical texts. He also wrote *A Vase of Nectar: A Short Medical Tantra*, together with some [ancillary] texts. He taught common students medical treatments; and in particular, for Sumtön Yeshé Zung, his disciple with supreme good fortune, he turned the wheel of *The Secret Heart Essence* teachings. He sealed his instruction on *The Four Medical Tantras* and *The Secret Heart Essence* for twelve years, and finally, without leaving his body behind, he departed to Medicine Buddha's pure realm.

On the subject of *The Four Medical Tantras*, different beliefs have arisen, such as belief that they belong to either the canon or the treatises, that they are both, or that they constitute a treatise. Nevertheless, such masters as Lord Tenpé Nyinjé and his spiritual heirs consider that externally *The Four Medical Tantras* are the Victor's canon; internally, they constitute a treasure transmission; and secretly, they are the words of Yutok Yönten Gönpö himself. This belief is correct. The first is proved by scriptures, as in *The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight*, which states,

Whatever doctrine the Victor's pious attendants teach . . . , etc.

*The Highest Continuity* states:

The one who [teaches] solely the Victor's teaching . . . , etc.

It is also [proven by the fact] that nothing else has appeared in this land of snow mountains [Tibet] to equal the textual tradition of the glorious *Four Medical Tantras*, which are self-contained and can benefit every individual, high or low.

The second [statement that *The Four Medical Tantras* constitute a treasure transmission is true] because Drapa Ngönshe discovered just the root text [of *The Four Medical Tantras*] concealed as a treasure by Bérotsana; he entrusted it to Yutok Yönten Gönpö. This does not contradict [the above statement], but shows the connection [between the early tantras and treasure tradition].

The third [statement that *The Four Medical Tantras* are Yutok's own words is proven] by the fact that this is directly stated in *Leading to Certainty*, the history of *The Heart Essence*. Not only that, examination of *The Four Medical Tantras* proves this to be correct.

A nest of physicians overflowed and innumerable lineage  
 holders emerged,  
 Such as the traditions of the Jang father and sons, and the  
 Zurkar uncle and nephew.  
 Most famous in later times were Dési Sangyé Gyatso and  
 Chökyi Jungné.  
 [Such masters] elucidated these teachings and cared for the  
 land of Tibet.

Throughout the early, middle, and later parts of Yutok Yönten Gönpo's life, a nest of physicians overflowed: like the stars of the heavens and particles of earth, lineage holders beyond number and measure appeared. Chiefly, eleven doctors, including Dzamen Lebpo and Jang-men Palé, were the most famous. Among them, Sum-tön Yeshé Zung received the entirety of all [Yutok's] instructions and was the designated heir of *The Four Medical Tantras*, *The Secret Heart Essence*, and ancillary texts. Yutok Bümseng, Viji Lekden Gönpo, Drangti Palden Tsojé, and many others in earlier and later times composed commentaries to *The Four Medical Tantras*.

In particular, in later times, the father Jangpa Rikden Chenpo Namgyal Drak-zang, and his sons Mi'i Nyima, Lhatsun Tashi Palzang, and Sönam Yeshé Gyaltzen composed many commentaries to the medical tantras, medical overviews, and supplementary texts; they thereby established what is known as the Jang tradition.

Zurkar Kuwo Nyam-nyi Dorjé received direct authorization from Yutok Yönten Gönpo and then composed many medical texts, including a revised edition of *The Four Medical Tantras*, a supplementary practice of the spiritual master, and *Ten Million Relics*. Among his many disciples, such as the eight blessed ones, a transmission arose with four perfect characteristics in the field of medicine: pith instructions, activity, practical instructions, and teaching. It produced many skilled doctors who wrote extensively, including Kongmé Kyenpa Lata Tséwang, Tsomé Kenchen, and Jarpo Penchen. In particular, the uncle [presumably Zurkar Kuwo Nyam-nyi Dorjé] lord of the teachings' nephew, Zurkar Lodrö Gyalpo (also known as Karma Lekshé Tsol), followed Lord Mikyö Dorjé's prophetic advice and taught and spread medicine's textual tradition with great enthusiasm. He wrote many books, such as *The Testament of Our Ancestors*. This transmission is known as the Zurkar tradition.

Among the holders of the Jang and Zurkar historical systems that con-

tinued without interruption, the most famous in later times was Dési Sangyé Gyatso, who followed primarily the Jang system. He wrote *Blue Beryl: The Medical Tantra Commentary*; a supplementary text, *The Sword That Severs the Noose of Premature Death*; and other texts, which are still widely used. He also founded a medical school.

Further, all-seeing Chökyi Jungné became an exceptionally skilled physician, his mastery of medicine overflowing as though his training in previous lifetimes had reawakened. From Pön-tsang Yeshé of the later Zurkar's lineage of training, the doctor Étrosé of Malava in west India, and skilled doctors from China, he received teaching transmissions and came to definitive conclusions based on his questions concerning difficult points. He attained the state of a second Medicine Buddha. He had many skilled students, and their transmission of teaching and practical instructions continues unimpaired to the present day, so that the holders of this lineage are widely renowned to be superior to all other physicians.

In brief, by elucidating medical knowledge, master physicians such as these cared for the entire land of Tibet.

### *The Minor Fields of Culture* [B]

This section has four parts: (1) astrological calculation, (2) poetics, (3) metrical composition, and (4) lexicography, and an ancillary statement on theater.

### *Astrological Calculation* [I]

This section has three parts: (1) stellar calculation (Indian astrology), (2) victory in battle, and (3) element calculation (Chinese astrology).

### *Stellar Calculation (Indian Astrology)* [a]

**Seers created many systems of stellar calculation.**

Nga-bong, Garga, and other seers created a system of astrology based on the planets' and constellations' movements. It describes frameworks of time and predicts positive and negative results. Among non-Buddhists, there were many proponents of their treatises. Nevertheless, during the time when the ninth lineage-bearing monarch [of Shambhala], Gyatso Namgyal Sengé, assumed the throne, in the region of Mecca to the west

of India, the Muslims' seventh teacher Mohammed the Dark One concealed esoteric astrology and taught [a simplified] practical astrology that resulted in the planets, stars, etc., no longer being understood. The lineage-bearer Gyalka then established the basis of astrology by making the explicit teaching of the summarized *Wheel of Time Tantra* into an applicable practical astrology.

Later, in the Fire Hare year [1027], when *The Wheel of Time* became known throughout India, and both non-Buddhist [simplified] practical astrology and esoteric astrology had declined as that tantra foretold, its pure astrological system began. [The years] from the emergence of the Muslims [624] until this point [1027] are collectively known as the “fire space ocean years.”<sup>8</sup> That specific Fire Hare year [1027] should be known as the starting point of the first sixty-year cycle.

**The Buddha taught astrological calculation in discourses  
and tantras**

**And in *The Wheel of Time Tantra's* worldly realms chapter,  
upon which Butön Rinchen Drup and Dolpopa Sherab  
Gyaltzen wrote.**

**In particular, the Victor Rangjung Dorjé composed  
*A Compilation of All Astrology.***

Our teacher's teachings in the discourses include what is known as “particle calculation” in *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, and various instructions in *The Vast Enjoyment Discourse* concerning the knowledge of numbers and astrological calculation, beginning with his demonstration [as a young man] of training in calculation. Further, in most tantras (primarily *An Ocean of Dakas Supreme Bliss Tantra*) and in particular *The Glorious Wheel of Time Tantra's* worldly realms chapter, his clear presentation provides a basis for learned masters to devise various methods for practical astrological applications.

In Tibet, omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup and all-knowing Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen elucidated in detail the three aspects of the Wheel of Time: outer, inner, and alternative. Butön wrote the astrological treatise *The Joy of the Learned* and its branch texts; Dolpopa, *The Mother and Child Application of the Summary of the Five*. In particular, the second

8. The “fire space ocean years”: fire represents 3, space 0, and ocean 4; reversed, this produces 403, the numbers of the years from 624–1026, inclusive.

Victor, Venerable Rangjung Dorjé, extracted the meaning of the words of *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time's* chapter on the worldly realms, making it easy to understand and accessible in lines of seven syllables. He also added some requisite astrologies not refuted by the tantras and composed a text entitled *A Compilation of All Astrology*. These were the first Tibetan astrological texts.

**Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso, the Lord of Jang, and others  
elucidated their own systems.**

**In later times, the two astrological traditions of Pukpa and  
Tsurpu developed.**

Later [in 1447], Kéwang Norzang Gyatso and Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso composed the mother and child *Precepts of Pundarika*, spread by Samgyalwa and others, creating what is known as the Pukpa tradition. The great lineage bearer of Jang correctly elucidated another system using his own analysis of *The Wheel of Time Tantra*. Jamyang Chenpo Döndrup Özer from Tsurpu [Monastery], a follower of the Victor Rangjung Dorjé's astrological system, composed a major astrological text. Trinlépa Choklé Namgyal and the illustrious Tsuklak Trengwa both composed major commentaries to *A Compilation of All Astrology*. This formed what is known as the Tsurpu tradition.

From these [initial] transmissions, masters such as Dési Sangyé Gyatso (who composed *White Beryl*) and Minling Lochen Dharmashri (who composed *The Sun's Illumination*) further developed in later times the Pukpa tradition of applied astrology. The greatly learned Lord Öng Ngélek Tenzin (who composed *The Excellent Vase of Requisites*) and other authors further developed the Tsurpu tradition of applied astrology. In this way two distinct traditions of astrology have developed [in Tibet].

### *Victory in Battle* [b]

**In response to Uma's questions, Ishvara taught *The Tantra of  
Victory in War*.**

**This was translated by Lowo Sherab Rinchen and commented  
upon by Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso and others.**

For those attracted to Hinduism, Transcendent Conqueror Lord of the World manifested in the form of the great god Ishvara. In previous times, during a war between the gods and demi-gods, he taught in answer to Indra's questioning; later he spoke in a dialogue with his consort Uma. These teachings became *The Glorious Tantra of Complete Victory in War*.

Karma Siddha Utpala first transmitted this tantra in the human world. Dzumläng Scholar Jayananda and Translator Lowo Sherab Rinchen translated it into Tibetan. Texts such as *Elucidating Hidden Pith Instructions* and *An Ocean of Jewels* also appeared. The first Tibetan commentary to this tantra was *Supreme Delight* by Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso. In that master's family lineage through nephews, glorious Lord Trinlépa's disciple Durampa Chimé Déwa wrote *The Jewel Garland of Practice*, also known as *The Hundred Light Rays*. Pékar Yi-zhin Wangpo wrote *The Wonderful Adorning Flame*. Bodong Yönten Lodrö wrote a root text, *The Concise Essence*, and its commentary. Many such writings appeared, yet due to the fact that the vital pith instructions were kept very secret from the beginning, [this teaching] strayed into fabricated theory. These days, it exists in Tibet in name only, whereas it seems prevalent, together with its pith instructions, among Hindus in India and Nepal.

### *Element Calculation (Chinese Astrology)* [c]

**Emperor Hung Dhi created element calculation when he examined a turtle.**

**Many subsequent texts were based on this.**

**Khampa Tramo, Krishnachandra, Kyung-nak Shakya Dargyé, and others founded systems,**

**But the early translations were very adulterated.**

**Later, the omniscient Lord made many new reliable translations of Chinese astrology.**

Element calculation, or what is known as "Chinese astrology," originated in China. The first Chinese emperor, Fu Hsi of the Dhi Dynasty, was given a gold-colored turtle by one of his subjects from the far ocean's shore. Gazing upon and examining it, the eight trigram symbols dawned in his mind for the first time. Based on them, he created the astrology of hexagrams, [the nine] astrological numbers, and the year cycles. Successive emanated learned emperors and officials composed texts; in

particular, Kong Pu Tsi (an emanation of Gentle Melody, known in Tibet as the Emanated Emperor Kong-tsé) established a system with countless texts of astrology and practices to avert misfortune. Very many texts appeared later.

Here in Tibet, this system was first introduced with Chinese astrology texts brought by the earlier and later Chinese princesses [who married Tibetan kings]. During Buddhism's later spread, Translator Khampa Tramo, Scholar Krishnachandra, Kyung-nak Shakya Dargyé, and others translated and taught many texts, such as *The Illuminating Torch*. Kyung-nak Shakya Dargyé and others discovered many element calculation treasure texts and founded a great and famous system. Nevertheless, the early translations, including the later Chinese bride's translation of cycles of astrological application and other works, were extremely adulterated. Due to the feeble merit of Tibetans and the deviousness of the Chinese (who concealed the most essential cycles of astrological application), astrology was taken to be what it was not, pride was taken in personal fabrications as though they were gold, and the teaching became meaningless chatter with many leaves but no essential fruit. Consequently, no texts existed that corresponded with the Chinese originals.

Later, the omniscient lord of the teachings Dharmakara [Chökyi Jungné] made new, definitely reliable translations of Chinese astrology based on the primary cause of his recollection of previous lifetimes, and the favorable conditions of the monasteries of Nan Chao, with their traditions of learned masters such as Yuan Wan Ling. In these new translations, many subjects appear in the textual cycle entitled *The Magical Mirror of Existence*, such as geomancy; life span calculations; calculations of times for funerals, for marriages, and for avoiding misfortune; and calculations of helpful results.

### *Poetics* [2]

**The most famous work of poetry is Hindu, the *Bharata*.  
Kalidasa composed works such as *The Eight Messengers*.  
There were many Indian commentaries to *The Mirror*,  
composed by Dandi.**

Proponents of Hindu tenets wrote the most famous poetic treatises of literary embellishment. It is said that in the past, when the life span of beings

was twenty thousand years, Seer Vyasa composed the famous treatise *The Bharata*, a text with over a hundred thousand verses; Ganesh served as his scribe. Seers wrote many treatises it is said, such as *The Qualities of Meditation and Poetics* by Agnivesha's daughter, *Ramanaya* by Valmiki, *Ashtadashapura* by Markendeya, and *Raghuvamsha* by Ramashrama, yet these were not translated into Tibetan. Many well-known texts appeared in later times, as illustrated by the treatises of Kalidasa, including *The Eight Messengers* (*Cloud Messenger*, etc.), and his *Kumarasambhava*.

One text gathered the best aspects of all the earlier texts—the treatise of literary embellishment, *The Mirror of Poetics*, written by the outwardly Hindu master Dandi (“who carried a cane”), who was learned in both Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. Many Hindu and Buddhist commentaries were made to this text in India. In later times, Indian copies of the major commentaries by Ratnashri and Vakishvarakirti came into the possession of Lord Dharmakara.

In earlier and later times there have been many Tibetan commentaries [to *The Mirror of Poetics*], such as those by Translator Pang Loten, Jamyang Kaché, grammarian Sanghashri, Rinpung-pa, and the Tibetan scholar Mipam Namgyal. Superior to them all is *Eloquent Playful Sea of Speech*, the speech of the great all-knowing master, the precious Khampa, Tenzin Chökyi Nyima.

### *Metrical Composition* [3]

**Valmiki taught metrical composition.**

**Jinadeva established Marscherchen's tradition.**

**Ratnakarashanti composed a work with six wonderful applications [of meter].**

The study of metrical composition teaches how to write well in metrical verse. Seer Valmiki first taught it, it is said. A naga wrote a *prastara*<sup>9</sup> in the sand of a beach when a garuda came to eat him. The naga said, “Do not eat me until you have memorized this.” The garuda did so, and understood its meaning. He realized that the naga had become his teacher, asked for forgiveness, and took the naga wherever he wished. The naga is

9. *Prastara* (“spread out”): a representation of all the possible combinations of a certain number of short and long syllables in meter.



known as Naga King Shesa or Orange Seer. To [Valmiki's] text, Jinadeva wrote a commentary and spread its teaching, but his writing was devoid of eight qualities:

Verse [should have] these eight qualities:

It is concise and in clear meter,

It should be a discourse and contain metaphors,

It should have a distinct progression, be easy to recite, have pauses, and be organized.

The text which makes this distinction and has six wonderful applications [of metric composition] is the root text *The Source of Jewels Metrical Composition* and its commentary, composed by the all-knowing master of the age conflict, Ratnakarashanti. Master Shri Jnana wrote *Metaphors*. Among Tibetan works, there exist many commentaries and texts on metaphor, such as those by the eighth Lord [Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé] and the great translator of Minling Monastery, Dharmashri. In later times, a commentary written by Jamgön Lama Gyurmé Tenzin Pelgyé is clear and excellent. Further, Muni Krishnamishra composed a root text, *Metrical Composition That Satisfies on Being Heard*, and its commentary, a previously unknown [Indian] textual tradition newly translated by all-knowing Tenpé Nyinjé.

#### *Lexicography (with an Ancillary Statement on Theater) [4]*

The many works on lexicography include *Medinikara* and *Elucidating a Variety of Points*,

*Haravali*, and *The Composition of Rudra Kapyari*.

Most excellent, however, is Amarsingha's *Treasury of Immortality*.

Its Indian commentaries include *The Nectar of Explanation*, *Moon of Words*,

And *Fulfillment of Desire*. The latter has been newly translated.

Treatises on theater were not translated into Tibetan.

Many treatises on lexicography existed in India, such as *Medinikara*, Pandit Shri Dharasena's *Elucidating a Variety of Points*, *Haravali*, and *The Composition of Rudra Kapyari*. The best, however, is *The Treasury*

of *Immortality*, composed by great Master Amarasingha, whom Tara taught. In India, two commentaries to his work were composed following Panini's grammatical system: *The Nectar of Explanation* and *The Moon of Words*. Indian copies of these came into the hands of the all-knowing lord [Dharmakara]. Subhutchandra's commentary *Fulfillment of Desire* applied Chandragomi's grammatical system. Some other commentaries exist, but it is this latter work, *Fulfillment of Desire*, that Translator Yar, Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo, and others translated inexactly. Therefore, the all-knowing lord revised the root text's translation and made an entirely new translation of the commentary. His translation is entitled *The Key That Opens a Hundred Doors: A Commentary to the Treasury of the Gathering of Words and Meanings*.

The above has been a complete listing of the texts of the first four of the minor fields of Buddhist culture.

Since theater was not useful in Tibet, its treatises were not translated. However, earlier Tibetans included within this field Master Chandragomi's *The Play That Delights the Whole World* and Shri Harshadéva's *The Play That Delights All Nagas*.

### *Epilogue* [C]

This section has two parts: (1) a note on the minor fields of culture and (2) a note on culture in general.

### *A Note on the Minor Fields of Culture* [1]

**The latter fields of culture did not exist in Tibet before Sakya Pandit,  
Who composed three treatises that encapsulated their meaning.  
Texts on these subjects appeared due to the kindness of Shong Dorjé Gyaltzen, Pang Loten, and Drogön Chögyal Pakpa;  
Tenpé Nyinjé elucidated them all.**

The minor fields of knowledge of poetry, [metrical composition, and lexicography] did not exist in Tibet before Sakya Pandit. Thinking that their subjects were too difficult for Tibetans to understand, he wrote three treatises that encapsulated the content found in the Indian texts: *The Gateway to Scholarship*, concerned with poetics; *A Bouquet of Flowers*, on metrical composition; and *A Treasury of Words*, on lexicography.

Indian texts on poetry, etc., were first translated by Translator Shong Dotjé Gyaltzen and Translator Pang Loten. These [translations] were the result of the kindness of Drogön Chögyal Pakpa, who ordered the work from Pandit Lakshmikara and Translator Shong, and provided them with conducive circumstances.

In later times, the teaching transmissions declined and intelligence and diligence weakened, thus very few persons understood these subjects accurately. It was all-knowing Tenpé Nyinjé alone who, directly and through his disciples, elucidated all ten fields of Buddhist culture, and grammar and medicine in particular.

### *A Note on Culture in General* [2]

**As the Victor did not emphasize worldly treatises,  
He did not teach the basic texts of culture.  
Since they are branch fields, the learned have elaborated them.**

These fields of culture do not actually belong within the teachings' three cycles. The principal activity through which the Buddhas establish their disciples in freedom and omniscience is the sequential teaching of the three ways and the four tantras. They turn the amazing, exceptional wheel of teachings that do not share [the values of] worldly individuals, and they do not emphasize worldly treatises in their doctrine. Therefore, the victors taught none of the basic texts of these fields of culture. Nevertheless, there is not the slightest thing the buddhas do not see or know; therefore, when the time has come to train a being through one of these fields of culture, they do so by giving a teaching (describing the subject's causes, examples, nature, and semantics), the meaning of which no one else would be capable of knowing. This is a special quality of a Buddha.

Since most of the Buddha's excellent speech exists in Sanskrit, one should have a good knowledge of Sanskrit grammar to understand it without error. Likewise, understanding these branches of culture is indispensable. Therefore, the learned have greatly elaborated upon them.

### *An Account of How Buddhism Appeared in Other Major Countries* [II]

This section has five parts, accounts of how Buddhism appeared in (1) Shambhala, (2) China, (3) Khotan, (4) Dravida, and (5) other islands.

*Buddhism in Shambhala* [A]

**In Shambhala, the lineage-bearing Buddhist kings  
Continuously turn the unsurpassable doctrine's wheel.  
Its ninety-six provinces practice the great way's secret  
mantra.**

In the fifth of the major countries, Shambhala to the north, Lord of Secrets King Suchandra collected all tantras in general, and in particular he composed a sixty-thousand-verse major commentary to *The Root Tantra of the Wheel of Time*. He gave empowerments and taught the tantra to the fortunate inhabitants of ninety-six million towns and villages. In Malaya Park, to the south of the city of Kalapa, he constructed a great sacred circle comprising all aspects of the Wheel of Time's wisdom body, speech, and mind. At the enthronement of his son Devendrasingha, Suchandra empowered him to present the teachings. Bodhisattva Vajra Essence composed a commentary to the Vajra of Delight [tantra] and taught it to the princes. Devendrasingha taught *The Root Tantra of the Wheel of Time* for a hundred years and empowered [his son] Prabhava.

This succession continued in the same way until the seventh Buddhist king. Then came one renowned as an emanation of Manjushri, [named Manjushrikirti]. He made the four families into one definitive supreme secret vajra family. He granted empowerment to all of Shambhala's inhabitants (including three and a half million brahmin seers, such as the seer Suryarata) in a single sacred circle, and he taught them the tantra. From that time, the kings were known as lineage bearers. Upon Suryarata's request, Manjushrikirti compiled *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* from *The Root Tantra of the Wheel of Time*.

Subsequently, the lineage-bearing monarch Pundarika composed such texts as *The Stainless Light Commentary to the Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time*, an extensive commentary to *The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time*; and *Familiarization with the Ultimate*. Then, successive lineage bearers, each reigning on the vajra throne for a definite period of one hundred years, continuously turn the wheel of the doctrine of the unsurpassable way, beginning with the definitive secrets of glorious Wheel of Time. The gold-turbaned rulers of [Shambhala's] ninety-six provinces and their inhabitants thus possess the good fortune of practicing the great way's secret mantra teachings.

**In the future, the lineage-bearing kings  
Will bring the age of perfection to the twelve parts of the lands  
of action in succession.**

In the future, Muslims will increase and take control of most of this lesser Land of Jambu. At that time, lineage bearer Rudrachakrin will subdue them with his emanated army. This lineage-bearing Buddhist king will then introduce the teachings of the great secret vajra way to the twelve parts of the lands of action. Rudrachakrin's son Devendrabrahma and his descendants will rule Buddhist kingdoms, bringing the age of perfection to these lands one after the next, in a clockwise order.

*Buddhism in China* [B]

**The doctrine was introduced in China one hundred and ten  
years after the teacher's transcendence,  
During the reign of Han emperor Ming-ti.  
Many arhats and translators visited.  
Primarily, the discourses and monastic discipline are practiced;  
the Sakya, Karma, and Géden traditions are venerated.**

One hundred and ten years after our teacher's transcendence of sorrow, Emperor Ming-ti of the Han dynasty reigned in greater China. In the past, the [fourth] Chou [emperor] Chao Wang had a dream omen inscribed on a stone column. As predicted, pandits Tara and Jvala from India, who had perceived the truth, brought upon a white horse fifty-two texts from the lesser way collection and a painting of Shakyamuni made by Udayana. They introduced the doctrine, building the first temple, named Saiwai Si. The two pandits attained the state of arhat, and subdued the elements. Many persons renounced home life in faith, and the monastic community spread widely.

In later times, Scholar Kumara was invited to China, and he further spread the doctrine. During the Tang Dynasty, Tang Hsuan Tsang became a disciple of Master Vasubandhu and translated countless teachings of the lesser and great ways. It is said that before him, there had been two hundred Chinese translators with the ability to translate the teachings. Since they had translated numerous scriptures, the doctrine became widely propagated and many arhats appeared.

Between the ascension of the Minyak [Hsi Hsia] and Mongolian [Yuan] dynasties, there were many generations of [Han] Chinese emperors. During that time, and up to the present, the doctrine continues to exist in China. The Hsi Hsia Emperor Tai Hu sent an invitation to the Lord of the Teachings, [the first Karmapa] Dusum Kyenpa, who did not travel himself [to China], but sent Tsang Powa, from whom the ruler received religious instruction.

In Mongolia, during the reign of Emperor Ghenghis Khan, Tsangwa Dungkur-wa (a disciple of Zhang Tsalpa Tsöndru Drakpa) traveled to Mongolia and merely encouraged the development of faith [in Buddhism] among the shamans. Later, Minyak was taken over by the Mongols. Subsequently, Emperor Godan extended an invitation to Sakya Pandit. Following that, the precious lord of the teachings Chögyal Pakpa elucidated the doctrine by giving empowerments, and so on, to Prince Kublai Khan. Also, Mogor Khan extended an invitation to Karma Pakshi. In this and other ways, Tibet's doctrines came to receive all manner of patronage.

During the later Chinese empire, Emperor Tai Ju [Hung Wu?] of the Ming dynasty invited Virupa and the sixteen elders to his court, and Tai Ming Yunglo invited lord of the teachings [the fifth Karmapa] Dézhin Shekpa. Thus, there appeared only emperors who, through their veneration, became patrons of Buddhism. During this present Ching dynasty [Kongtrul wrote this in 1862–1864], Emperor Shin Tsi invited all-knowing Ngawang Lozang Gyatso [the fifth Dalai Lama, to the Chinese court]. Thus, Buddhism continues to be venerated and patronized in the present day.

Nevertheless, although Chögyal Pakpa granted Emperor Kublai Khan empowerment within the sacred circle of Vajra of Delight, and Dézhin Shekpa granted the Tai Ming emperor [Yunglo] the empowerment and instructions of Great Compassion Ocean of Victors, and it was possible that one or two fortunate individuals practiced secret mantra, it seems that the secret mantra doctrine did not spread to everyone as it has in Tibet. Accordingly, the Chinese collection of the Buddha's excellent speech does not contain the main tantras of the secret mantra way, apart from a few minor long mantras from action tantras. As such, among the discourses, primarily those of the great way spread, and among those, principally the discourses of the last cycle of teachings. Concerning the collection on monastic discipline, it is known that for the most part, the

majority order begun by noble Kashyapa is practiced. Various Tibetan traditions have spread in China: most significantly, the Sakyapas were venerated during the Mongolian [Yuan] dynasty; the Karma Kagyu, during the reign of the Mongols, Lamin, and Tai Ming; and, since the time of the Ta Chin Dynasty, only the Gélukpa.

### *Buddhism in Khotan* [C]

**Many arhats and bodhisattvas converted Khotan.  
Both the lesser and great way doctrines spread there.**

Khotan [Li, in Tibetan], one of the six lands [of Jambu], borders Tibet and China. There, the queen of Ashoka, the Buddhist king of India, had a son named Vasanu, who took control of the land. A long time thereafter, during King Vijaya Sambhava's reign, the monk Vairochana and others spread the doctrine, and many stupas and temples were built. Later, during King Vijaya Virya's reign, four arhats came from India who identified the stupa of Buddha Kashyapa and built the Ghéu-dohan temple.

Thus, many pious attendant arhats and bodhisattvas traveled [to this country], converted disciples, and so spread both the lesser and great way doctrines. This country filled with temples and monastic communities, yet it is said that now the genuine teachings are not present there, merely the empty image of their reflection. This country is also considered by some to be the land called Jang.

### *Buddhism in Dravida* [D]

**Master Padmakara converted Dravida.  
Many vajra holders visited and the genuine secret mantra  
doctrine flourished.**

The island known as Dravida is situated in the ocean directly south of India. The great master Padmakara went there and subdued malevolent *tramenma* [human-form demons] and bound them under oath three times. Finally, he also converted the humans and built three temples named Vidha, Ardha, and Sudhu. A few masters of the collections of the Buddha's teachings were invited from India. The master himself taught the tantras to six fortunate disciples, who attained states of sublime

accomplishment. It is said the master remained there for twelve years, finally leaving for the island of ogres.

Afterwards, Dipamkarabhadra also went to Dravida. From that time, for one hundred years, many vajra holders from Magadha, Oddiyana, Kashmir, etc., visited and caused the secret mantra way to markedly flourish. Many tantras previously concealed at the time of King Dharmapala and no longer extant in India, or which had been brought from Oddiyana and do not exist in India, can still be found there.

It is taught that even now the teaching of the four classes of secret mantra tantras are widespread there in a genuine form as in earlier times, and there are also a few scriptural traditions of monastic discipline, observed phenomena, and the perfection of sublime insight.

### *Buddhism in Other Islands* [E]

**On the islands of Sri Lanka, Dhanashri, Payigu,  
Tamra, Java, and others, the great way [spread] a little;  
The lesser way spread widely and continues to exist without  
decline until the present.**

The Victor's doctrine also appeared in early times on the islands of Sri Lanka, Dhanashri, Payigu, Tamra, and Java; "others" includes Sumatra. In Sri Lanka, various kinds of teachings of the great way [reached the country, but it maintains] primarily the pious attendants' teachings. The great way exists a little in Dhanashri and Payigu. In all the other lands I've mentioned, only the pious attendants' lesser way spread widely and continues to exist without decline to the present.





## APPENDIX 1: THE ROOT TEXT OF BOOKS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR

---

*Each book in The Treasury of Knowledge series includes the root verses that Jamgön Kongtrul wrote in verse to guide his composition of the prose version of his masterwork. They appeared in the main text above in bold type.*

### **BOOK TWO: THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD**

#### CHAPTER I: *Our Teacher's Path to Awakening*

Among infinite numbers of victors, guides of this world,  
In the midst of this Fortunate Age's thousand buddhas,  
One was praised as like a white lotus: the incomparable King of  
the Shakyas.

Initially, he developed the aspiration to awaken; subsequently,  
he performed bodhisattvas' conduct.

Finally, [he demonstrated] manifest enlightenment and aided  
beings.

According to the lesser way,

King Luminous first developed the supreme aspiration to awaken  
for three reasons.

Later, [our teacher] developed the mind of awakening upon seeing  
the great buddhas Shakyamuni and God of the Pure.

[This marked] the beginning of the first incalculable age of his  
spiritual path.

The great way's tradition includes many accounts,

Such as that of Brahmin Ocean Particles:

His son, the Victor Jewel Heart

Caused three trillion living beings to grasp the mind of awakening.

Finally, [the brahmin] made five hundred prayers of aspiration to care for the age of conflict, and he received a prophecy [of his enlightenment].

Other accounts include that [the future Buddha] engendered the mind of awakening

As a strong man in Fire Chariot Hell or in the presence of Buddha  
Sight of the Meaningful.

The materialist school asserts that he reached perfection over three incalculable [ages].

Concerning these ages, the collection on discipline and *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* present two different delineations.

The elders' order asserts that for seven incalculable ages, the future Buddha fostered the mind of aspiration,

Then engaged in [a bodhisattva's] conduct for nine incalculable ages.

For four ages he was diligent in physical, verbal, and mental conduct.

For one hundred thousand ages, he completed minor acts, then attained enlightenment.

The majority order asserts that it is necessary

To gather accumulations for a period of ten to thirty incalculable [ages].

The great way presents many systems of calculation of time—

Three, thirty-three, or many [ages of traveling the spiritual path];

And intents—[the ages are said to begin with] the development of the aspiration to attain awakening,

The great [stage of the] path of accumulation, or awakening's first stage, etc.

These teachings' purposes are to show difficulty, to avert indolence, And to show time as inconceivable.

The most prevalent [view is that the period] from the path of accumulation to awakening's first stage required one incalculable age.

During the second incalculable age, he traversed six stages;

During the third incalculable age, he traversed from Unwavering to the eleventh.

Collectively, these represent the stages of ordinary individuals and [exalted beings'] path of training; he thereby completed the twofold accumulation.

Some explain that an individual of lesser acumen imbued with faith treads the path for sixteen [incalculable ages];

One of average [acumen endowed with] diligence, for eight incalculable ages plus a hundred thousand [ages];

One of a high degree of acumen having sublime insight, for four incalculable ages.

Our teacher himself belongs to this last group;

Moreover, due to his intense diligence, he was swifter.

[The Bodhisattva] traversed the path by maturing beings, purifying realms, and [completing] the six transcendent perfections.

Alternatively, he engaged in four forms of conduct—to foster interest in those devoted to the supreme way,

To the lesser way, or to both; and the conduct of guiding [beings].

He reached the end of the path through the eighty inexhaustible qualities and other attributes.

The three points at which bodhisattvas no longer regress—

[From] the first instance of the supreme mind of awakening, at awakening's first stage, or at the eighth stage—

Indicate distinctions of capability; the sublime Sage belongs to the first.

## CHAPTER 2: *The Buddha's Enlightenment*

On the subject of how the Joyful Buddha attained enlightenment, three traditions exist:

Pious attendants believe that at the end of three incalculable ages, [The Buddha] completed the karmic causes of the marks and signs of physical perfection during one hundred ages,

Was born in Joyful, and demonstrated the twelve deeds.

Until he sat at Vajra Seat, his physical support was at the highest [stage of the] path of accumulation

With the limitations of an ordinary being.

At that very time and place, he reached the end of the four paths;

With knowledge of extinguishing and non-arising, he attained enlightenment.

Some great way [perspectives] are in general agreement [with the pious attendant tradition].

Alternatively, it is said that countless ages ago,  
He became a victor, such as Crown of the Powerful One.  
[The great way's traditions] concur that during the first  
[incalculable age], he traversed the paths of accumulation and preparation;

During the second, [awakening's] first seven [stages]; during the third, the three pure stages.

In his final lifetime, he received the empowerment of great radiance in Unsurpassed Realm; a vajra-like meditative state arose within him.

He attained enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture; his emanations performed beneficial deeds.

The vajra way's action tantras  
State that he studied tantra with Buddha Showing Flowers to All.  
He engaged in its conduct, then emanated from Joyful Heaven, and so on.

This accords with the general great way; conduct tantras concur with the specific details.

According to *A Synthesis of the Absolute*, when Siddharta sat at Heart of Awakening,  
The buddhas inspired him, and he rose from his meditative state.  
He received empowerment and achieved manifest awakening.  
Shakyamitra teaches that when the Bodhisattva practiced hardships,  
His wisdom body went to Unsurpassed;  
The victors gave him empowerment and he attained manifest enlightenment.

Anandagarbha believes that incalculable ages ago, in [the Bodhisattva's] final existence,  
The victors gave him empowerment and he attained enlightenment.

Then he once again demonstrated taking birth in the Shakya clan.  
According to the highest yoga tantras' definitive meaning,  
A bodhisattva in his final lifetime in Great Unsurpassed Realm

Practiced the exceptional profound path's immediate cause and  
 became Buddha Vajra Bearer.  
 Even when his emanation [demonstrated] enlightenment, he  
 traveled the path by means of the immediate cause.  
 Buddhaguhya defined the Unsurpassed Realm in six ways:  
 Ultimate, symbolic, of awareness, secret, conceptual, and worldly.  
 Longchen Rabjam considers that the three bodies of  
 enlightenment's realms  
 Are true ultimate [Unsurpassed Realm], self-manifest Richly  
 Adorned [Unsurpassed Realm],  
 And the manifest body's natural abode and the pure domains'  
 Unsurpassed Realm.  
 In addition, many explanations exist, based on distinctions of  
 Unsurpassed Realm being actual or nominal, etc.

CHAPTER 3: *The Buddha's Twelve Deeds*

[Various accounts relate] one hundred or other numbers of deeds  
 enacted by the sublime manifest body.  
 There are countless perspectives, including that of the  
 extraordinary [way] and conclusions [based on inference].  
 However, an account of twelve deeds is prevalent.  
 Sacred White Crown taught the hundred approaches to the  
 teachings in Joyful Heaven.  
 Seeing the five visions, he departed.  
 In a central country, when the life span [of humans] in the Land of  
 Jambu was one hundred years,  
 He entered Mahamayadévi's womb. His father was of the royal  
 caste.  
 Accompanied by ten million marvelous signs,  
 Siddharta was born in Lumbini Grove.  
 He excelled in many aspects of culture and athletics:  
 Composition, mathematics, art, archery, tests of strength, analysis,  
 and rhetoric.  
 His enjoyment with Gopa, Yasodhara, and other women endowed  
 with all qualities  
 Brought his circle of sixty thousand queens to spiritual maturity.  
 Seeing such things as aging, sickness, death, and a pure mendicant,

He felt renunciation, renounced home life, and accepted saffron [robes].

He actualized the meditative absorption of the pinnacle of existence.

On a river bank, he sat in the same cross-legged posture for six years and engaged in austerities.

When he drank milk soup, the marks and signs of physical perfection appeared and he blazed with light.

Carrying a seat of grass, he proceeded to Heart of Awakening.

With the power of loving-kindness, he subdued the utterly enraged one

And hordes of deceptive demons, along with the gods' afflictive emotions.

He successively saw [levels of] concentration, the four truths, and the links of interdependent causation.

With a vajra-like meditative state, he gained manifest, complete awakening.

At the request of Brahma and others, he taught in known and unknown places

Expedient and definitive meanings in three successive turnings of the wheel of Dharma.

He demonstrated unlimited transcendence of sorrow.

His relics spread throughout the world.

According to the pious attendant system, the miracles occurred on the same day;

According to the great way system, in fifteen days.

This illustrates dissimilarities in explanations of cycles of teaching, length of life, etc.

There is also a major difference in scope.

However, the pious attendant system presents the account as witnessed in common by disciples, and it has become prevalent.

Therefore, when recounting the Buddha's deeds, [the two systems] must be differentiated and unmixed.

Here, I have recounted the deeds according to a scripture by the sovereign bodhisattva of awakening's tenth stage.

CHAPTER 4: *Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms*

According to the highest way, clear light vajra pinnacle,  
 Prior to any division between the wheel of life and transcendent  
 states,  
 There existed self-arisen wisdom, buddha-nature, the basis of  
 being.  
 At the moment the basis of being dawned as manifest appearances,  
 [Ever Excellent] recognized them as his own and gained natural  
 liberation on the basis of being.  
 Endowed with threefold greatness, master of all,  
 Buddha Ever Excellent abides in the youthful vase body's pure  
 realm—  
 Inwardly luminous subtle wisdom, indwelling but not obscured.  
 His blessing [created] self-manifest wisdom's pure realm, Richly  
 Adorned,  
 Where the self-manifest body of perfect rapture in the five  
 families' assemblies appears  
 Endowed with the five certainties.  
 Loving compassion for deluded sentient beings arose:  
 They arrayed in the buddhas' hand implements' locations and  
 within each of their pores  
 Immeasurable pure realms, as numerous as the four elements'  
 atoms,  
 Filling the basic space of phenomena with enlightenment's pure  
 realms and bodies.  
 In the context of the body of ultimate enlightenment, the realm is  
 called Luminous Vajra Essence;  
 In the context of the self-manifest body of perfect rapture, Sound  
 of Brahma's Drum;  
 In the context of the manifest body, Great Brahma Eon.  
 On the space of a hair's breadth are oceans of past, present, and  
 future buddhas  
 In numbers equal to [the realms' atoms], etc.  
 The extent of Ever Excellent's deeds is gathered in this.  
 Among Ever Excellent's deeds, he sent a skillful emanation to  
 guide this realm:



Innumerable [eons] ago, he offered a golden vajra to Buddha  
 Exquisite Flower  
 And developed the intention to attain supreme awakening.  
 In a series of incarnations he received the victors' teachings. At the  
 end of settling in evenness,  
 He attained enlightenment at the summit of Mount Perfectly  
 Configured Profusion of Jewels  
 And dwelt in the realization of the body of ultimate  
 enlightenment.  
 [Buddha] Vajra Bearer arose as the appearing aspect of the body of  
 perfect rapture's array of clouds.  
 Having mastery of the three mysteries' wheel  
 Of endless ornaments' thirty-six deeds,  
 He appears in the form of lord of the wheel of the hundred  
 wisdom families.  
 The unfolding of outwardly appearing luminosity produces the  
 semi-apparent supreme body of perfect rapture.  
 In the residences of Buddha Illuminator Great Glacial Lake  
 Are found realms and the five wisdom families' victors, endowed  
 with the five certainties:  
 The music of their vajra miraculous manifestations unfolds to  
 infinity.  
 The teacher, endowed with seven special attributes and decorations  
 of outer, inner, and secret marks and signs,  
 Emanates a pure sacred circle.  
 That very [teacher], like an image transferred into crystal,  
 Appears to tenth-stage [bodhisattvas] as the realms of  
 enlightenment's natural manifestation  
 In fivefold bodies, wisdoms, teachings, etc.  
 Within the continual [natural manifestation], manifestations to  
 guide beings—  
 Sublime emanations and the six sages who embody awareness—  
 Demonstrate the four miraculous displays of training in the six  
 kinds of beings' abodes.  
 Diverse manifestations appear as varied artistic creations, incarnate  
 beings,  
 Or inanimate substances—gems, trees, treasures, boats, bridges,  
 food, or medicine.

In particular, as appearing aspects of the body of perfect rapture  
 during this eon,  
 Twelve teachers have appeared in twelve places,  
 From Sacred Illuminator in Joyful Pinnacle  
 Until Shakyamuni in Jetavana Grove.  
 Endowed with the five magnificent qualities, these teachers  
 epitomize the teachings' sixty gateways.  
 Their deeds are enumerated in terms of ninety-six collections.  
 At the same time, representations of the three bodies' doctrines  
 appear:  
 A naturally produced vajra, book, and statue.  
 They have the enlightened activity of liberating in their own  
 ground  
 Any being, along with that being's material body, who sees, hears,  
 or touches them.  
 They move to disciples' abodes; at present they reside in this realm.  
 The ways in which *The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's*  
*Realization, Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion Tantra*, and other  
 tantras explain these subjects are boundless;  
 Therefore, learn them from their individual source texts.

### **BOOK THREE: WHAT THE BUDDHA TAUGHT**

#### CHAPTER I: *What Are the Sacred Teachings?*

The foremost miracle performed by the spiritual master of gods  
 and humans to guide his disciples  
 Is that of turning the wheel of Dharma:  
 The essence [of Dharma] is a wholly positive quality, the antidote  
 to obscurations.  
 The etymology of *dharmā*: in Sanskrit, *dharmā* has ten meanings.  
 Among those meanings is the holy Dharma, comprising [the  
 truths] of cessation and of the path.  
 In the classification of Dharma, there is realization, the subject;  
 and the scriptural transmissions that express it.  
 The holy Dharma of realization comprises the truths of cessation  
 and of the spiritual path:  
 These are the four kinds of exalted beings' wisdom mind streams,  
 which are free from any [attachment];

And the agent of that separation, which itself has the nature of antidotes.

The essence of scriptural transmissions is twofold:  
 [The Buddha's] words well spoken in ten ways and the treatises that elucidate [the Buddha's] intent.

The canon presents the three trainings, is expressed in flawless language,  
 Has three kinds of logic [as proof], and is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end.

In terms of its dominant cause, [the canon] was spoken by the Buddha;  
 Blessed by his wisdom body, speech, or mind; or authorized by him.

From the perspective of the canon's subjects, its content comprises three collections.

The collection on discipline mainly teaches training in ethical conduct; the collection of discourses, training in meditative states;  
 And the collection on observed phenomena, training in sublime insight.

Nine categories are found within [the three collections], such as discourses on discipline;  
 Thus in fact, the training is ninefold.

Otherwise, there are nine collections in the individual liberation, bodhisattva, and secret mantra [systems].  
 [The three collections bear their] simple names, or can be adorned with the terms "higher," or "profound."

They are called "discourses," "discipline," and "observed phenomena" for four reasons each.

The collections eliminate doubt, detrimental behavior, and erroneous views.

The collections' framework is threefold  
 Because one collection presents the Dharma and its meaning, one collection presents its practice, and one [defines] terminology.

In relation to disciples' [degree of scope], they are gathered into two: the lesser and great way's collections.

In terms of content alone, the Victor's canon  
 Is divided into twelve branches of the Buddha's excellent speech:

Discourses, aphorisms in verse, prophetic declarations, verses,  
 Purposeful declarations, accounts to provide a framework,  
 narrative stories, legends,  
 Accounts of former lives, extensive teachings, marvelous events,  
 and definitions.  
 Classification based on degrees of acumen yields the three wheels  
 of Dharma.  
 Authors must possess a degree of [qualification]—highest,  
 medium, or minimum.  
 [Treatises] refer to the Victor's doctrine  
 And have the qualities of refining and protecting.  
 Three kinds of treatise are believed to be free from six faults.  
 In terms of function, there are three kinds of treatise:  
 Treatises that encompass the vast, reveal the profound, or rectify  
 order.  
 Among commentaries on the intent [of the canon's] general or  
 specific topics,  
 The three wheels' commentaries on the view and conduct are  
 distinct.  
 In terms of subject, treatises mainly present  
 "All that there is," "things as they are," or freedom and omniscience.  
 The works by the sovereign bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth  
 stage, the six ornaments, and others  
 Should be venerated like the Victor's canon.  
 Older Tibetan treatises as well are especially exalted.

## CHAPTER 2: *Cycles of Scriptural Transmission*

Pious attendants state that our teacher [began to] turn the wheel  
 of Dharma  
 Seven weeks after he attained enlightenment.  
 Until he transcended sorrow, he taught only the lesser way.  
 Followers of the great way believe that there were three cycles [of  
 scriptural transmission].  
 In essence, "the wheel of Dharma" refers to sacred teachings that  
 cut through what is incompatible [with enlightenment].  
 The particularist school asserts that the path of seeing [is the wheel  
 of Dharma];

The discourse school, the paths of seeing, meditation, and no further training, along with enumerations of the Dharma that explain [these paths].

The great way places the five paths and the scriptures within [the wheel of Dharma].

The essence of scriptural transmission is knowledge manifest in speech.

Based upon the Victor's wisdom and beings' pure minds,

Disciples' understanding manifests as terms, words, and letters.

The particularist and discourse schools assert that words and terms belong to two [different] aggregates.

Concerning the etymology of the term "wheel of Dharma," *chakra*, the latter part of the term *Dharmachakra*,

Denotes the movement of realization and the aggregate of scriptural transmission.

When scriptural transmission is classified, the first doctrine comprises the four truths;

The intermediate doctrine, absence of characteristics; the final doctrine, accurate discernment.

[The Buddha] spoke of renunciation, freedom, and irreversibility

To have beings enter peace, reach spiritual maturity, and fulfill prophecies;

And to have them turn away from what is not meritorious, from the self, and from [the basis of] all views.

The four truths were repeated three times, making twelve [parts].

To teach the absence of characteristics, the explicit teaching presented the three gateways to freedom;

The hidden meaning explained the eight manifest realizations and related topics.

The final cycle principally teaches the three characteristics [of knowable things].

All scriptural transmissions are referred to as "aggregates of Dharma,"

Of which there are eighty-four thousand.

Pious attendants determine an aggregate in three ways.

Others consider that the measure is equal to [a load] on the back of the elephant Steadfast.

Among the four classes of tantra, action tantras were spoken to  
 Gentle Splendor and others  
 In the Unsurpassed Pure Land and at the summit of Supreme  
 Mountain.  
 Conduct tantra was taught to buddhas accompanied by their  
 spiritual heirs  
 In such locations as Buddha Illuminator's realm, intermediate  
 realms, and the Heaven of the Thirty-three.  
 The speaker appeared as a sublime body of emanation.  
 [According to] yoga tantra, after the teacher's enlightenment in  
 the Unsurpassed Pure Land,  
 His emanation, a lesser body of rapture,  
 Emanated a sacred circle at the summit of Supreme Mountain.  
 Moreover, he spoke [yoga tantras] in unspecified locations,  
 including the Heaven of Mastery Over Others' Creations.  
 [According to] the Matrix of Mystery tantra of highest yoga, after  
 the teacher subdued demons,  
 He went to Joyful Heaven or to Heaven of Mastery Over Others'  
 Creations.  
 He emanated a sacred circle and taught the tantra to a circle of  
 disciples that filled space.  
 Alankara-kalasha and Anandagarbha affirm this.  
 Tibetan scholars and others state that while the teacher lived in  
 Shravasti,  
 Indrabhuti supplicated him, and he went to Oddiyana.  
 He granted the empowerment and tantra in an emanated sacred  
 circle.  
 [According to] the cycle of Slayer of the Lord of Death, when the  
 Buddha subdued the demons' armies,  
 [Slayer of the Lord of Death] arose from [the Buddha's] three  
 secret vajras; he emanated a sacred circle. Many other accounts  
 [of this tantra's origins] exist.  
 [According to] the Vajra of Delight cycle, when the Buddha  
 defeated demons, he taught the root tantra  
 While inside a source of phenomena. He spoke the explanatory  
 tantra at another time.  
 [According to] the Supreme Bliss tantra, victors have spoken this  
 tantra since time immemorial.

During the era of decline by one half,  
 The fruition Héruka taught it again to his circle in the Land  
 of Jambu.

During the era of conflict, when Fierce Terrifying Demon, his  
 consort, and retinue  
 Controlled the sacred places, regions, and charnel grounds,  
 The Héruka's emanation subdued them, arrayed a sacred circle,  
 and spoke [the tantra].

[According to] the Wheel of Time, before transcending sorrow,  
 On Chaitra month's full moon, at glorious Treasure Mound Stupa,  
 Our teacher emanated Lord of Speech of the Basic Space of  
 Phenomena below;  
 And above, the glorious constellations' sacred circle.  
 He then spoke the tantra to a fortunate circle, which included  
 King Suchandra.

Some believe that all tantras were taught only at Treasure Mound  
 Stupa.

Further, in different places, both relative and ultimate,  
 [The teacher] rose as the wisdom body of the lord of the wheel.  
 Within great bliss, the teacher and circle of disciples indivisible,  
 The *nada's* melody proclaims the tantras at all times.

### CHAPTER 3: *Compilations of the Buddha's Word*

To dispel the gods' scorn and to ensure the doctrine's duration,  
 The year after the teacher transcended sorrow,  
 Five hundred arhats gathered in Nyagrodha Cave;  
 Three—Ananda, Upali, and the eminent Kashyapa—  
 Compiled the [collections] of discourses, on discipline, and on  
 observed phenomena.

*Aggregates, Interdependence, and Factors of Awakening*  
 Were placed into the *Long, Medium-Length, and Increasing-by-  
 One Scriptures*, etc.

[Collections on] discipline and observed phenomena, too, [were  
 compiled] in the same way.

The measure of the doctrine's duration is said to be one thousand  
 years.

For the extraordinary great way teachings,

One million bodhisattvas gathered on Vimalasambhava Mountain  
in south Magadha.

Vajra Holder, Loving-Kindness, and Gentle Splendor  
Compiled the [collections] of discourses, on discipline, and on  
observed phenomena.

Although this system proposes many measures of the doctrine's  
duration,

The most prevalent states that, among ten five-hundred-year  
periods,

The present is the era of scriptural transmission.

Of the three parts of the spiritual practice era, Longchenpa and  
others consider this to be the period of training in sublime  
insight.

At Willow Grove in the North, where the three lords enjoy  
themselves,

Vajra Holder compiled action, conduct, and yoga tantras.

Highest yoga tantras were compiled by those who requested them  
and by those to whom they were entrusted.

Those who taught them also compiled them, etc.

Specifically, mother tantras were established

In dialogues of questions and answers among vajra dakinis.

Vajra Essence compiled *The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*.

King Suchandra compiled *The Wheel of Time Root Tantra*;

Manjushrikirti encapsulated its essence in *The Concise Tantra of the  
Wheel of Time*.

All were manifestations of Lord of Secrets; thus, the compilers  
were the same.

The doctrine of supreme mystery long endures;

In particular, the mother tantras will not disappear.

One hundred and ten years after the teacher had departed  
to peace,

Seven hundred arhats, including Kirti,

Assembled in the Kusmapuri Temple

To refute ten points of inappropriate conduct.

They carried out a partial compilation

Known as “the correct declaration of the seven hundred.”

Following that,

The monk Mahadéva, together with his followers,



Proclaimed five points, through which the four basic orders  
 And the branches of these, the eighteen orders, developed.  
 King Kanishka summoned five hundred arhats, including Parshva,  
 And four hundred venerable monks.  
 The [different] orders were established as the canon and the three  
 collections were committed to writing.  
 Thus, the third compilation of the canon was carried out.

CHAPTER 4: *The Origins of the Early Translations’  
 Ancient Tradition*

In the tradition of the ancient school of the early translations,  
 The doctrine of great mysteries has three major styles of descent.  
 In the self-manifest pure Unsurpassed Realm, the basic space of  
 phenomena,  
 To [his retinue,] oceans of wisdom, throughout inconceivable  
 time,  
 Buddha Ever Excellent naturally illuminates  
 The wisdom mind of uncompounded clear light.  
 In Richly Adorned, [wisdom’s] manifest aspect, a wisdom body  
 with the complete marks and signs of physical perfection,  
 Expresses great perfection  
 In ceaseless wisdom speech beyond self-characterized words and  
 terms  
 To self-manifest disciples within evenness, the fourth time.  
 As compassionate manifestations perceived by others,  
 Five teachers grant three profound empowerments in the five  
 wisdom families’ palaces.  
 With wisdom mind, symbols, and six modes of exposition,  
 They teach the way of techniques to their regents.  
 At that time, they produce in impure realms’ perceptions  
 Six teachers who disseminate approaches to the teachings that  
 support the path.  
 In the pure domains, before the Buddha appears [in this world],  
 A body with qualities similar to the body of rapture  
 Teaches the transcendent perfections and the three outer tantras  
 to accomplished masters and awareness holders.

As a manifestation perceived by others, the tantras arisen from  
 symbols and words  
 Were compiled by sublime Vajra Dharma, Holder of a  
 Human Skull,  
 Dakini Calm Purna, and others.  
 The doctrine was entrusted to the lords of the three kinds of  
 beings,  
 To the dakinis, and to those possessing the eyes of the Dharma.  
 In short, the teacher's three-body framework is the victors' wisdom  
 mind transmission.  
 When six [conditions prevailed], the effortless way  
 Was given through empowerment by Vajrasattva to a god named  
 Altruistic;  
 It spread in the gods' realm.  
 [The god Altruistic] then rose in the human world as  
 enlightenment's manifestation Garab Dorjé,  
 Who received empowerment and the tantras' treasury, and became  
 the doctrine's chief.  
 When [Garab Dorjé] dissolved into light, Manjushrimitra  
 received his testament.  
 Likewise, all the other regents successively received [a testament].  
 [The lords of] the three kinds of beings, masters of knowledge,  
 compassion, and power,  
 Chiefly taught the view and conduct of meditation practice:  
 Gods, nagas, and noxious spirits in groups of hundred thousands  
 attained liberation.  
 Twenty-eight years after the Victor transcended [sorrow],  
 Five lineage-holding nobles at Mount Malaya's summit  
 Uttered twenty-three verses of lamentation:  
 Lord of Secrets manifestly appeared; he recited and taught the  
 secret tantras.  
 The ogre Skillful Intelligence  
 Recorded [the teachings] and concealed them in the sky with the  
 energy [of perfect intent].  
 The transmission among awareness holders passed through  
 symbols [occurred in this way].  
 At that time, seven signs appeared in King Ja's dreams

As the manifestation of the blessings [of Lord of Secrets’  
teaching].  
[He found] a statue of Vajra Holder and the eighteen sections  
of tantra  
Descended upon the roof of his palace. He gradually realized  
their meaning,  
Then transmitted them to Kukuraja. [The transmission] continued  
and the teachings flourished.  
At the same time, the three classes of exoteric tantra  
Descended to Varanasi, Bird-Foot Mountain, and Blazing  
Mountain.  
Anuyoga’s volumes  
Descended to Singha Island’s forest.  
Vajrasattva taught atiyoga at Lake Dhanakosha  
To Garab Dorjé, who wrote it down.  
Tantras appeared from a great variety of other sources.  
These teachings are called the transmission among individual  
masters through hearing.  
To subdue thoughts, as many approaches to ways of spiritual  
development as there are  
Issue from natural great perfection.  
The peaceful and wrathful deities taught the means of attainment;  
Lord of Secrets compiled them.  
He entrusted them to the dakini, who concealed them in a stupa’s  
vase.  
When eight masters meditated for seven nights,  
Dakini Sovereign of Activity entrusted each with a treasure chest.  
The designated inheritor of the convergence of them all is the  
magnificent master.

## **BOOK FOUR: BUDDHISM RESPLENDENT IN THE WORLD**

### **CHAPTER 1: *Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings***

[I will describe] how the doctrine spread in this Land of Jambu.  
In the land of exalted beings, two periods of Buddhist practice  
occurred:  
One focused on the pious attendants’ way, the other on the  
great way.

The Victor's regents  
 Were Kashyapa, Ananda, Shanavasa, Upagupta,  
 Dhitika, Krishnapada, and Sudarshana;  
 These, plus Madhyantika, are the eight patriarchs.  
 It is also said that their line continued until Bhikshu Singha.  
 The earliest treatise, *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*,  
 spread.  
 Those who attained the four results were as numerous as dust  
 motes.  
 [During] the pious attendant period, many hundred thousand  
 monks—the four great noble masters and others—  
 Preserved the masters' individual schools.  
 Following that, noble Avitarka and others  
 Received teaching from lord bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth  
 stage;  
 Many masters appeared who attained the meditative state of the  
 stream of the teachings.  
 Most great way [discourses] arrived in the land of humans.  
 At Nalanda, Udbhatasiddhisvamin built a temple.  
 Nanda and others composed many treatises.  
 They were known as proponents of the aspects of consciousness.  
 The ancestor of accomplished masters, Venerable Rahulabhadra,  
 First elucidated the supreme vehicle's middle way tradition.  
 The second buddha, exalted Nagarjuna,  
 Then brought the *Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred  
 Thousand Verses* [to this world].  
 Nagarjuna's three collections explain the intent of the teachings'  
 three wheels.  
 He defeated in debate believers in external reality, and proved the  
 great way to be the Buddha's word.  
 A succession of masters including Aryadeva preserved and  
 transmitted the doctrine.  
 Exalted Asanga, who dwelled upon awakening's third stage,  
 Received five doctrines directly from Maitreya  
 And composed five treatises on the stages of awakening and two  
 compendiums.  
 Vasubandhu and others transmitted the doctrine widely.  
 Dignaga and Dharmakirti, masters of logic,

Illuminated the path of logic and used debate to defeat pernicious attacks.

In brief, as the Victor foretold,

The world's six adornments, the four supreme masters,

The two marvels, and others

Preserved the doctrine in the course of unfathomable lifetimes of liberation.

After the great way spread, action and conduct tantras were practiced:

One hundred thousand awareness holders appeared who accomplished secret mantra.

Saraha brought an ocean of tantras,

Including Buddha Skull, from the region of Oddiyana.

Due to the accomplishment of King Indrabhuti and his retinue,

His land became the source of the vajra way.

The father, the exalted master, and his spiritual heirs clearly elucidated Matrix of Mystery.

Luyipa, Vajraghantapa, and Krishnacharya

Founded the tradition of Supreme Bliss.

Virupaksha, Saroruha, and Lalitavajra

Obtained Red Slayer of the Lord of Death, Vajra of Delight, *The Seven Segments*, and other tantras.

*Union with the Buddhas Tantra* and other tantras appeared in the region of Zahor.

Further, countless lords of accomplishment—

Hayagriva, Dombi Héruka, Kambala,

Kukuripa, Gambhiravajra, Télopa,

Venerable Shantigupta and others who appear until the end [of the age] of conflict—

Illuminate the vajra way's doctrine like the sun.

Prakashchandra of a royal family taught yoga tantra.

His three followers learned [in yoga tantra] and others

Widely disseminated the yoga tantra's historical tradition.

Chilupa and Kalachakrapada, the elder and the younger,

Drew forth *The Wheel of Time Tantra*, and spread the bodhisattvas' commentaries.

Later, King Dharmapala

Built the secret mantra temple known as Vikramashila.

Tantric masters, including Venerable Buddhajñana,  
 The six learned gate guardians, Lord Atisha, Abhayakaragupta,  
 And Shakyashri defended the doctrine.  
 Secret mantra remained in Koki in the east and in the midst of the  
 southern Vindhya Hills.  
 In some small lands in the southeast and southwest,  
 The Victor's doctrine lasted until later times.  
 In the future, it is thought that the sixteen elders, exalted  
 [Nagarjuna], and others will appear,  
 And the Victor's doctrine will long flourish.

CHAPTER 2: *How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural  
 Transmissions Came to Tibet*

Tibet's Buddhist kings were of the Licchavi clan.  
 The sacred teachings reached Tibet during Lha Totori Nyentsen's  
 reign.  
 Lord All-Seeing One Songtsen Gampo  
 Built temples and introduced the sacred teachings' major customs.  
 Tonmi Sambhota invented an orthography and grammar,  
 Opening the great door of Himalayan discourse for the first time.  
 Gentle Melody's magical manifestation Lord Trisong Déutsen  
 Invited the abbot and master, [and they] constructed glorious  
 Samyé Monastery,  
 [Aided in the] translation of all the sacred teachings, and founded  
 major schools of study and practice.  
 The brother princes, especially Tri Ralpachen,  
 Increasingly propagated the teachings, fashioned new terms, and  
 [supervised] major editing of the translations.  
 The sacred teachings of monastic discipline, basis of the Victor's  
 doctrine, [came to Tibet] as follows:  
 Shantarakshita, lord of the doctrine,  
 First ordained the seven men under examination.  
 Countless sublime persons, translators, and monks appeared.  
 After Lang Darma's suppression of Buddhism, the lineage passed  
 through Mar Shakyamuni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal.  
 Lachen Gongpa Rabsal and his disciples—the ten men from  
 central and western Tibet—

Revived the doctrine and established monastic communities far  
 and wide.  
 The ordination lineage of the great scholar's two disciples named  
 Pal  
 Has continued until the present.  
 Pala's lineage, known as monastic discipline from upper Tibet, also  
 appeared.  
 Scripture and realization are preserved through scholarship and  
 meditation practice.  
 Concerning the teaching lineage of monastic discipline,  
 In southern India, two masters—Gunaprabha and  
 Shakyaprabha—  
 Six masters named Mitra, and others  
 Widely transmitted commentaries on the substantialist order's  
 system.  
 In this land, lineages from Danashila, Jinamitra, and Chokro Lu'i  
 Gyaltsen  
 Were united by Zu Dorjé Gyaltsen into a single teaching line,  
 Which gradually spread from his four disciples.  
 Tsonapa, Gya Duldzin, Ja Duldzin, and many other especially  
 exalted individuals appeared.  
 Omniscient Butön Rinchen Drup received the legacy; his activity  
 was that of a second powerful Sage.  
 The two collections on observed phenomena, higher and lower,  
 written by Asanga [and his] brother,  
 Were propagated by Stiramati, Purnavardhana, Vasumitra, and  
 others.  
 Jinamitra, Kawa Paltsek, and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltsen translated and  
 taught the collection on observed phenomena.  
 Wé Yeshé Gyalwa and Drum Gyalwé Yeshé caused the teachings to  
 spread upward [from eastern to central Tibet].  
 Great scholar Smriti Jnana passed *The Treasury of Observed  
 Phenomena's* teaching lineage to Yé Chenpo Sherab Drak;  
 Rok Chökyi Tsöndru, Ben Könchok Dorjé, and Togar Namdé  
 preserved it.  
 Sakya Pandit received Shakyashri's teaching, along with  
 a proximate lineage,  
 And eloquently expressed this especially exalted teaching  
 tradition.

The [Buddha's] outstanding regent perfectly elucidated *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, the hidden meaning of the perfection of sublime insight;  
 Asanga and his brother illuminated it.  
 Both the eminent Vimuktisena and Haribhadra elucidated the intrinsic emptiness method.  
 Because their teaching system was excellent, their activity was superior.  
 Here in Tibet, the perfection of sublime insight was taught and practiced widely  
 Due to the kindness of Lang Khampa Gocha and Bérotsana.  
 Rinchen Zangpo founded a teaching system of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*.  
 As well, Lord Atisha taught it to Ku Chenpo Lhadingpa, Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné, and Chadar Tönpa.  
 In particular, great Translator Ngok Loden Sherab spread widely [the perfection of sublime insight].  
 From Dré Sherab Bar, designated heir of earlier and later transmissions, and Ar Jangchub Sengé,  
 The lineage passed in stages to Yak Mipam Chökyi Lama and Rongtön Shéja Kunzik.  
 These spiritual fathers' and sons' intelligence continues to flow in an excellent, undiminished stream of teaching.  
 Illustrious Geshé Chapa transmitted the Trolung teaching system.  
 Those who explicitly teach emptiness follow the middle way.  
 From the two commentaries to exalted master [Nagarjuna's] thought  
 Grew the consequentialist and independently verifiable reason schools.  
 These two had many followers, including Chandrakirti, Shantideva, and the three easterners.  
 Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen and Translator Ngok Loden Sherab transmitted the Indian scriptures.  
 Chapa Chökyi Sengé, the eight great lions, Rongtön Shéja Kunzik, and others  
 Held the independently verifiable reason school. Patsab with his four spiritual sons  
 Founded the tradition of the glorious Chandrakirti's scriptural path.



The upholders of the Himalayan consequentialist school derive  
 from that [source].  
 Maitreya and Nagarjuna elucidated the final wheel  
 In the four teachings and *A Collection of Praises*.  
 Asanga, his brother Vasubandhu, Chandragomi, and others taught  
 and propagated it.  
 Translator Ngok Loden Sherab and Tsen Kawoché received from  
 Sajjana  
 The teaching and practice transmissions thought to be two—the  
 middle way and mind-only.  
 Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé, Rangjung Dorjé, the omniscient  
 master [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen] and his spiritual children,  
 and others  
 Sounded a lion's great roar of the incontrovertible meaning.  
 Shri Dharmapala's collections of reasoning  
 Are said to elucidate the final wheel's intent.  
 Uttamabodhibhagavan and Buddhaguhya taught action and  
 conduct tantras;  
 Wé Manjushri spread the latter's teaching system.  
 In yoga tantra, there are three learned masters' traditions  
 Initially transmitted by the great translator, his four spiritual sons,  
 and Atisha.  
 In the interim, one hundred streams from Tsakyawa Tönshak, Nur  
 Nyima Özer, Dzimpa Lochen, and others  
 Finally flowed into Butön Rinchen Drup's ocean of learning.  
 He restored yoga tantra doctrines from their very foundations.  
 It is said that there were twenty-four traditions of Matrix of  
 Mystery.  
 Among just the six traditions to appear in Tibet,  
 The principal two are those of the exalted master [Nagarjuna] and  
 Venerable Buddhajnana.  
 The former is the tradition of Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Gö Kukpa  
 Lhétsé, Atisha, Chak Chöjé Pal, and supreme Scholar  
 Shakyashri;  
 The latter is the tradition of Rinchen Zangpo, Translator Nyen, Ra  
 Chörab, and Nyö Jungpo.  
 The supreme traditions are Marpa Chökyi Lodrö's and Gö Kukpa  
 Lhétsé's transmissions of practice and teaching.

Marpa's teaching line flowed through Tsurtön Wang-gi Dorjé.  
 Gö's tradition continued through the pillars, beams, rafters, etc.;  
 It reached the second omniscient one, Butön Rinchen Drup.  
 Slayer of the Lord of Death spans five time periods:  
 Desired Accomplishment, Various Forms of Conduct,  
 Harmful, Definite Engagement, and Partial Engagement.  
 Lalitavajra, Venerable Buddhajñana, and Shri Dhara  
 Were the early, middle, and last designated heirs,  
 And were vajra masters of the supreme sacred circle.  
 In particular, the compilation of Slayer of the Lord of Death's  
 cycles passed successively  
 Through Shri Dhara and others. In this land, it was the first secret  
 mantra tantra.  
 During the doctrine's later spread, [traditions originated with]  
 Chokdru Sherab Lama,  
 Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa, Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, Chal  
 Chöpal Zangpo, Ra Dorjé Drak, Lama Kyo, Zhang, and Nyö  
 Jungpo;  
 Among them, the tradition of Ra Dorjé Drak, Manjushri  
 incarnate, is most exalted in teaching and practice.  
 Great Translator [Rinchen Zangpo] translated the tantra of the  
 stupidity family, *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*.  
 Its teaching and practice instructions appear in the early and later  
 traditions.  
 Twenty-seven traditions of Supreme Bliss appeared in India;  
 Most reached Tibet.  
 Among traditions including those of Lokya Sherab Tsek,  
 Translator Mal Lodrö Drakpa, Marpa Dopa Chökyi Wangchuk,  
 Puhrang Lochung,  
 Rongpo Gargé and Yakdé Zémarwa, and Balpa Nawa,  
 The most exalted was Marpa Dopa's, which Gyanam Dozepa  
 Loden and others preserved.  
 Twelve commentaries and seven complete traditions of Vajra of  
 Delight are known:  
 Those by Saroruha, Krishnavajra, Durjayachandra,  
 Ratnakara, Naropa, Métripa, and Yashobhadra.  
 Drokmi Shakya Yeshé preserved Virupa's lineage; there are  
 traditions from Gö Kukpa Lhétsé and Gyijo Dawé Özer.

Naropa's lineage system passed through the teacher Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Chal Sönam Gyaltzen, and Ram Tsenchen.

In particular, the teacher Marpa, Drokmi Shakya Yeshe, the teacher Métön Sönam Gyaltzen, Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé, and the Sakya [lineage holders]

Have hoisted this doctrine's victory banner that stands until the end of existence.

Due to the kindness of Translator Marpa Chökyi Lodrö and Gyijo Dawé Özer,

Mahamaya, Four Seats, and Buddha Skull spread for a long time.

Many Wheel of Time traditions appeared,

From Gyijo Dawé Özer, Tsami Sangyé Drak, Ra Chörab and Dro Sherab Drak, Sopen the great, Chak Drachom, Chal Chökyi Zangpo, and Rongling Dorjé Wangchuk.

Among them, the practice and teachings were transmitted through the Jonang and Zhalu lineages.

The tantra's teaching was continued by the life-giving channel, the great master Butön Rinchen Drup.

The early translations' teaching tradition continues to the present day.

*The Vajrasattva Net of Illusion Tantra* is the root tantra.

It stands above the crown of the head of all tantras like a victory banner.

Lalitavajra, Shri Singhaprabha, and Buddhaguhya explained this tantra.

Vimalamitra, Ma Rinchen Chok, and Nyak Jnana Kumara translated and taught it.

Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, Longchenpa, Chomden Rikpé Raldri, and others spread it.

Zurpa's especially exalted doctrinal tradition dwindled to become a slender hair.

The brothers of Mindrol Ling Monastery revived the doctrine's dying embers.

In later, early, and minor traditions,

The teaching systems for great seal's eight teaching systems,

*The Sovereign All-Creating Mind*,

And other tantras, scriptures, and profound instructions are indescribably numerous.

Jnanashri and others were famous for preserving many reading transmissions.

In Tibet, there were also Chomden Rikpé Raldri, Bak-tön Zhönnu Tsultrim, and others.

The ten foremost pillars who sustained the teaching traditions  
Are the Buddhist government minister Tonmi Sambhota,  
Bérotsana,

Kawa Paltsek, Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen, Zhang Yeshé-dé, Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé,

Rinchen Zangpo, Ngok Loden Sherab, Sakya Pandit, and Butön Rinchen Drup.

Their kindness cannot be measured, even by the bounds of space.

Later, it seems that the teaching doctrines were mainly transmitted in the Sakya and Géden orders;

The doctrines of the practice lineages, mainly through the Kagyu and Nyingma.

My tradition, from omniscient Rangjung Gyalwa,

Mainly emphasizes the teaching doctrines of *The Profound Inner Meaning, The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters, and The Highest Continuity*.

The major scriptures' four doctrines flowed to Mikyö Gyalwa  
He with his spiritual heirs shone everywhere the sunlight of eloquent teachings.

Nowadays, the true transmission continues.

Upon the ocean of the doctrine of monastic discipline, with waves of teaching and composition,

Gentle Spendid Melody incarnate, with the name Nyingpo, gathered the teachings.

Light of Shakyamuni's doctrine, he was a second Nagarjuna.

### CHAPTER 3: *The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots*

In Tibet, there are eight major chariots, lineages of meditation practice:

The Ancient Tradition, the Buddha's Word as Instruction, the Path with the Result, Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage,

The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, Pacification, Six Applications,  
and Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras.  
The early translations' principal pillars are *The Discourse That  
Gathers Wisdom's Realization*, *The Net of Magical Illusion  
Tantra*, and the mind category.  
The class of practices forms their ornament; the secret cycle is the  
essence of their life force.  
Due to the immeasurable kindness and altruistic intention of Lord  
Trisong Déutsen, instigator of the doctrine in the Himalayas,  
Padmakara, the second Buddha, [came to Tibet].  
In common perception, he merely taught *The Pith Instructions, a  
Garland of Views*;  
To fortunate disciples, he imparted inconceivable cycles of  
ripening and liberating instructions,  
Including the eight groups of meditation practices.  
Considering beings of the future, he concealed many treasures  
And established three meditation communities: countless  
accomplished masters appeared.  
Experiencing hardships, Bérostana received Shri Singha's heart  
essence.  
It spread through the five links and the teacher Pang-gen Sangyé  
Gönpo.  
The mind and spatial categories of instruction produced the  
kingdom of Buddha Ever Excellent.  
Vimalamitra and Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo's pith instructions  
give birth to [liberation in] a body of light.  
Longchenpa, the second Garab Dorjé, spread this doctrine.  
From four masters of India, Nepal, and Drusha,  
Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé received *The Discourse That Gathers  
Wisdom's Realization*, the cycle of Slayer of the Lord of Death,  
and other [teachings].  
The canonical transmission, mainly *The Net of Magical Illusion  
Tantra*, Yangdak Héruka, and Vajra Dagger,  
Was preserved by an uninterrupted series of excellent  
accomplished masters,  
Including Ma Tok Rinchen, Nyak Jnana Kumara, Nupchen  
Sangyé Yeshé, Nup Namké Nyingpo, So Yeshé Jungné, Nyang  
Sherab Chok,

The teacher Khön Lu'i Wangpo Sungwa, Lhazig Lang, Odren  
 Palgyi Wangchuk, Gyu Palgyi Zhönnu,  
 Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, [and members of the] Zur, Nyo, Chal,  
 Chim, Kyo, and Yung [clans].

Two sublime [treasure revealers], eight masters named Lingpa,  
 capable masters, and others

Appeared successively, attuned to their historical periods. During  
 the final times,

They will, with their disciples, prevent the secret mantra doctrine's  
 decline and cause it to flourish.

Lord [Atisha] emphasized the view and conduct  
 And presented *A Lamp on the Path to Awakening*, which integrates  
 scriptures and profound instructions for meditation.

Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa's doctrinal lineage and others are infinite,  
 yet

The principal lineage is that of Lord All-Seeing One, Dromtön  
 Gyalwé Jungné.

The precious Buddha's Word as Instruction has seven deities and  
 teachings,

The three brothers' system of scriptures, profound instructions for  
 meditation, and pith instructions.

Many great exalted beings spread this excellent path to awakening.

This tradition pervaded every school,

Yet later, Manjushri's magical manifestation, Tsongkapa,

Principally emphasized the path of scriptures, known as the new  
 tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction.

Nine cycles of the path from Virupa, Saroruha, and others  
 Were transmitted as essential profound instructions for meditation  
 to the great Master Drokmi Shakya Yeshé.

The teachings that resulted from his spiritual connections with  
 the six gates' [scholars], the pith instructions without root  
 [verses],

Concealed teachings of the path in a direct lineage, and  
*Clarification of the Meaning through Symbols*

Are the most important wisdom speech in the Path with  
 the Result.

The spiritual sons of body and mind, and Sé Karchungwa,  
 propagated three lineages.  
 Later, among those who received the full, medium, or minimal  
 [transmission],  
 Three lineages—the male and female Zhama traditions and a  
 blended lineage—are derived from the medium transmission.  
 The male lineage had disciple and son lineages; the female, three  
 lineages;  
 And the blended lineages resulted in four traditions—  
 From Dumbu Kodrakpa, Chagen Wangchuk Gyaltzen, Jonang  
 Kunpang, and Latö Wangyal.  
 The full transmission,  
 The Zhangtön lineage, [was received by] the particularly exalted  
 Sachen Kunga Nyingpo.  
 His former heirs were Pakmo Drupa and Chégom; the later heirs,  
 the proximate and historical lineages;  
 And Mang-lam and Zhing Pukpa's tradition. Among the total of  
 eighteen traditions,  
 The Sakya and Zhama traditions spread for a long time.  
 In particular,  
 The Sakya tradition has the exoteric teachings of Ngor, Dzong,  
 and Gang-kar [lineages],  
 And the esoteric teachings that the Tsarchen father and sons  
 upheld, practiced, and transmitted.  
 Vajra of Delight's creation and completion phases swelled like a  
 lake in the summer.  
 The tradition of Gyijo Dawé Özer merged with that of the great  
 Jonang Kunpang.

Lord Translator Marpa—regent of [Tilopa] who unites four  
 doctrinal lineages, Naropa, and Métripa—  
 Received doctrines of teaching and meditation practice.  
 [Marpa's] transmission reached the four pillars; in particular, Lord  
 Milarepa's oral lineage  
 Was held by his two disciples like the sun and moon.  
 The profound instructions of Réchungpa, heart-son of Machik  
 Drupé Gyalmo and Tépupa Vimalamitra,  
 Nurtured all Himalayan schools.

[Gampopa] the monk physician whose life the Victor foretold  
 Had spiritual heirs who founded four major orders: Barom,  
     Pakdru, Kamtsang, and Tsalpa;  
 With the lineage holders of his main monastery, there were five.  
 Pakmo Drupa's disciples [founded] the Drigung, Taklung, Tropu,  
     Ling-ré,  
 Martsang, Yelpa, Yazang, and Shukseb: these are the four root and  
     eight branch [Kagyü orders].  
 Ling Répa Péma Dorjé's spiritual heirs founded the upper, lower,  
     and middle Drukpa Kagyu orders.  
 The main lineage is that of the sixth buddha, Lion's Roar.  
 With the Zurmang and Nédo traditions, there are three [Karma  
     Kamtsang streams].  
 The last has filled most of eastern Tibet with holders of the Karma  
     Kagyü and Nyingma lineages.  
 In particular, when the doctrine of meditation practice was setting  
     over the western mountains,  
 The intentional manifestation of the translator [identical] with  
     Vajra of Delight  
 Shone the light of the doctrine's sun.  
 The Dakpo Kagyu's accomplished masters are [as numerous] as  
     particles of earth:  
 They will continue to appear unceasingly for as long as the Victor's  
     doctrine exists, exalted above all others.

From one hundred and fifty masters, including wisdom dakinis,  
     scholars, and accomplished masters,  
 Kyungpo Naljor, endowed with the five culminant practices,  
     received their wisdom minds' treasure trove.  
 Of his three paths of teaching, debate, and meditation practice,  
     the essence of the last  
 Is the five cycles of teachings, of which the golden doctrines form  
     the root.  
 Kyungpo Naljor brought to spiritual maturity and liberation one  
     hundred and eighty thousand persons who became spiritual  
     mentors,  
 [Including] his six earlier and later spiritual heirs.



The vajra seal of the single lineage was lifted by Drogön Chöjé Tönpa, the seventh precious master of that line. Lineages of disciples arose from three learned, accomplished masters and Latö Né-nying's monastic seat. On three occasions, early and later, Tangtong Gyalpo received Niguma's doctrinal transmission. Drupé Pawo [Kunga Drolchok] received twenty-five historical and recent lineages. The dakini accepted him as her disciple; within this marvelous recent lineage, Lord of Secrets Drolwé Gönpö's doctrinal system is exceptional. This lineage is a series exclusively of bodhisattvas in their final life. The dakinis' vajra words are unmistakable and unadulterated. Even in these final times, the fruit of accomplishment ripens. The enlightened activities of Swift Acting Protector and other wisdom deities are infinite.

Padampa Sangyé received the essence of fifty-four accomplished masters and thirty-six celestial beings. He traveled to Tibet five times; In forms attuned to others' needs, he liberated many beings. [Pacification of Suffering] was taught three times: an initial, middle, and final transmission. The Kashmiri master and Translator Angpo received the first transmission. [The middle transmissions] are those given to Ma Chökyi Sherab, So-chung Gendun Bar, and Kam Yeshé Gyaltzen, Along with the three lesser lineage traditions, and various diverse teachings. The final [transmission] was given to four authorized adepts and others. [Padampa Sangyé's] systems of profound instructions for spiritual ripening and liberation were as numerous as stars in the sky. The middle transmissions conform to [discourses of] the definitive meaning; the final one concurs with the tantras. The most exalted tradition is that of Jangchub Sempa Kunga, equal in realization to Padampa Sangyé himself.

Due to Translator Chöpal [Dharmashri]’s kindness, a bridge rope  
[of this lineage] remains.

A branch is the sacred teaching of severing demons.

Padampa Sangyé gave Kyo Shakya Yeshé and Yarlung Mara Serpo

Six portions of profound instruction, the male system of  
Severance.

The female system of Severance, the intended meaning of the  
perfection of sublime insight, the teachings that Machik  
Lapdrön realized,

Encompasses doctrinal transmissions of father, mother, nondual,  
and the dakinis’ meditative experience,

Or [lineages of] her sixteen spiritual children.

Machik Lapdrön’s daughter’s historical lineage, the direct lineage  
in Gyaltang’s tradition,

Kunpang Tsöndru Sengé and Ladu Dorjé Drönma’s treasure  
Severance tradition, and others

Have continuing marvelous and widespread enlightened activity.

All extensive root tantras teach the essence—

Vajra Yoga, the pinnacle of all phases of completion.

[Vajra Yoga] has an excellent source: it originated from the mouths  
of [Shambhala’s] Buddhist kings and lineage bearers,

Greater and lesser Kalachakrapada, Shavaripa,

Anupamarakshita, Ravishrijnana,

Naropa, the Kashmiri scholar, Shantigupta, and others.

In Tibet, the best known [systems of Vajra Yoga] were four earlier  
traditions,

Five middle ones, and two later ones.

These seventeen traditions, of Gyijo Dawé Özer, Ma Géwé Lodrö,

Translator Trom Péma Özer, Atisha, Dro, Ra Chörab, Tsami  
Sangyé Drak,

Réchung Dorjé Drak, Translator Ga Namgyal Dorjé’s three,  
the Kashmiri scholar’s two,

Vibhutchandra’s two, Translator Chak Chöjé Pal, and Men-  
lungpa,

Were united in great Kunpang Zhang Tukjé Tsöndru.

In addition, many major and minor traditions emerged:

Kodrak, Rong, Bodong, and Latö Wangchuk Gyaltzen and Sönpa Kun-gyalwa.

In particular, the omniscient lord endowed with the four reliances  
And Drolwé Gönpö, a true Buddha Vajra Bearer in the age of  
conflict,

Originated the superior oral transmission of the two lineage  
bearers.

Vajra Yogini bestowed her wisdom mind's fundamental essence—  
The three vajras, undifferentiated in the basis, path, and result,  
The branches of familiarization, practice, and supreme  
practice—to Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal.

Rinpoché Kar-chuwa, Dawa Sengé, Butrapa Kétsun Sönam Özer,  
Zur-pukpa Rinchen Pal, and the Nyédo brothers began many  
traditions.

Lord of the teachings, the second Victor Rangjung Dorjé,  
Untied the vajra verses and illuminated this excellent path of  
profound instructions.

Infinite authentic, minor [lineages] appeared,  
Including those from Mitrayogi and Latö Marpo, and Karak Gom-  
chung Lodrö Wangchuk's three cycles of teaching.

#### CHAPTER 4: *A History of Buddhist Culture*

In the first of the fields of culture, Sanskrit grammar,  
Indra composed a treatise on the study of grammar; Brihaspati  
learned it.

As that scholar's pride was shattered, he observed "days of  
restriction."

Brahmin Panini, the grammarian whose life the Buddha foretold,  
Was blessed by Lord of the World and composed the ancestor of  
grammar texts,

Commented upon by Shesha and Vararuchi.

Panini's tradition includes *The Mahabhasha's* root text and  
commentaries, *Moonlight of Analysis*,

*An Introduction to Form, Shakatayana*, and Katyayana's  
[*Grammar*].

Chandragomi's discourse, commentaries, and ancillary texts  
 Provide a perfect summary [of *Panini's Grammar*], being concise,  
 clear, and complete;  
 From among many texts written by him and others,  
 Translator Shong Dorjé Gyaltzen first translated and taught the  
 root text.  
 To understand the grammar Indra taught Indradhruva,  
 Saptavarman followed Udayana's command  
 And practiced meditation on Six-Faced Youth.  
 The *Kalapa* treatise was introduced [to Tibet] through the  
 kindness of translators Shong Dorjé Gyaltzen and Pang Loten.  
 Noble Sarasvati taught a grammar to Anubhuti.  
 The lord of Jonang and Chökyi Nangwa translated and taught the  
 root text and commentary.  
 Translator Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo translated Manjushrikirti's  
 grammar text.  
 In India and Tibet, countless good and poor-quality commentaries  
 on grammar have been written.

Non-Buddhist logical analysis, though earlier, is defective.  
 The first Buddhist text on logic was *Establishing Debate*.  
 Dignaga composed *A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*, a  
 discourse in six chapters  
 That present both direct and inferential [logic], exclusion of other,  
 Examples, and refutation.  
 As commentaries to that text,  
 Dharmakirti composed long, medium, and concise texts, which  
 constitute the root,  
 And four branch [treatises], initiating the tradition of the seven  
 treatises.  
 Devendrabuddhi, Shakyamati, Vinitadéva, Alamkara Prajnakara,  
 Shankarananda, and others explained these works.  
 Alamkara Prajnakara's followers were Jina, Yamari, and  
 Suryagupta.  
 Trijayadhaka explained *Ascertainment of Dignaga's Logic* and  
*A Drop of Reasoning*.  
 Kamalashila explained Shantarakshita's *Compilation on Thatness*.  
 Chandragomi and others composed many minor texts.

Some of the later texts among [Dharmakirti's] seven were translated during the early translations.  
 Ma Géwé Lodrö, Ngok Loden Sherab, and Sakya Pandit translated texts on logic during the later propagation.  
 The latter [Sakya Pandit] composed the root text *Logic: A Treasure of Reason* and its commentary.  
 The holders of the teaching lineage—Sharpa Sherab Jungné, Nupa Uyuk-pa Rikpé Sengé, and Gungpa Kyotön Drimé—  
 Disseminated it into the transmissions of Khang-tön Özer Gyaltzen, Nyen Darma Sengé, Zhang Dodé-pal, and Zurkangpa Kar Shakya Drakpa:  
 Many exalted masters appeared.  
 In particular, Lord of the World,  
 The seventh supreme Victor, compiled *An Ocean of Texts on Logic*,  
 Which contain all streams of Dharmakirti's thought.  
 There are three Tibetan modes of commentary: Translator Ngok Loden Sherab's [middle way] essencelessness,  
 The Sakya tradition's [middle way] yogacharin, and others' [middle way that accepts] conventional consensus.

Sacred supports for the three jewels constitute the most sublime art form.

The first among all was the Lotus Mound Stupa.  
 Faithful persons gradually built other stupas.  
 When the human life span was one hundred thousand years,  
 Subduer of Fear learned painting from Brahma and Vishvakarma.  
 Since then, until Lord of Sages' transcendence of sorrow,  
 [paintings] could be mistaken as real.  
 The earliest sacred supports of the wisdom body during this Buddha's doctrine  
 Are said to be paintings of the Buddha's wisdom body—"Drawn from Water" and "Light Rays"—  
 Sent to Udrayana and Muktikakhatti.  
 Many precious sculptures were made for the seat of honor at the noontime meal  
 After the Buddha gave permission to Anata-pindata.  
 When the Buddha visited the heavens, the king of Kashi (Benares)

Fashioned a sandalwood statue that now dwells in China.  
 Later, Rahula made with naga jewels  
 Great Glacial Lake, which was placed in the outer ocean.  
 Shakra, with various miraculous acts, made from many jewels  
 Physical representations of the Buddha at eight, twelve, and  
 twenty-five years of age.  
 The last dwells with the gods; the other two reside in Tibet.  
 Directly blessed by the Buddha, they have the same blessing as our  
 teacher.  
 After the Buddha's transcendence of sorrow, divine artists  
 emanated as humans:  
 Three brahmin brothers made statues,  
 And many sacred supports were built, such as the eight wonders  
 of Magadha.  
 During Ashoka's reign, noxious spirit artists  
 Built the eight stupas at the eight major sacred places and at Vajra  
 Seat's inner enclosure.  
 During Nagarjuna's lifetime, nagas produced many works of art.  
 The traditions of Bimbasara, Srigdhari, and Dhiman developed,  
 Modeled upon art of gods, noxious spirits, and nagas.  
 Their traditions became known as central, old western, and  
 eastern art.  
 Nepal [followed] the old western style in the early period, and one  
 similar to eastern [in the middle period].  
 In Kashmir, there were three traditions: central, old western, and  
 indigenous.  
 In Tibet, the statues at the three spiritual centers were the  
 earliest.  
 Painting [developed in] the Nepalese style, then both the Menri  
 and the Kyenri appeared.  
 Chiuri was the third. Three artists named Tashi founded the  
 Gardri tradition.  
 In sculpture as well, a succession of masters appeared.  
 Particularly, [painting by] the master of art, supreme Lord  
 of the World,  
 And the genius of Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa  
 Are nectar for the eyes that transcends ordinary beings'  
 rational mind.

There are many Indian and Tibetan textual traditions that teach proportions,  
 Such as *The Wheel of Time*, *The Origins of Binder of the Wheel Tantra*, and *The Discourse Requested by Shariputra*.  
 Many kinds of script developed in different countries.  
 In Tibet, Tonmi Sambhota studied grammar and written language with scholars in India.  
 He took [Indian scripts] as a model  
 And devised a script with the omissions and additions necessary for Tibetan.  
 He composed eight texts on grammar,  
 Including *Thirty Verses* and *Tibetan Grammar*.  
 Kyungpo Yutri, Sumpa Nöjin, and others disseminated [Tibetan calligraphy] widely.  
 I have not related here the minor histories of art.

Brahma first conceived of *The Life Veda*;  
 He sought nectar and composed *One Hundred Thousand Verses on Healing Treatments*,  
 Subsequently transmitted to Indra.  
 His disciple, Atreya, composed the treatise *A Summary of Brahma's Teaching*.  
 From Agnivesha and other gods, the lineage passed to human beings.  
 Harichandra composed *Charaka*;  
 Other erudite seers composed many medical texts.  
 Our teacher gave instruction on medicine in disparate scriptures, including those on monastic discipline, discourses, and tantras.  
 At that time, such doctors as Atreya and Jivakumara appeared.  
 Some believe the Buddha taught the tantras in the Forest of Medicine.  
 Due to erroneous statements concerning *A Cluster of Jewels*,  
 A great deal of nonsense has been written on this subject.  
 However, the teachings of the later Zurkar Lekshé Tsol are unmistakable works.  
 Afterwards, Suryapala composed *Establishing the Essentials of Medicine*.

The exalted master [Nagarjuna] composed *The Hundred Prescriptions* and other medical texts.  
 Amidst eighteen virtuous signs on the three planes of existence,  
 Vagbhata composed *The Eight Branches*,  
 A superior treatise that contains the correct essentials.  
 Chandranandana wrote a commentary, *Moonbeams*.  
 In China, following the end of the age of perfection,  
 Emanated kings and officials composed a series of texts.  
 During Songtsen Gampo's reign, a text of the three great traditions  
 was composed.  
 During Mé Atsom's reign, many translations and compositions  
 were done,  
 Including the traditions brought by his Chinese bride, those by a  
 Chinese monk, by Viji, and others.  
 The combined efforts of many skilled physicians resulted in the  
 text *Somaraja*.  
 During Trisong Déutsen's period, the text of the three emanated  
 sons,  
*The Yellow Manuscript; A Compendium of the King, Officials, and  
 Subjects*;  
 And a text by skilled doctors from China, Zhang Zhung,  
 Mongolia, Tibet, and Azha were established.  
 Treasure texts relate that Bérotsana translated [texts] on astrology  
 and medicine, etc.  
 Dzoro, Viji, and the four frontier doctors comprise the lineages of  
 royal physicians.  
 During Buddhism's later spread, many earlier and later Indian texts  
 were translated.  
 Rinchen Zangpo's transmission of *The Eight Branches*  
 Started lineages from the four Pu-hrong physicians,  
 Cherjé Zhangtön Zhikpo, Darma Gönpo, Yutok Yönten Gönpo,  
 and others;  
 This represents the initial proliferation of Tibetan doctors, those  
 able to help others.  
 Those known as the nine skilled doctors also followed these  
 [teachings].  
 Medical writings composed by Tibetans are beyond enumeration.



Zhang-tön Ziji Barwa and Tötön Könchok Kyab traveled to India,  
Became masters of *The Eight Branches*, composed texts, and  
engaged in widespread activity.

In later times, authentic texts appeared plentifully among the  
canonical and treasure teachings,

Including *Secret Treatments*, *Mercury Prescriptions*, and *Treatments  
of Epidemics*.

All lineage systems converged in Yutok Yönten Gönpö, Medicine  
Buddha incarnate.

Shrimala directly bestowed upon him her secret treasury.

He received the essence of all lands' instructions, [composed] long  
and short tantras,

And turned the common and special wheels of the teachings.

A nest of physicians overflowed and innumerable lineage holders  
emerged,

Such as the traditions of the Jang father and sons, and the Zurkar  
uncle and nephew.

Most famous in later times were Dési Sangyé Gyatso and Chökyi  
Jungné.

[Such masters] elucidated these teachings and cared for the land of  
Tibet.

Seers created many systems of stellar calculation.

The Buddha taught astrological calculation in discourses and  
tantras

And in *The Wheel of Time Tantra's* worldly realms chapter, upon  
which Butön Rinchen Drup and Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen  
wrote.

In particular, the Victor Rangjung Dorjé composed *A Compilation  
of All Astrology*.

Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso, the Lord of Jang, and others elucidated  
their own systems.

In later times, the two astrological traditions of Pukpa and Tsurpu  
developed.

In response to Uma's questions, Ishvara taught *The Tantra of  
Victory in War*.

This was translated by Lowo Sherab Rinchen and commented  
upon by Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso and others.

Emperor Hung Dhi created element calculation when he  
 examined a turtle.  
 Many subsequent texts were based on this.  
 Khampa Tramo, Krishnachandra, Kyung-nak Shakya Dargyé, and  
 others founded systems,  
 But the early translations were very adulterated.  
 Later, the omniscient Lord made many new reliable translations of  
 Chinese astrology.

The most famous work of poetry is Hindu, the *Bharata*.  
 Kalidasa composed works such as *The Eight Messengers*.  
 There were many Indian commentaries to *The Mirror*, composed  
 by Dandi.  
 Valmika taught metrical composition.  
 Jinadeva established Marscheren's tradition.  
 Ratnakarashanti composed a work with six wonderful applications  
 [of meter].  
 The many works on lexicography include *Medinikara* and  
*Elucidating a Variety of Points*,  
*Haravali*, and *The Composition of Rudra Kapvari*.  
 Most excellent, however, is Amarasingha's *Treasury of Immortality*.  
 Its Indian commentaries include *The Nectar of Explanation*, *Moon  
 of Words*,  
 And *Fulfillment of Desire*. The latter has been newly translated.  
 Treatises on theater were not translated into Tibetan.  
 The latter fields of culture did not exist in Tibet before Sakya  
 Pandit,  
 Who composed three treatises that encapsulated their meaning.  
 Texts on these subjects appeared due to the kindness of Shong  
 Dorjé Gyaltzen, Pang Loten, and Drogön Chögyal Pakpa;  
 Tenpé Nyinjé elucidated them all.  
 As the Victor did not emphasize worldly treatises,  
 He did not teach the basic texts of culture.  
 Since they are branch fields, the learned have elaborated them.

In Shambhala, the lineage-bearing Buddhist kings  
 Continuously turn the unsurpassable doctrine's wheel.  
 Its ninety-six provinces practice the great way's secret mantra.

In the future, the lineage-bearing kings  
 Will bring the age of perfection to the twelve parts of the lands of  
 action in succession.  
 The doctrine was introduced in China one hundred and ten years  
 after the teacher's transcendence,  
 During the reign of Han emperor Ming-ti.  
 Many arhats and translators visited.  
 Primarily, the discourses and monastic discipline are practiced; the  
 Sakya, Karma, and Géden traditions are venerated.  
 Many arhats and bodhisattvas converted Khotan.  
 Both the lesser and great way doctrines spread there.  
 Master Padmakara converted Dravida.  
 Many vajra holders visited and the genuine secret mantra doctrine  
 flourished.  
 On the islands of Sri Lanka, Dhanashri, Payigu,  
 Tamra, Java, and others, the great way [spread] a little;  
 The lesser way spread widely and continues to exist without  
 decline until the present.

## APPENDIX 2: THE OUTLINE OF BOOKS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR

---

<b>BOOK TWO: THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD</b>	41
CHAPTER 1: <i>Our Teacher's Path to Awakening</i>	43
I. Distinguishing Our Teacher from Buddhas in General	44
II. A Concise Presentation of the Story of the Buddha's Liberation	45
III. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening	46
A. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Lesser Way's Tradition	46
B. How the Buddha Initially Developed the Aspiration to Attain Awakening according to the Great Way's Tradition	48
IV. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until His Enlightenment	51
A. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Lesser Way's Tradition	51
B. How the Buddha Performed a Bodhisattva's Conduct until Enlightenment according to the Great Way's Tradition	54
1. Systems to Calculate the Duration of the Spiritual Path, Their Intent, and Purposes	54
2. The Actual Way the Buddha Engaged in a Bodhisattva's Conduct	57
3. The Teachings in Which the Buddha Engaged	58
V. Bodhisattvas' Levels of Capability	60
 CHAPTER 2: <i>The Buddha's Enlightenment</i>	 61
I. A Brief Presentation of the Buddha's Enlightenment	61
II. A Full Explanation of the Buddha's Enlightenment	62

- A. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Beliefs of the Lesser Way's Pious Attendants 62
- B. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Perspective of the Great Way's Followers 63
- C. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Approaches of the Secret Mantra Vajra Way 66
  - 1. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to Action and Conduct Tantras' Traditions 66
  - 2. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Yoga Tantras' Traditions 67
  - 3. The Buddha's Enlightenment according to the Highest Yoga Tantras' Traditions 69
  - 4. Various Definitions of the Unsurpassed Realm 71

CHAPTER 3: *The Buddha's Twelve Deeds* 75

- I. A General Explanation of the Buddha's Deeds 76
- II. A Presentation of Each of the Twelve Deeds 77
  - A. The First Deed 77
  - B. The Second Deed 78
  - C. The Third Deed 79
  - D. The Fourth Deed 80
  - E. The Fifth Deed 80
  - F. The Sixth Deed 81
  - G. The Seventh Deed 81
  - H. The Eighth Deed 82
  - I. The Ninth Deed 83
  - J. The Tenth Deed 84
  - K. The Eleventh Deed 85
  - L. The Twelfth Deed 87
- III. Supplementary Explanation to Distinguish between Great Way and Lesser Way Views of the Buddha's Deeds 88

CHAPTER 4: *Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms* 93

- I. An Introduction 94
- II. A Full Explanation of Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Lands 94
  - A. How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Created the Pure Realms 94

1. How the Original Lord Buddha Ever Excellent Attained the Body of Ultimate Enlightenment's Manifest Awakening 94
2. How Buddha Ever Excellent Created Oceans of Self-Manifest Pure Realms 95
- B. How Buddha Vajra Bearer Attained Peace 98
  1. Buddha Vajra Bearer's Attainment of Peace 98
  2. Buddha Vajra Bearer's Distinguishing Deeds 99
- C. How Buddha Vajra Bearer's Two Form Bodies' Emanations Appear 100
  1. How Enlightenment's Body of Perfect Rapture Appears 100
  2. How Enlightenment's Manifest Body Appears 103
    - a. A General Description of the Manifest Body 103
      - i. Enlightenment's Natural Manifestation 103
      - ii. Enlightenment's Manifestations to Guide Beings 104
      - iii. Enlightenment's Diverse Manifestations 105
    - b. The Manifest Body according to Great Perfection 105
      - i. A Description of the Manifest Body 106
      - ii. Explanation of the Three Precious Representations of the Teachings 108
- D. A Supplementary Statement Concerning Other Teaching Traditions 112

**BOOK THREE: WHAT THE BUDDHA TAUGHT 113**

**CHAPTER I: *What Are the Sacred Teachings?* 115**

- I. An Introduction to Identify the Subject, the Sacred Teachings 116
- II. A Full Explanation of the Sacred Teachings 116
  - A. The Essence of Dharma 116
  - B. Etymology of the Word *Dharma* 117
  - C. The Classification of Dharma 120
    1. The Meaning of *Dharma* Which Is the Basis of This Classification 120
    2. The Actual Classification of Dharma 120
      - a. A Concise Presentation of the Classification of Dharma 120
      - b. A Full Explanation of the Classification of Dharma 120
        - i. The Subject, the Dharma of Realization 120
        - ii. The Scriptural Transmissions That Express Realization 122
          - aa. A Concise Presentation of Scriptural Transmissions 122
          - bb. The Full Explanation of Scriptural Transmissions 124

- 1' The Canon 124
  - a' The Essence of the Canon 124
  - b' Classifications of the Canon 126
    - i' Classification of the Canon according to Its Dominant Cause 126
    - ii' Classification of the Canon according to Its Subjects 129
    - iii' Classification of the Canon according to Modes of Expression 134
  - iv' Classification of the Canon according to the Disciples' Degrees of Acumen 136
- 2' The Treatises That Comment upon the Scriptural Transmissions' Intent 137
  - a' Qualifications of Authors of Treatises 137
  - b' Characteristics of the Treatises 138
  - c' Etymology of the Word "Treatise" 138
  - d' Classifications of Treatises 140
    - i' Classification of Treatises according to Function 140
    - ii' Classification of Treatises according to Topics 140
    - iii' Classification of Treatises according to Subject 141
  - e' A Supplementary Explanation of Which Treatises to Adopt and Which to Reject 142

CHAPTER 2: *Cycles of Scriptural Transmission* 145

- I. Perspectives on the Cycles of Scriptural Transmission 146
- II. Cycles of Scriptural Transmission 146
  - A. The Essence of the Wheel of Dharma 146
    - 1. The General Essence of the Wheel of Dharma 147
    - 2. The Characteristics of Scriptural Transmission 149
  - B. Etymology of the Term "Wheel of Dharma" 150
  - C. Categories of the Wheel of Dharma 151
    - 1. The Common Wheel of Dharma 151
      - a. The Wheel of Dharma Classified as Three Cycles of Teaching 151
        - i. The General Classification of Three Cycles of Teaching 151

- ii. Separate Frameworks of the Three Cycles of Teaching 153
  - aa. The First Cycle of Teaching 153
  - bb. The Middle Cycle of Teaching 154
  - cc. The Final Cycle of Teaching 156
- b. The Wheel of Dharma Described in Terms of Aggregates 157
- 2. The Extraordinary Wheel of Dharma according to the Secret Mantra Way 158
  - a. The Origin of Action Tantra 158
  - b. The Origin of Conduct Tantra 159
  - c. The Origin of Yoga Tantra 159
  - d. The Origin of Highest Yoga Tantra 160
  - e. Other Explanations of the Origin of Tantra 164

CHAPTER 3: *Compilations of the Buddha's Word* 167

- I. The First Compilation 167
  - A. The Necessity for the Compilation of the Buddha's Word 167
  - B. Compilation of the Lesser Way 168
  - C. Compilation of the Great Way 171
  - D. Compilation of the Vajra Way 175
- II. The Middle Compilation 177
- III. The Final Compilation 179

CHAPTER 4: *The Origins of the Early Translations' Ancient Tradition* 183

- I. The Descent of the Tantras 183
  - A. A Brief Presentation 184
  - B. The Full Explanation of the Descent of the Tantras 184
    - 1. The Victors' Lineage Transmitted through Wisdom Mind 184
      - a. How the Teachers Spoke the Teachings 184
      - b. How the Retinue Compiled the Teachings 187
      - c. How the Teachings Were Entrusted 188
    - 2. Awareness Holders' Lineage Transmitted through Symbols 189
      - a. The Ati System 189
      - b. The Systems of the Two Other Yogas 190
        - i. The Transmission among Nonhuman Awareness Holders 191



- ii. The Transmission among Both Human and Nonhuman Beings 191
- 3. Human Individuals' Lineage Transmitted through Hearing 193
- II. The Transmission of the Means of Attainment 195

**BOOK FOUR: BUDDHISM RESPLENDENT IN THE WORLD** 197

CHAPTER 1: *Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings* 199

- I. A General Statement 199
- II. How the Victor's Doctrine Spread in the Land of Exalted Beings 200
  - A. The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Pious Attendants' Collections 200
  - B. The Period During Which Buddhists Mainly Practiced the Great Way's Tradition 204
    - 1. The Spread of the Great Way's Common Collection of Teachings 204
      - a. The Spread of the Mind-Only View 204
      - b. The Spread of the Great Middle Way View 206
    - 2. How the Collection of Teachings of the Extraordinary Secret Mantra Way Spread in India 217
      - a. How Each Tantra Appeared 218
      - b. How Tantric Monasteries Developed 229
    - 3. How These Collections Will Spread in India in the Present and Future 231

CHAPTER 2: *How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet* 235

- I. The Origin of Tibet's Buddhist Kings, Foundation of the Doctrine 236
  - A. How Buddhism Reached Tibet 236
  - B. How Buddhist Customs Were Introduced in Tibet 239
  - C. How Buddhism Spread and Flourished in Tibet 240
- II. The Origins in Tibet of the Root of the Teachings, Buddhist Monastic Discipline 243
  - A. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Lower Tibet 243
  - B. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Kashmir 246
  - C. The Tradition of Monastic Discipline from Upper Tibet 247

- III. The Origins of the Teaching Traditions That Preserve Scriptural Transmissions 248
  - A. Scholarship and Meditation Practice in General 248
  - B. The Specific Teaching Traditions 249
    - 1. The Common Way's Teaching Traditions 249
      - a. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in Monastic Discipline 249
      - b. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Study of Observed Phenomena 252
      - c. The Origin of Teaching Traditions of the Perfection of Sublime Insight 257
      - d. The Origin of Teaching Traditions in the Middle Way 265
        - i. How the Teaching Lineage of Intrinsic Emptiness Spread 265
        - ii. How the Teaching Lineage of Extrinsic Emptiness Spread 269
    - 2. The History of the Scholastic Traditions of the Uncommon Secret Mantra Vajra Way 272
      - a. Teaching Systems of the Tantras of the New Translations 272
        - i. The History of the Teaching of Action and Conduct Tantras 272
        - ii. The History of Teaching of Yoga Tantra 273
        - iii. The History of Teaching of the Highest Yoga Tantras 275
          - aa. The History of Teaching of Father Tantras 276
            - 1' The Tantras of the Desire Family 276
            - 2' The Tantras of the Anger Family 289
            - 3' The Tantras of the Stupidity Family 292
          - bb. The History of Teaching Systems of Mother Tantras 295
            - 1' The Héruka Family 295
            - 2' The Tantras of the Family of Permanence 303
            - 3' The Vajrasattva Family 305
        - b. The History of Teaching the Tantras of the Early Translations 308
        - c. A Supplementary Section 313
    - 3. A Summary of the Nature of the Transmission of the Scholastic Traditions 315
      - a. A General Explanation of the Doctrine's Transmission 315
      - b. A Clarification of My Specific Tradition 317
      - c. Praise for Another Tradition 320

CHAPTER 3: *The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots* 321

- I. A Brief Presentation 323
- II. A Full Explanation of Lineages of Meditation Practice, the Eight Major Chariots 323
  - A. The Eight Major Chariots
    - 1. The Ancient Tradition of Secret Mantra 324
      - a. Identification of the Doctrine of the Ancient Tradition 324
      - b. Specific Transmissions within the Ancient Tradition 324
        - i. The Transmission from Padmakara 325
        - ii. The Transmission from Bérotsana 326
        - iii. The Transmission from Vimalamitra 327
        - iv. The Transmission from Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé 328
        - v. The Transmission from Ma Rinchen Chok, Nyak Jnana Kumara, and Others 329
        - vi. The Transmissions from the Later Revealers of Concealed Treasures 331
    - 2. The Buddha's Word as Instruction 332
      - a. Identification of the Tradition 332
      - b. The Buddha's Word as Instruction's Lineages 333
        - i. The General Doctrinal Lineages of the Buddha's Word as Instruction 333
        - ii. The Early Tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction 334
        - iii. The New Tradition of the Buddha's Word as Instruction 335
    - 3. The Path with the Result 336
      - a. Identification of the Tradition 336
      - b. Presentation of the Lineages of the Path with the Result 339
        - i. A General Presentation of the Lineages 339
        - ii. A Specific Presentation of the Sakya Lineage 341
        - iii. An Ancillary Presentation of Other Lineages 342
    - 4. Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage 343
      - a. Identification of the Tradition 343
      - b. Presentation of the Lineages of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage 345
        - i. The Four Pillars 345
        - ii. Réchungpa's Doctrinal Lineage 346

- iii. The Dakpo Doctrinal Lineage Tradition 347
    - iv. The Outstanding Karma Kamtsang Tradition 349
  - 5. The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage 351
    - a. Identification of the Tradition 351
    - b. Presentation of the Lineages of the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage 352
      - i. The Historical Lineage 353
      - ii. The Recent Lineage 354
      - iii. The More Recent Lineage 354
      - iv. How the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage Is Especially Exalted 355
  - 6. Pacification of Suffering 356
    - a. The Actual Tradition of Pacification of Suffering 356
      - i. Identification of the Tradition 356
      - ii. Presentation of the Lineages of Pacification of Suffering 358
        - aa. The Initial Transmission 358
        - bb. The Middle Transmissions 358
        - cc. The Final Transmission 360
        - dd. A Supplementary Presentation 360
    - b. The Branch Tradition, Severance 362
      - i. Identification of the Doctrinal System 362
      - ii. The Lineages of Severance 362
        - aa. The Male System of Severance 362
        - bb. The Female System of Severance 363
  - 7. Vajra Yoga 367
    - a. Identification of the Tradition 367
    - b. The Lineages of Vajra Yoga 367
      - i. The Appearance of Vajra Yoga in India 367
      - ii. How Vajra Yoga Became Known in Tibet in General 368
      - iii. Vajra Yoga's Seventeen Specific Traditions 368
      - iv. Other Traditions of Vajra Yoga 370
      - v. The Special Historical Tradition 371
  - 8. Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras 372
    - a. Identification of the Tradition 372
    - b. The Lineage System of Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras 373
- B. An Ancillary Account of Minor Traditions 374

CHAPTER 4: *A History of Buddhist Culture* 377

- I. A History of Buddhist Culture 379
  - A. The Major Fields of Culture 379
    - 1. Sanskrit Grammar 379
      - a. How Grammar Appeared in the Heavens 379
      - b. How the Study of Sanskrit Grammar Spread in the Human World 380
        - i. Panini's Grammar 380
        - ii. Chandragomi's Grammar 382
        - iii. The Kalapa Grammar 383
        - iv. The Sarasvati and Other Grammars 384
    - 2. Logic 385
      - a. Non-Buddhist Logical Analysis 385
      - b. Buddhist Logic 386
        - i. Buddhist Logic in India 386
        - ii. Buddhist Logic in Tibet 389
        - iii. The Philosophical Traditions That Logic Is Associated With 391
    - 3. Sacred Art 393
      - a. Representations of Wisdom Mind 393
      - b. Representations of Wisdom Form 393
        - i. How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in India 393
          - 1' How Painted Images Appeared 394
          - 2' How Sculpted Images Appeared 396
        - ii. How Representations of Wisdom Form Appeared in Tibet 400
        - iii. Textual Sources of Art Forms 403
      - c. Representations of Wisdom Speech: A History of Written Language 403
    - 4. Medicine 405
      - a. Who First Conceived of Medicine and the Source of Its Lineage 405
      - b. How the Buddha Later Taught Medicine 408
      - c. How Medicine Spread in India, China, and Tibet 410
        - i. The History of Medicine in India 410
        - ii. The History of Medicine in China 412

- iii. The History of Medicine in Tibet 413
  - 1' A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Early Spread in Tibet 413
  - 2' A History of Medicine during Buddhism's Later Spread in Tibet 416
  - 3' The History of Enlightened Activity Based on the Glorious Four Medical Tantras 419
- B. The Minor Fields of Culture 422
  - 1. Astrological Calculation 422
    - a. Stellar Calculation (Indian Astrology) 422
    - b. Victory in Battle 424
    - c. Element Calculation (Chinese Astrology) 425
  - 2. Poetics 426
  - 3. Metrical Composition 427
  - 4. Lexicography (with an Ancillary Statement on Theater) 428
- C. Epilogue 429
  - 1. A Note on the Minor Fields of Culture 429
  - 2. A Note on Culture in General 430
- II. An Account of How Buddhism Appeared in Other Major Countries 430
  - A. Buddhism in Shambhala 431
  - B. Buddhism in China 432
  - C. Buddhism in Khotan 434
  - D. Buddhism in Dravida 434
  - E. Buddhism in Other Islands 435



## TRANSLATOR'S POSTSCRIPT: REFLECTIONS ON EACH CHAPTER

---

This postscript contains an essay on the subject of each chapter of this book, as well as a first section on the volume *Myriad Worlds*, which immediately precedes it in *The Treasury of Knowledge* series. As the translation of *Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* evolved, I watched the text swell alarmingly due to a severe case of endnote-itis. If one were so inclined, there is simply no limit to what can be added to Kongtrul's text—reams of information and endless details, in fact. As I mentioned in my introduction, I came to the conclusion that whereas my colleagues were justified in decoding their sections of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, the three books translated here could be read by practically everyone just as they were written. My love of every conceivable side story and reference was detracting from the author's intent, and so many teachers can supply more and better information in the proper context of instruction using this as a textbook. Thus the translation appears with the absolute minimum of notes or asides.

What I have included in this postscript are reflections written to help readers make some preliminary sense of what they are about to read, or have just read, should they feel the need for a light walk-through that explains some of the material that might be unfamiliar to readers new to Tibetan Buddhism.

### **MYRIAD WORLDS REVISITED**

*Myriad Worlds* (Book One of *The Treasury of Knowledge*) is indispensable reading for those who wish to comprehend the universe in which Buddhists believe we live. I do not know of another single book in a non-



Buddhist language that similarly introduces the many major cosmologies found within Buddhism—that of the great way, the lesser way, and tantra. A valid criticism that could be leveled at the book is that it should be twice or three times its modest length. Yet for all its concision, the book offers enough detail to allow us to navigate longer texts on the subject, and more importantly, to grasp references to Buddhist cosmologies as we explore unrelated topics. What we call Buddhism has always taken place within the worlds described in *Myriad Worlds*; if we are to orient ourselves as residents (or even as tourists) in the Buddha’s cosmos, this book serves as our map.

I will present briefly here some of the places Kongtrul wrote of in *Myriad Worlds* to which he refers in *Buddhism’s Journey to Tibet* and which he assumes his readership knows from the previous volume.

*Myriad Worlds* begins with the cosmology of the great way (the “mahayana,” rendered as the “universal way” in *Myriad Worlds*). In a general sense, when Kongtrul set out to describe the Buddha’s appearance in “our world,” he had the great way’s world in mind. What seem most important to retain from Chapter One of *Myriad Worlds* are two subjects—that of a specific place and that of a particular buddha. We read of the place under the heading “The Arrangement of the Realms”; it is called Richly Adorned Realm and is also referred to as Unsurpassed. The buddha who dwells there is referred to as “Omnipresent Illuminator, Great Glacial Lake of Wisdom.” Kongtrul spends a few pages (*Myriad Worlds*, pp. 98–101) on details of this realm and buddha to which he will return in the present volume.

Apart from gleaning information, a conscientious reader should ideally also come away from exposure to this great way cosmology with a specific initial impression—something akin to bafflement, perplexity, and disorientation. I believe that Kongtrul had a reason to begin *Myriad Worlds* (not to mention the entire *Treasury of Knowledge*) with this unreasonable, irrational cosmology rather than with that of the staid lesser way which would normally precede it. Here are a few lines from that chapter (square brackets in the original):

Moreover, realms as numerous as the atoms in the [entire] realm appear within each atom [of each realm]. Infinite oceans of [Illuminator’s] forms appear within his one form. Each form appears as though it were pervading all of the infinite oceans

of his forms and realms. This exists by virtue of a great miracle that transcends the sphere of [ordinary] experience. (p. 99)

These realms appear in a variety of configurations such as intersecting, upside-down, and right-side-up. (p. 99)

Worlds exist in an inconceivable variety of ways. (p. 101)

The magnitude of this inconceivable place is the sphere of experience solely of buddhas and bodhisattvas who dwell on the [three] higher stages [of awakening]. (p. 102)

These words, and those that follow, do not describe the features of any cosmos other than our own, a world-system called Endurance:

. . . indescribable oceans of fragrant waters [descending from] the body of Great Glacial Lake, as numerous as the particles in all the buddha realms. In the center of these oceans are seas of scented waters filled with beautiful anthers on which rest four immense jeweled lotuses. A tiered arrangement of twenty-five world-systems is supported by these [lotuses]. In the spaces between each [of these world-systems] are infinite tiers of world-systems, which define their boundaries. The thirteenth of these [twenty-five world-systems] is our own third-order thousand world-system, known as Endurance. (pp. 103–104)

This name for our world system, Endurance, refers both to the tribulations—afflictive emotions and sufferings—of the beings residing here, and to the forbearance of bodhisattvas who appear here to aid those beings (p. 104).

The following passage shows how Kongtrul referred in *Myriad Worlds* to the Buddha's appearance in the cosmos, broadly hinting of his portrayal of the Buddha (here referred to as an “enlightened teacher”) later in the present volume:

The enlightened teacher in our third-order thousand world system [Endurance] is an emanation of the enjoyment dimension of awakening, the great Illuminator. This is a single form

whose vast emanations appear throughout all the Unsurpassed realms in the pure domains. . . The Centrist scholar Dharmamitra explains:

This form, differentiated [from others] by vows, the power of cultivation [of merit and pristine wisdom], and intention, has attained complete enlightenment in one Unsurpassed domain alone. Therefore, the myriad forms of the enjoyment dimension of awakening that dwell in all the [other] Unsurpassed realms are solely his apparition manifesting in a vast [display]. (p. 105)

This cosmology, so confounding at our first appraisal, can eventually generate a genuine sense of awe and wonder. It is anything but tidy or mechanical; it is intricate, unlimited, and marvelous. And it is this cosmology that Kongtrul returns to implicitly, if not explicitly, when he introduces us to the Buddha of the great way, the Buddha of the majority of Buddhists.

The second chapter of *Myriad Worlds*, entitled “Our Universe,” follows the teachings of a Buddhism of a more modest scope. What we need to take from this chapter is mainly the levels of heavens that float above us, since reference is made to them at different junctures in the Buddha’s life.

In this schema, beings live in three realms; we humans and most other life forms inhabit the desire realm. The gods who share this realm with us belong to one of six groups, each of which has a horizontal heaven. These are stacked vertically in six levels. The lowest is called Four Groups of the Great Kings: the four great kings visited the Buddha after his enlightenment. The next heaven is the Thirty-three [Groups of Gods], where the Buddha’s mother took rebirth. The fourth highest is Joyful, where the Buddha lived before his birth in our world. Of the other three—Free from Conflict, Enjoying Creations, and Mastery Over Others’ Creations—only the last is mentioned in the present book.

The second of the three realms, called the form realm, is composed entirely of heavens, seventeen in all, grouped in four levels. Farther from our world, these heavens are infrequently mentioned, apart from the first level—three heavens called Group of the Pure, Priests of Brahma, and

Great Pure Ones—whose gods sometimes intervene in our world, and the last of the seventeen—Unsurpassed, one of the highest five, which are collectively referred to as the pure domains. Kongtrul ensures that readers will remember Unsurpassed by the end of Book Two, “The Light of the World.”

Passing reference is made in “The Light of the World” to wheel-monarchs, past rulers of significant portions of the human world. Omens indicated that the Buddha would have become a wheel-monarch had he decided to remain a prince. *Myriad Worlds* has a section devoted to the history of wheel-monarchs and their conditions of life (pp. 134–138).

The third chapter of *Myriad Worlds* presents a cosmology based upon the tantras of the Wheel of Time. Although Kongtrul states at the outset that “This tantra refutes the erroneous descriptions of space and time based on” both non-Buddhist and elementary Buddhist systems, he did not draw from this chapter in writing the chapters included in *Buddhism’s Journey to Tibet*. Nor does the fourth chapter, “The Causes of Cyclic Life,” echo in the present volume. That chapter and *Myriad Worlds*’ last, “The Primordial Purity of the Universe,” do not purport to present cosmology but rather the mechanics of the wheel of life. As Kongtrul states at the beginning of “The Causes of Cyclic Life,” he set out to describe “the causes and conditions that produce deception [within cyclic life] and those that effect liberation” (p. 203). This Kongtrul does in one of the densest and most challenging chapters in the entire *Treasury of Knowledge* if one is not already familiar with the ideas he presents there in an incredibly concise form. The larger picture of the great perfection cosmology that frames the theory and practice he writes of in “The Primordial Purity of the Universe” can be found in “Enlightenment’s Bodies and Pure Realms,” Chapter Four of “The Light of the World.”

## **BOOK TWO: THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD**

### *Chapter One: Our Teacher’s Path to Awakening*

*Myriad Worlds* sets a stage—the cosmos—and introduces an infinite supporting cast—sentient beings. Now enters the hero, the Buddha, referred to in familiar, affectionate, almost possessive terms, as “our Teacher.” Nevertheless this Buddha of ours is not unique, far from it. However familiar the template of one son of God or one prophet might be in

other religions, Kongtrul helps Buddhists shake free from it at the outset of “The Light of the World.” Under its chapter’s first heading, “Distinguishing Our Teacher from Buddhas in General,” he introduces us to the cosmos as populated with buddhas in incalculable numbers, destined to appear in world-systems such as our own for as long as space exists. In fact, the first sentence of the entire text of *The Treasury of Knowledge* reads, “Oceans of realms have arisen from the relationship between those to be guided to enlightenment [sentient beings], and the enlightened guides [the buddhas]” (*Myriad Worlds*, p. 95). The interplay between enlightened and unenlightened beings itself produces what we experience as our world.

Under the second heading in this chapter, “A Concise Presentation of the Story of the Buddha’s Liberation,” we find another major challenge to non-Buddhist concepts of space and time, and of the Buddha’s life: “Ultimately, our compassionate Teacher has been manifestly awakened since time immemorial. He appeared throughout past, present, and future as various buddhas and bodhisattvas, acting for the welfare of beings.” Further, the genuinely dramatic events of the Buddha’s life—his abdication of the throne, his astounding austerities, his defeat of demons, his enlightenment, and his teaching—are referred to here as, for example, his having “*demonstrated* manifest, complete enlightenment.” He merely showed us how it is done; he had done it all before (as had so many other buddhas) and, according to Kongtrul, will do it again until the end of time.

Two parts of this chapter present different stories of the Buddha’s first step on the spiritual path that eventually led to enlightenment. We read of him as everything from a majestic wheel-monarch to a hapless soul tormented in the hells. Each tale relates how he first decided to embark on the course that would lead to awakening as a buddha. At the end, Kongtrul comments,

Thus, the lesser and great ways differ in regard to our Teacher’s initial development of the mind of awakening, and even within the great way, the discourses present many different accounts. Evidently, these are taught with many differing underlying intents, such as suitability in relation to disciples’ specific times, circumstances, or mentalities; or in relation to different aspects of the mind of awakening—aspiration, application, or ultimate. Therefore, rigid adherence to a single viewpoint, as if

to say, “This event alone marked the Buddha’s initial development of the mind of awakening,” while fitting them into a set chronological order, is pointless.

As with this issue, so with many others: Kongtrul, echoing the Buddhist masters before him, asks us to suspend our desire for tidy narratives. The Buddha we chance to meet—his story, his character, his teaching—has far more to do with us than it does with the Buddha. We live within the bounds of material reality, of predictable space and time, and of linear personal narratives, all of which we conscientiously attend to, persuaded as we are of their obvious reality. While it may seem that any other attitude is unreasonable, buddhas and bodhisattvas do not seem to share our views and beliefs. For example, to answer our straightforward and practical question, “How long does it take to arrive at the end of the path?” we might receive any number of answers, as Kongtrul explains:

In some cases, the period spent [on the path to awakening] is said to be long; vast accumulations of merit and wisdom are taught to show how difficult it is for a buddha to appear. There are some who become indolent and do not enter [the path of] supreme awakening [when considering] such [a long period]; thus, to make them enter it, the period is said to be short. Further, the time can be unspecified, to demonstrate that ultimately, numbers and enumeration lack an intrinsic nature, and to present the inconceivable ultimate nature, such as that time’s multiplicity does not contradict its unity and that time’s multiplicity converges into one. [These presentations] are suitable due to many purposes; do not consider them contradictory.

Buddhist teachings might seem contradictory to the point of incoherence, but each system of Buddhism reflects the needs of those addressed. Buddhism is not mysterious, but what it describes—the nature of reality, the nature of our being—is. Buddhist wisdom is not complicated, but the dispositions and characters of sentient beings—those it must lead to enlightenment—are. The buddhas themselves, however, may in fact be inscrutable, since even their own path to enlightenment amounts to a display they deploy intending to inspire and guide us. Kongtrul answers

the understandable question, “What did the Buddha do when on the spiritual path?” with a variety of answers, of which the most typical might be this:

. . . he engaged in four forms of conduct: for those devoted to the great way, the conduct of the ten transcendent perfections; for those devoted to the lesser way, the conduct of the thirty-seven aspects of awakening; for those devoted to both, the conduct of clairvoyance to inspire them through his powers; and to guide all, the conduct of bringing sentient beings to spiritual maturity.

In other words, even on the spiritual path, the Buddha appeared to act in ways that reflected the needs or corresponded to the aspirations of others.

Kongtrul mentions three “schools” of Buddhist thought by name, here rendered as materialist, substantialist, and majority. All three belong to the lesser way; some readers may be familiar with them by their Sanskrit or Tibetan names. The translation “materialist school” for “jédraḡ mawa” (*bye brag smra ba*; Vaibhashika) is based on this quote in *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*: “Because they state that [the phenomena] of the three times exist as discrete particular substances . . . they are referred to as such [that is, as Vaibhashikas, Proponents of Particular (Substances)]” (p. 124; brackets in the original).

The translation “substantialist school” for “zhi tamché yöpar mawa” (*gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba*; Mulasarvastivadin) is based on this quote in *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*: “Mulasarvastivadins (. . . Proponents of the Existence of All Bases) are known by that name because . . . they state that the five bases . . . , which are knowable objects, exist . . . substantially” (p. 136).

The translation “majority school” for “gendun pal chenpa” (*dge ’dun dpal chen pa*; Mahasanghika) is based on this quote in *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*: “Mahasanghika (. . . Majority of the Community) are referred to as such because, at the time of the split, the majority of the sangha formed this group” (p. 136).

The important points to retain from this chapter are some of the central beliefs of the great way concerning the Buddha: that he belongs to an infinite community of enlightened beings, and specifically to a group of one thousand who each in turn over the course of millennia appear in

our world in the guise of ones who start with the aspiration to awaken, follow the path, then demonstrate the process of enlightenment, all the while having already gained manifest awakening since the dawn of time. While this belief challenges us, serious consideration and adoption of it serve at the very least to loosen our rigid views of space and time, self and other, so we will be better able to appreciate deeper truths of the Buddha's appearance in the world, such as are presented later in this book.

Contrast the scope of this, most Buddhists' Buddha, with a common but far narrower view of who the Buddha was: a very good man whose dedication and sacrifice led him during the course of his lifetime to spiritual realization and to a career of teaching that had a major impact on human history. As sympathetic to Buddhism as this second view might be, and as easily digestible as it is, many Buddhists would not recognize it as our own. Moreover, confining the Buddha to the status of the most excellent among human beings does not allow us to begin to comprehend the wealth of Buddhist wisdom that describes the appearance of enlightenment in the world. The ideas Kongtrul sets forth in this and the following chapters create an essential entryway leading to the understanding of passages such as this (from one of Kongtrul's source texts), which begins with a quote from the Buddha then continues with a commentary by Longchenpa:

*The Amassing of the Rare and Sublime* states:

O Shantimati, from the night that I awakened to manifestly perfect buddhahood to the night that I pass into nirvana, I will not have spoken even a single syllable of spiritual teachings.

Some ignorant people say that this means he did not teach in the ultimate sense, only in the relative sense. But they seem to be confused about what is actually so—that enlightened speech, which is beyond words and letters, seems to be expressed in words and letters that conform to the perceptions of beings . . . When those to be guided differ in three ways—in terms of bias, character, and interest—what each of them hears the Tathagata speak will be a different teaching, and all of these teachings will occur simultaneously. (Longchen Rabjam, *The Precious Treasury of Philosophical Systems*, pp. 17–18)



Kongtrul wrote this fairly light and easy chapter, “Our Teacher’s Path to Awakening,” to help his readers, of his own time and now, prepare their minds for such words and ideas.

### *Chapter Two: The Buddha’s Enlightenment*

After having recounted in Chapter One various perspectives on the Buddha’s path to awakening, Kongtrul decided to go to the heart of the Buddha’s life: his enlightenment. Among all the things the Buddha did during his lifetime, this was the signal act. What happened, and how did it happen, that he sat down one day as a sentient being and rose from the same seat as the Buddha, the awakened one? For Buddhists, this central question has two points of interest. We wish to comprehend as best we can the Buddha’s experience, for therein lies our ideal, the cornerstone of our faith. Yet we nurture faith not only in another’s success, no matter how exalted, but also in our own ability to tread the path to become in turn buddhas, fully awakened ones.

Nevertheless, this specific chapter is not about us. Kongtrul recounts only Buddha Shakyamuni’s enlightenment, not enlightenment as a general subject. In the last chapters of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, in Books Nine and Ten, Kongtrul tells us our story: how we will progress through the stages of awakening that culminate in full enlightenment. And he spends hundreds of pages doing so, as well he might. For as much as we revere and worship the Buddha, and the countless men and women who have followed him to the ultimate goal, Buddhism’s purpose has always been to serve as a vehicle to liberation for ordinary sentient beings. We begin, however, by examining how that liberation was gained in the past.

Kongtrul tells us that the Buddha’s enlightenment can be explained according to the lesser way, the great way, and secret mantra, or tantric, teachings. At the outset of his presentation of the lesser way’s beliefs, he slips an astounding statement into his narrative without further explanation:

At the end of that time, he repeated a verse of praise to Buddha Star Monarch unceasingly for seven days, *an act which equaled nine ages of accumulation*. (emphasis added)

We have read in the previous chapter how the lesser way's version of the Buddha's path to enlightenment was characterized by veneration of enlightened beings over countless ages. Here we find that all forms of veneration are not of equal value. That different acts or spiritual practices can have radically different effects—a week of one equaling nine ages of others, in this instance—is an idea that both the great way and tantra develop liberally in their literature.

Under the heading of the great way's perspective, we read of how the Buddha merely demonstrates the process of enlightenment in this world, something he has done and will do repeatedly. Kongtrul quotes the Buddha in an important discourse:

In the past, countless ages ago, in a world-system that united as many realms as there are grains of sand in the Ganges, I attained enlightenment as Transcendent Buddha Crown of the Powerful One, aided beings, and transcended sorrow. Then once again, from that point until the present age, I have repeatedly demonstrated the inconceivable process of enlightenment.

I will continue, until cyclic existence is empty, to demonstrate [this process of] enlightenment beginning with the initial development of the mind of awakening as an ordinary being.

While such statements do not help us grasp the nature of the Buddha's enlightenment, they do underline the fact that enlightenment is a specific experience, the result of a known and knowable process that the Buddha deliberately demonstrates time and again so that we might follow his example, no guesswork involved.

Kongtrul then introduces an iconic place he will return to throughout this chapter, the true location of the Buddha's enlightenment, called Unsurpassed Realm. This information relegates the traditional setting of awakening, Vajra Seat (located in the small north-central Indian village Bodhgaya), to the rank of a place where he merely re-enacted a previously gained enlightenment. If we read *The Treasury of Knowledge* in the order Kongtrul wrote it, we will have already read of Unsurpassed in the first few pages of *Myriad Worlds*, where Kongtrul gives the best definition of the realm:

Enlightenment is attained when the naturally pure sphere of reality [of the mind] is freed of adventitious defilements, and the sphere of reality becomes inseparable from pristine wisdom. The place where this occurs is called Unsurpassed. It is not limited to any one place or direction, just as the images of one's dreams are experienced wherever one falls asleep. (p. 98)

These excellent sentences stand alongside countless priceless explanations found in the best Buddhist writing, including Kongtrul's: succinct, simple, and profound. But in this case, we soon discover terrible consequences of the choice of this name for the highest realm imaginable. A hint of the headaches to follow can be found in these words from the paragraph immediately following the first mention of Unsurpassed in the present chapter:

Some assert that after he attained enlightenment in Unsurpassed Richly Adorned Realm, he demonstrated the process of enlightenment in the Unsurpassed of the pure domains [in the gods' heavens].

As rich and varied as Buddhist nomenclature normally appears to be, it saddled itself with the same name for a pure realm and the highest of seventeen heavens of the gods' form realm. We read in *Myriad Worlds*:

[The latter five heavens are the] “pure domains”... Unsurpassed is so called because within this group of heavens no heaven surpasses the qualities of this one . . . Asanga's *Five Treatises on the Stages* states that the Place of the Great Lords, where [bodhisattvas] who have attained mastery of the tenth stage [of awakening] take birth, is located above Unsurpassed. (pp. 120–121)

The final sentence of the section presenting the great way perspective on enlightenment reveals the ambivalence that results from this confusion in place names. Where we might expect a conclusive ending statement concerning the site of the most sublime experience, we read instead,

Some evidently identify “Unsurpassed Realm” . . . as an Unsurpassed Realm that is higher than another located among the pure gods’ realms, and that it was only there that he first attained enlightenment.

Kongtrul returns to this subject at length at the end of “The Buddha’s Enlightenment” since Unsurpassed Realm figures as well in the tantras’ account of the Buddha’s enlightenment.

In the section on the great way, Kongtrul mentions an event that takes on a central importance in the secret mantra: “In his final lifetime in Unsurpassed Realm, [the Buddha] *received the empowerment of great radiance from the ten directions’ victors*, a vajra-like meditative state arose within him, and he attained enlightenment as the body of perfect rapture” (emphasis added).

The Buddha continues to attain enlightenment, but the process changes, and as different elements are introduced to that process, the path we follow in his footsteps also changes. If empowerment provided the catalyst to the Buddha’s enlightenment, empowerment becomes central to our path. We read in the section on the action and conduct tantras’ view of his enlightenment, “[the Buddha] engaged in tantric conduct, [and as a result] manifestly achieved awakening’s tenth stage . . .” (brackets added); tantric conduct then becomes the prescribed path. Under the heading of yoga tantra, we read that “his wisdom body went to Unsurpassed” and after attaining enlightenment there, “he re-entered his [human] body of ripened acts, then demonstrated the process of enlightenment.” And we notice marked differences in brief accounts of the Buddha’s development:

The ten directions’ joyful buddhas  
 Turned him away from that unimpeded mental state,  
 And taught him nondual profound clarity,  
 Pure like the sphere of space.  
 Thus, at midnight he was like a victor;  
 By meditating on that state,  
 He attained genuine realization in an instant at dawn.

and, from the yoga tantras themselves:

They granted him the empowerment of the eclipse of sun  
and moon,  
And revealed the sweet savor of enjoyment:  
He became a transcendent buddha, gone to suchness.

Under the heading of the highest yoga tantras' view of the Buddha's enlightenment, Kongtrul asserts that the following words represent the definitive or ultimate meaning:

. . . a bodhisattva in his final lifetime in the supreme Unsurpassed Realm engaged in the exceptional profound path's immediate cause and used such means as the five branches of manifest awakening to attain enlightenment as Buddha Vajra Bearer. Even when his emanation demonstrated the process of enlightenment in Magadha, in the Land of Jambu, he traveled the path of the immediate cause, such as enjoyment of his circle of queens, and reached the limits of renunciation and realization.

We have come light-years from the first story of the Buddha's enlightenment just a few pages before, where Kongtrul related the lesser way's version:

During his final lifetime, as Prince Siddharta, although he had perfected the accumulations during three incalculable ages, his physical support was merely at the highest [stage of the] path of accumulation, with all the limitations of an ordinary being, until he sat at Vajra Seat. There, under the tree of awakening at midnight, he subdued three hundred and seventy million armies of demons. Only at that very place and time did the path of realization of the four noble truths' sixteen aspects, such as impermanence, have him reach the end of the four [remaining] paths—preparation, seeing, meditation, and beyond training. With knowledge of extinguishing and non-arising, he attained enlightenment.

Two statements in this version bear repeating to contrast them with every other version that followed: that the Buddha had “all the limitations of

an ordinary being . . . until he sat at Vajra Seat” and that “only at that very place and time” did he attain enlightenment.

It's possible that most Buddhists know that story and honor the Buddha there portrayed, yet when Buddhists of any path apart from the lesser way set out to practice their religion, this basic story is not necessarily the most helpful. Beliefs matter. If the story of the Buddha who was a normal human being until enlightenment is the only one that is credible to us, we must align ourselves with the path that corresponds to that belief. Or, should we find our natural affinity is with Buddhist practices or meditations other than that of the lesser way, it seems reasonable to inform ourselves of the belief system upon which those practices are founded.

Kongtrul and the masters who preceded and followed him whom we identify as non-sectarian saw value in the views, paths, and results of all levels of Buddhist practice. Their open-mindedness and syncretic vision did not, however, tolerate incoherence or dissonance between an individual's view or belief system, the basis of their faith, and the path that person then cultivated in study and meditation. This is not to say that Kongtrul or the others did not incorporate elements of the lesser way, great way, or various levels of tantras into their daily personal spiritual practice. They most certainly did. Yet each had a guiding set of beliefs and principles that gave coherence to the whole, the higher levels of Buddhist theory and practice tending to absorb and re-situate the lower ones. For example, in the case of the Buddha's enlightenment, the great way and tantras do not negate the earlier account, but they reframe the whole story as the Buddha's enactment in this world of an enlightenment he attained at another place and time.

A parallel reframing occurs in Buddhist practice when acts of meditation or forms of behavior conceptualized at one level of practice are done with such radically different attitudes or views that they are entirely re-imagined and re-contextualized. One of the more surprising examples of this can be found in a passage above where Kongtrul states that the Buddha “engaged in the exceptional profound path's immediate cause and used such means as the five branches of manifest awakening to attain enlightenment as Buddha Vajra Bearer,” then later, when living in this world to demonstrate enlightenment, “even then . . . he traveled the path of the immediate cause, such as enjoyment of his circle of queens.” “Immediate cause” and “five branches of manifest awakening” are evidently tantric code words and terms, the first referring to sexual intercourse in

tantric practice, thus the reference to the period of the future Buddha's married life in the palace. As for the five branches of manifest awakening, this term typically refers to elements in the phase of creation meditation, yet Kongtrul explains the term in a passage close to the end of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, relocating it in a manner that corresponds to his use of it here. The following translation enters this book through the kindness of Richard Barron, whose terminology differs slightly from what readers find in this book (“ganacakra feast” corresponds to “vajra feast”; “Anuttarayoga,” to “highest yoga”; “bindu,” to “vital essence”; “mahasiddhas,” to “accomplished masters”; “Guhyasamaja,” to “Matrix of Mystery”; and most importantly, “manifest enlightenment,” to “manifest awakening”).

[W]hen twilight falls, one begins by performing a ganacakra feast and other rituals, and then joins one's consort in supplicating one's spiritual master. The master confers the empowerment into sublime knowing and timeless awareness, and then teaches the participants the instructions that introduce one to the stages for attaining manifest enlightenment through the anticipatory phase of timeless awareness. This leads to the fourth stage of empowerment: by familiarizing oneself with the ongoing experience of that phase, at dawn the path of seeing (which constitutes manifest enlightenment) becomes fully evident.<sup>10</sup> This process is described in both the father and mother classes of the Anuttarayoga tantras.

If we consider the explanations given by the mahasiddhas who were learned in the mother tantras, the process is as follows: When the empowerment is conferred, one engages in union with one's consort (who embodies sublime knowing). From the melting of the white energy comes consummate insight into supremely blissful emptiness; this insight constitutes the aspect of “manifest enlightenment through the lunar energy.” When the bindu is drawn upward together with the red energy of the consort (the woman who embodies sublime knowing), it is the support for the consummate and experi-

10. Note by Richard Barron: “Manifest enlightenment in essence constitutes the pristine awareness that defines the path of seeing, although this initial realization must still be stabilized and deepened on the path of meditation.”

ence of the indivisibility of superlative bliss and emptiness; this constitutes the aspect of “manifest enlightenment through the solar energy.” When the energies are absorbed into the crown of one’s head, the experience of the unity of bliss and emptiness suffuses one’s entire form, leading to the consummate knowledge that the distortions affecting one’s being are primordiallly empty; this constitutes the aspect of “manifest enlightenment through the symbolic emblem.” From this comes the consummate insight into all phenomena, i.e., the inseparability of objects and the subjective agents perceiving these; this constitutes the aspect of “manifest enlightenment through emptiness” as a unifying principle. Due to the suchness itself of things, enlightened mind expresses itself as dharmakaya, while enlightened form expresses itself as sambhogakaya; this constitutes the aspect of “manifest enlightenment through the totality of the kayas.”

... The previous interpretation [common to the father and mother tantras] concerns a process of transformation taking place in one’s ongoing experience. The latter interpretation, although not clearly laid out in the Guhyasamaja cycle, is the tradition followed in the mother tantras. In the context of one awakening to buddhahood, even an ordinary person engaged in the conduct of the immediate cause<sup>11</sup> awakens to buddhahood by relying on such conduct. (excerpt from Book Ten, “An Analysis of the Consummate Fruition State,” in Chapter Three, “The Fruition in the Vajrayana”)

Kongtrul has emphasized in this chapter, “The Buddha’s Enlightenment,” how this process constitutes all buddhas’ path to enlightenment according to the tantras. To reiterate that point at the other end of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, he underlines that in the highest yoga tantras “it is said that even though one may have traversed the ten bodhisattva levels of the transcendent perfections, up to the point at which one is in one’s final rebirth, still one must definitely rely on this tantric path of the five aspects of manifest enlightenment.”

11. Note by Richard Barron: “This is a euphemistic reference to the practice with a consort described above.”



This chapter ends with a section that presents various ways of defining the place of the Buddha's enlightenment according to all but the followers of the lesser way—Unsurpassed Realm. Kongtrul includes the writings of an Indian master, Buddhaghya, and those of two Tibetans, Longchenpa and Taranata, two of his principal sources. Each of these three masters gives a different interpretation of this true site of enlightenment, and Kongtrul evidently approves of each. This section does not make for easy reading; we get the sense of what Kongtrul refers to when he remarks, "Tibetan scholars have produced a proliferation of explanations, refutations, and assertions concerning Unsurpassed Realm." Try as he might to spare us the details, the subject is crucial and deserves our attention. I do not have the impression that the subject of Unsurpassed Realm and the view of the Buddha that underlies it has had much impact on popular Buddhism outside Asia.

Translators of great way or tantric texts into non-Buddhist languages are often faced with the fact that the idea of the Buddha's life as a mere "demonstration of the process" of treading the spiritual path, or of enlightenment, etc., is so embedded in Buddhist language and thought that the term (in Tibetan, "tsul ten"; *tsul bstan*) is used casually and ubiquitously without any further remarks. We are conscious that many new Buddhists, even those drawn to the great way or to elementary tantric practice, would be uncomfortable in considering the Buddha to be anything but an exemplary human being whose life was lived only on physical and mental planes that resemble our own. That is to say, they believe naturally in what could be identified by and large as the lesser way view. Few northern Asians of the great way or tantric persuasions base their faith and their path on such a Buddha.

The re-location of the Buddha's enlightenment from Vajra Seat, a place rooted in human geography, to a pure realm would seem to have the felicitous effect of opening up the site of enlightenment and experience to all Buddhists. Very few beings become Buddha in the sense that the thousand buddhas of our age do—always as a male, always as a member of Indian caste society, and always at the same, specific place: Vajra Seat in north central India. Conversely, when the majority of Buddhists affirm Unsurpassed Realm as the one and only place where all beings attain enlightenment, any being regardless of race, age, gender, social status, or country of origin can turn their aspirations there for an enlightenment even in this very body and lifetime, since that realm is open to us all.

### *Chapter Three: The Buddha's Twelve Deeds*

This title seems to promise the tamest and the most traditional chapter of “The Light of the World,” or even of the entire *Treasury of Knowledge*, and that proves to be the case. Buddhists of all hues cherish in awe and reverence this twelve-part story of the Buddha's life. As usual in Buddhism, there are differences in details between various schools' versions; Kongtrul's treatment resolutely follows the great way view.

The classic story of the Buddha's life begins with his departure from his previous life as the teacher to bodhisattvas in one of the heavens, Joyful, so called because there “the gods are [filled] with joy [at hearing] the teaching of the victorious one” (*Myriad Worlds*, pp. 118–119). Joyful is the fourth of six heavens located in the desire realm, not especially exalted among heavens, yet only there are Buddhist teachings heard. The future Buddha leaves the heavens for India, where all buddhas take rebirth, to demonstrate the process of enlightenment. After his conception, which would appear to be immaculate—he enters his mother's womb while she stays in retreat and observes eight precepts, including celibacy—he uses his period of gestation to bring “thirty-six hundred billion gods and humans to spiritual maturity.” As we've seen in the previous chapter, all these twelve deeds occur after the Buddha's enlightenment in Unsurpassed Realm. Thus, claims of the Buddha's impact on the worlds of gods and humanity even while in the womb are not rhetorical flourishes to be skimmed over by sophisticated readers: for adherents to the great way and tantra, who include Kongtrul, these are indeed the deeds of the Buddha as he enters this world.

One curious omission in the story involves the Buddha's mother. She delivered the Buddha from “her right side, without harm . . .” and is always portrayed in childbirth standing, her right hand gripping the branch of a tree above her. She did not survive long after giving birth, just one week, thus the thirty-two wet nurses who cared in her absence for the child Buddha. Later in life, he would spend one summer retreat teaching his mother in the heavens, where she was reborn.

The birth scene includes a description of the newborn Buddha taking seven steps in each of the four cardinal directions and making declarations. This underlines that this child was not a prodigy who had a great future ahead of him, but an enlightened being whose every gesture was meaningful for all who encountered him, then or now. Kongtrul's use of

language to portray the Buddha in his early life is deliberate: “[he] had previously perfected all fields of knowledge, *he went to school in order to bring innumerable disciples to full spiritual maturity*. Appearing to train under the grammarian Vishvamitra, he revealed many subjects the names of which his teacher had never heard” (emphasis added). Later, in the fifth deed, which is his marriage to three women and their coterie, a total of sixty thousand or eight-four thousand queens, Kongtrul, who mentioned this period in the last chapter as the Buddha’s demonstration of traveling “the path of the immediate cause,” here states that his practice on that path in turn “brought his circle of queens to full spiritual maturity within awakening.”

With the sixth deed, we enter more familiar territory with the tale of the Buddha’s renunciation and departure from life at his father’s palace. Again, instead of the future Buddha feeling true anguish at the sight of aging, sickness, and death, and being fatefully intrigued by a mendicant, Kongtrul has him “*show signs of disillusionment*.” Incidentally, “show” does not imply that he feigned that disillusionment.

In the seventh deed, the future Buddha’s period of extreme austerity, we read that instead of him trying severe disciplines and concluding them futile, he “sought out those who affirmed that there are karmic causes [for liberation] and who aspired to follow misleading [austere] disciplines. *Seeing that [he could fulfill] many purposes*, such as showing that [such beliefs and practices] did not lead to liberation, he passed six years on the Nairanjana River bank in the same crossed-legged posture” (emphasis added). Kongtrul has here slipped an important idea into the narrative—that the Buddha would later teach (according to some) that karmic causes do not produce liberation or enlightenment, thus his engagement in spiritual practice at this point in his life to refute the contrary view. Further, we read of his unimaginable austerities as only proving points rather than representing a path he once wholeheartedly believed in but would subsequently discard.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth deeds—the Buddha’s walk to the Heart of Awakening, his defeat of demons, and his enlightenment—all portray him as one who enacts or reenacts the mystery of enlightenment as one among countless buddhas in a universe that moves in concert with him. Even his encounter with hordes of demons results from his intentional challenge, rather than being due to inner egoistic aggression and attach-

ment he needed to confront before he could be free to attain enlightenment. Not the slightest trace can be found here of an individual who evinces “all the limitations of an ordinary being.”

The eleventh deed, the Buddha's teaching, holds the most significance for Buddhists. It is said that buddhas sometimes appear in this world but do not teach, which consigns those historical periods to ones of miserable darkness. In the case of our Buddha, he at first decides to not teach, faced with the impossibility of articulating his experience intelligibly. He memorably remarks:

Deep, tranquil, unformulated, non-composite clear light:  
This ambrosia-like reality I have gained  
Is unfathomable by anyone I might teach.  
Thus in silence will I dwell at the forest's edge.

Only after three entreaties on the part of the gods does he consent to teach. This threefold request has become standard in Buddhism; traditionally, teachers do not teach unless asked, and not until the third request. It was only when the Buddha taught that the three jewels, all Buddhists' place of refuge, appeared in our world: the Buddha, his Teaching, and the Spiritual Community.

The last deed is the Buddha's transcendence of sorrow, nirvana, and even here he “demonstrates” rather than undergoes that final act. We note that here, as often, the cause of his passing (accidental food poisoning) is left unmentioned, which contrasts so dramatically with Christianity, in which the birth and death of Jesus seem to have become the central events in that religion's collective lived memory and are reflected in its practice. In Buddhism, the Buddha's enlightenment and teaching far outshine any other event in his life.

This chapter ends with the keys to much of what Kongtrul has presented to this point in “The Light of the World”: his perspective on coherence and consistency in presenting the Buddha's life. The basic problem, or tension, lies in the conflicting demands of writing that prizes historical accuracy and writing that reflects genuine spiritual insight. Kongtrul asserts that these two demands are irreconcilable and that accounts of the Buddha's life written from either perspective must be kept separate from the other:

Major differences in scope exist between the great and lesser ways. However, since the pious attendant system records what all the Buddha's common disciples witnessed, it has become prevalent and accepted. When [the Buddha's deeds] are presented, the two perspectives must be differentiated and un-mixed; composite, blended versions should not be taught.

Kongtrul and Taranata, whom he quotes at length in summation, state that each account is equally valid, but that each must be appreciated within its own context. Kongtrul quotes Taranata to reiterate:

The system of the common Buddhist way (or pious attendant system) gives the account of the Buddha's activity and deeds in the world as they appeared in common to all who were in the vicinity of the Buddha's presence and were apt [witnesses]—including those holding wrong views, non-Buddhists, or even animals. The great way discourses relate how the deeds appeared in the experience of disciples for whom the extraordinary great way was taught. As a result, [the two systems] have different enumerations of the deeds in general, and in particular, very marked differences in scope. Therefore, although these two systems are not fundamentally contradictory, their styles of teaching must not be mixed.

If the first historical account reflects what anyone could have seen, including even animals, it necessarily excludes the Buddha's own visionary experience, which even the great way does not pretend to describe. Further, a straight historical narrative also discounts or marginalizes the visionary experience of disciples who were sufficiently mature to meet the Buddha mind-to-mind rather than just face-to-face.

It is clear that Kongtrul has written of the Buddha's life from the great way perspective; I have tried above to show how Kongtrul's use of language and his interpretation of events signal that intent. Taranata defends that choice—to eschew a “fact”-based narrative in favor of a visionary one—in these words:

Comparing the two systems' [accounts of the Buddha's twelve deeds], the great way's account is superior to the pious at-

tendant system for various reasons: it is vaster; it relates the domain of experience of inconceivable wisdom; it reflects the perceptions of sublime disciples; it relates the esoteric story of his liberation; the great way itself has different levels [of accounts], and so forth.

The lesser way's perspective is not without merit, since, as Taranata continues:

... only the common system [of the lesser way] provides a basis for various points of enquiry, such as what existed in the common perception of all individuals [at that time], the Buddha's life span, the chronology [of the events of his life], and assertions that the Buddha traveled to one place and did not travel to another.

The great way system cannot serve in that way. It is the domain of the inconceivable: it is difficult for it to provide set limits, such as, "These alone were the Buddha's places of residence, historical period, and deeds." Therefore, the system of the common Buddhist way is definitely of primary significance when writing history.

For some in the modern world, Buddhism answers a need for a non-theistic, humanistic spirituality that is not antagonistic to much of the latest science, psychology, or technology. It is entirely possible that some forms of Buddhism correspond to those expectations. I cannot say; my own areas of knowledge in Buddhism are woefully limited. What does seem apparent to me is that to expect dispassionate hard facts and verifiable, detached historical writing concerning the Buddha from Kongtrul and his sources betrays wishful thinking. They give a purely materialistic view its due, but they wrote and taught to prepare us for and to lead us to the domain of the inconceivable and the unimaginable, which is the subject of the next chapter.

#### *Chapter Four: Enlightenment's Bodies and Pure Realms*

In *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*, Patrul Rinpoché tells the story of two frogs, one who had always lived in a well, and another who came to visit

from his home at the edge of an ocean. That any body of water could be larger than a well strained the first frog's credulity, but he agreed to accompany his friend to the ocean, whereupon, "he fainted, his head split apart, and he died" (p. 140).

To this point, I have tried to bring to the reader's attention the language that Kongtrul used to portray the Buddha and his life. While Kongtrul's style of telling a story all Buddhists are familiar with might to us seem subversive, his language and its implications conformed to the belief system of virtually his entire readership. The Buddhists of the Himalayas can be counted as adherents of the great way at the very least, if not of the tantras, and those with any exposure to their faith's fundamental beliefs would recognize Kongtrul's Buddha as their own. In these chapters, we could say that he preached to or wrote for the choir. I have dwelled on the ideas that he assumed his readers would have already assimilated since at the time of this translation it is my impression that some converts to Himalayan tantric Buddhism and some of their nascent spiritual communities outside the Himalayas have not reviewed the life of the Buddha in the light of their maturing faith and practice. In a few years' time, such reexamination of the implications of Kongtrul's use of language may indeed seem dated, superfluous, and irrelevant.

Whether or not we are challenged by Kongtrul's portrayal of the Buddha, he and we are still plumbing the depths of the same, somewhat familiar well. With this fourth chapter of "The Light of the World," we leave that well to ponder the ocean.

This chapter's treatment of the Buddha's appearance in the world provides the necessary framework of beliefs for persons engaging in the practice of meditations of great perfection, what Kongtrul identifies as the culmination of the nine Buddhist ways. To each path its own Buddha, but we do not have to read far to grasp why this path and its Buddha have a chapter to themselves. In the previous chapters, we understood that Buddha Shakyamuni is believed in the great way and in the tantras to be an emanation of a being who attained enlightenment in another place, Unsurpassed Realm, eons in the past. Yet that original enlightened being and that enlightenment were not explicitly described. Here, we trace enlightenment back to its source, Buddha Ever Excellent; outline his enlightenment; and introduce his emanation—Buddha Vajra Bearer; another emanation, Buddha Great Glacial Lake; and further emanations, including, finally, our Teacher, Buddha Shakyamuni.

Two challenges await the reader: first and most daunting, a fresh set of ideas; second, a new vocabulary. What might be of some solace is the fact that well-dwellers before us—those trained in any of the eight lower Buddhist ways—all find their initial exposure to great perfection, the full breadth of Buddhism at its apex, bracing, if not confounding, disorienting, and destabilizing. As a translator, I usually feel some responsibility to aid readers unfamiliar with ideas and words in a given text, but here I can only offer the very flimsiest of guides. The only sure help anyone (including this translator who is at home only in the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage tradition) can get for this chapter is that offered by a qualified teacher of great perfection.

Kongtrul begins by describing the enlightenment of the original buddha, Ever Excellent:

The basis of being dawned as manifest appearances from basic space, self-arisen wisdom, buddha nature, the original ground. At the very moment those appearances arose from the basis of being, [Ever Excellent] recognized them as his own manifestations; thus, his self-arisen wisdom of awareness was liberated on the basis of being, in its own ground.

Kongtrul described the same process in the final chapter of *Myriad Worlds*. (In the following passage from that book, “basis of being” appears as “ground” or “ground of being”; “delusion,” as “deception”; “Ever Excellent,” as “Ever Perfect.” Square brackets are in the original.)

Liberation as the [primordial buddha] occurs in the following way: The instant the ground's manifestations arise, one does not apprehend them as something else but rather recognizes them as one's own inner radiance. Consequently, the movement [of constructive thoughts] ceases in itself: at the first instant [of movement], the recognition that the manifestations are inner radiance causes realization to dawn. This realization defines the difference [between liberation and deception].

Immediately thereafter, deception is dispelled and pristine wisdom unfolds. At this point, the ground fully develops into the result [i.e., awakening]. This is re-enlightenment, the realization of primordial enlightenment within one's own nature.



When self-manifestations dissolve into primordial purity, the result is awakening within the ground of being itself before anything else manifests [from the ground]. [The personification of] this awakening is the enlightened guide known as Ever Perfect. (p. 211)

Just as Shakyamuni's enlightenment process, however variously it is portrayed, anticipates the path sentient beings must take to gain liberation, Buddha Ever Excellent's original enlightenment, his reaching of the "youthful vase body," shows how enlightenment is attained for those treading the path of great perfection.

Kongtrul follows his description of Ever Excellent's enlightenment with a section entitled "How Buddha Ever Excellent Created Oceans of Self-Manifest Pure Realms," which describes a cosmology centered upon Buddha Ever Excellent's post-enlightenment creations. Here we find ourselves in a universe much like that described in the first chapter of *Myriad Worlds*, where we first met the realm called Richly Adorned (another name for Unsurpassed Realm) and the Buddha Great Glacial Lake. The difference between this cosmology and that of the great way seems to be that here it is Buddha Ever Excellent, the body of ultimate enlightenment (Tibetan: "chöku"; Sanskrit: *dharmakaya*), whose "dynamic expression" provides the creative force that produces the realm and the buddha that both cosmologies identify as the body of perfect rapture (Tibetan: "longku"; Sanskrit: *sambhogakaya*).

As further evidence of Buddha Ever Excellent's central place in this scheme, Kongtrul then recounts the origins of Buddha Vajra Bearer, the axial buddha of much of the tantras, as an emanation of Ever Excellent who "demonstrated a seeming series of incarnations" that ended with enlightenment. This account, though brief, obviously follows the patterns we've seen in previous chapters. On the subject of Vajra Bearer's deeds, that buddha is equated with all tantras' teachers, be they called Vajra Bearer, Ever Excellent, or Vajrasattva. Kongtrul notes that his section on Buddha Vajra Bearer's deeds marks the conclusion of his description of the basis for the appearance of the body of perfect rapture; all that follows describes what manifests from that basis.

What first arises returns us to the subject of Buddha Great Glacial Lake, and not for the last time in this chapter. This buddha, so central to both the great way's and great perfection's cosmologies, has not often been the

focus of teaching or writing outside Buddhist countries and languages. Here Kongtrul devotes a long section to him, adding the secondary name “Illuminator” in front of his proper name. This, of course, is familiar to many Buddhists in the Sanskrit, Vairochana. As Kongtrul states, not only does this buddha encompass all phenomena of the wheel of life—our cosmos amounting to an infinitesimal part of his physical configuration—all forms of enlightenment also merely reflect this buddha’s dynamic expression. All that we experience as impure or limited appears in this buddha’s world as pure and magnified. In the end, Kongtrul avers,

Only a buddha’s mind can encompass a buddha’s experiential domain; therefore, what has been described transcends even the experiential domain of lord bodhisattvas of awakening’s tenth stage. Self-manifest supreme clear light of the basis of being’s appearing aspect arises as the worlds and beings of the panorama of infinite purity. Their appearances have the same qualities as those of a pure dream; apart from those qualities, they do not in the least exist in their own right as [things made of] substantial atoms.

Each body of enlightenment provides the basis for the appearance of the next—Ever Excellent, the body of ultimate enlightenment, produced Buddha Vajra Bearer, whose emanations include Buddha Great Glacial Lake. Those bodies of perfect rapture in turn seem to act like crystal in the sunshine: a proliferation of emanations stream from them without in any way altering their source. Among their manifestations are buddhas who perform the twelve deeds of the last chapter: “sublime emanations simultaneously demonstrate the Buddha’s twelve deeds in all ten directions’ infinite worldly realms.” *The Buddha* who dominated the last chapters becomes *a* buddha, and one of very, very many.

In this chapter to this point, the most dramatic novelty has been finding Buddha Ever Excellent at the source of all things, and the most unique description has been that of his primordial enlightenment. That excepted, much of the information presented here until the end of the section entitled “Enlightenment’s Diverse Manifestations” generally conforms with what we can read in the monumental scriptures of the great way, such as *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, or throughout the higher tantras. What Kongtrul has done that is remarkable is to present this

non-provocative information couched in an unusual terminology, that of great perfection.

Here are some terms we encounter in this chapter that force us to reconsider not the cosmology, or the framework of the three bodies of enlightenment—both quite familiar to Buddhist readers—but their theoretical underpinnings according to great perfection: self-arisen wisdom of awareness, primordial purity, spontaneous presence, spontaneously present jeweled enclosure, youthful vase body, essence, dynamic expression, original basis, self-manifest, continual state, inner luminosity, outwardly appearing luminosity.

These number among many key terms in great perfection that are distinct from all Buddhist paths that lead to this uppermost summit of theory and practice. To this point in the chapter, Kongtrul has presented easily understood and accepted ideas in this unusual vocabulary, whereas from the section entitled “The Manifest Body according to Great Perfection” until the end of this chapter, he does the opposite—he avoids special great perfection terms altogether and introduces in plain language wildly variant accounts of the Buddha’s place in the world and of cosmology. Nowhere else except in great perfection texts will we read of the twelve teachers (the last of which is Buddha Shakyamuni), whose main teaching places were not necessarily located in India. Nowhere else will we read of the three representations of the teachings which move through space and time in relation to the evolution of the teaching of great perfection. And nowhere else will we read these astounding lines that describe the origins of sentient beings in this world:

After the period of formation, goddesses of water and wind, etc., place the minds of the world’s possible sentient beings into a jeweled lotus tree. The sound of a lotus voice radiates in the ten directions as an invocation. This wakes into manifestation the latent seeds that dwell in the fixation aspect of consciousness even of [beings of the] formless [heavens]. These consciousnesses’ meditative states create emanated bodies that gradually spread throughout the three realms, [beginning with the highest formless realm, absorption within] neither discernment nor no discernment. Thus even now, the haphazard movement of awareness in basic space produces the arising of sentient beings’ adventitious delusion.

Kongtrul ends the chapter on that note, adding only that should a reader want (or dare?) to discover more on these subjects, he recommends some books for further reading. Of those he mentions, some by Longchenpa are at present available in English, in excellent and reliable translations by Richard Barron in a series from Padma Publishing. If one had to choose one among those works, *The Precious Treasury of the Basic Space of Phenomena* (both the short text and its commentary, published separately) is something of a Bible for those who practice great perfection.

This vision of the ocean of great perfection's view of buddhas and the universe they pervade and inhabit substantially concludes not only Kongtrul's study of the Buddha but his presentation of the cosmos that began with *Myriad Worlds*. In great perfection the two subjects are inextricably intertwined, which leaves us at a unique summit of Buddhist philosophy before we begin in Book Three, "What the Buddha Taught," the ascent and examination of another splendid mountain—the jewel of the Buddha's teaching, the Dharma.

### **BOOK THREE: WHAT THE BUDDHA TAUGHT**

#### *Chapter One: What Are the Sacred Teachings?*

I have the impression that non-fundamentalist non-Buddhists generally respect the Buddha, or at least do not feel uneasy in the presence of his image. Buddhas, by turns jovial or serene, (and, it must be said, often of uncertain rank and pedigree in traditional Buddhist pantheons) can turn up in random public places—stores, fashion or interior design magazines, restaurants, or even bars—without being resented as grim clerical intruders in secular environments. Members of the Buddhist community as well seem by and large to be smiled upon by non-believers. Without any knowledge of Buddhism, non-Buddhists seem to know that expressions of hatred, acts of physical or verbal aggression, or even simple schadenfreude are contrary to the Buddhist spirit. If Buddhists are thought of unkindly because of our beliefs—as exotic, befuddled fools, or worse—I think we are also credited with being harmless, even if that is meant in a derogatory sense. Such an aura of harmlessness that accompanies our communities worldwide could very well be a result of centuries-long heeding of the Buddha's word, and of individual Buddhists' lifelong spiritual discipline.

Among the three jewels then, the Buddha and the spiritual community would appear to pass casual tests of public acceptability. But what

of Buddhism itself? How much tolerance do even Buddhists, let alone non-Buddhists, have for textual Buddhism as it has been taught and preserved for centuries? If you've ever wondered about this for yourself, let this chapter be your test, for here we find Kongtrul's cover version of one of our favorite songs, both the words and the music: *What the Buddha Taught*.

The words here describe the Buddha's teaching and the work of Indian Buddhist masters who elucidated and systematized Buddhism before it reached Tibet. Kongtrul has borrowed many of his words without attribution, but he expected much of his readership would recognize them immediately. Butön and Longchenpa, two prolific writers of very different backgrounds and persuasions, and who coincidentally died a year apart in the mid-1300s, are responsible for much of the material found in this chapter. (They in turn may have borrowed from others before them, but it is their impact and renown that continue undiminished to the present day.) Not only have we become accustomed to this information concerning the textual traditions of our faith, this is how we're used to reading Buddhism delineated. This chapter evokes a "they're playing our song" feeling. Why else would the foremost modern Himalayan Buddhist writer, His Holiness Dujom Rinpoché, have done much of what Kongtrul has here, and repeated the same material, often line for line, in his monumental *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* (pp. 51–53, 72–96)? He, like Kongtrul, could have written something entirely new and original, and both authors knew we would recognize immediately these words and this style as borrowed from others. I suspect he and Kongtrul both could count on our swooning once again to the same old song: if you love textual Buddhism, here is its true flavor, undiluted, the way we love it.

The chapter begins by identifying the Buddha's "apt speech" as the foremost among the Buddha's miracles to guide beings to enlightenment, the most important of his acts. What the Buddha transmitted, the Dharma, is said to be an "antidote to obscurations." These are two key terms: The word "antidote" sounds medical, and it is often used in that way: for instance, to foster loving-kindness if you hate, to rejoice in others' merit and happiness if you envy, etc. In modern terms, these are solutions to our problems, the main one here being that of our "obscurations." Obscurations are admittedly not problems most of us were aware we had, yet any-

thing that veils our sight of our own inherent enlightened (or “buddha”) nature falls into the category of obscurations.

What seems crucial to notice here is that the essence of the Buddha’s path to enlightenment, the Dharma, is presented only as techniques (antidotes) to remove blockages (obscurations) to the full experience of our in-dwelling enlightenment. The essence of what the Buddha taught is not portrayed as correcting or improving whatever may lie beneath those obscurations. No claims are made that the Dharma will help us attain enlightenment per se; it seems to be enough that it removes what veils us from the sight of our true nature.

Under the heading of “The Etymology of the Word *Dharma*,” we learn what translators discover early on: the huge range of meaning of this word *dharmā*—ten meanings at least. Whenever its analogue in Tibetan (“chö,” *chos*) appears in a text, a translator must decide (sometimes after consultation with resource persons) which meaning is intended. For instance, few among us would likely have guessed the example Kongtrul gives for the third of the ten meanings, that of transcendence of sorrow, or nirvana. He states the meaning, then provides an example: “(3) Dharma denotes transcendence of sorrow:” which he illustrates with a line we are all familiar with, yet read it here, its meaning altered, as if for the first time: “Having taken refuge in the Dharma . . .”

We read later how Dharma in the sense of holy Dharma in which we take refuge has two aspects, realization of the last two of the Buddha’s four truths—the truth of cessation of suffering and of the spiritual path that leads to that cessation—and the articulation of that realization, the teachings. Throughout this book, I have most often translated *chö* as “sacred teachings” where it seems the most likely meaning Kongtrul intends for that word. Nevertheless, I ruefully admit that on occasion he could in fact have wanted to indicate the other, intangible aspect of Dharma—realization—but I am not (yet) persuaded that the reader is any better served by having all instances of *chö* in the religious sense rendered as “Dharma.”

Kongtrul first tells us that the Buddha was articulate and eloquent, that his words were “well spoken.” He provides the list of sixty-two qualities of his speech, the sort of contemplative stroll through the qualities of enlightenment that I enjoy but which are likely an acquired taste. Later in the chapter, under the heading of “Classification of the Canon according to Its Dominant Cause,” we notice a drift from whatever the Buddha

said as being well spoken to whatever was well spoken as the Buddha’s speech (I owe this formulation to an insightful colleague, Sarah Harding). Kongtrul states:

... the teaching’s melodious sounds that emerged from mountains, trees, birds, lotuses, great drums, and so on; the teachings expressed by any pious attendant through the power of the Buddha’s blessing; and the teachings expressed by men, women, boys, girls, and others through the power of the Buddha’s supreme activity have been compiled in the canon.

“Compiled in the canon” means to be accepted as the Buddha’s word. At this point in the chapter, Kongtrul quotes a passage from one of the discourses on sublime insight in defense of the above statement, then significantly goes on to transpose the subject of the Buddha’s speech to a Tibetan controversy concerning what was admissible as authentic doctrine:

This scripture and its reasoning validate the teachings which emerge from symbols written on yellow parchment, pure visions, or wisdom mind’s manifest expression produced by treasure revealers—the sublime emanated individuals belonging to the early translation school.

Other than this potent declaration of principle, Kongtrul is relatively circumspect on the subject of the treasure teachings throughout *The Treasury of Knowledge*, which is surprising since he would spend much of his long life working tirelessly to collect, systematize, and preserve them.

He makes a similarly bold statement under the next heading, “Classification of the Canon according to Its Subjects,” in an equally discreet way. When presenting the three collections, he announces without fanfare that in fact there can be said to be nine collections:

... from the perspective of the lesser way’s individual liberation system, there are three collections; from the perspective of the great way’s bodhisattva system, there are three collections; and from the perspective of the secret mantra vajra way’s system, there are three collections, a total of nine collections.

This was no doubt true in Kongtrul's mind, but he knew very well that this formulation represented the end result of a long and hard-fought battle for acceptance. If nothing else, he had certainly read one of the best Buddhist histories written by Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa (1504–1566), whom Kongtrul mentioned in the chapter on the Buddha's twelve deeds as having inspired his writing on the subject. In that history, *Feast for the Wise* (written in 1564), we read this on the subject of the arduous process of acceptance of innovation into the Buddhist canon:

In general, the principal among the Buddha's inconceivable teachings are those that only existed in the abodes of other beings, such as nagas and gods. Among them, the exalted master Nagarjuna retrieved such texts as *The Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses* from the land of the nagas. The exalted master Asanga retrieved many texts, such as *The Discourse on Awakening's Ten Stages*, from Joyful Heaven. When such texts were disseminated, all authorities of the pious attendant persuasion criticized them, but they became assimilated as part of the doctrine of the great way.

Such masters as Garab Dorjé and the great master Lotus-Born brought the Nyingma secret mantra texts [i.e., tantrás] from such places as Unsurpassed Heaven and the land of ogres. Such masters as exalted Nagarjuna, King Indrabodhi, master Lavapa, and Asvara Vinasa retrieved such [new tantrás] as Joyous Vajra, Sublime Bliss, and Matrix of Mystery. When such texts were disseminated, those of the way of philosophical systems [i.e., *mahayana*] criticized them, but they became assimilated and essential as part of the doctrine of secret mantra.

Thus, what real point is there to the perspective that authenticates those texts for which Indian manuscripts exist and dismisses as spurious those texts for which Indian manuscripts do not? We have Indian manuscripts for non-Buddhist teachings, such as the source texts of the charvaka [nihilist school of Indian philosophy], [but that fact does not authenticate them as Buddhist texts], whereas it is difficult to guarantee that volumes retrieved from such places as Joyful Heaven, Unsurpassed



Heaven, and the land of the nagas only be written on palm leaves, and in words common to scholars and translators. It is difficult to know [details concerning these texts], such as the substance upon which they were written, what ink was used, and the letters' forms. However, even if you were able to see the texts, it is possible that you would develop the view that the texts are inauthentic. Nevertheless, the Buddha's teaching is inconceivable—it is given in relation to the character and capacity of disciples at specific places and times, in language and terms comprehensible to them. Thus, if volumes of teachings appear in other realms through the Buddha's power, it is not inconsistent that they appear in the letters and language of that place and time. Therefore, when such teachers as the master Lotus-Born retrieved texts from locations such as Unsurpassed Heaven for the benefit of his Tibetan disciples, it is not out of the question that those books were written in Tibetan letters and language.

These are subjects that surpass the bounds of pious attendants' and bodhisattvas' comprehension: why should spiritually immature persons such as us tire ourselves in attempting to judge them? Be cautious about this! (*Feast for the Wise*, pp. 541–542)

Throughout the section that describes the three (or nine) collections, I have preferred rough equivalents in English to the Tibetan, or to what one is more likely to find in other works—Sanskrit. Finding an acceptable translation for “chö ngön pa” [written in Tibetan *chos mngon pa*], or *abhidharma* in Sanskrit, proved the toughest challenge. In Book Four, “Buddhism Resplendent in the World,” Kongtrul will give a short overview of the content of one of the main compendiums of this collection, which contains teachings that describe reality as it is, that is to say, subjects that include cosmology, geography, the kinds of beings, the conditions of their life, karma, the human body, the workings of the senses, the way the mind works, and meditative states. The word “ngön pa” in Tibetan is defined as “clear, visible, conspicuous, manifest, evident” (*An Encyclopaedic Tibetan-English Dictionary*: p. 917, column 2).

In this chapter, and throughout this book, I have translated “chö ngön

pa,” or *abhidharma*, as “the collection on observed phenomena.” I do not imagine that this will be the last word on the subject; I introduce it to encourage the search for an apt translation for this key collection.

Who made the observations of phenomena there recorded? The Buddha observed, and he recounted to his disciples what he thought they should know concerning the cosmos and their own psycho-physical makeup. While that sounds quite dualistic, as if the Buddha was a subject viewing phenomena as objects, and that he taught his followers to do the same, I believe he intended these teachings to help his auditors hone their acuity, perceiving the world and themselves through sharper eyes, on the way to seeing through dualistic limitations entirely. If we trust our eyes alone, we witness the sun moving daily, yet long and careful attention has revealed to us that we cannot believe what we plainly see. Likewise, the Buddha asks his disciples to turn their attention to specific outer and inner phenomena so that they might discover, as he did, that despite our daily experience to the contrary, all external and internal phenomena appear but are unreal, as in a dream or a magical display.

In the list of twelve branches of the Buddha’s speech, the fifth—purposeful declarations—is noteworthy in that among the twelve it alone was spoken not in response to others’ questions or encouragement but on the Buddha’s own initiative. The best-known mode of the Buddha’s speech, the discourse, is in Sanskrit *sutra*, source of our word “suture.” In Tibetan, this word has been translated as *mdo* (pronounced like the English word “doe”), meaning junction, crossroads, meeting point. What the Buddha said in the discourses represents the speech of enlightenment that resulted from the meeting of his mind and another’s. Like a modern doctor, the Buddha did not preach or proselytize, he let those who needed his wisdom come to him and initiate his teaching with their questions; this spirit runs through all the Buddha’s teachings, apart from the single category of “purposeful declarations.” The Buddha and his followers to the present day are not evangelistic seemingly by nature and definitely not by training.

The final main part of this chapter presents what are called here “treatises,” what we would call Buddhist books other than teachings of the Buddha himself. The most striking passage is the last (entitled “A Supplementary Explanation of Which Treatises to Adopt and Which to Reject”), where Kongtrul sets aside his customary equanimity to make some acerbic comments on Buddhist readers’ habits, beginning with:

At this time of the disappearance of Buddha's doctrine, human beings' faint merit and intelligence result in treatises being more esteemed than the Victor's canon; Tibetan works, more than Indian works; and modern works, more than earlier ones.

He then goes on to commend a practice that finds faint sympathy in the modern world, but which is highly valued in Buddhist Asia—repeating aloud the Buddha's words:

Among words expressed in this world, the most sublime and magnificent are those that comprise the Victor's precious excellent speech. Thus, even though you do not understand the meaning of the Buddha's words, to merely recite them aloud has inconceivable blessing and purpose.

What Kongtrul does not include in his overview of the canon and treatises is an account of the texts grouped in the two massive Tibetan collections called *The Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation* [Tibetan: *Kangyur*] and *The Collection of Indian Treatises in Translation* [Tibetan: *Tengyur*]. When Tibetans refer to their inheritance of Indian Buddhist literature, they have these texts in mind. Another nineteenth-century eastern Tibetan writer provided a broad outline of the two collections' contents, which might have corresponded to Kongtrul's accounting, had he written one.

In brief, *The Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation*, the words of the Buddha translated into Tibetan, contains a total of 1,117 texts. Among those, 210 belong in the general category of discourses, be they of the lesser or great way; all but twenty-four of those texts were translated during the first period of translation in Tibet. The remaining 907 texts of scripture are tantras, of which all but 189 were early translations. It must be remembered that these numbers are somewhat deceptive: *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, 1,500 pages in English translation, counts as one text, as does the single-page *Discourse of the Heart of the Perfection of Sublime Insight*.

*The Collection of Indian Treatises in Translation* in Tibetan contains 3,492 texts, of which 175 are supplementary works, such as praises and dedication prayers. Among the core collection of treatises, 536 comment upon the discourses and 2,781 are concerned with the tantras.

These numbers tell a story all by themselves. In the two collections of what the Tibetans worship as the foundation texts of their faith, 746 works are discourses, a category which would here include all works in the collections on monastic discipline, of discourses, and on observed phenomena; and the writings of such masters as Maitreya, Asanga, Nagarjuna, Shantideva, Chandragomi, Vasubandhu, and Chandrakirti. Many (but far from all) of the discourses and their related treatises have appeared in Western-language translations, and inform non-Asian appreciation of Buddhism. The same cannot be said for the 3,688 texts of tantra, almost five times the number of discourses.

We cannot escape the fact that the preponderance of Indian Buddhist literature the Tibetans held to be sacred were tantras and tantric commentaries. Further, only the tiniest fraction, barely a handful, of texts from these collections of tantras have appeared in Western languages. This has two obvious effects: first, Himalayan tantric Buddhism remains largely unknown to those who do not read Tibetan. The best translation of an overview of Buddhist tantra belongs to this *Treasury of Knowledge* series: *Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, translated by Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod, and published in 2005. As the rest of *The Treasury of Knowledge* appears in English, readers at last have the opportunity to encounter previously unheard-of views and ideas which form the basis of tantric Buddhism.

The second effect of the paucity of direct access to tantric source texts is that their ideas have had no impact yet on culture and thinking outside the Tibetan-reading Himalayas. Imagine if all that we had were texts from the lesser way on monastic discipline—Buddhist law—and that we only heard vague rumors of such concepts as buddha nature, emptiness, relative and ultimate mind of awakening, the perfection of sublime insight, and the rest of the great way, and we had no means to read Nagarjuna, Shantideva, and other masters. These days, any conscientious Buddhists can inform themselves in English on all major concepts of the great way directly from Buddhism's greatest minds. Their understanding can then inform their lives, work, and personal disciplines outside any formal spiritual practice. Most importantly for the culture at large, any Buddhist ideas thus absorbed change the individual's personal narrative and behavior. One doesn't have to have been born Japanese to thrive on raw fish, rice, wasabi, and soy sauce; one doesn't have to be Buddhist to welcome its basic tenets as touchstones in a well-lived and well-reflected human

life. All faiths and all uplifting forms of human culture can learn from one another. For example, the head of a Tibetan monastery remarked ruefully to me one day, “If we Buddhists practiced like Muslims, we’d all attain enlightenment.” Buddhist tantra has yet to become part of the global conversation in religion and culture, to which it has so much to add. It will remain marginal, mysterious, and misunderstood until its source texts appear in translation.

### *Chapter Two: Cycles of Scriptural Transmission*

This chapter begins with a statement from the pious attendant tradition (Tibetan: *nyan thos*; Sanskrit: *shravaka*) to the effect that the Buddha taught only one set of teachings, centered on the theme of the four truths. Kongtrul does not bother to refute that belief; he merely acknowledges it and moves on to presenting his own belief system, which adds both the great way and the tantras to the Buddha’s first teachings.

We are here introduced to the image of a “wheel of Dharma,” an emblem that recurs throughout Buddhist writing and artistic representation. Although the wheel is perhaps the foremost symbol of the Buddha and Buddhism, it resonates in Asia as more than just a necessary appendage to a vehicle. When we see paintings of gods or demons brandishing a wheel, they are prepared to fling it as a sharp weapon that slices through whatever it strikes. Kongtrul writes here that the wheel refers to the teachings that “have the power to subdue and cut through.” Further, the wheel symbolizes authority, specifically the dominion of “wheel-monarchs” whose origins and opulence were described in *Myriad Worlds* (pp. 134–138). In brief, “Wheel-monarchs, who reign over the four continents [by virtue of their possession of] a gold, silver, copper or iron wheel, are said to appear in this world whenever the life span rises above eighty thousand years” (p. 135, square brackets in the original). Finally, a wheel itself can be understood in Buddhist texts as a conveyance, independent of any other vehicle. For example, from the same text, “. . . a gold wheel appeared in space before him. He flung the wheel with the command, ‘Conquer the East!’ The wheel moved in that direction, carrying the king’s attendants upon it” (p. 135).

These layers of meaning must be kept in mind when we read here:

[W]hen a wheel-monarch’s precious wheel is set in motion, it travels swiftly to its intended destination, passing some places

and entering others. It defeats unconquered regions, such as cities or villages, and naturally establishes its dominion over them. It ascends to some places and descends to others. Likewise, the wheel of Dharma . . .

To justify the use of this object laden with military and imperial connotations to symbolize the Buddha's teaching, Kongtrul then writes some lines that for many readers need decoding:

Likewise, the wheel of Dharma moves swiftly since truth is realized in fifteen moments. It passes through the uninterrupted path and makes manifest the path of liberation, thereby entering it. Alternatively, the wheel of Dharma rejects focus on the reality [of things] and enters another [i.e., spiritual path]. Through [the power] of firm decisiveness, the uninterrupted path defeats unconquered afflictive emotions, such as the view of perishable collections [as a self]. The path of liberation is the attainment of separation from afflictive emotions. Dominion over them is naturally established at the same time. Focusing on the form or formless realms, [the wheel of Dharma] ascends; focusing on the desire realm, it descends.

“Truth” in the first sentence refers to the four truths (of suffering, its origins, its cessation, and the path), and the “fifteen moments” refer to moments of realization that culminate in a sixteenth—realization. One glossary presents them particularly well:

The perception of the doctrine of the truth of suffering . . . , receptiveness to the perception of the doctrine of [the truth of] suffering . . . , the after-effect to the perception of the doctrine of [the truth of] suffering . . . , and receptiveness to the after-effect to the perception of the doctrine of the truth of suffering . . . These four moments are then applied in the same order to the truth of the origin of suffering, to the truth of its cessation and to the truth of the path, making sixteen moments in all. (*The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, v. 2, p. 174)

“The uninterrupted path” and “the path of liberation” form two parts of the path of seeing, the first corresponding to the eight moments of

receptiveness; the latter, to the eight moments of perception. As Kongtrul states above, the uninterrupted path “defeats unconquered afflictive emotions,” whereas the path of liberation entails the experience of separation from those emotions. Much later in *The Treasury of Knowledge* (Book 9, Chapter 2), Kongtrul comments that the first fifteen moments span the path of seeing, and the sixteenth marks attainment of the path of meditation. Kongtrul ends this section with a comment:

An acceptable alternative approach is to consider the real wheel of Dharma to be the Dharma of realization, and the paths of accumulation and preparation to be branches of it. The scriptures make these comprehensible to others’ mind streams; thus, the phrase, “turning the wheel of Dharma.”

It is tempting to read these lines as useful keys to what preceded them: that the wheel itself can represent one or more paths—the Buddha’s realization—and the movement of that realization into others’ minds, through verbal and other modes of teaching, constitutes the turning of the wheel.

The next section, “The Characteristics of Scriptural Transmission,” lays forth the great way’s and tantra’s view of the Buddha’s teaching—that it exists principally in the ear of the auditor. Ordinary beings met an enlightened being, and a teaching emerged and unfolded, but not due to the teacher’s agenda:

The dominant cause [for scriptural transmission] is the Buddha’s wisdom; its causal condition is the pure mind streams of beings who are his disciples. Based on the convergence of these two, those disciples’ understanding manifests in the form of terms, words, and letters.

Since the Transcendent Conqueror was not under the sway of habitual patterns that motivate speech, and since he had no lack of awareness, [including] inner cognition attached to external sound, ultimately, the Transcendent Buddha did not teach through the power of intentions. Thus, in consideration of this fact, some great way discourses relate that the Joyful Buddha did not teach even one word or syllable.

This could be said to be the mood of many great way discourses and most, if not all, of the tantras. Kongtrul contrasts this with the lesser way by portraying its adherents as concerned with which category among the five psycho-physical aggregates—form or formative factors—they might place the Buddha's teaching in, concerns which seem absurdly category-obsessive after the last paragraph.

Kongtrul then shifts the topic to one of the main defining frameworks of the Buddha's teaching, that of three cycles. As in the preceding chapter, we learn of the many strategies developed in India and Tibet to bring some coherence to the enormous wealth of material included in the Buddhist canon. Kongtrul considers this "three-cycle" frame important enough to merit its own chapter. These three do not correspond to the three main Buddhist ways (lesser, great, and vajra systems); they only include the lesser and great way, the first of the three cycles being that of the lesser way; the latter two belong to the great way. Kongtrul quotes a discourse to the effect that the purpose of the first cycle, enunciation of the four truths, was to have ordinary beings enter "exalted beings' spiritual discipline." The second cycle presented "emptiness, absence of inherent characteristics, and lack of aspiration" (what are referred to as the "three gateways to freedom") in order to have beings "comprehend the nature of transcendent buddhas." The point of the last cycle was to have beings enter "the transcendent buddhas' domain."

As mild as these words may seem to us, they can be read as a controversial statement in that Kongtrul implies that the final cycle represents the most profound teachings. Not everyone accepted that belief, a fact acknowledged in the statement, "Various perspectives related to the three wheels of Dharma will appear in detail in later chapters within *The Treasury of Knowledge*." (This may refer to Book Four, Chapter Two, "How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet," below, where he returns to the subject at greater length.)

An example of an affirmation that seems reasonable and non-contentious on first reading can be found in the section in this chapter on the first cycle of teaching: "The first wheel of Dharma, that of the four truths, can be characterized as sacred teachings the Buddha spoke *with the intention of establishing a foundation for the great way's path*" (emphasis added). For followers of the lesser way, this is nothing short of inflammatory. Likewise, on the subject of the middle cycle of teaching, he states



that it was given “with the intention of establishing the great way’s actual path,” whereas the final cycle was given to teach “the ultimate meaning.” Again, statements such as those kept lamps burning and ink flowing long into the night over the centuries throughout the Himalayas. Significant, unresolvable differences of opinion exist and persist. In a later chapter, Kongtrul will elucidate each belief system and show what each adds to the conversation, while at the same time reveal his own preference among those beliefs. Those who appreciate Kongtrul marvel at his talent for finding genuine value in every voice. At the conclusion of the section “The Middle Cycle of Teaching,” he lauds that cycle in terms that its adherents would approve of:

This doctrinal cycle’s purposes are as follows: directly, the Buddha demonstrated the way of turning the wheel, and the recipients, his disciples’ minds, were definitely liberated. Based on these purposes, they entered the transcendent buddhas’ domain. Indirectly, this cycle removes all sentient beings’ obscuring veils of wrong views, leading to the manifest and irreversible realization of all phenomena’s abiding nature, and the attainment of the supreme transcendence of sorrow which does not fall into the two extremes.

Yet his next sentence opens the section “The Final Cycle of Teaching” with the information that the Buddha taught it to articulate “the ultimate meaning,” presumably beyond the range of the middle cycle. Kongtrul’s style has no trace of polemics; he found space for every belief around the Tibetan conference table and somehow managed to express his own opinions without denigrating those holding other views.

In the section “The Final Cycle of Teaching,” we read of three characteristics of knowable things: imagined, dependent, and consummate. Another book of this series, *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, treats this subject in detail (pp. 179–183) and I have borrowed the translator Elizabeth Callahan’s translations for these key terms. In brief, “dependent” refers to the arising of phenomena from the consciousness of the ground of all ordinary experience (*alaya* in that book), “imagined” to the dualistic perception of those phenomena, and “consummate” to non-dual, nonconceptual perception. As Kongtrul writes in summation in that book,

In brief, we enter the path by recognizing delusion, which is the imagined [characteristic]; by abandoning the imagination, which is the dependent [nature]; and by directly seeing the consummate. (p. 183; brackets in the original)

After the section on the final cycle, Kongtrul includes one last framework for organizing the Buddha's teaching, this time by "aggregates" or units. This may seem a little far-fetched, particularly since one proposed measure of a single aggregate is however much can be written with as much ink as the god Indra's elephant can carry. Nevertheless, I often translated for Kalu Rinpoché when he would introduce the breadth of the Buddha's teachings in just this way (without mentioning the elephant). He would say that of the eighty-four thousand aggregates, the collection on discipline comprised twenty-one thousand, the antidotes to desire; the discourses, another twenty-one thousand, to counteract anger; the teachings on observed phenomena, twenty-one thousand, the solution to stupidity; and the tantras, a final twenty-one thousand, to remedy as many varied combinations of the three poisons. Rinpoché told me that an earnest Buddhist scholar once informed him after hearing that presentation that no such number of teachings existed. That remark caused Rinpoché no end of amusement, and certainly didn't deter him from regularly repeating that teaching.

The truth of the matter is that the more we immerse ourselves in the Buddhist canon, the fonder we become of such clichéd words as inexpressible, indescribable, and inconceivable when we are asked to explain our lifelong infatuation with the source texts of Buddhism. None of the many framing systems Kongtrul has presented comes close to capturing the experience of our encounter with the range and depth of the Buddha's word, but any (and perhaps the simpler the better) can help portray the scope and content of the canon.

The last parts of this chapter describe the origins of tantra, here divided into four levels. Contrary to common expectations, these sections are straightforward and easily comprehensible, although they locate the original teachings of the tantras throughout the larger Buddhist cosmology. Many places were mentioned earlier; one, Flower-Filled World, could hardly be less precise. Of it, *Myriad Worlds* relates,

One billion third-order thousand world-systems constitutes the world-system Infinite Links. A billion of those is the world-system Infinite Continuums. A billion of those is the world-system Oceanic Infinity. One billion of those is the extent of one Flower-Filled World. (p. 103)

Note that one “third-order thousand world-system” combines one thousand of our cosmos, counted as one, which is then multiplied by one thousand, that cosmos counted as one, which is again multiplied by one thousand. Willow Grove, another location of tantra’s teaching, can be found in the heavens of the desire realm’s gods; specifically it is “Supreme Mountain’s northern turret, border of Heaven of the Thirty-three.”

We notice throughout this section the occasional re-telling of the Buddha’s enlightenment story, either of his original enlightenment in Unsurpassed Realm, or of its reenactment in this world. For example, Matrix of Mystery tantra recounts its origins as follows:

Our teacher attained enlightenment at midnight; he subdued demons at dawn and went to Joyful Heaven. There, he emanated a celestial palace from his wisdom body’s major elements; and from his aggregates, sense constituents, etc., he emanated deities arrayed in a sacred circle. His circle of disciples that filled space then supplicated the Transcendent Conqueror [to teach].

The Slayer of the Lord of Death cycle has another origin story, also based on the enlightenment events:

As our teacher reached manifest awakening, the demons’ armies created obstacles. The teacher dwelt in a meditative state called “complete victory over the great demon.” Wrathful Slayer of the Lord of Death arose from the Buddha’s vajra body, speech, and mind, and he emanated the deity’s sacred circle. He subdued every demon and taught the extensive tantra.

The Buddha also taught the Vajra of Delight tantra immediately following his enlightenment. In the case of the Supreme Bliss tantra, even the teaching of the tantra itself constitutes a reenactment since “from time

immemorial, all buddhas have taught this tantra, and it is thought that since time immemorial our teacher attained enlightenment and revealed it." The passage on Supreme Bliss identifies the teacher as the "fruition Héruka," which refers to an enlightened being (therefore "fruition") who appears as a wrathful male deity ("héruka"). Tara or All-Seeing One number among many bodhisattvas designated in other texts as "fruition bodhisattvas"—bodhisattvas in appearance alone, since they are considered to be fully enlightened and no longer on the spiritual path even as bodhisattvas at the highest level.

Kongtrul ends this somewhat discursive, narrative chapter with a return to basics from the point of view of tantra—nondual, timeless awareness. He comments upon all he has just written on the subject of the origins of tantra:

Those explanations just given reflect specific perspectives. Nevertheless, the great way's mode of secret mantra is the apogee of depth and vastness. Therefore, it is impossible to say, "It happened only in this way and no other; he did not impart tantra apart from this."

And he concludes with a reminder that the teaching of tantra, great seal, and great perfection all take place not only outside the confines of our limited spatial dimension, but also within a different time zone, that of timelessness, and the boundlessness of nonduality:

As is said,

I am the one who teaches.  
I am the teaching.  
I am the listeners replete with accumulations.  
I am the world, the teacher, and the practice.  
I am both the mundane and supramundane.

As stated, you should understand that the teacher and the circle of his disciples are inseparable. Within their single nature of great bliss, the indestructible sound (*vajra nada*) of supreme mystery forever turns the wheel of Dharma and proclaims the tantras.

### *Chapter Three: Compilations of the Buddha's Word*

The excellent speech of the Buddha was just that—speech. No record exists of him having written a word, nor did a team of scribes attend his teachings. In this chapter, Kongtrul relates the story of how the Buddha's speech became words on pages, for the process of compilation was preceded by recitation, affirmation, and transcription.

The chapter begins with the account of the compilation of the texts of the lesser way, which took place not long after the Buddha passed away. Five hundred arhats—those of the highest degree of realization upon the lesser way's path—each replete with clairvoyant abilities, participated in the compilation. Ananda, the Buddha's nephew and constant attendant, began by reciting the Buddha's discourses from memory. The arhats then “entered absorption within the four levels of meditative concentration and considered [Ananda's presentation] with clairvoyance. Once they rose from their meditative state, they collectively confirmed [the discourses as valid].” Another close disciple, Upali, responded to questions in his recounting of the Buddha's teachings on monastic discipline, and Kashyapa recited the “mother” teachings, those that provided the basis for the collection on observed phenomena. Each arhat's enunciation of the Buddha's teachings was confirmed in the same way: the entire congregation of arhats surveyed what it had heard from the perspective of higher meditative states, and affirmed it as a reliable repetition of the Buddha's speech.

Many centuries later, when the Tibetans inherited these texts from Indian masters, the first translators counted a total of seventy-two texts from this cycle.

The compilation of the great way's texts follows somewhat the same pattern, but Kongtrul shares few details. A million bodhisattvas convened; three among them “compiled” the texts that belong to the three collections related to the bodhisattva path. Kongtrul does not mention the fate of the texts produced at that time, but other Buddhist histories relate that the bodhisattvas mainly entrusted them to nonhuman beings for safekeeping.

Again, the first Tibetan translators received twenty-four texts from the doctrine's middle cycle, including the many versions of *The Perfection of Sublime Insight* that Nagarjuna retrieved from the underworld realms of nagas many centuries after this compilation. Further, ninety texts from

the doctrine's final cycle, including *The Flower Ornament Discourse*, accompanied Buddhism's initial journey to Tibet. During Buddhism's later period of propagation, a total of twenty-four texts from all three cycles arrived and were translated in Tibet.

Kongtrul includes at this point a lengthy discussion of the future duration of the doctrine according to many sources. Kongtrul encourages his readership to learn more. If you wished to do so from a book written in English, this subject (of prophecies of the doctrine's decline in five-hundred-year increments) is treated very well in a fascinating book, *Once Upon a Future Time*, by Janice Nattier.

This section concludes with another contrast between different Buddhist perspectives on how we might determine whether or not Buddhism exists in any given country or region. The traditional perspective seems to be that Buddhism is alive wherever the basic collections are studied, and where monks and nuns continue to live according to the Buddha's community discipline. We read:

. . . whether the doctrine abides or not is determined on the basis of whether or not the three trainings, and the collections that explain them, are studied; whether or not the monastic community's one hundred and one formal procedures are put into practice; and whether or not there are those who keep the outer signs and attire of the pious attendant tradition.

By that measure, worldwide Buddhism in the modern day is fragile indeed. Kongtrul then provides what he calls "the definitive meaning" (truth that cannot be superseded), by quoting a discourse and a tantra, the latter of which states:

As long as the great mass  
Of all sentient beings exists,  
The flow of enlightenment's emanations is continuous  
And the teachings that liberate do not disappear.

He then turns our attention to the compilation of the tantras. The great way's compilation was performed by bodhisattvas in this world; tantras were compiled by similar beings but in realms outside our own, or on this earth in the kingdom of Shambhala, by its rulers King Suchandra and

Lineage Bearer Manjushrimitra. Kongtrul contents himself with citing a few instances of such work, then states, “There are limitless examples such as these.” While the compilers of other texts had different identities, he states that all tantras were compiled by the same wisdom being, Lord of Secrets, under different names or in different incarnations.

Kongtrul ends this, the lightest of all chapters of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, with accounts of two further compilations concerned with the lesser way. Both seem to have occurred due to severe controversies within the monastic community. The story of the second compilation, which Kongtrul calls “partial,” does not even mention the transcription of any texts; its sole purpose seems to have been to return the community to its fundamental principles. It proved a success. The same cannot be said entirely for the third compilation assembly, for it marked the formal split of the once unified monastic community into first four, then eighteen, orders. The landmark decision taken at the time established all eighteen orders as having been foretold in the Buddha’s own words, thus what had begun as a perilous schism was reformulated as a predicted event that enriched rather than undermined the larger community. A considerable number of texts were transcribed or revised during this final compilation.

For those interested in the four orders and their eighteen divisions, *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy* provides a very useful exposition of their differences, including those of language, dress, names given at the time of ordination, and belief systems (pp. 135–140).

#### *Chapter Four: The Origins of the Early Translations’ Ancient Tradition*

Throughout *The Treasury of Knowledge*, Kongtrul more often than not reserves the final chapter of each book for a study of the Ancient Tradition’s perspective on the respective subject. *Myriad Worlds* ended deeply and densely in great perfection; “The Light of the World,” with the Ancient Tradition’s version of enlightenment’s bodies and pure lands; and now in “What the Buddha Taught” we read of the origins of the tantras first introduced to Tibet. Why did Kongtrul end books with the Ancient Tradition’s view? He did not explain; I can only speculate. For each subject, Kongtrul usually begins with the lesser way’s perspective, then the great way’s, then that of the vajra way of secret mantra, the lower tantras followed by the higher. In that scheme, his placement of the

Ancient Tradition at the end honors it with the last word since, by its own lights, it represents the summit of the nine Buddhist ways. Kongtrul self-consciously identifies himself in “Buddhism Resplendent in the World” as a member of Tibet’s Karma Kagyu order, yet that affiliation would not have prevented him from preferring the Ancient Tradition’s view.

In a general sense, Kongtrul’s repeated return to the Ancient Tradition when presenting the depth and breadth of Buddhism makes sense for a Tibetan author whose erudition spanned all orders, sects, and persuasions in the Himalayas. The original translations, and the Indian masters and Tibetan adepts of their era, ushered in a radically new mentality—a new faith, new ideas, a new literature in a new language—changes that the country never abandoned despite a short, brutal period of government suppression. It was in this form that Buddhism first made sense to the Tibetan people; during the approximately two hundred and fifty years between the time of King Trisong Déutsen (755–797/8) and Atisha (in Tibet from 1042–1054), this was the only Buddhism Tibet knew and embraced. I have mentioned above how the early translation work dominates Tibet’s Buddhist canon: of 210 texts in the category of discourses, all but twenty-four were translated during that time; of 907 texts of tantra, all but 189 were early translations. Further, those translations were performed with a common lexicon and under a central authority over a relatively short period of time. Presumably the finished works were preserved as a collection. The translations of the later propagation took place over centuries by translators of diverse practices and affinities, living in disparate corners of a land unequipped with libraries that would receive and store any and all translators’ work. Only in the fourteenth century did an edition of most scriptures in Tibetan translation appear (“most” since it unfortunately excluded many of the early tantras).

It is impossible to say how Tibetans of earlier eras experienced what had evolved from a foreign faith into “Tibetan” Buddhism and the new texts and practices imported from a still-vibrant Buddhist India. I wonder if they accepted the foundations of their faith as it had first been taught in their country, then integrated new techniques or deities into that basic template. I find this passage below from Kongtrul (in Book Four) telling: it refers to the period when the incomparable Indian master Atisha reached Tibet and reports that although the Buddhist kings’ dynasty had long since disappeared, its authority a distant memory, the kings’ edicts still held sway. Thus it transpired that Atisha, the perfect monk, was not



asked to ordain monks or nuns in Tibet due to Tibetans' loyalty to their Buddhism rooted in the time of the original translations:

Here in Tibet, by command of the Buddhist kings, except for the middle way view and the substantialist order of monastic conduct, no other [views or monastic orders] were authorized [to be transmitted in the country]. Therefore, since Atisha, for example, was of the majority order, he wasn't asked to transmit that vow lineage.

What I infer from this incident is that Tibet's Buddhists developed and retained a self-confident, autonomous identity as Buddhists based on the original period of teachings and translations. Atisha and all who followed in his wake added to but did not supplant Tibet's first foundations of Buddhist practice. Translators Drokmi, Marpa, Kyungpo Naljor, and other Tibetans who introduced teachings of lasting value to their country did not journey to India as blank-slate spiritual seekers but as sophisticated adepts who had already gained in their homeland high degrees of competence in the theory and practice of Buddhist tantras. While some dissatisfaction with Tibet's Buddhist horizons in their day may have motivated their travel to India, they were not revolutionaries but evolutionaries—energetic geniuses who wished to add to, not undermine, their country's Buddhist wealth.

The present chapter presents the origins of Tibet's founding Buddhism. What Kongtrul describes here cannot be called the "Nyingma" tradition as we have come to understand that term—as a Tibetan container of specific Buddhist practices. He makes no reference to Tibet; the lineages he mentions are either entirely Indian or arisen from an atemporal communion of buddhas' minds occurring in pure lands well beyond human realms. Hence in the title he writes "Ancient Tradition," which seems more accurate in this context than the more Tibet-centered term "Nyingma."

The framework Kongtrul uses for this chapter consists of three lineages that transmit the same teachings in three radically different styles: a mind-to-mind transmission passed between enlightened beings; transmission through symbols passed between highly realized human beings, called awareness holders; and verbal transmission passed aurally between

human beings. We can conceive of these lineages as located in history and temporally sequential, and to a degree this is how Kongtrul presents them. Or we can consider all three to be ongoing, with only the last of the three perceptible to ordinary persons such as ourselves.

The first, the victors' (i.e., the buddhas' or enlightened beings') lineage transmitted through wisdom mind, begins with a now-familiar subject, Unsurpassed Realm, here renovated according to great perfection's terminology:

[T]he essence of being is originally pure and, in relation to its self-manifestation, [is free from] transitory defilements of delusion, which have been purified directly upon the basis of being. This essence of being is designated by the term "Unsurpassed Realm." It is the basic space of phenomena, the self-manifest sacred circle of essential awakening not belonging to minds [of beings in] the ten directions, and not defined by size, limits, or orientation.

This passage describes Unsurpassed as the location of the teaching of the body of ultimate enlightenment, Buddha Ever Excellent, and is the first of a five-part framework commonly used to detail the circumstances of enlightened beings designated as the body of perfect rapture, characterized by five marvels—of location, teacher, disciples, teaching, and time. The rest of the paragraph touches on the remaining four, and Kongtrul repeats this five-part presentation in subsequent sections when he introduces other buddhas' manifestations.

Despite the five marvels depicted, this first teacher is formless. In contrast, the next teacher mentioned exhibits form, although this is qualified as "self-manifest," that is to say, apparent only to the enlightened being whose qualities manifest in the form of the five marvels. As Kongtrul states, this closed environment lies "beyond the experiential range of even those [bodhisattvas who dwell on] awakening's tenth stage." Only the next set of enlightened beings can be perceived by others, yet those perceivers are exclusively "sovereign bodhisattvas of awakening's tenth stage" who are referred to as the buddhas' "coexistent circle of disciples"; such buddhas are thus designated "the partially apparent body of perfect rapture." These enlightened beings manifest in five styles, called wisdom families, so ubiquitous that Kongtrul does not mention their names here

(buddha, vajra, jewel, lotus, and action) when he lists their pure realms and their corresponding directions.

In the course of their teachings, the partially apparent buddhas emanate six teachers (often referred to as six sages) to guide the six kinds of beings. The teachers are therefore forms of enlightenment fully apparent to ordinary beings; they include Buddha Shakyamuni, the Sage in our realm.

It seems that no description of enlightenment's appearance in worlds of ordinary beings could be complete without a mention of the other Unsurpassed, where in this version the Buddha manifests in a likeness of the body of perfect rapture rather than reenacting the process of enlightenment:

In Unsurpassed [Heaven] of the pure domains, the most sublime place in Endurance and other [world-systems], before he appears in the world, the Buddha presents himself as a buddha endowed with the adorning marks and signs of physical perfection similar to the qualities of the supreme body of rapture.

In mentioning the teachings given to different beings, Kongtrul weaves in uncommon, unconventional names of three ways or vehicles of spiritual development: the inner way of mastery, the way of techniques (referring to the highest three tantras); the way of vedic asceticism (the three outer tantras); and the way that liberates from the origin of suffering (the pre-tantric Buddhist teachings). When great perfection texts refer to the three ways of spiritual development (the three “yanas”), a reader could infer that these three are indicated.

Although this chapter's first main section describes the teachings passed between enlightened beings directly from one wisdom mind to another, we read under the heading “How the Retinue Compiled the Teachings” that symbols and words were sometimes used to teach others, and that these teachings were compiled. Nevertheless, Kongtrul reassures us that

these compilers are the self-manifestation of the primordial lord's supreme wisdom, one in essence with Transcendent Conqueror Lord of Secrets. Therefore, the teacher and his circle of disciples were indivisible within the constant state of equanimity of their wisdom minds . . .

In other words, despite separate appearances, the seeming teacher and seeming recipients of the teachings were reflections of the same encompassing wisdom mind. Kongtrul finishes with the statement, “[I]ndividuals with autonomous mind streams did not perform this compilation.” The term “autonomous mind stream” (Tibetan: “rang gyu,” *rang rgyud*) has not yet entered non-Asian Buddhist discourse. We discover it here in its common usage in the higher tantras, where it denotes a being distracted from their inner enlightened nature by the chimera of dualistic experience. The opposite of that experience is alluded to in a common saying in the higher tantras: “The victors’ wisdom minds are one within the expanse” (“expanse” referring to the basic space of phenomena and the nature of reality). We have perhaps outlived the worst of the West’s misapprehension of Buddhism’s “emptiness” as nothingness, a terrible void, but we have undoubtedly yet to exhaust its unease with reading “individuals with autonomous mind streams” as a pejorative. “Does being enlightened mean that we lose our individuality?” seems an obvious question. To give a fair and thorough response to it would require patiently teasing out all the assumed meanings of the word “individuality” and doing the same for what is indicated by “wisdom mind.” All Kongtrul does here is introduce a context in which a teaching occurs, given, received, and compiled by those for whom conventional categories of self and other are irrelevant. He concludes this section with a statement to underline the fact:

To summarize these explanations, within the context of the framework of the teacher’s three bodies, wisdom mind has a single flavor within evenness. Thus, there is nothing to teach and no teaching, yet the teachings appear as a seeming process that unfolds from wisdom’s manifest expression.

We turn from the mysteries of wisdom minds’ transmission to that of slightly more approachable modes of expression—transmission of teachings through symbols passed between corporeal beings known as awareness holders, and oral transmission passed between human beings.

For the first, Kongtrul assumes our familiarity with his subject: he writes “the other two yogas” and never names them in this chapter as mahayoga and anuyoga, secure that we would know these collective terms for countless tantric meditations based mainly in the phase of creation (mahayoga) and the phase of completion (anuyoga). Further, he does not pause to define what is meant by “awareness holder.” “Awareness” as it is

used here implies the nondualistic aspect of our larger mind. Although awareness is itself innate and ever-present, we cannot access the full experience of it by ourselves. Kalu Rinpoché used to say that our faces are invisible to us until a kind person shows us a mirror; likewise, we only encounter our awareness when a spiritual master's pointing out instructions—a mirror—allow us to see it. “Holder” is a delightfully ambivalent term in Tibetan (“dzin,” *’dzin*), here used in a positive sense, but it more often denotes the opposite of release—clinging, grasping, holding on—all that Buddhist meditation aims to undo. The same term can mean to uphold, preserve, or sustain. In all those cases, the word implies a holder and something held; for an awareness holder, this is not true. Such individuals are immersed in (thus “hold”) panoramic, nondual awareness as effortlessly as we immerse (or hold) ourselves in and feel apprehensive about anything other than dualistic, discursive consciousness. The path of great perfection leads to four degrees of awareness holder, culminating in the state of full enlightenment.

In this section, Kongtrul introduces us to three groups of awareness holders who constitute the source of the lineage. Garab Dorjé, an Indian most often referred to by this Tibetan name, towers above them all; his birth story is recounted here. Manjushrimitra, Shri Singha, Jnanasutra, Vimalamitra, and Padmakara are the others listed as masters of atiyoga. This first group includes only human beings, whereas the second has only nonhuman members, and the third has both. Kongtrul presents some details of the lineage but does not attempt to describe the symbols that were the means of transmission among these awareness holders.

The final of the three modes of transmission is the most familiar to us, that passed through audible words among human beings. At the source of this lineage, we again find Garab Dorjé, and Kongtrul finishes with a tribute to Padmakara, Guru Rinpoché:

The vajra of wisdom speech, Padmakara, demonstrated the process of requesting the teachings from each of these masters; in meditation practice, he reached a state of knowledge and accomplishment superior to each of them. At that point, urged by the dakini, he retrieved from the Bliss-Giving Pinnacle Stupa all the still-sealed tantras, scriptures, and pith instructions, such as treasure chests of eight precious substances containing the general tantras. Thus, the complete transmis-

sion, convergence of them all, was gathered in this supreme master, who became the foremost teacher of secret mantra. Throughout past, present, and future, his acts to aid beings equal the sky's breadth.

Although he mentions Guru Rinpoché in later chapters, this marks the highest praise he offers him in *The Treasury of Knowledge*. Moreover, Kongtrul mentions treasures here not as a ubiquitous Tibetan phenomenon but as an occurrence in long-ago India. The only lines he devotes to the subject of concealed teachings in Tibet are these (from Book Four, Chapter Three, “The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots”):

[Guru Rinpoché] saw that there were not the circumstances nor was there the need to transmit most of his profound instructions for meditation during that period, and considered the infinite numbers of beings of the future. In the country's four directions and in its central region, he sealed [his instructions] with seven levels of seals and concealed them in ten million treasure sites with names, illustrated by the five great treasures sites, and innumerable unnamed ones.

Finally, what seems important to note is that in this chapter Kongtrul makes no hierarchical distinction among the three sources of the ancient tradition. According to those who preserve this tradition, none should be assumed. The three modes of transmission—through wisdom mind, symbols, and words—each contributed to the teachings, yet the meaning of all three is identical. It can be tempting to idealize the cleanliness of mind-to-mind teachings passed between enlightened beings, particularly when compared to the clumsiness of language spoken among human beings, yet if the concept of a lineage has any true meaning, it is that the living breath of all the teachings reaches us vital and undiminished in the person of our spiritual master. Buddhas and awareness holders have the luxury of nonverbal communication; we do not, but what is transmitted in language should correspond to exactly what the primordial buddhas and awareness holders shared among themselves. That is the promise of this and of all lineages.

**BOOK FOUR: BUDDHISM RESPLENDENT IN THE WORLD***Chapter One: Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings*

Buddhist wisdom culture asserts that discernment, sincere appreciation, and verbalization of others' positive qualities constitute acts that deeply enhance one's own experience and contribute to one's own eventual success. Worship of wisdom beings, be they human or not, can never be detrimental to us or subtract from whatever qualities we ourselves might possess. To rejoice in even the slightest merit of ordinary beings and to appreciate their qualities have also long been commended as a pillar of Buddhist practice.

So it is that we find Kongtrul, who tirelessly served Tibetan Buddhism all his life, bowing southward toward India in unison, it must be said, with all Tibetan masters before and since. "Land of exalted beings," he calls it, rarely slipping into the more familiar and non-honorific "India." It was not as if only saints walked Indian soil in those days, but sufficient numbers of buddhas and bodhisattvas suffused its culture for a time that their lives and their impact are forever memorialized in Tibetan.

Having surveyed the Buddha and his teaching in the previous books, Kongtrul now appraises the development of Buddhism in India after the Buddha. He introduces us to a tiny fraction of the incredible masters Indian Buddhism produced; in writing a short, comprehensive history of Buddhism in India, his intent was likely to focus upon the figures whose work would seed Buddhism in Tibet and throughout the Himalayas.

The chapter begins with the period of Indian Buddhism before the advent of the great way, and we sense that Kongtrul dispenses with that long passage of time somewhat quickly: as he states later in this chapter, "in Tibet, no distinction was made between the great and lesser ways." To be clear, this does not imply a loosening of the essential monastic vows among Tibetan practitioners, nor a blending of the two ways. Nevertheless, no Tibetan system countenances embrace of codes of personal ethical conduct outside of rigorous training in the bodhisattva path, just as they do not conceive of the bodhisattva path without a firm grounding in rejection of acts that harm others or are detrimental to one's own buddha nature. Therefore, regardless of the sterling qualities of the arhats—"foe destroyers"—who lived in the period of lesser way Indian Buddhism, they held less interest to Kongtrul or his readership than the subsequent masters, who first wove the lesser and great ways into the rich and durable fabric the Tibetans still strive to duplicate, generation after generation.

On the subject of the great way, we commonly hear from the mouths of Tibetan masters that the Buddha imparted the teachings during his lifetime, and the discourses in question confirm that fact, yet it is rare to hear or read, as we do in the next sections on the spread of the great way and the vajra way, how the chronology of introduction of those teachings to human beings was strikingly different from that of the lesser way. An arhat named Nanda “became the first to hold the great way teachings”; he was joined by other exceptional masters during his lifetime, they gained royal patronage, and some fledgling acceptance: “[o]ne thousand, five hundred practitioners of the great way appeared.” The provenance of the great way’s massive collection of discourses is remarkable in itself, as Kongtrul mentions:

Concurrently, the majority of great way discourses . . . were brought to the human world from such diverse regions as those of gods, nagas, celestial musicians, and cannibal spirits. In particular, many texts came from the nagas’ lands.

In our day, when such regions seem the stuff of fancy, serious scholars generally elide what centuries of Buddhists have asserted, and sidestep the question of the discourses’ sources. That may work as a short-term strategy for modern great way scholarship, but does not serve the larger Buddhist canon: the huge range of Indian Buddhist tantras and Tibetan treasure teachings share exactly the same visionary or supernatural origins. Tantras and treasure teachings are considered to be particularly problematic due to their late dates and idiosyncratic voices, yet it would seem that most if not all the staid and sober great way discourses have similar back-stories. And although their assimilation as classic Buddhist texts is beyond serious dispute, such was not always the case: “They disparaged the teachings: ‘The great way is not the Buddha’s word.’” Kongtrul attributes this disapproval to jealousy, but solemn upholders of the lesser way could have been justifiably alarmed at the turn of events and at the swelling of the canon with dramatically different versions of the Buddha and his teaching. Kongtrul reports that the incomparable master Nagarjuna retrieved the final great way discourse—the monumental *The Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses*—from the nagas’ realm, “after which no new great way discourses appeared.” It remained to Nagarjuna and others the task of writing the great way irrevocably into the Buddhist conversation, which they succeeded in doing only over the course of centuries.

The founding of institutions played a role in the success of the great way,



according to Kongtrul. He mentions the founding of Nalanda as a conscious act on the part of great way masters to further their project. They chose as its site the birthplace of one of the iconic figures of the lesser way—Shariputra—but constructed the antithesis of a spare and light space for forest-dwelling monks. Nalanda became a monastic university, teaching place, and repository for the new great way canon. Amid its ruins, modern visitors still see ample evidence of its founders' sweeping ambitions for the great way and their open declaration in the form of decorative, exquisite sculpture that Buddhism had changed, and grown.

Kongtrul steps aside from his narrative in this chapter (as he will do in the next) to provide details of the works of the masters he cares about. Here we are treated to an overview of the works of Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, and Dharmakirti—the six adornments of the world, as they are collectively known—that Kongtrul feels were especially noteworthy in assuring the lasting prominence of the great way. Of the six, he accords the most attention to Nagarjuna and Asanga, the two major founders of the great way.

In presenting Asanga's life and work, Kongtrul describes the five treatises that Asanga transcribed from teachings given by Bodhisattva Maitreya in the heavens. To return to the topic of the unusual provenance of great way teachings, not only did these five essential treatises originate in the heavens, where Asanga spent twenty-five human years, but two of the five were unknown for more than five hundred years after their composition, discovered by one of the main teachers of such Tibetan translators as Marpa—Métripa. Kongtrul recounts:

Maitreya's first three teachings spread and became widely known from the beginning, but *Discerning Between Phenomena and Their Nature* and *The Highest Continuity* were originally unknown to other scholars. At a later time [more than five hundred years later], Métripa saw light shining from a crack in a stupa, where [he retrieved] these two texts. When Métripa prayed to noble Maitreya, the bodhisattva appeared clearly in a gap in the clouds and confirmed the teachings.

At this point in the text, Kongtrul is content to introduce the five treatises, presenting them as “a continuous body of work,” the first of the series including an introductory homage; the last, a dedication. He will return

to these two texts—*The Ornament of Manifest Realization* and *Highest Continuity*—in more detail in the next chapter. He reviews a number of perspectives Indian and Tibetan scholars have affirmed in relation to these five treatises, and he saves the last word for the perspective that likely corresponds to his own: “Maitreya’s five treatises are middle way texts, and they mostly teach extrinsic emptiness, the view of the great middle way.” We will examine the subject of extrinsic emptiness and its history in Tibet in the next chapter.

In listing Vasubandhu’s eight dissertations, Kongtrul begins by claiming them to be original works, yet only the first five are counted to be independent texts, whereas the latter three are commentaries on others’ writings. Kongtrul does not note here that Taranata, one of his main authorities, raises that contradiction and urges the three be placed apart; Kongtrul instead quietly follows Butön’s lead in this case.

The last major subject of this chapter is that of the origin and spread of tantric practice in India. As with the great way, Kongtrul never even breathes a suggestion that tantra belongs anywhere except as the crown of the Buddha’s canon, but he does locate its origins in time at points post-dating the wave of great way texts that appeared in India from other realms. Concerning the lower two tantras, action and conduct, he reports:

... not long after the third compilation of the teachings, when all the great way discourses arrived together [in this world] and spread, [these two classes of tantra] were openly practiced, and they flourished.

In relation to the higher, and infinitely more numerous, tantras of the yoga and highest yoga groups, Kongtrul points first to Saraha as the originator. Nevertheless, he situates his life at a distance of but three hundred years after the Buddha’s passing, not an opinion shared by modern researchers. Nevertheless, regardless of the era,

Before Saraha, it seems that yoga and highest yoga tantras appeared directly only to supremely fortunate disciples but did not remain as a continuous transmission. Later, from this

superb master's time forward, these tantras flourished and endured in continuous transmissions. Therefore, Saraha is the supreme source of every tantra and accomplished master.

In Saraha's case, and in the lives of many other masters listed in this chapter, Kongtrul uses a word translated here as "retrieved," "drew forth," or "brought" to describe how the specific master came to possess specific tantras. The implication of the word (Tibetan: "chen-drang," *spyan drangs*—an honorific word often used to mean "to invite") is that the tantras lay undiscovered in a geographical site—often Oddiyana, usually situated in the far northwest corner of the Indian subcontinent—or as content accessible only through visions, and that the master received that which corresponded to his (or her) spiritual propensity and realization. As with the great way texts, no original human authorship is admitted or implied, although the transcription process is necessarily idiosyncratic and leaves traces of each transcriber, whoever he or she may have been.

Kongtrul does not mention in this section tantra having undergone the process of initial rejection and later assimilation that occurred when the great way surged on the Indian scene. I have included above (in the notes to Chapter One of Book Three, "What the Buddha Taught") a quotation from Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa that affirms this to have been the case. Nevertheless, it must be said that tantra by its nature did not aim for widespread public acceptance, and in the end, its strategies for validation as Buddhist source texts seem to mirror those of the great way: having impressive spiritual masters affiliate with it, and creating dazzling institutions. For the first, tantra could claim (well after the fact) that some of the brightest lights of the great way had been in fact early tantric adepts. Kongtrul mentions how it is that Nagarjuna (here referred to as "the exalted master"), doyen of the great way, resurfaced many hundreds of years after his life as a major proponent of tantra. Some of course say that there were two Nagarjunas, he who retrieved the texts on sublime insight and whose writings became the pillars of the great way, and another who belongs to tantric lineages. This does not appear to be Kongtrul's view:

The exalted master's direct disciple Nagabodhi attained vajra rainbow body and lived at Shriparvata, where about seven hundred years after Nagarjuna's passing, he accepted two dis-

ciples, the untouchable Matangipa and Prince Gomishra, to whom he gave the exalted master's cycle of teachings.

As for tantric institutions, Kongtrul mentions just one stellar example—Vikramashila Monastery, which like Nalanda was situated in northern India within traveling range of Tibet. Royal patronage was involved in its construction. By the time of its founding in the ninth century, the range of accepted tantras available was likely sufficiently varied and complex, and the collections of the canon and treatises burgeoning, to require such major institutions even just to preserve the tradition. Further, whatever their drawbacks, these large campuses attracted incredible talents. Readers will note in this section, as in the rest of his story of how Buddhism spread and journeyed to Tibet, that for Kongtrul, Buddhism's spread means from person to person. He never tarries long on the subject of temples or institutions, Indian or Tibetan—they were simply means to an end. He measured their success not by an institution's size or longevity, but only by whether or not great masters learned, taught, or wrote there.

*Chapter Two: How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet*

This, the longest and most challenging chapter of this book, begins the three sections that describe Buddhism's arrival in Tibet, which for Kongtrul means the study and practice of Buddhism. In writing hundreds of pages of dense histories, he finds only enough space for a few spare sentences that mention religious institutions or for the many whose lives were spent in their sanctuary. Instead, he focuses relentlessly on the masters and disciples who were instrumental in introducing Buddhism to Tibetans, those who translated its foundational texts, and those who sustained its vitality.

The chapter begins with two versions of the origins of the Tibetan people, and some possible sources of the Tibetan royal line. According to Kongtrul, the Tibetan people are either descended from the union of a bodhisattva-ape and a female ogre or are the progeny of a king who fled battle disguised as a woman, an event presumably described in the *Mahabharata*, since the victors are named as the five Pandava brothers, who lived in that epic Indian poem.

Tibet's rulers do not necessarily share the same origins as their people, it would seem. A number of possibilities for the royalty's sources are mentioned: all except one (which originated in another continent altogether) point to India's rulers, including the Licchavi clan, a branch of the Shakya clan. Whatever different Tibetan scholars' opinions of the rulers' origins, each major figure among them who was instrumental in bringing Buddhism to Tibet has become identified with a bodhisattva: Lha Totori Nyentsen with Bodhisattva Ever Excellent; Songtsen Gampo, with All-Seeing One; his minister Gar Tong-tsen Yul-zung, with Vajra Holder; his Nepalese queen, with Frowning Goddess; his Chinese queen, with Tara; the father of the Tibetan script, with Gentle Melody; King Trisong Déutsen, with the same bodhisattva; and King Ralpachen, with Vajra Holder. In fact, the Tibetan people still revere these early rulers as gods in human form (or as incarnate bodhisattvas) more than they recall their Indian royal blood-lines.

Woven into the account of the kings we find the story of Buddhism's arrival in Tibet. What strikes the reader is the Tibet-centered nature of this history. We do not read of the many Indian masters' inspiration to take Buddhism northward (a perspective some histories favor); instead we learn of the Tibetan kings' intent and initiative to convert and civilize their country, which led them to invite foreign spiritual masters.

Central to Buddhism's integration with Tibetan society was the translation of the wealth of Indian and Chinese Buddhist sacred literature. While all histories of this era mention the hundred and eight Indian scholars and meditation masters who supervised a group of exceptional Tibetan translators, few go on to recount a major revision of their work carried out under the command of Trisong Déutsen's grandson, King Ralpachen. That king's remarks (quoted by Kongtrul) given to translators and scholars of his day to explain the need for and the methods of the revision are astounding:

In my forefathers' time, when the translators and scholars translated the teachings, among terms unknown in Tibetan, they used some words inconsistent with Buddhist scriptures and the *vyakarana* system, and which are difficult to understand. For these, search for valuable words from our language and add them, revising the translations to make them consistent with the terminology of the lesser and great ways.

I find it difficult to believe that the scholars and translators of King Trisong Déutsen's time used language that contradicted Buddhist scriptures or “the *vyakarana* system.” This latter term could refer to a grammatical system (a possibility which seems highly unlikely) or a series of eight commentaries of key Buddhist texts by Vasubandhu given the same collective name. What seems credible to me is that the original translations had included “terms unknown in Tibetan” which rendered the works insufficiently accessible to most readers, thus “difficult to understand.” In a word, the terms were foreign. That “the one hundred and eight scholars, including that abbot and master, as well as Master Vimalamitra, Shantingarbha, and Dharmakirti; and Tibetan translators, including Bérotsana, Kawa Paltsek, and Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen” produced translations that were faulty in doctrine and shoddy in grammar strains all credibility. Kongtrul seems to point to the true motive—that the august first translation process had resulted in technically perfect but inaccessible books—when he goes on to report of the revision, “most of the scriptures translated during his forefathers' time were finalized using contemporary language.” Notably, he does not mention any correction of doctrinally unacceptable language.

#### Monastic Discipline Arrives in Tibet

At the outset of the next section, which describes the origins of monastic discipline in Tibet, Kongtrul takes a single sentence to lay forth a core principle of Buddhist practice and life in all countries considered “Buddhist”:

Whether or not the Victor's doctrine exists [in any country] is determined only upon whether or not the training and practice of the vows of individual liberation exist there.

While all systems of monastic vows and the monastic community's internal functions are based on the same basic legal system, no unanimity exists in relation to the monastic vows' duration in a person's lifetime. Some countries, like Thailand, have a flexible set of options—short- or long-term commitment to the vows—whereas others, like Tibet, offer a single choice: a life-long pledge. Yet regardless of the vows' duration in individual cases, the Buddha's entire system for the life of his renunciant followers seems indispensable: too much of the Buddha's wisdom and

spirit are found within his community's legal code for it to be subtracted from the whole and still bear the name Buddhism.

Kongtrul tells how Tibetan men first took monastic vows—at the initial instigation of the king, who pressed one of his advisors to take vows. He was followed by six others, who became the test group. Once it was deemed a success, many joined them. Then,

. . . the king instituted the major Buddhist law that the king and his subjects should all make those who had renounced home life the foremost recipients of their offerings, and should honor, venerate, and respect them. A stone pillar with this edict [engraved upon it] was erected.

Those happy days did not last. In the wake of an anti-Buddhist king and a general suppression of Buddhist practice, Tibet's monastic community was reduced to shreds—just three monks, short of the quorum necessary to pass on the vows. When two Chinese monks joined them, the vow lineage survived but was soon overtaken once again by events:

Lachen Gongpa Rabsal granted the full ordination at one time without having completed the requisite ten-year supplementary qualification for an elder. Nevertheless, because Lachen was known to be a bodhisattva acting on his aspirations, because [the others who officiated] on this occasion—Mar Shakya-muni, Yo Géjung, and Tsang Rabsal—were special individuals, and because there was an important purpose in that the doctrine had reached a crossroad between its disappearance or re-emergence, holy persons deemed the ordination appropriate, and authorized it as faultless.

Buddhism and its monastic discipline had come to Tibet thanks to a series of enlightened kings, but the same royal authority came close to annihilating it. In the resolution of this specific controversy (caused by a monk acting as an elder before having spent ten years as a full-fledged member of the monastic community, in contravention of Buddhist law), we see a significant shift in authority from kings or Indian Buddhist masters to unnamed home-grown Buddhist “holy persons.” Tibetans still worship and mourn the passing of their best, bodhisattva ruler kings, but they

retain the awful memory of that same authority wielded in error.

Kongtrul finishes this section with information on two other lineages of vows that reached Tibet. He leaves the reader to speculate on when monastic vows were first accepted by women in Tibet, and whether or not their vow lineages followed the same patterns and shared the same favor or slow decline as their male counterparts.

### A History of the Study of Buddhism

The conclusion of the accounts of monastic discipline's introduction to Tibet marks the end of the narrative history part of this chapter. Kongtrul sets the stage for the rest of Book Four with what he calls a "preface"—a few words that elucidate his orientation toward Buddhist history, for he entitled this book, "how this doctrine grew and spread throughout this world." To define what he means by the Buddhist doctrine, he quotes a famous verse from Vasubandhu to the effect that what we call Buddhism comes down to two things: sacred texts and spiritual realization, which are preserved only in teaching and study for the first, and in meditation practice for the second. He doesn't spell out what soon becomes obvious to the reader: if we accept that Buddhism comprises scripture and realization, then a purely Buddhist history of Buddhism will trace the preservation of lineages of scholarship (the remainder of this chapter) and of meditation practice (the next).

Thus, for the rest of this chapter, Kongtrul delves into the lineages of scriptural transmission in five fields: monastic discipline, observed phenomena, sublime insight, the middle way, and tantra (in Sanskrit: *vinaya*, *abhidharma*, *prajnaparamita*, *madhyamaka*, *tantra*). From the perspective of teachers, these can be called subjects of scholarship; for us as students, they are what constitute the indispensable core subjects of a well-rounded Buddhist education. Each of these is essential; for a Buddhist education, other areas of study or interest are of comparatively minor import (Kongtrul devotes the last chapter of this book to those ancillary fields). Each section in this chapter follows the same pattern: Kongtrul provides a short survey of the Indian origins of the teachings in question, the foundational texts of that field, and the important Indian masters and their commentaries. He then turns our attention to how those scriptural transmissions reached Tibet, the early Tibetan masters and commentaries, and how their teaching systems fared over time.



### The Study of Buddhist Law

On the subject of monastic discipline, Kongtrul mentions the Indian master Gunaprabha's work *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline*, in which he "systematized what had lacked order in the four scriptures, subsuming their topics into [the monastic legal code's] seventeen bases." As one text states, "The entire [monastic disciplinary code] is contained within [seventeen] bases" and goes on to list them:

- (1) Ordination, (2) confession,
- (3) The lifting of restrictions, (4) the rainy season [retreat], and  
(5) [rules concerning] the use of leather articles,
- (6) Food and medicines, (7) robes, (8) the making and the  
distribution [of the robes],
- (9) *Koshambi* (legal procedures in case of disagreements over  
formal procedures), (10) formal procedures,
- (11) The *Pandulohitaka* (for amending downfalls through  
subjugation), (12) [factors concerning] the individual,
- (13) Demotion, (14) suspension from confession,
- (15) [Rules concerning] monastery sites and monks' quarters,  
(16) procedures [for settling] disputes, and (17) procedures  
[to resolve] schisms in the community. (*Buddhist Ethics*,  
pp. 129–130)

This kind of systematic approach which organized a large volume of textual information into a useful and accessible form typifies Buddhist treatises at their best. Further, although at first glance no subject could seem more prosaic than monastic discipline, it forms the basis of the path to enlightenment. Thus Kongtrul tells us that a later Tibetan master, Tsonapa the Great, "in a dream, received teachings on *The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline* from Gunaprabha. At the request of the protector Trakshé, he composed such texts as a detailed explanation of monastic discipline, *Rays of Sunlight*, and thereby established the foundation for the doctrine of monastic discipline."

### The Study of Observed Phenomena

In the next section as well, on the study of observed phenomena, we read that "The great Scholar Shakyashri taught *The Treasury of Observed Phe-*

*nomena* to Sakya Pandit, who received teachings from Vasubandhu in his dreams for one month. The experience that arose in his mind became [the source of] a proximate lineage.” A proper Buddhist education should not be equated with an induction into dry scholarship. All that one studies is directly or indirectly rooted in the Buddha’s spiritual realization, if not in others’ visions, dreams, or meditative experiences. The purpose of one’s study is not to absorb the lessons of someone else’s wisdom; the sole purpose of study is to lead one to the same experience and realization, beyond words and concepts.

In the section on the study of observed phenomena, Kongtrul finishes his presentation of the teaching systems and their lineages, then provides a short overview of the contents of *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*. He will repeat this format in each major section of this chapter from now on.

### The Study of the Perfection of Sublime Insight

In the section on the perfection of sublime insight, it is noteworthy that, once again, some of the core texts arose in visionary experiences. The first mentioned, *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, is a transcript of teachings given in the heavens by Bodhisattva Maitreya to Asanga, who had spent twelve years in meditation retreat before traveling to the heavens to receive instruction. Haribhadra, one of the later prolific masters of this subject, wrote with the express blessing of the same Maitreya.

At the end of this section, Kongtrul outlines the contents of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*. Understanding this text represents a different order of difficulty from *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* or the monastic legal code, for example, which are foundational texts in their own right, and mines of information presented whole. On the other hand, *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* is a commentary that systematizes a huge body of work—the discourses on the perfection of sublime insight. Therefore, its topics refer to a separate collection and presuppose a reader’s familiarity with it. As Kongtrul states, *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* “constitutes a treatise of pith instructions that elucidate the intent of discourses on the perfection of sublime insight” and again, that it presents “the hidden meaning of the perfection of sublime insight—the stages of manifest realization.”

A reader must be alert to this intertextuality when reading Kongtrul’s

synopsis of this treatise. He plunges into a presentation of the eight points or main topics that provide the structure of *The Ornament of Manifest Realization*, which itself gives this list:

Eight points fully elucidate  
 The perfection of sublime insight:  
 Knowledge of all aspects of phenomena, knowledge of paths,  
 Knowledge of everything,  
 Manifest perfect realization of all aspects,  
 Reaching the peak, culmination,  
 Instantaneous manifest perfect awakening,  
 And the body of ultimate enlightenment. These are the eight  
 points.

When Kongtrul describes each of these eight points, readers may feel as if some information is missing, which may be true in that he assumes that we've read and absorbed the discourses on sublime insight. As he wrote elsewhere in this text, "*The Ornament of Manifest Realization* employs eight main topics and seventy branch points to define the hidden meaning of the perfection of sublime insight." *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* offers a lens through which we can clearly view the content and import of another set of texts. After a brief description of the eight points, Kongtrul correlates the eight with chapters in the discourse, then delineates the seventy-part hidden meaning contained within the eight points. Our reading gives us a sense of an airtight system, a precision instrument ideal for understanding a body of work with which we are likely unfamiliar. Perhaps Kongtrul meant this bracing passage as a spur for us to revisit the discourses on the perfection of sublime insight, this time armed with *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* as a guide.

That having been said, Kongtrul would be the first to admit that what one takes away from *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* reflects one's own perspective. In the previous chapter, "Buddhism in the Land of Exalted Beings," he listed the very different ways in which many great past masters had interpreted the text's message:

Master Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Shantipa, and others explain *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* as a text that expounds the view of aspects of consciousness. Exalted Haribhadra, Jnanapada, Abhayakaragupta, Lord Atisha, and others explain

it to be a text that expounds the view of the lack of inherent nature. Most earlier and later Tibetan scholars consider it a commentary on the second turning of the wheel, presenting the independently verifiable reason view. Venerable Lord Mikyö Dorjé, Tsongkapa, and others consider that it presents the consequentialist view. The omniscient lord of the Jonang teachings, the spiritual father [Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen] and his heirs, consider that apart from mere differences in degree, Maitreya's five treatises are middle way texts, and that they mostly teach extrinsic emptiness, the view of the great middle way.

*The Ornament of Manifest Realization* may be unanimously acclaimed as the essential guide to the discourses of the perfection of sublime insight, yet the choice of an essential guide to *The Ornament of Manifest Realization* itself seems far more challenging.

#### The Study of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Emptiness

We read in the last line of the quote above the words “extrinsic emptiness” and the last section contained a passing reference to “intrinsic emptiness.” These two terms provide the organizing principles for Kongtrul's presentation of the origins of lineages of scholarship in the middle way, yet he does not define in this section what he means by these key terms. For that, we must turn to a later chapter of *The Treasury of Knowledge, Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, for which we are fortunate to have Elizabeth Callahan's excellent translation and extraordinarily helpful introduction. Here she encapsulates the differences according to Jamgön Kongtrul between the views of intrinsic emptiness and extrinsic emptiness (appearing here in Tibetan—Rangtong and Shentong):

[T]he Shentong and Rangtong systems do not differ in the way they determine all conventional phenomena to be empty, nor do they disagree that the extremes of conceptual elaboration cease during meditative equipoise. These two systems only differ in their exposition of their philosophical tenet systems. As a conventional position, Shentong Proponents state that the consummate characteristic, or dharmata, exists, and Rangtong Proponents say that it does not exist. Shentong Proponents state that nondual primordial wisdom is truly established at

the time of final analysis by means of reasonings that analyze for ultimacy, and Rangtong Proponents do not make such assertions. The Shentong position is that ultimate reality is not simply a nonimplicative negation—that is the way the imagined and dependent characteristics are empty. For them, the ultimate is primordial wisdom, which is empty of the duality of perceived and perceiver. (*Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 48)

In our chapter, intrinsic emptiness is presented first, its source texts written by Nagarjuna and Chandrakirti. The view of extrinsic emptiness finds its sources in Maitreya's five texts and in the writings of Asanga. These are called the two great chariot systems, as Kongtrul states:

What equal the sun and moon—which alone ornament the sky of the great Sage's teachings—are none other than the scriptural traditions of the two great chariot[-systems]. . . The supreme traditions of these two chariots do not contradict each other: one emphasizes outer principles, the other inner principles. (*ibid.*, p. 262)

Callahan adds a note at that point to explain:

Nagarjuna's system emphasizes from the "outer," or objective, side, that the ultimate nature is emptiness, whereas Maitreya and Asanga's system emphasizes from the "inner," or subjective, side that the ultimate nature is nondual primordial wisdom. (*ibid.*, p. 403, n. 852)

Indeed, Kongtrul quotes Shakya Chokden:

For explaining the thought of Nagarjuna, the Rangtong exegetical system is superior; and for elucidating the thought of the exalted Maitreya, the Shentong mode is most profound. The scriptures and reasonings of one, therefore, are not able to negate the other. (*ibid.*, p. 265)

Within the intrinsic emptiness view, two schools developed, men-

tioned in this section by name but without explanation: the consequentialist and the independently verifiable reason schools. Of their origin, Kongtrul writes:

Bhavaviveka read Buddhapalita's commentary, wrote a refutation, and started his own school. Chandrakirti refuted it and supported Buddhapalita's original tradition; thus, two schools are known.

In *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, he gives a short explanation of their differences (“independently verifiable reason” appears here in Sanskrit, *Svatantrika*; “consequentialist,” as *Prasangika*):

The followers of Bhavaviveka are called Svatantrikas because they assert, as a convention that is part of their own system, that all phenomena are without arising, are empty, and so forth. As proofs [of those assertions], they primarily use independently [verifiable] reasons in which the three modes are established through the power of [their relationship to real] things.

The followers of Chandrakirti are called Prasangikas, because they accept that [phenomena] are without arising, are empty, and so forth only from the perspective of others, which means that they commit to this only to refute others' mistaken ideas. [For Prasangikas] there are no independently [verifiable] reasons in which the three modes are established through the power of their [relationship to real] things. Therefore, they primarily just use consequences to demonstrate to Realists their internal contradictions. (p. 204)

What seems most important to take away from this discussion is an appreciation of how vitally important both these views are to us as Buddhists of the middle way. Kongtrul does not introduce any hint of conflict between the two; he simply presents their respective origins. In *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, he insists on their complementary nature. The following passage from Callahan's introduction shows how each view can inform our practice of tantric meditation (“middle way” appears here in Sanskrit, *Madhyamaka*; “generation stage” here appears elsewhere in this book as “the phase of creation”):

Generation stage practice involves imagining deities and their mandalas. The practice of the completion stage is to remain within primordial wisdom. Each stage has two aspects, for which either the Rangtong or the Shentong expression of Madhyamaka is more profound. The first aspect of generation phase practice is the ground for the arising of the deities. Shentong-Madhyamaka explanations clarify how the seed syllables and emblems (from which the deities manifest) arise within emptiness and are expressions of nondual primordial wisdom. The second aspect of generation phase practice is that these deities manifest without conceptual elaborations. Rangtong-Madhyamaka teachings are more useful for understanding this. In terms of the completion phase, first we must let go of any fixations on the generation phase by dissolving the visualization of the deities and mandalas and resting without reference points. The Rangtong approach is most effective for this phase. However, simply resting without reference points is not the actual completion-phase wisdom. The second aspect of completion phase is the actual completion-phase wisdom: the primordial wisdom of connate great bliss. This is described in the Shentong-Madhyamaka teachings. (ibid., p. 49)

### The Study of Tantra

Kongtrul now turns our attention to tantra, the final subject of this survey of scholastic transmissions that reached Tibet. He devotes as many pages on this single subject as he did for the previous four. As essential as the common ways of spiritual development are within Buddhism, their sacred texts, commentaries, and proponents never claim to deliver their adherents to enlightenment except after imponderably numerous lifetimes of spiritual practice. They also do not promise ease and a variety of techniques; in a word, user-friendliness. In contrast, tantra repeatedly boasts of its efficiency—enlightenment in this very lifetime, or immediately after death, or in the course of a short series of lifetimes—ease of use, and clarity among a large number of diverse techniques. As Kongtrul remarks in *Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, all paths lead to tantra, and only tantra (or “mantra” in this quote) leads to enlightenment:

The culmination of the path of training in the way of the perfections gives rise to none other than the mantric path of training in the mind of its practitioners. Therefore, the ultimate direct result of the perfections is not full awakening. The culmination of all aspects on the path of training in the mantra way directly yields the result of full awakening. That being the case, the fully awakened state is the direct result solely of the culmination of the mantric path of training. (*Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, p. 82)

Not everyone may believe this; Kongtrul does, and from the evidence of what Tibetans collected and preserved of Indian Buddhism, and what they spent the ensuing centuries practicing and writing about, Himalayan Buddhist masters of all affiliations also believed it. This core belief informs Kongtrul's priorities in his writing; he reflects the values of the past masters and writers he emulates, and his prolific writing is so tantra-oriented that in sum it is as if he declares to his readers: "If the suffering of sentient beings leaves you aghast and determined to attain full awakening for their benefit as quickly and easily as you possibly can, once you have completed your education in basic Buddhism, here is what you really need to know—tantra."

Kongtrul begins by stating that he will present the later tantras' teaching transmissions before those of the early translations. The early period lasted less than eighty years. Chinese records at the time state that Trisong Déutsen ascended the throne in 756 (according to an esteemed modern Tibetan scholar, Dungkar Lozang Trinlé). The construction of Samyé Monastery lasted from 762–767, by which time the first Tibetan monks were ordained and the translation project begun. Tri Ralpachen, Trisong Déutsen's grandson who ordered a revision of the first translations, died in 841, to be followed by his brother who succeeded (during five calamitous years until his assassination in 846) in eradicating Buddhist activity in central Tibet. The dynasty itself collapsed in 869, although Ralpachen's demise must certainly be taken as the end date of the early translation period, one characterized by centralized organization: the royal family sponsored the project, Indian scholars and masters supervised, and Tibetan translators worked in teams with a number of lead translators and a constellation of lesser translators and scribes surrounding each. They



proved both prolific and inspired, for their basic vocabulary choices and much of their writing style were adopted in many subsequent Tibetan translations.

The later translation period began in roughly 1042, when the great Indian master Atisha arrived in Tibet (he passed away there in 1054). This period of translation resembles our present haphazard production of Buddhist translations from Asian to Western languages. Tibet then lacked both a central secular and religious authority, as well as a sponsoring dynasty; Indian masters and Tibetan translators worked together independently on both sides of the Himalayas; no central library collected or coordinated their work. Huge amounts of valuable work were done, yet sometimes in duplicate: for example, Kongtrul counts twenty-four variant translations of a single tantra (*The Wheel of Time*)!

The later translations' tantras are assigned one of four categories: action, conduct, yoga, and highest yoga. Kongtrul dispenses quickly with the first three, ending the single section on the action and conduct tantras with what will become a recurring refrain throughout the part of this chapter on the tantras: "Yet, apart from these, no continuity of teaching systems remains." By the chapter's end, Kongtrul will account somewhat for the unhappy fate of many of the tantras' teaching transmissions in Tibet; in the meantime, we are surprised at what would appear to be a recurring pattern of negligence on the part of tantra's Tibetan custodians.

### The Father Tantras

When Kongtrul turns to the highest yoga tantras, he introduces the father tantras' three families—of desire, of anger, and of stupidity. Central to the family of desire is a wisdom deity called Matrix of Mystery (Tibetan: Sangwa-dupa, *gsang ba 'dus pa*; Sanskrit: Guhyasamaja). Persons most strongly driven by desire engage in this cycle of teachings which uses desire as a technique for spiritual awakening. Kongtrul reports that six of the twenty-four Indian lineages of teaching of this tantra reached Tibet; among them, two were particularly outstanding, of which one centered on the practice, the other on the teaching system. The former, that of Marpa the Translator, included seven teaching systems, none of which lasted until Kongtrul's time. The latter thrives within the Géluk tradition.

As he has done for previous subjects, Kongtrul interrupts his narrative of teaching transmissions to describe the basic text. In this case,

he provides more details of the Matrix of Mystery system than of any other, before or after. The challenge for a reader is to allow oneself to be carried by Kongtrul through the tantra's subjects, a bracing experience that reveals a seemingly unlimited horizon for further elaboration. These dense pages help us comprehend how it is that commentaries to tantras can fill large volumes and yet manage to be compellingly readable; perhaps Kongtrul wrote this overview to encourage his readership to pick up just such a commentary.

Matrix of Mystery tantra has six subjects, the first of which concerns the individual who is the “worthy vessel” for this tantra. We sense how far outside of typical Buddhist territory we have ventured when individuals untroubled by desire are lumped together with those engaged in lower Buddhist paths in the category of unsuitable practitioners of this tantra. The fifth subject of the tantra is that of techniques of experiential cultivation, how the tantra becomes a spiritual practice. This entails receiving an empowerment then embarking on the path of liberation. In this case, the customary order of conduct and meditation (“settling in evenness”) are reversed, and once again, this being the family of desire tantra, desire is highlighted as the path: “the conduct of desire for the diligent to achieve enlightenment within their lifetime”; other forms of conduct are said to lead to the goal only after this or many other lifetimes.

In relation to meditation, the tantra presents both the phase of creation (“which indirectly makes wisdom arise”) and the phase of completion (“which directly makes wisdom arise”). Under the heading of the phase of creation, Kongtrul does not describe Matrix of Mystery's sacred circle that encompasses thirty-two deities. He labels such visualization practice “training in single-minded concentration on coarse [phenomena] using familiarity with the deities' substantial [appearances].” He touches on the other familiar aspect of tantric Buddhist deity meditation—mantra recitation—under the heading of “conceptual contemplative practice, attachment to and conceptualization of very subtle phenomena,” where he calls mantra recitation a lesser technique. These two forms of meditation are designated “the approach” whereas what he calls “the practice” refers to employing techniques learned to achieve accomplishments, which Kongtrul lists.

We then turn to the crux of the tantra, the phase of completion. Each tantra has its own phase of completion system, and each its own terminology; regardless of the tantra, the phase of creation is regarded as a

necessary step, but just a step nonetheless, toward the phase of completion, “which directly makes wisdom arise.” Most teachers and commentators of tantras emphasize the phase of completion for that reason. Certainly it is within the phase of completion that we discover each tantra’s special character more than in the sometimes ornate complexities of the phase of creation’s visualization of deities in regalia.

Matrix of Mystery’s phase of completion system is known as “the five stages.” Kongtrul refers to them throughout this section without listing them. When he arrives at the phase of completion, he presents “the six aspects of approach and accomplishment—five stages of approach, and accomplishment of union.” Matrix of Mystery’s five stages are not the five stages of approach (physical solitude, vocal solitude, mental solitude, illusory body, and clear light), but in fact the second (vocal solitude) through the fifth, plus union.

Kongtrul does not describe these six aspects of approach and accomplishment; he merely lists the topics that are used in the tantra and its commentaries to elucidate them. In the end of the section on the phase of completion, he offers us a small map of the terrain he just covered, explaining why we would follow these stages of practice:

Among those six [aspects of approach and accomplishment], the initial three solitudes make the body, speech, and mind pliable; and they set a foundation for tranquil abiding. The latter three primarily teach insight, the abiding nature of things: illusory body, the emptiness of the [mind’s] objects, is the proximate cause of the body of perfect rapture; clear light, the emptiness of mind, is the ultimate truth; and [the accomplishment of union,] the emptiness of nondual mind and its objects, the indivisible two truths, abides as the result.

Having presented the tantra’s six topics, Kongtrul turns our attention to an analysis of how the tantra was expressed. This involves judging the intent of the tantra’s words: is a specific passage or teaching meant literally or not? Does it express provisional or definitive meaning? Is there an implicit meaning implied or not? When we read the tantras we must resolve these questions, using the keys called the six parameters and four modes. Nevertheless, at a certain point in his discussion, Kongtrul informs us that he will provide a more complete picture of these subjects

“below,” by which he means later in *The Treasury of Knowledge*, specifically *Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, pp. 286–290. In that book, those pages end with the comment that he had just explained the six parameters and four modes “according to the tradition of the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*,” in other words, this same Matrix of Mystery. He states at the outset of that section (“Exposition Methods in Highest Yoga Tantra”) that these two and other teaching methods among “the seven ornaments” find their source in this tantra of Matrix of Mystery, although they are used to elucidate the highest tantras in general (*ibid.*, p. 283).

As Kongtrul ends his own brief presentation of Matrix of Mystery tantra, which is as dense and demanding as some entire chapters of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, he writes this by way of an explanation for his care in setting forth the tantra’s content:

This is not a Buddha related to a limited realm and set of disciples but one who epitomizes all buddhas’ assembly or matrix, a body of integral union, known as supreme Buddha Vajra Bearer or “the one who is all buddhas.” It is taught, “This is the place of the ultimate. Therefore, its means of expression, the verbal Matrix of Mystery [tantra], is the crown of all tantras.” It is thought that even the bodhisattvas’ commentaries on Wheel of Time present Matrix of Mystery’s meaning, the tantras of Vajra of Delight are oriented toward Matrix of Mystery, and the Wheel of Supreme Bliss [tantras] elucidate Matrix of Mystery’s ultimate nature.

In this chapter, Kongtrul lavishes such attention on no other tantra. In fact, the next family of tantras, that of anger, is not described at all, just its lines of teaching transmissions.

The tantra that exemplifies the stupidity family, *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*, has been interpreted in different ways, as Kongtrul states:

The bodhisattvas elucidated it as part of the Wheel of Time tradition; Lalitavajra, as a father tantra of the highest yoga tantras; Manjushrikirti and Manjushrimitra, as a yoga tantra. It is even said that in Tibet it is elucidated as great perfection, and in India as the middle way.

This again reveals the importance of the commentators who interpret a tantra to us. Each author—realized masters all—had the same text in hand; each understood those same words in a radically different manner. Regardless of how this specific tantra is framed, Kongtrul recommends it to us with a quote from *Stainless Light*, a commentary to The Wheel of Time Tantra:

Those who do not know *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri* do not know Buddha Vajra Bearer’s wisdom body. Those who do not know Buddha Vajra Bearer’s wisdom body do not know the secret mantra way. Those who do not know the secret mantra way are beings dwelling in the wheel of life, since they live apart from the path of the Transcendent Conqueror Vajra Bearer.

Nevertheless, Kongtrul does not enter into the details of the tantra as he did with Matrix of Mystery. He simply lists the fourteen chapters that a king of Shambhala assigned the tantra’s contents.

### The Mother Tantras

The next main subject is the three families of mother tantras, here referred to as the *héruka* family, the family of permanence, and the Vajrasattva family. “*Héruka*,” a generic term for a wrathful deity, is used here as a code word for the vajra wisdom family and its chief buddha, Unmoving. Likewise, “permanence” indicates the buddha wisdom family and its chief buddha, Illuminator.

Many deities belong to the *héruka* family; Kongtrul here presents two of the most prevalent ones, Wheel of Supreme Bliss (Tibetan: Korlo Demchok, *'khor lo bde mchog*; Sanskrit: Chakrasamvara) and Vajra of Delight (Tibetan: Gyépa Dorjé, *dgyes pa rdo rje*; Sanskrit: Hévajra). In the section on the Tantra of Supreme Bliss, Kongtrul ends his description of the teaching lineages with presentations of two teaching systems, by Jampal Nyingpo and Taranata. For the first, Kongtrul lists the six topics that constitute the tantra’s subject, but when he arrives at the actual teaching in the tantra’s fifty-one chapters, he leaves the reader with, “Second, [the full explanation] comprises the forty-nine remaining chapters.”

His presentation of Taranata’s teaching of the same tantra follows a similar pattern. He informs us that Taranata’s system uses the framework

of the three continuities—the basis of being, the spiritual path, and the result—and he lists the main points in each subject. Nevertheless, when the tantra itself is broached, we read only, “the second chapter up to half-way through the fiftieth chapter provides a full explanation” concerning which Kongtrul adds that this full explanation runs the gamut from, “a presentation of the master’s qualifications to the burnt offering rite for the activity of magnetizing.” Clearly, Kongtrul did not intend to give his readership the same glimpse into this tantra as he did for *Matrix of Mystery*. This holds true as well for the next tantra, *Vajra of Delight*. After tracing the Indian origins and the Tibetan reception of this central tantra, Kongtrul gives scant details as he informs us how the tantra is taught. To give an example, under the heading of the tantra’s general meaning, he tells us:

The second [continuity of techniques] has [fifty-three teachings]: ten on stages of conduct, four on stages of the view, four on uncommon stages, seven for the highest stages, eleven on the main part of the path, twelve stages in the temporary results, and five branches in the ultimate result.

To be fair, Kongtrul himself wrote a massive commentary to the *Vajra of Delight Tantra*, and he could assume that whoever read *The Treasury of Knowledge* in its original was well equipped to find, read, and comprehend the many Indian and Tibetan commentaries available to them. Of course, we do not have such resources. Two translations of the *Vajra of Delight Tantra* have been published in English, and only recently a single translation of the *Supreme Bliss Tantra* has appeared. As fortunate as we are to have those works, they can be regarded as valuable steps on the way to full translations of the commentaries to these tantras, for such treatises’ framing and interpretations can be extraordinarily helpful for our appreciation of the texts of the original tantras.

Under the heading of the second family among mother tantra deities, the family of permanence, Kongtrul includes Mahamaya, Four Seats, Buddha Skull, and “the sovereign horse family,” presumably Horse Neck (Tibetan: Tamdrin, *tra mgrin*; Sanskrit: Hayagriva). In the midst of brief overviews of their lineages, Kongtrul writes these lines, perhaps only pertaining to the family of permanence at the time he wrote them, but relevant to all lineages today:

In brief, through the kindness of those translators, the empowerments, teachings, and profound instructions for meditation of many tantras spread for a long time, and due to that, countless accomplished masters appeared. Nevertheless, the strand of the transmission of their teachings and practice is extremely tenuous. Therefore, I ask those who care about the doctrine to apply themselves with great effort to preserve these transmissions with as much diligence as they are able.

In the final section on the mother tantras, the Vajrasattva family, we find the Wheel of Time (Tibetan: Dukor, *dus 'khor*; Sanskrit: Kalachakra), perhaps the most recognized name of a Buddhist tantra in modern times, due to the tireless activity of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the late Kalu Rinpoché. Among the many traditions of the Wheel of Time, Kongtrul states,

[T]he main Wheel of Time traditions are the Dro tradition, heirs to the practice of experiential cultivation; and the Ra tradition, heirs of the tantra's teaching. The Dro practice tradition appears to be transmitted through the Jonang lineage; the Ra teaching tradition, through the Zhalu lineage.

When Kalu Rinpoché would give the Wheel of Time empowerment, he drew mainly from the Dro and Jonang traditions, whereas the Dalai Lama's transmission is grounded in the Ra and Zhalu lineages.

When Kongtrul finished the account of the transmission lineages, he turned once again to the Wheel of Time Tantra itself, this time presenting how the teaching of the tantra is given. He names the tantra's five chapters and shows how thirty-two summaries and eighty-one points are woven through those chapters. These numbers are not random, since they immediately suggest the thirty-two marks and the eighty-one signs of physical perfection that manifest on the body of a sublime emanation of enlightenment. Kongtrul explains this idiosyncratic use of the terms "points" and "summaries" in this way:

As to the meaning of "summaries," just as many small measures are contained in a larger measure, these summaries contain many confluences of words and meanings. As to "points," just

as a large measure contains many small measures, these points contain various separate words and meanings.

The first chapter's ten summaries are said to be the pure form of the "powerful ten-letter mantra" which is the primary emblem of the Wheel of Time. It is described in *Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, pp. 197–200. Kongtrul's last sentence on the subject of the Wheel of Time, "In brief, the outer, inner, and alternative Wheels of Time are summarized as the subjects to be presented, then taught," refers to the Wheel of Time as the outer world, the body (inner), and the wisdom deity (alternative), a framing terminology unique to the Wheel of Time tantras.

### The Early Tantras

The next section introduces the teaching transmission of the early translations' tantras. The Tibetan text calls these tantras "old" or "ancient" as opposed to the "new" tantras just described. Although these designations obviously work for Tibetans, for us to call translations which began to be produced in the vicinity of 1042 "new" seems unreasonable, particularly if that appellation causes other translations done roughly two hundred years before to be labeled "ancient" or "old." I have taken the liberty to replace those terms with another pair of words often used in Tibetan to name the same translation periods: early and later. On the other hand, I have not tampered with the name of the Nyingma or Ancient Tradition for various reasons, including that as we saw above, it traces its lineages of transmission back before the dawn of human time in this world.

Kongtrul begins by remarking how rich in tantras Tibet became during the early translation period: "countless empowerments, teachings, and pith instructions appeared [during the early period]." Then he makes an observation that explains the split in Tibetan education between the first four subjects of study mentioned in this chapter, and tantra:

[S]ecret mantra was zealously kept secret during that time: monastic colleges stressed the way of philosophical systems, while meditation centers emphasized the secret mantra way. Therefore, it seems that no college curriculums included [any tantras] apart from a few outer tantras, and none of the three inner tantras.



The three inner tantras mentioned here are the highest three classes of tantra in the Ancient Tradition system—mahayoga, anuyoga, and atiyoga.

To this day, the curricula of most monastic colleges is weighted heavily in studies of the code of monastic discipline, *The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*, the perfection of sublime insight, and the middle way view, with possible branch studies in such fields as Sanskrit and Tibetan languages, and logic. As Kongtrul states, in times past, the subject of tantra was not broached at all in such settings, and even now, most colleges reserve general tantric studies for the last year or two of a very long program. One notable exception to that rule is the college founded and directed by the late Khenpo Jikmé Puntsok Rinpoché of Sertak, Sichuan Province, China. He blended serious study of all subjects, especially the tantras, and tantric meditation practice over a multi-year program, and the results have been spectacular.

In this section, Kongtrul focuses entirely on one of the early tantras, *The Secret Essence Tantra*, which he considers to tower above all others. As he did with the later tantras, he traces the Indian lineage, the early history of its acceptance in Tibet, and the development of Tibetan teaching transmissions. Kongtrul touches on the condemnation of early tantras that was common on the part of some adherents of the later tantras, but he restricts the story to one episode that had a relatively happy ending:

Later, when scholars of the later tantras denied [the validity of *The Secret Essence Tantra*], Chomden Rikpé Raldri obtained the actual Sanskrit text that had belonged to Master Padmasambhava, and asked Translator Tarpa Nyima Gyaltzen to translate it. Chomden Rikpé Raldri composed *Adorning Flowers for “The Secret Essence Tantra”* and other texts, and spread this teaching. From then on, even academic logicians could not dispute [this tantra’s validity].

When Kongtrul turns to *The Secret Essence Tantra* itself, he again elucidates not the content of the tantra, but the different ways it has traditionally been taught. Although it might seem that his generous explanation of Matrix of Mystery Tantra is evidence of favoritism of the later tantras, in fact that tantra is a unique bridge shared by both early and later tantric schools. As he wrote in that previous section to prove that it was not exclusively a later tantra:

During Buddhism's early spread in Tibet, [a translator] named Ché Tashi translated this tantra, and it was known among the eighteen major tantras as *The Matrix of Mystery Mind Tantra*. Teachings that elucidated it appeared, as the appearance of Vajrahasa's tradition illustrates.

### Buddhism Betrayed by Time

In what he calls a supplementary section, Kongtrul provides a short account of the teaching transmissions that had lasted until his time. He states that in the category of fundamental Buddhist instruction, “teaching systems for many major and minor scriptures appeared in the past” but that by the time of his writing, the mid-nineteenth century, “only reading transmissions for their root texts and some commentaries still remain, yet it appears that individual masters teach them based on their own powers of explanation.” While this remark may seem obvious and neutral to us, for Kongtrul and for his readership it must have been tinged with sadness. Buddhists yearn to read our sacred literature through the eyes of realized masters of the past, unadulterated by new ideas and concepts, no matter how brilliant. We make room for the exigencies of teaching basic Buddhism to each new generation, yet when each individual practitioner becomes sufficiently mature in their study and meditation practice to turn from expedient teachings to immersion in the timeless wisdom of Buddhism's source texts, we hope to be accompanied and guided by beings of timeless realization. Hence most Tibetan Buddhist masters' emphasis on preservation of their traditions of sacred teachings and meditations, and not on new inventive methods. Kongtrul's quote of Taranata's sixteenth-century injunction in a previous chapter sums up our still-prevalent mood: “Do not delight in the talk of later generations! Scholars of the past were accomplished masters. Modern scholars are frauds.”

On the subject of the surviving tantric teaching transmissions, Kongtrul did not do the math for his own time but cites that of an authority who lived five hundred years before him: Translator Gö Zhönnu Pal (1392–1481), who wrote a famous history, *The Blue Annals* in 1476. Kongtrul states:

. . . in his time, teaching transmissions existed for forty-one texts of tantra. Thus, tantric scriptural systems and teaching

systems for profound instruction in secret mantra's later and early traditions are indescribably [numerous].

Within the same supplementary section, Kongtrul recounts the teaching transmissions of great seal, then mentions the compilations of the Tibetan translations of the Buddha's word and of Indian Buddhist treatises:

In Tibet, during the doctrine's later spread, Chomden Rikpé Raldri of Nartang initially compiled the entire *Collection of the Buddha's Words in Translation* and *The Collection of Indian Treatises in Translation*, and wrote a catalogue for them. His disciples, including Upa Losal Sangyé Büm, continued his activity with great diligence, such as writing out the volumes. Further, Butön Rinchen Drup made a very detailed classification and a catalogue [of these collections].

This massive work of compilation, organization, and editing began with Chomden Rikpé Raldri during the mid-thirteenth century. Butön Rinchen Drup (1290–1364) gave the collections their lasting form. Kongtrul does not mention here that each of these two great masters considered parts of the collections spurious. For Chomden Rikpé Raldri, *The Wheel of Time Tantra* was unacceptable as Buddhist teaching, whereas (as mentioned above) he deemed valid *The Secret Essence Tantra* and presumably other early tantras. Butön had the opposite opinion, and it was he who had the final word, as the early tantras and their commentaries were excluded from his edition of the collections. Kongtrul agreed with neither exclusion: he accepted both *The Wheel of Time Tantra* and the early tantras as perfectly authentic.

### Yogins and Scholars

Kongtrul ends this chapter with a summary and some cogent remarks concerning his own tradition, that of the Marpa Doctrinal Lineage.

To begin, he names “the ten foremost pillars who raised the teaching transmissions” over the course of the Tibetan assimilation of Indian Buddhism. The first is Tonmi Sambhota, the inventor of Tibetan written language. Six are translators, four of them participants in the early translations. Three, of whom one lived in the early period, are those who received and preserved the transmissions of teaching. Of them all, Kongtrul states:

In the dark land of the northern country of Tibet, they were like the sun, able to illuminate the Buddha's doctrine and thereby further Buddha Shakyamuni's activity. Their kindness cannot be measured, even by the bounds of space.

This chapter has delineated the arrival and spread of teaching transmissions in Tibet; the next chapter will do the same for lineages of meditation practice. Kongtrul describes them all as organic lineages that have lived and survived, or died, on their own, whereas in fact they became aligned with monastic institutions and colleges, alignments that could well determine a specific transmission's fate. Here, Kongtrul finally mentions the four major monastic groupings in Tibet, and how teaching and meditation practice fared in their institutions:

From the time that separate sects diverged during the doctrine's later spread, each had transmissions of both teaching and meditation practice, yet it seems that the teaching doctrines were mainly inherited by the Sakya and Géden [i.e., Gélukpa] orders, whereas the doctrines of lineages of meditation practice were mainly inherited by the Kagyu and Nyingma orders.

This statement allows Kongtrul to segue into a discussion of his own tradition, that of the Marpa Doctrinal Lineage in general, and the Karma Kagyu in particular. He credits the third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé (1284–1339) with a transformative vision that still guides the lineage:

Omniscient Rangjung Gyalwa [the third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé] appeared in this world, and mainly emphasized the teaching doctrines of *The Profound Inner Meaning*, *The Two Chapters of the Vajra of Delight Tantra*, and *The Highest Continuity*.

The Karmapa was responding to his followers who “purely upheld Lord Milarepa's practice lineage and diligently devoted themselves exclusively to meditation practice” to the point of setting aside the teaching and study of pre-tantric subjects. Instead of calling for meditators to leave their cushions and enter college, Rangjung Dorjé entreated them to read and study just these three texts, which as Kongtrul states, “are sufficient in themselves for arriving at a final conclusion in the course

of study and contemplation concerning experiential cultivation of what is to be practiced in meditation; these texts are indispensable for that purpose.”

Of the three, Kongtrul says of *The Profound Inner Meaning*, “it is improper for practitioners of the [phase of completion’s] six doctrines to not know this text”; of *The Vajra of Delight Tantra’s Two Chapters*, “It is vital to know this text at the outset of tantric meditations on the creation and completion phases”; and of *The Highest Continuity*, “it is important to know this text for great seal meditation.” Of them all, he reiterates:

These three scriptures are not subjects for academic study or debate; they are teachings to be conjoined with experiential cultivation. Therefore it is vital above all else that holders of the practice lineage preserve the undiminished teaching transmission of these texts.

Kongtrul wrote long commentaries to each of these three texts, books which have since become cherished treasures to Kagyu meditators.

Somewhat defensively, Kongtrul follows that section with a passage that describes some traces of scholarship within the Karma Kagyu order, specifically thanks to the brilliance of the sixth, seventh, and especially the eighth Karmapa. He comments in a hopeful tone that as a result of the Karmapas’ and their close disciples’ writing,

although no specific [Karma Kagyu] monastic college exists at the present time, its true scholastic tradition continues unbroken. Thus, the source of these Karma Kagyu teaching systems is mainly found in the Sakya order, and, within that tradition, in the great Rongtön Shéja Kunzik’s teaching system. Nevertheless, it should be understood that the Karma Kagyu later developed its own independent teaching systems.

In fact, in modern times the Karma Kagyu has managed to found monastic colleges while maintaining and adding to the retreat centers for which it has always been celebrated. Kongtrul ends this chapter with praise for a tradition and a teacher on the opposite end of the teaching-meditation practice spectrum from the Karma Kagyu. Curiously, he mentions two of the teacher’s given names, and lauds him as “[I]ght of Shakyamuni’s

doctrine, he was a second Nagarjuna appearing in the Himalayas,” but he does not refer to him with the name we all know so well: Tsongkapa.

*Chapter Three: The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice  
in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots*

When Kalu Rinpoché first taught Buddhism outside central Asia, he realized that he was not only a teacher with his own specific lessons to impart, he was also an ambassador of Himalayan tantric Buddhism outside its native lands, the first lama that many ever had the chance to meet. Thus in the 1970s he would include in many public talks an overview of Tibet's Buddhist landscape, which he summarized in the subject of its four main orders, or sects: Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, and Géluk, which he invariably described as equally authentic and viable repositories of Buddhist wisdom. By the 1980s, he found that his audience had retained this message only too well: his simplified scheme of Tibet's spirituality had been turned into solid, restricting categories to which everyone, Rinpoché included, could be assigned. For someone who had claimed himself to be “a Buddhist department store: you can find everything you want here,” relegation to the pigeonhole of “Kagyu lama” did not sit well. One memorable day in southeast Asia, his frustration led him to declare in a public talk, “Yes, I'm a Kagyu lama . . . a Nyingma Kagyu lama, a Kadampa Kagyu lama . . .” and so on, using the term “Kagyu” not in the sense of a monastic order but in its literal meaning of “doctrinal lineage.” And the series of names he affixed this term to corresponds to the subject of this chapter—the eight lineages of meditation practice in Tibet. As his translator, I knew what he referred to, but the blank stares of his auditors told us they did not, although everyone understood he was trying to change the frame of their understanding of Tibetan Buddhism. It was during the year following that talk that Kalu Rinpoché initiated *The Treasury of Knowledge* translation project. I do not mean to suggest that this experience spurred him to encourage translations, but it had become evident to him that his audience in general had matured and needed more information for their perspective on Tibetan Buddhism to grow. Public lectures were not enough to effect the change he envisioned.

All categories tend to be reductive; look under any of our labels and we find a teeming mass of unstable relations and contradictions, which have just changed, or are about to change, having already become or being in

the process of becoming something other than what we just perceived. “The four main orders of Tibetan Buddhism” is no exception. The term provides us with the name on the bottle, the producer, but does little to describe the wine. The four orders are, simply put, institutions—containers that house diverse scriptural transmissions of the last chapter and the present chapter’s lineages of meditation techniques. The institutions were likely founded with the intent to preserve and promote specific scriptures and meditations, yet those institutions’ missions invariably evolved over the centuries. For example, while Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa, and Milarepa—non-monks all—might view with astonishment the many Kagyu monastic networks erected in their name, Gampopa, Dusum Kyenpa, Pamo Drupa, and the others who founded those networks might be equally amazed at their modern content. What a strictly Kagyu practitioner learns today as the lineage’s core curriculum of theory and practice would hardly have been considered kosher in the founding fathers’ day.

To identify anyone as affiliated with one of the four orders is fair—we all start somewhere. In Kalu Rinpoché’s case, he joined a Kagyu monastery during his adolescence and he would sometimes add the prefix “Karma” to his name in veneration of the Karmapa and his lineage. Nevertheless, after his early training, his three-year retreat course consisted of mostly non-Karma Kagyu meditations, and in his post-retreat-graduate period of education and meditation, he seems to have treated Tibetan Buddhism as a self-serve buffet from which he slowly but surely tried and savored just about everything. Some of us had the impression that at some point he reached the end of the path, about which he was fond of saying, “There is no such thing as a Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, or Géluk enlightenment, just enlightenment.” He worked tirelessly to give back to the institutions, mainly Kagyu, that had given him so much over the years, but he found it tiresome and limiting to be regarded as a Kagyu Buddha, even among a stellar group of other equally misidentified Kagyu, Nyingma, Sakya, and Géluk buddhas.

Kalu Rinpoché did not live long enough to successfully supplant the “four orders” schema with the eightfold framework of meditation lineages that is more helpful in situating us in relation to our spiritual path in Tibetan Buddhism. An institution provides the setting, teachers, and companions that most of us need at the outset of our practice. Yet it is one of the eight lineages of meditation practice that we receive and follow, ideally in stages from the preliminary to the culminant practices. And

having finished one course, we could then engage in another, and then another, to our heart's content, without changing our affiliation and loyalty to the first institution we joined. Kalu Rinpoché remained a lifelong Kagyu lama whose mastery extended to most, if not all, the eight lineages of meditation practice. Like Jamgön Kongtrul before him, he lived as a happy spiritual omnivore, encouraged others to do the same once they had completed one path from start to finish, and expected at all times from his followers unfailing respect toward all spiritual traditions, Buddhist or non-Buddhist.

One significant difference between the four-order and eight-lineage approaches is their respective locations: the four orders are centered in the Himalayas; the eight lineages of meditation exist mainly in the spiritual masters who embody them, and once you have received instruction in one of the lineages, it only really takes life wherever you sit on a meditation cushion or whenever their teachings' wisdom intrudes upon the flow of your daily plans and preoccupations. Further, one cannot assume that monasteries labeled as belonging to a specific order will specialize in the teachings we might associate with that order. For example, the senior lamas of Kalu Rinpoché's "Kagyu" monastery were likely to be most proficient in the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, whereas at Bokar Rinpoché's "Kagyu" monastery, the greatest enthusiasm was reserved for Vajra Yoga, the lineage of meditation instructions related to the Wheel of Time (Kalachakra). Other "Kagyu" monasteries seem to feature a preponderance of Ancient Lineage rituals and practices in their programs. Some "Nyingma" groups focus on Severance practices, as do some Kagyus. If the institutions are unpredictable in orientation, the same and more can be said for individuals, whose lifelong dedication to the Buddhist path can be expressed in many different rites, liturgies, and practices.

Among "organized religions," Buddhism is the least organized, but I do not mean to suggest that its Tibetan strain has descended into chaos and anarchy. Yet if one is only armed with the organizing principle of "four orders," one will soon be confronted with many inconvenient facts of lived faith that are clearly incompatible with that framework. If one instead learns and retains the eight lineage template, everything that may have seemed incongruous and haphazard in Himalayan meditation practice can be understood as part of a larger, coherent system. It is this system that Kongtrul introduces to us here, to the detriment of the four-order scheme, which does not merit a single explicit mention in this chapter.



The four-order scheme can be useful as long as its field of usage is identified and it is wielded gently and mindfully. It is not a precision instrument. My personal preference is to mentally adopt the Chinese names for the four Tibetan orders. In the place of our transliterated Tibetan names—Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, and Géluk—the Chinese use their own words for the four: red, multicolored, white, and yellow. These terms seem like code, and they are in fact ingenious in that they identify all we can know for sure without further enquiry concerning any specific monastery: the color of its exterior walls. (To explain “multicolored,” Sakyas paint a single horizontal, multicolored stripe around their buildings.) When I meet a Nyingma, all I can safely assume about her is that she and her spiritual community gather to learn, reflect, meditate, and worship in a red building; if Géluk, in a yellow one. That system has the virtues of simplicity, ease of use, and accuracy, but I don’t expect it to gain any currency: we are not yet close enough to Tibet to comfortably call things by our own names.

### The Eight Chariots

The companion volume to this chapter is entitled *Esoteric Instructions*, the third chapter of Book Eight of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, translated brilliantly by Sarah Harding. In that book, Kongtrul gives an overview of the esoteric instructions of each lineage. I confess that whether I read it in Tibetan or English, the effect is the same: his descriptions of what I have already practiced seem fairly clear, if incredibly concise; the rest remains, well, esoteric. Nevertheless, throughout this chapter, Kongtrul does not pause as he did in the last, to give us a brief tour of the subject in question. That information constitutes the entirety of *Esoteric Instructions*. Our present chapter consists entirely of history. Sarah Harding wisely included information from this chapter at the outset of each of her book’s chapters. I have not provided any details of the contents of the lineages in this book: any reader curious to learn more can find no better source than *Esoteric Instructions*, surely a landmark translation in its comprehensive scope. Further, I would strongly encourage readers of this chapter to at least read Sarah Harding’s invaluable introduction to that book (pp. 13–48); her elucidation of the eight-lineage system (and related ideas) will prove extremely useful in navigating the information found here, as well as in thinking through its implications.

When we look at this chapter, in the title “The History of Lineages of Meditation Practice in Tibet, the Eight Major Chariots,” the word “char-

iot” stands out. We have to imagine that conveyances, be they vehicles (the *yanas*), or chariots or carriages in this case, had considerably more allure in India and Tibet than they do in our day. We cannot gauge what resonance they had for readers in Tibet, where vehicles and chariots were generally the stuff of imaginary tales. Do they correspond for us to spaceships or magic carpets? Kongtrul does not help answer that question, for he uses the image in the chapter’s title and introductory paragraphs, does not explain it, and never repeats it. Perhaps “chariot” did not resonate for him either.

The one complication of the term “major chariot” (Tibetan: “shing ta chen po,” *shing rta chen po*) is that, as Sarah Harding points out, it is used not only to indicate the conveyance but also the conveyer—the masters at the source of these lineages in Tibet. *The Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* gives three definitions for “shing ta chen po”:

1. A large-wheeled chariot; 2. the two masters Nagarjuna and Asanga; 3. the founder in a new custom. There are two of these: the one who inaugurates the chariot’s way and the one who maintains the chariot’s way. The first is called the master of the specific school; the second is called the chief holder of its lineage. (p. 2844, col. 2)

Therefore, in the text of *The Treasury of Knowledge* above, when Nagarjuna, Asanga, and Anandagarbha were named as major chariot/eers of their respective specialties (the middle way, mind-only, and yoga tantra), I translated the word as “founder.” Here, however, we are stuck with “chariot,” as Kongtrul only refers to the lineages. In another work, a ritual of offering to the spiritual masters of the eight major lineages of meditation practice, he does the opposite, using the same term to instead refer to those lineages’ founders. Harding (*op. cit.*, p. 27 and note 44) provides one list of the eight founders; there are others, and I have seen no two alike. When we read this chapter, it is easy to see why the identities of the founding masters have proved so elusive.

Kongtrul lists the eight chariots as follows:

1. Ancient Tradition
2. Buddha’s Word as Instruction
3. The Path with the Result

4. Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage
5. Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage
6. Pacification with Severance, its branch practice
7. Vajra Yoga
8. Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras

### The Ancient Tradition

The first of the eight is the Ancient Tradition, “ancient” only because it predates all others in Tibet. Kongtrul uses the same format to introduce all eight lineages: first a general overview of the lineage, followed by details of the early history of the lines of transmission within it.

In relation to the Ancient Tradition, conventional wisdom states that Guru Rinpoché (here referred to as Padmakara) stands alone at the source, yet here we read that there are six distinct lines, each stretching back to India or outside of common space and time. Kongtrul lists Guru Rinpoché first among them, but in terms of teachings rather than his activity's impact, he is just first among equals. In fact, when we examine Kongtrul's account of the early masters of this tradition, we discover that most of their teachings were concealed as treasures, to be revealed at later, more propitious dates. On the subject of Padmakara's teachings, for instance, he states:

[Guru Rinpoché] saw that there were not the circumstances nor was there the need to transmit most of his profound instructions for meditation during that period, and considered the infinite numbers of beings of the future. In the country's four directions and in its central region, he sealed [his instructions] with seven levels of seals and concealed them in ten million treasure sites with names, illustrated by the five great treasures sites, and in innumerable unnamed ones.

Kongtrul revisits the subject of the treasures in the final section on the Ancient Tradition. In the section titled, “The Transmission from Ma Rinchen Chok, Nyak Jnana Kumara, and Others,” Kongtrul makes an aside that reminds us of more traditional histories: he takes a paragraph to discuss family lines, mentioning in passing,

Most of the sublime individuals who became translators of the later translations were born within the hereditary lines of the

Ancient Tradition's series of accomplished masters and awareness holders.

It seems clear that Kongtrul could have traced Tibet's masters' family lines for us—certainly most, including Kongtrul, include their personal family history in their autobiographies—but he chose not to in this book. His version of history floats at a safe distance above the mundane.

On the subject of the treasures, Kongtrul mentions that there are eighteen kinds, and that Guru Rinpoché's disciples' reincarnations retrieved them at the right time over the centuries to the present day. In the final section, he mentions three among Guru Rinpoché's disciples—"the king, [the king's] subject, and [Guru Rinpoché's] companion"—who would be King Trisong Déutsen, Bérotsana, and Yeshé Tsogyal. The identities of the middle three of the five mentioned earlier in much the same way—"the king, [the king's three] subjects, and [Guru Rinpoché's] companion"—are more difficult to identify. In one instance, the famous collection of supplications called *The Seven Chapters*, the three subjects are Namké Nyingpo, Dorjé Dujom, and Prince Mutri Tsépo, yet it is highly unlikely that every mention of "the king's three subjects" would refer to those same three.

At the end of the section on the Ancient Tradition, Kongtrul reminds us that these lineages of teachings comprise tantric teachings above all, and that despite what he said earlier—that the presence of Buddhism in any land must be measured by the practice of monastic discipline—such might not always be the case:

The chief masters of their teachings, along with their lineage-holding disciples, preserve the sacred teachings during the darkest of evil times. Even in places where the doctrines of scriptures on monastic discipline no longer exist, the secret mantra vajra way does not vanish into fragments, but spreads and flourishes. Its wide-reaching, continual activity liberates every being who is difficult to guide.

If we look back now over this first of the eight lineages, we can easily appraise the flimsiness of such constructs as group indicators—Ancient Tradition, etc.—when we read just the briefest examination of them. A dizzying number of threads are seen to have some interrelation and are therefore categorized as "a lineage," yet each separate line of transmission

boasts of masters who received, held, and practiced a distinct thread and who assert that it alone led them to extraordinary attainments, such as a body of light. Kongtrul's organizing principle for the Ancient Tradition is a general set of teachings that provide the theoretical and practical basis for the tradition (he never once mentions institutions in this case), yet one would be hard-pressed to find any institution where those texts and practices formed a curriculum. In our time, we can meet well-trained, dedicated, and deeply spiritual people who are immersed in, for example, the wide-ranging and bountiful collections called the Chokling New Treasures or the Dujom New Treasures with little or no knowledge of or relation to the texts or teachings Kongtrul names as the basis of the tradition. Further, if we were to compare even the two modern systems just named, we would find that they do not share the same rituals, music styles, dances, and meditation practices. We could observe that the buddhas and bodhisattvas these systems produce seem similar, but the same could be said of the happy graduates of any tantric system.

Among the masters of the Ancient Tradition, Kongtrul mentioned one whose life was foretold in a great perfection tantra, and who as predicted spread both the inherited lineage and his own wisdom mind treasures to the ocean's shores (presumably China's Pacific coast). He refers to this master simply as the incarnate master Rangjung Dorjé, leaving it to the reader to guess that this is none other than the third Karmapa. Kongtrul will again mention him as having contributed to the Marpa Doctrinal Lineage, Severance, and Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras; in chapters Two and Four as well, he cites Rangjung Dorjé as an important authority in Vajra Yoga. To see Rangjung Dorjé (hierarchy of the Karma Kagyu monastic order) and so many others solely through the lens of their institutional responsibilities, and to make assumptions based on that view, is self-defeating. For Tibetans, a question akin to "Is the Pope Catholic?" within their own context may not be simply rhetorical and may not be easily answered.

### Buddha's Word as Instruction

The second chariot is that of Buddha's Word as Instruction, known as Kadam in Tibetan. I owe this translation to Elio Guarisco; it seems to capture the flavor of the original as well as the spirit of the lineage itself.

Kongtrul's description of the lineage begins with the details of the line originating with Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa, the translator who invited Atisha to Tibet and who studied with the great master for nineteen

years. Kongtrul ends his root text with a hanging “yet,” which hints at what in fact transpired: the main lineage passed through someone else—Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné. We read of the spread of the lineage far and wide, and even of some institutions established in its name. But the main thrust of this section is an accounting of the lineage’s dissolution, for it disappeared entirely, its teachings’ streams flowing into and merging with other rivers. As I’ve remarked elsewhere:

The spiritual masters of the Buddha’s Word as Instruction Lineage are remembered for their unflinching self-examination and scrupulous honesty. They dedicated themselves wholeheartedly to spiritual life. One of their famous sayings advises:

Turn your innermost attention to the teachings.  
 Once you have embraced spiritual life, live as a beggar.  
 In living as a beggar, decide to die as one.  
 When dying, do so without companions.  
 Leave human society.  
 Join the ranks of dogs.  
 Attain the rank of an enlightened one.

This sort of attitude won the lineage universal respect and admiration, but few adherents. Its practice centers withered and its teachings found new, more opulent homes in other monastic systems. (*Jamgön Kongtrul’s Retreat Manual*, p. 80)

The Kagyu order inherited the lineage’s meditation practice, while both the meditation and teaching systems served as the basis for what Kongtrul calls both “the new Buddha’s Word as Instruction” tradition and “the Géden [tradition].” The latter refers to what we now call the Géluk order. I recall Dézhung Rinpoché always saying “Géden” rather than “Géluk”; I do not know if “Géluk” is a recent appellation, nor what if any connotation either name has, or if “Géluk” is simply a contraction of “Géden-luk” (literally, the tradition of the virtuous). Kongtrul gives a succinct overview of the mixed fate of this lineage:

During that [early] period, spiritual mentors who held this tradition filled the land of Tibet, and their monastic sites spread far and wide throughout eastern and central Tibet. As

a result, their gradual path's instructions, such as four thoughts which turn the mind away [from the wheel of life], appear at the beginning of all teaching systems of the later and early traditions, for example, and pervade every spiritual order in the Himalayas. Yet later, when it seemed that institutions that preserved this tradition's own systems were becoming somewhat eclipsed, there appeared Lord Manjushri's magical manifestation with irrefutable supreme knowledge and masterful compassion; like a Buddha appearing in this world, he was known as Tsongkapa Lozang Drakpé Pal.

All Himalayan Buddhists revere the early masters of this lineage, and their teaching methods have had a lasting impact in every school. They were the earth to the Ancient Tradition's heaven—they made elementary Buddhism accessible with plain and practical teaching manuals and methods that helped ordinary people take their first steps on the path. For example, in Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage, Milarepa did not teach the ABC's of Buddhism or meditation practice; his main disciple, Gampopa, who had trained in the Buddha's Word as Instruction lineage prior to meeting Milarepa, opened up the lineage teachings to all by initiating a two-track system: one gradual and one direct. Gampopa's popular masterwork, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, gives an excellent example of the gradual path for those who needed a more gentle entry into Buddhist practice. He imported this style of instruction from the Buddha's Word as Instruction lineage and it proved tremendously useful. *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*, a must-read manual of the preliminary practices of one Ancient Tradition lineage, also follows the format first designed by the early masters of this lineage.

### The Path with the Result

Kongtrul's account of the third chariot, the Path with the Result, is far more substantial than the last. The central Tibetan figure who received this lineage and first brought it to Tibet was Drokmi Shakya Yeshé, whose name should be better known than it is. As Kongtrul remarks:

In general, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Gö Kukpa Lhétsé, and Drokmi Shakya Yeshé are the three sources of secret mantra vajra way's later spread [in Tibet]. In particular, both Marpa

and Gö initially trained with Drokmi, who was remarkably exalted.

The reader's eye is also drawn to the statement in the section's first sentence: "Drokmi Shakya Yeshé had eighteen [outstanding] disciples: seven—three men and four women—who gained accomplishment." Kongtrul names neither the men nor the women (Tömo Dorjétsso, Rémo Köné, Shapmo Chamchik, and Chémo Namka Yeshé), but it comes as some relief to have another gender mentioned in this book. In the same section, another remarkable woman is named as a lineage holder—here referred to as Machik Zhama Naljorma. Her personal name was Machik Gyalmo (1062–1149; she was a contemporary of the renowned Machik Labdrön [1031–1129], and also met Padampa Sangyé). She and other women gained prominence due to their outstanding qualities and realization in a time before gender-exclusive monasteries held sway in Tibet.

At the time of this book's publication in English, the Path with the Result is unique among all eight lineages in that its core instructions are all translated and easily available. The book, *Taking the Result as the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdré Tradition*, in a splendid translation by Cyrus Stearns, is accompanied by a foreword from His Holiness Sakya Trizin, a living Buddha and head of the Sakya order. Longer stories of most of the masters we read about in this section can be found in that book (pp. 127–284), which I highly recommend. I also urge any reader to read attentively Stearns' *Note to the Reader* (p. xvii) which states in part:

Most of the texts translated in this book are of an esoteric nature. Traditionally, they have been studied and practiced in Tibet only by people who have received the teachings of the Path with the Result. Four of the texts . . . are appropriate for anyone to read and study without preparation.

He goes on to name the criteria for reading and studying the remaining parts of the book. Although I eagerly bought the book soon after its publication, I have followed Stearns' advice and restricted my reading as he directs, for I believe what he says,

For, according to tradition, good results cannot come from study and practice of Vajrayana teachings unless the student



has first received the initiations and careful guidance that can only be received from a living master. (ibid., p. xvii)

My own experience with Tibetan Buddhism is somewhat mixed: I have studied and practiced it since I turned eighteen, when I took refuge. On the one hand, if I'm honest about my inner spiritual growth, I seem to have squandered all that time and effort. On the other hand, as the sort of person who doesn't often peer within, I'm happy to the degree I remain blissfully ignorant. But regardless of my inner state, when I've sat at the feet of Buddhist masters, I find it best to let them lead, for them to open up new vistas as they see fit, and for their words to have full impact, which can be severely muffled when we encounter them having already read their manuals and anticipating the content and progress of their instruction. In Tibetan, and now in English, we try not to read ahead of our teachers. We try instead to trust them and to allow ourselves to be supple, and surprised.

The lamas of the Path with the Result have in fact consistently surprised me, none more than a khenpo, a scholar, who lived in Ghoom, a village close to our translation house in the Darjeeling hills. Some translators visited him and asked questions to help our reading of *The Treasury*, which apparently bemused him—the fact that we were translating it, that is. He passed away some time later, and we attended his cremation after it became known that he spent well over a week in a state of suspended animation after his death, in what is known as the final meditation. He had passed away—his heart and lungs had stopped—but his body did not exhibit signs of death—pallor, stiffness of skin, decay, etc. (Kalu Rinpoché spent three days in such a state at his death.) He finally exhibited signs of having completed his meditation, and his corpse was cremated. A couple of days later, we stopped by his monastery as his disciples dismantled the pyre structure: it contained his remains, including pieces of bone embedded with the most luminous gem-like pills. These were his “relics,” of which I had read but had never witnessed, and they were unlike anything I have ever seen. His disciples sifted through the ashes and came upon these gems in five brilliant colors, some seemingly emerging from the bone fragments while still part of them, most were separate. The relics were collected and later placed within a reliquary stupa at that monastery.

I have faith in all eight “chariots” and try to extend my respect and devotion equally among them, yet by some happy chance, the lamas—men and women—and the lay practitioners—man and women—of the

Path with the Result lineage that I have met have all appeared to me to have remarkable integrity and humility. This lineage has done little to draw attention to itself, either at home in Asia or elsewhere, which makes me believe the lamas and their disciples are fully occupied in study and practice.

### The Marpa Doctrinal Lineage

The next two chariots have often been mistaken for a single lineage or institution since their Tibetan names end in “Kagyü,” and they have shared history in India as well as Tibet, as a Tibetan saying has it: “Naropa and Niguma were husband and wife in India, and remain companions in Tibet.” However, the Marpa Doctrinal Lineage and the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage are definitely two totally distinct lineages, separate-but-equal members of the eight lineages.

In Kongtrul’s introduction to the Marpa Doctrinal Lineage, he consistently names the Indian founder as Télopa rather than the common Tilopa, and he describes him as someone more dedicated to the spiritual path than to social conventions. The same could be said for the other masters of this lineage until the fifth in the line, Gampopa, whose training as a doctor perhaps guided him to establish institutions that were of practical spiritual benefit for all Tibetans, and to gather around himself like-minded disciples whose systems of monasteries still thrive in the Himalayas. Kongtrul does not comment upon that shift explicitly, but we notice that his account until the end of the section “Réchungpa’s Doctrinal Lineage” does not include any word of institutions having been built by those outstanding masters. Then, mid-way through the next section, “The Dakpo Doctrinal Lineage Tradition,” we realize that Kongtrul no longer informs us of new teachings or doctrinal lineages, but of disciples’ skill in presenting received teachings and in founding institutions.

In the midst of lauding Gampopa, Kongtrul comments on his teaching method and helps us to understand how the lineage and the teachings became diluted, or at least changed from a single track to a two-track system, allowing less zealous disciples access to at least the name of the prime teachings the lineage has to offer. Of Gampopa, he writes:

To his ordinary disciples, he taught the stages of the path from the tradition of Buddha’s Word as Instruction and the meditative states of the discourse system *adorned with the name of great seal*. To his uncommon disciples, he taught the

extraordinary great seal of secret mantra related to his spiritual master Milarepa's path of skillful means. (emphasis added)

The main problem that outside observers had with this teaching strategy is the lack of precedent for borrowing the lofty name of great seal (Tibetan: "chak gya chenpo," *phyag rgya chen po*; Sanskrit: *mahamudra*) from the apex of the tantras and using it to "adorn" meditations from the discourses. As one commentator (Sakya Pandita) remarked:

[Great Seal's] realization will be attained in this very life if one is skilled in the techniques of Mantra. Besides this, the Buddha did not teach the realization of the Great Seal otherwise.

Thus if one is interested in the Great Seal, one should practice in accord with Mantra Vehicle texts. (*A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes*, p. 117; brackets added)

He goes on to cite the sources of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage in defense of his objections to the innovations that Gampopa and his followers introduced:

The Great Seal that Naro and Maitripa espoused is held to consist precisely of the seals of Action, Dharma, and Pledge, and of the Great Seal as expounded in tantras of the Mantra system.

In his *Caturmudra*, exalted Nagarjuna himself also asserts this: "If, through having not known the Action seal, one is also ignorant of the seal of Dharma, it is impossible that one might understand even the name of Great Seal." (*ibid.*, p. 119)

Kongtrul was well aware of these and other objections concerning the Dakpo Kagyu style of teaching great seal "light" based in the discourses, and he knew of the spirited refutations Kagyu teachers wrote in reply. This was (and remains) contentious, a sore point. Nevertheless, he wrote

those two remarkable sentences without further commentary, perhaps to jolt drowsy readers to full alert. On the subject of such objections raised over the centuries, Dujom Rinpoché sagely comments, “If all the doctrines refuted by learned and accomplished Tibetans were false, no authentic doctrine at all would be found.” (*The Nyingma School*, p. 929)

### The Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage

When it is said that Naropa and Niguma remain companions in Tibet, this refers to the fact that lineage bearers of one set of teachings have often practiced the other as well. The second Tibetan in the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, Rinchen Tsöndru, received instruction from Gampopa, and members of the Karma Kagyu order have repaid the compliment over generations, as Kongtrul reports:

The fourth Karmapa, Dzamling Rolpé Dorjé, made the doctrines from the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage the heart of his meditation practice and his teaching. Since his day, the series of omniscient Karmapas have consistently upheld and sustained the Dakpo Kagyu and the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage together. (*Spiritual Life*, p. 96a)

When we examine the list of the foremost Shangpa masters of each generation, we often discover individuals better known as the heads of monasteries or whole orders of monasteries. For instance, Kongtrul mentions here the central place Tangtong Gyalpo occupies in the Shangpa lineage, yet when we read his incredible biography (*King of the Empty Plain*, translated by Cyrus Stearns), the part of his active life occupied by the Shangpa teachings is barely perceptible. The same can be said for Kunga Drolchok and Taranata, two towering figures of the Shangpa lineage whose contribution to the lineage was made entirely in writing and in teaching. Kongtrul mentions in this short history how a few masters founded some monasteries; what he doesn't mention is that those institutions either gradually faded or changed affiliation. No edict prevents Shangpa masters from creating Shangpa institutions, but no one has tried to do so for many centuries.

Shang is a place name; as Kongtrul relates in this chapter, the first Tibetan of the lineage, Kyungpo Naljor, “established his monastic seat at Zhang Zhong, in Tsang Yéru Shang; thus he became known as Lama

Shang and the holders of his lineage, the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage.” His chosen spiritual heir, Rinchen Tsöndru, simply walked away from the monastery that gave its name to the lineage he held. Neither he nor most of the later lineage holders even visited that mother institution, let alone directed it. Their attitude was not born of any recorded conflict with that Shangpa monastery or even of disaffection with groups or monasteries per se—some led their own large circles of disciples (such as Kalu Rinpoché or Bokar Rinpoché in the last century). We cannot hope to explain why some realized beings attract and seem to thrive in the midst of real estate and leadership responsibilities while other equally impressive saints seem allergic to them, but the Shangpa lineage, a faith without a church, is not unique: the last four of the eight chariots are alike in that way. The Shangpa, Pacification of Suffering and Severance, Vajra Yoga, and Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras are all purely lineages of meditation instruction.

#### Pacification of Suffering and Severance

Pacification of Suffering is a label that covers the enormous range of instructions given by Padampa Sangyé in the course of his five visits to Tibet made during a lifetime said to be five hundred and seventy years long. While in Tibet, he “saw each individual’s exact character and capabilities, and to each he gave corresponding profound meditation instructions that led to liberation.” Practically speaking, this meant that “his teaching did not belong to one specific scripture or system . . . he drew destined beings, as many as the number of stars in the heavens, to the state of enlightenment.” Padampa Sangyé was an accomplished master on a par with the other greats of India, and like them, he was a unique individual, an enlightened nonconformist. His lineage, the Pacification of Suffering, never met its Gampopa, someone who could systematize and bring order to the wealth of the teachings. Kongtrul mentions Rok Sherab Ö (1166–1244) as the master in whom all lines of Pacification of Suffering converged, but although he was an omniscient master according to Kongtrul, it fell to one of his reincarnations (who also mainly practiced the Ancient Tradition), great Translator Dharmashri (1654–1718), to save the teachings from extinction:

In later times, as this lineage’s thread became increasingly thin, the patterns [of a former life as] the omniscient master Rok Sherab Ö awakened in the great translator of Mindrol Ling

Monastery, Dharmashri. With great diligence, he received the streams of this lineage's [empowerments for] spiritual ripening and [its instructions for] liberation, and composed texts and rituals for its empowerments and practical guidelines. Due to his kindness in teaching and spreading this lineage, even today, a bridge rope to this tradition continues unbroken.

Curiously, this sort of gradual dissolution was not shared by Pacification of Suffering's sister lineage, Severance. Kongtrul calls this a branch tradition of Pacification of Suffering, yet if that is so, it seems to have far outgrown the central trunk. We read here of Severance lineages galore, and never a hint of any line diminishing, although Kongtrul has much more to report concerning the female than the male system of Severance. This is no doubt due to the central figure of Machik Labdrön (1031–1129), who succeeded in establishing her lineage of meditation practice against all odds. Not only was she of an uncommon gender in her line of work, but her practice was demanding, anything but staid, and not anchored in institutions. Somehow she managed to become the sort of authority figure whose approbation Kongtrul mentions in this book as character references for the Karmapa and Tsongkapa! He writes:

Further, Machik Labdrön clearly predicted that for as long as Shakyamuni's doctrine endures, no one comparable to the sovereign Karmapa and this holy individual will appear.

In addition, Machik has not become a unique but distant figure's disembodied voice without spiritual progeny or a modern presence:

Since Severance is a profound technique, its enlightened activity in these and other ways is amazing: it has become widespread, filling the entire Himalayan region. Until the present, all spiritual masters regardless of their original tradition cultivate its experience, and it continues to be indispensable for subduing external and internal conditions that are difficult to subdue by other means.

We can get a clear picture of this enormously charismatic female buddha, and of her teaching style, from a compilation of her teachings entitled *Machik's Complete Explanation*, translated by Sarah Harding.

## Vajra Yoga

In his first list of the eight chariots at the beginning of this chapter, Kongtrul calls number seven “Six Applications,” whereas he later refers to it only as Vajra Yoga. Both Six Applications and Vajra Yoga can be used as names for this lineage, although the six applications are located in the instructions as the phase of completion, as Kongtrul here states to identify the lineage:

All extensive root tantras . . . unanimously teach the phase of completion. The essence of them all is the sixfold application, related to the three vajras’ yoga.

To call this lineage Six Applications is akin to referring to Marpa’s Doctrinal Lineage as the six doctrines of Naropa, which is neither correct nor incorrect. The eight chariots exist only in retrospect; even the name of the first “ancient” tradition surely came into being in response to the arrival of newer lineages in Tibet. What had once been revolutionary and challenging became “old” and perhaps somewhat respectable and dependable by comparison. It would be hard for us to find a single text before Kongtrul’s time with the words “Marpa’s Doctrinal Lineage” in the title; Padampa Sangyé’s disciples probably had no sense of themselves as belonging to a lineage called Pacification of Suffering. In this case, Vajra Yoga seems the more inclusive term for the lineage, although the name may have a relatively recent provenance.

In previous sections, we have encountered lineages with a single easily identifiable figure who incarnates the lineage and its history. For Vajra Yoga, Kongtrul mentions eleven occasions when the teachings arrived in the Himalayas from India, and seventeen ensuing traditions. The first translator and master who brought *The Wheel of Time Tantra* to Tibet, Gyijo Dawé Özer, had an impact far beyond the confines of his own teaching transmission: the entire nation has set its calendar to the year of his return home with the tantra, 1027, as the start of its first sixty-year cycle.

Among the seventeen traditions, Kongtrul singles out the tradition of Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen and Taranata as the foremost masters in the transmission of this lineage of meditation practice, and we find Dolpopa memorialized as the central figure in some representations of the Vajra Yoga lineage. He was a genius, an original thinker, and a prolific

writer, but he did not receive any new teachings to add to this lineage which had reached Tibet three hundred years before his prime (he lived 1292–1361).

### Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras

We are extremely fortunate to have access in English to the life stories of many of the founding masters of the eight chariots. The final one of the eight, Orgyen Rinchen Pal (1230–1309), is by far the latest but his life story has not yet been translated, although it should be. He was a disciple of Götsangpa and the second Karmapa, Karma Pakshi, and the teacher to the third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé. As Kongtrul mentions, he traveled to India's sacred places just before the end of Buddhism there (he repaired the stupa at Bodhgaya, site of the Buddha's enlightenment, in 1261), and brought back the last major lineage of meditation practice, Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras.

He was unique among the founders of these eight lineages in an odd way for a region later so dominated by monks: if we take Guru Rinpoché, Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné, Drokmi Shakya Yeshé, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Kyungpo Naljor, Padampa Sangyé (and Machik Lapdrön), Gyijo Dawé Özer, and Orgyen Rinchen Pal as the nine leaders (I have chosen Tibetans when the candidate is obvious), only the last was a monk, and even he received his lineage instructions from Vajra Yogini, who first presented herself to him in the guise of a prostitute. Among the nine, Kyungpo Naljor took monastic ordination but later said he considered Sukasiddhi the kindest of all his teachers in part because she had accepted him as her partner in sexual practice.

Kongtrul has very little to say about the Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras' lineage, but the mere fact of its inclusion in this group is useful for the preservation of the lineage in that attention is drawn to it. Further, as Sarah Harding notes:

[T]his very arrangement—that of displaying all the lineage teachings side by side, equal but separate and distinct—is a significant methodology in itself. . . [E]xposure to the vast array of techniques virtually forces one to accept that they are more or less the same, and therefore all equally valid Buddhist teachings. The differences that are fine-tuned to the individual are, after all, very minor and the similarities in being



viable techniques on the path to awakening are dominant. Each tradition is profound and brilliant in its own right, once it is glimpsed. It must be seen to be believed. But if a person comprehends only a single philosophical presentation or one esoteric instruction and becomes fixated on it as truth, then the rumors of alternatives will seem strange and erroneous. (*Esoteric Instructions*, pp. 24, 34)

### The Eight Lineages in Time and a Place

The rich era of the originators of six of the eight lineages (not counting the Ancient Tradition and the last lineage) ended with the passing away of Kyungpo Naljor in 1127 and Machik Lapdrön in 1129, two exceptionally long-lived individuals. This period of innovation began with Atisha's arrival in Tibet in 1042—thus the six main “new” lineages of meditation practice were established in Tibet during a mere eighty-seven-year span. When we speak of tantric meditation practice in Himalayan Buddhism nine hundred years after Machik, we still refer only to these eight. Here is how Kongtrul thought aloud in 1864 concerning the eight lineages and the programs at two retreat centers affiliated with the monastery where he lived. It is a testament to the longevity of the eight lineages and to the unusual care Kongtrul took to ensure their vitality.

I have created a positive connection to the profound tantric creation and completion phase meditations for the residents of the two retreat centers [at Palpung Monastery] by introducing them to the general styles of all eight lineages of meditation practice, except that of the Path with the Result. The profound instructions of this particular tradition are difficult to teach and practice properly with so much else on the program. But because one half of the Himalayan region is filled with upholders of its tradition, I feel reassured that it can be absent from the programs of the retreats.

For some time now the program of the large retreat center has focused on the profound and extensive creation and completion phase meditations of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage, and the practice of Severance. I have established the custom of supplementing this program with the ripening and liberating

practices of the Pacification of Suffering. Here in this retreat center [Tsadra Rinchen Drak], we maintain the traditions of the entire cycle of meditations from the Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage; Vajra Yoga's six branches of application, [supplemented by instruction in] Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras; and the inner heart of the Ancient Tradition, great completion, along with its inner secret, the Heart Essence practices. In both retreat centers, [a manual written by Taranata entitled] *The Stages of the Path of the Three Types of Individuals* [a core text of the Buddha's Word as Instruction Lineage] forms the basis for the preliminary practices. [Between these two centers, then,] seven [of the eight] systems [of meditation practice] are fully represented. (*Spiritual Life*, p. 97a, b)

#### *Chapter Four: A History of Buddhist Culture*

Wherever we live where Buddhism has become established, we witness how secular cultures borrow from Buddhism, be it in the domains of thought or language, or in art or sculpture. Further, quasi-Buddhist notions of karma, emptiness, past and future lives, states after death, etc., turn up in incongruous settings, sometimes with fanciful twists, be they deliberate or not. Buddhists should not begrudge this appropriation of our spiritual property, for as we see in this chapter, Buddhists have long adopted large swaths of secular culture, relocated them in our spiritual context, and made them irretrievably our own. The temptation has been overpowering: someone has given up all thoughts of themselves and has had a positive impact on the lives of others—they must be a buddha or bodhisattva in disguise! Some thing or some idea or some field of human endeavor lightens the burden of beings' sufferings or opens their minds to new horizons and awakenings—it must be Buddhist! So it is that we have such a thing as Buddhist culture that accompanies our Buddhist spiritual path: it was too hard to resist.

But is Buddhist culture really Buddhism? Kongtrul jumps right into this chapter's first subject, Sanskrit grammar, and into stories of its origins among the otherwise Hindu gods without a word of explanation of how we have moved from classic Buddhism—sacred texts and spiritual

realization, teaching and study, and meditation practice—to grammar, medicine, sculpture, astrology, and the like. Close to the end of the chapter, he catches his breath and avers, somewhat sheepishly it seems to me:

These fields of culture do not actually belong within the teachings' three cycles. The principal activity through which the Buddhas establish their disciples in freedom and omniscience is the sequential teaching of the three ways and the four tantras. They turn the amazing, exceptional wheel of teachings that do not share [the values of] worldly individuals, and they do not emphasize worldly treatises in their doctrine. Therefore, the victors taught none of the basic texts of these fields of culture.

Could this be a Tibetan predicament, shared with other lands where the Buddha's enlightenment was introduced along with radically new forms of cultural enlightenment? As we read in this chapter, the modern Tibetan script and grammar were developed late, and under Buddhist auspices. Even when spiritually agnostic, Tibet's intelligentsia likely regarded their southern neighbor as Mother India.

Modern Buddhists do not share that Buddhism-as-mother experience on a cultural level. We more resemble the Chinese, who had a vibrant, well-developed culture before Buddhism arrived so that its cultural appendages became merely parts of an already rich mosaic. We may regard the subjects of this chapter with sincere curiosity, but they remain curios, things rare and unusual from elsewhere, from which we might glean some useful insights but which we would not consider adopting in the place of our native cultures. One can love Buddhist culture without being attracted to Buddhism as a personal faith, and one can be a devout Buddhist without feeling any personal affinity for its cultural flowerings. Does every Japanese Buddhist feel compelled to learn flower arranging, archery, fencing, calligraphy, or tea service? For Tibetans, however, the subjects we find here were not regarded as optional Buddhist hobbies; even if one didn't have the opportunity or acumen to learn them, one respected them as the heart of one's culture, how the world made sense. Kongtrul defends the inclusion of the study of Buddhist culture in this way:

[T]here is not the slightest thing the buddhas do not see or know; therefore, when the time has come to train a being

through one of these fields of culture, they do so by giving a teaching (describing the subject's causes, examples, nature, and semantics), the meaning of which no one else would be capable of knowing. This is a special quality of a Buddha.

Since most of the Buddha's excellent speech exists in Sanskrit, one should have a good knowledge of Sanskrit grammar to understand it without error. Likewise, understanding these branches of culture is indispensable. Therefore, the learned have greatly elaborated upon them.

Kongtrul himself numbered among the learned who greatly elaborated on these subjects. He was a Tibetan renaissance man, someone fully cultivated in virtually every subject in his day and age. We imagine he wrote with an exclusively Tibetan readership in mind; when he writes here that "understanding these branches of culture is indispensable," we must remember that he knew his readers had two stark choices—to broaden their minds, a choice that obliged them to study some subject of Buddhist culture presented here, or not. "How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet" (Chapter Two of Book Four) presented Buddhist higher education; we find here secular higher education as it existed in Tibet—available mainly (but not entirely exclusively) at Buddhist monasteries, and mainly (but not exclusively) for monks.

This chapter begins with a section entitled "The Major Fields of Culture," in which we read histories of studies of Sanskrit, logic, sacred art, and medicine. The only words of introduction are these:

What are known as fields of culture, studied and learned by non-Buddhists and Buddhists of all philosophical persuasions alike, are of two kinds: major and minor. From the Buddhist perspective, the former are said to be the *five* major fields of culture . . . [emphasis added]

The fifth major field of culture never mentioned in this chapter is that of Buddhist studies, more than adequately covered in "How Buddhist Monastic Discipline and Scriptural Transmissions Came to Tibet."

In one part of the survey of Sanskrit studies, we are told of a great scholar referred to as Dharmakara, and soon thereafter in a description of another system of Sanskrit grammar, we read of Chökyi Nangwa.

These are both names of the same individual, the eighth Tai Situpa, most commonly known as Chökyi Jungné. Kongtrul will cite him as a leading authority in most of the major and minor forms of Buddhist culture, albeit under various names: Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa, the great omniscient master, Chökyi Jungné, Dharmakara, Chökyi Nangwa, Tenzin Chökyi Nyima, Tenpé Nyinjé, and the all-knowing lord. Kongtrul was a disciple of the ninth Tai Situpa, and was obviously deeply impressed by his lama's predecessor. We can learn more of this master in a book that is essential reading for Western Buddhist scholars, *Among Tibetan Texts*, by E. Gene Smith, in the chapter "The Diaries of Si tu Pan chen" (pp. 87–96). Here is how Kongtrul introduced this master in the previous chapter, under the heading of Marpa's Doctrinal Lineage:

In the past, groups of Kagyu masters filled the breadth of the Land of Jambu and lesser continents, yet later only a semblance of Buddha's doctrine in general remained, and the doctrine of the precious lineage of meditation practice in particular was setting over the western mountains. At that time, Marpa the Translator, [the wisdom deity] Vajra of Delight incarnate, intentionally arose as a manifestation of wisdom, Karma Tenpé Nyinjé Tsuklak Chökyi Nangwa (commonly known as Tai Situ, omniscient Chökyi Jungné). The great light of his wisdom, love, and power shone forth, nurturing the vitality of the doctrine of meditation practice.

Kongtrul makes clear at the outset of the section on art that he only intends to describe sacred Buddhist art (I wonder whether any Tibetans before the modern era ever studied the history of non-religious art in Tibet):

All fields of art can be gathered into physical, verbal, or mental arts. What I will describe here is principally art produced physically and, among all artistic endeavors, that which provides both immediate and long-term inexhaustible aid and pleasure: representations of wisdom form, wisdom speech, and wisdom mind related to the Three Jewels.

We note that Kongtrul attributes to the Buddha himself a shift from art as sacred supports to nurture faith and devotion of Buddhists to art

as helpful for the doctrine, even to convert non-believers: “Later, when our teacher was about to transcend sorrow, he ordered, ‘Make representative images of my body in order that the teachings endure and to convert Hindus.’”

Kongtrul ends the section on art as he began it, underlining that he considers only sacred art pertinent to this book:

Most physical, verbal, or mental activities, such as the eighteen branches of art, are commonly taught to be included within the field of art. Their minor histories are difficult to research; I have not related them here as it would serve no purpose.

In this chapter, the subject he covers in the most detail is medicine. He begins with a disclaimer:

In fact, Buddhist tantric texts widely refute the Vedas’ lasting validity. Nevertheless, in this chapter dealing with the common subjects of culture, I accept the view of Shura and other Buddhist masters, and present unchanged what is known in the Vedas’ source texts.

At each new subject in this chapter before medicine, Kongtrul has similarly drawn on non-Buddhist sources to recount the often charming histories of diverse forms of human culture. The enduring beauty of Sanskrit, logic, and sacred art may be in the eyes, ears, and mind of the beholder, but the beholder does not have to be Buddhist to be transported by them. On the subject of medicine, Buddhist masters seem to have concluded that skill in healing is not the sole purview of Buddhist doctors.

The main name to take away from this section is Yutok Yönten Gönpö (1127–1203), always the foremost name in Tibetan medical history. Slightly before him, Drapa Ngönshé (1012–1090) was a treasure revealer who lived during the high tide of the later lineages of meditation practice described in the last chapter. It was he who revealed the treasure of *The Four Medical Tantras*, the transmission of which passed through Yutok Yönten Gönpö. Whereas most treasures’ retrieval times are unrecorded, it seems appropriate for medical texts to have a specific birth place, date, and time: the medical tantras—quadruplets—came into the world, delivered from the vase pillar of the middle storey of the innermost shrine at

Samyé Monastery, on Wednesday, July 19, 1038, at approximately 1:12 AM (this according to *The Nyingma School*, p. 753).

Of the four minor fields of culture, the first presented here is astrology, which the Tibetans inherited from both India and China. Under the heading of stellar astrology, two different systems developed in Tibet, which means that the national Buddhist holidays are sometimes celebrated in unison throughout the Tibetan community, and sometimes with a whole month difference between them. This includes the all-important New Year festival. Tibetan calendars now sold in foreign countries may or may not specify which system they are based upon; one could easily discover that one's calendar is different from that of one's Tibetan neighbor.

Although everyone watches a calendar for the arrival of celebrations, not all Tibetans, be they lamas or laypersons, believe in astrology. After all, this is a form of Buddhist culture, which does not necessarily intrude into a Buddhist's spiritual life any more than would poetry, metrical composition, or lexicography, the last three aspects of Buddhist culture that Kongtrul mentions. Theater should be included as one of the five minor fields of culture, but Kongtrul admits, "Since theater was not useful in Tibet, its treatises were not translated."

Within *The Treasury of Knowledge*, the companion volume to this chapter on the history of Buddhist culture is the first chapter of Book Six, "A Presentation of the Common Fields of Knowledge and Worldly Paths," where Kongtrul describes the subjects themselves. Even just translating the history of these subjects has been extremely challenging and I have been helped in this chapter's every domain by Dr. Peter Alan Roberts, without whom the translation would have proved impossible. The forthcoming translation of "A Presentation of the Common Fields of Knowledge and Worldly Paths" is many degrees more daunting, and I eagerly await its arrival from an incredibly knowledgeable translator, Gyurmé Dorjé.

Kongtrul ends this chapter with a short description of the journey of Buddhism elsewhere in the region, although with the exception of China, we would be hard pressed to locate on our maps the lands he mentions. Shambhala is said to thrive in this world, but is invisible to most of us; Khotan is a city state in western China that long ago perished; and while Kongtrul states that Dravida still existed in his day and that Buddhism had lasted, I have not found anyone willing to affirm its modern identity.

This concludes Kongtrul's survey of Buddhist culture as it was. He alluded to eighteen different arts and crafts, which include metal working, leather work, incense manufacture, and even preparation of alcohol. In Tibet, all of these would have shown some evidence of Buddhist influence, or have been entirely at the service of Buddhist institutions and practitioners. In our modern day, Buddhist teachers from the Himalayas are opening up new horizons in Buddhist culture, bringing Buddhist sensibilities to new domains, such as cinema, or encouraging new Buddhists to see how their post-meditative experience can be enriched by applying mindfulness to such missions as stewardship of the planet and its environment. Pure Tibetan Buddhism, that which is meticulously preserved through study and teaching, and meditation practice, opens unexpected and unlimited inner space, yet its basic recipes have not changed for around a thousand years. Applied Buddhism—how Buddhist sensibilities are reflected in its attendant cultural expressions—can unfold in unexpected and unlimited ways, its many-splendored display forever evolving.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

A true and complete bibliography for this text would be overwhelming. To not lose sight of texts that are particularly relevant or useful, and can be easily found either at booksellers online and in bookstores, or in non-specialist libraries, I offer this short bibliography of texts I have referred to in my introduction and postscript, plus a select few.

### IN TIBETAN:

- Jamgön Kongtrul. *The Treasury of Knowledge (shes bya kun khyab mdzod)*. 4 vols. Delhi: Sechen Publications, 1997 (traditional Tibetan book form). 1 vol. Beijing: People's Press, 2002 (paperback edition).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Spiritual Life and the Sacred Objects of the Isolated Retreat of Palpung Monastery (dpal spungs yang khrod kun bzang bde chen 'od gsal gling rten dang brten par bcas pa'i dkar chag zhing khams kun tu khyab pa'i sgra snyan)*. *The Collected Works of Jamgön Kongtrul*, Volume 11, pages 3-256.
- Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa. *Feast for the Wise (dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' 'ston)*. Beijing, China: Peoples' Press, 1986.
- Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, single volume edition. Beijing: The Nationalities Publishing House, 1994, 4th edition 1998.

### IN ENGLISH:

- Butön. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Translated by Dr. E. Obermiller. New Delhi: Paljor Publications, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Jewelry of Scripture*. Translated by Dr. E. Obermiller. New Delhi: Paljor Publications, 1999.

- Chang, Garma C. C., translator. *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1999.
- Dudjom Rinpoché. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals & History*. Translated by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1991.
- Gö Lotsawa Zhönnu Pal. *The Blue Annals*. Translated by George N. Roerich. 2nd ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, 1988.
- Harding, Sarah, translator. *Machik's Complete Explanation: Clarifying the Meaning of Chöd*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003.
- Jamgön Kongtrul. *The Autobiography of Jamgön Kongtrul: A Gem of Many Colors*. Translated by Richard Barron. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jamgön Kongtrul's Retreat Manual*. Translated by Ngawang Zangpo. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book One: Myriad Worlds*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1995, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Five: Buddhist Ethics*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1998, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Six, Part Three: Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group (Elizabeth Callahan). Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Six, Part Four: Systems of Buddhist Tantra*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group (Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod). Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Eight, Part Three: Elements of Tantric Practice*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group (Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod). Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Eight, Part Four: Esoteric Instructions*. Translated by the Kalu Rinpoché Translation Group (Sarah Harding). Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Books Nine and Ten: Journey and Goal*. Translated by Richard Barron. Forthcoming from Snow Lion Publications, 2010.

- Longchen Rabjam. *The Precious Treasury of the Basic Space of Phenomena*. Translated by Richard Barron. Junction City, CA: Padma Publishing, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Precious Treasury of Philosophical Systems*. Translated by Richard Barron. Junction City, CA: Padma Publishing, 2007.
- Nattier, Jan. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.
- Patrul Rinpoché. *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*. Translated by Padmakara Translation Group. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994.
- Ringu Tulku. *The Ri-me Philosophy of Jamgon Kongtrul the Great: A Study of the Buddhist Lineages of Tibet*. Edited by Ann Helm. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2006.
- Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltzen. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*. Translated by Jared Douglas Rhoton. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Smith, E. Gene. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Tibetan Plateau*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Stearns, Cyrus. *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Taking the Result as the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdré Tradition*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2006.
- Taranata. *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India*. Translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya. Simla, 1970; 2nd ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990, 1997.
- Tudeng Nyima, ed. *An Encyclopaedic Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Translated by Gyurme Dorje and Tudeng Nyima. Beijing/London: The Nationalities Publishing House and The School of Oriental and African Studies, 2001.



## LIST OF NAMES

*Buddhism's Journey to Tibet* boasts a cast of hundreds of saints and scholars. The list of their names can be found here, followed by the way their names appeared in the original Tibetan text. I have not supplied any “Wylie” transcription: my impression is that this style of writing Tibetan will soon go the way of the floppy disk—something that was incredibly useful at the time but has since become outmoded. Further, it has proved impossible to use the Wylie scheme to accurately reconstruct Sanskrit names written in Tibetan, something that seems important for this book.

Kongtrul gives no information concerning dates throughout these chapters and I have not supplemented his work with the latest information on chronology according to modern scholarship. In reading Kongtrul we are left with the impression that events of countless lifetimes and eons past, and the events and personages of mere centuries ago or even yesterday, occupy the same historical space. To wander in that space unmoored by references to our calendars is how Buddhists read and integrate our history—the Buddha, Nagarjuna, Padmasambhava, Atisha, Butön, Longchenpa, and so many other wisdom beings down to our day have escaped conventional time. To label them as having been alive in another era, centuries ago, is natural for us as modern readers, but this reflexive distancing is counterproductive for us as Buddhists. Nevertheless, this is not the main reason I have not supplied dates here.

In the young field of Tibetan historical studies, there is no single reliable source for birth and death dates of historical figures. Some dates become accepted then change—for instance, Kongtrul probably passed away in 1900 rather than in 1899, as we had long assumed. Provide a date for the early kings of Tibet and I will show you authoritative sources that locate the persons in question a century or more before or after what you propose.

Published dates for some important persons are clearly mistaken—I am thinking specifically of the early members of my home lineage, the Shangpa, but I suspect that the lack of clear information and the well-meaning, educated guesses that result occur elsewhere as well.

What we need is a communal location where reliable dates could be posted with their source; in other words, according to such-and-such a text—biography, autobiography, history, etc.—this personage was born or died on these dates. Without knowledge of the original sources of the information that appears in other reference works, I am reluctant to repeat dates for the lives of our Tibetan and Indian Buddhist ancestors named in this reference work. If Kongtrul had supplied even a single date, I would have been delighted to write it below. I regret very much that he did not.

It may seem obvious that where Kongtrul usually wrote the names of Indian personages in Tibetan, I translated them back into Sanskrit, which is how they appear in the text and in the list below. While this reflects a common decision these days, Buddhist translators of the past have come to the opposite conclusion and translated most of the original Sanskrit names into new languages; thus, the Tibetans say “Lu-drup” where we and he would say “Nagarjuna.” Christians as well are used to their important figures sporting names in their own languages: we anglophones feel comfortable with Saint “James,” as opposed to the French equivalent “Jacques,” or the Spanish “Diego,” or whatever the man himself would have answered to some 2,000 years ago. Tibetans enjoy the same linguistic familiarity with their Tibetan-named Indian spiritual heroes. I find it interesting to consider following in the footsteps of the great translators of the past, who had good reasons to make the saints of yore less foreign, but as one colleague, Dr. Peter Alan Roberts, wisely remarked to me long ago, *The Treasury of Knowledge* is hardly the appropriate place for such experiments.

- Abhayakaragupta: འཇིགས་མེད་; ཨ་བླ་ཡ་; ཨ་བླ་ཡུ་  
ཀར་; ཨ་བླ་ཡ་; ཨ་བླ་ཡུ་ཀར་གྲུབ་ 55, 56,  
142, 213, 226, 229, 231, 232, 289,  
304, 306, 375, 457, 558
- Abhijna: མངོན་ཤེས་ཅན་ 279
- Adrada: རིང་འཕུར་སྐྱེས་ 63
- Agastih: རི་བྱི 407
- Agnivesha: མེ་བཞིན་འཇུག་པ་ 407, 427, 474
- Ajatasatru: མ་སྐྱེས་དག་ 88, 127, 168
- Ajita: མ་ཕམ་པ་ 55
- Akaramati Shila: ཨུ་ཀར་མ་ཉི་ཤི་ལ་ 239
- Akshapada: ཀང་མིག་ 385
- Alalavajra: ཨ་ལ་ལ་བཟོ 338
- Alamkara Prajnakara: རྒྱན་མཁམ་པོ་ཤེས་རབ་  
འབྲུང་གནས་ 387, 388, 389, 392, 471
- Alangkara-kalasha: ཨ་ལ་ལྡར་ཀ་ལྡུ་པ་ 160,  
161, 449
- Amarasingha: འཚི་མེད་མེང་གེ 428, 429, 477
- Amoghavajra: ཨ་མོ་རྩ་བཟོ 292, 369
- Amrita: མ་ཤི་བ་ 202
- Amritaguhya: བདུད་རྩི་གསང་བ་ 225
- Amritodana: བདུད་རྩི་ཅུམ་ 84
- Ananda: ཀུན་དགའ་བོ་ 47, 84, 87, 128, 155,  
168, 169, 200, 201, 450, 455, 536
- Anandagarbha: ཀུན་དགའ་འཕྱིང་པོ་ 69, 160,  
161, 175, 273, 274, 275, 276, 440,  
449, 581
- Anangavajra: ཡན་ལག་མེད་པའི་རོ་རྩེ 276
- Anatapindata: མགོན་མེད་ཟས་སྦྱིན་ 107, 396,  
397, 472
- Angpo: ཨང་པོ་ 358, 468
- Anubhuti: ཨ་ཁུ་བྱ་ཉི 384, 471
- Anupamarakshita: དཔེ་མེད་འཚོ 368, 370,  
371, 469
- Ar Jangchub Sengé: ཨར་བྱང་རྩུབ་མེང་གེ 260,  
261, 459
- Arada: རིང་འཕུར་ 81
- Aro: ཨ་རོ་ 327, 375
- Aro Yeshé Jungné: ཨ་རོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུང་གནས་  
327
- Aryadeva: འཕགས་པའི་ལྷ་; ཨུ་རྩེ་དེ་བ་ 138, 152,  
202, 209, 210, 217, 220, 266, 304,  
363, 455, 548
- Aryapada: འཕགས་ཞབས་ 205, 209
- Asanga: གོགས་མེད་ 12, 126, 129, 134, 138,  
139, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216, 217,  
221, 252, 257, 269, 386, 455, 458,
- 459, 460, 502, 523, 527, 548, 557,  
560, 581
- Ashoka: རླུང་ན་མེད་ 88, 206, 232, 382,  
399, 434, 473
- Ashvagoshā: ཉ་སྐད་; ཉ་དབྱངས་ 202, 209
- Asu: ཨ་སུ་ 314
- Atisha: རོ་བོ་རྩེ 142, 213, 229, 230, 248,  
259, 260, 261, 266, 268, 273, 274,  
277, 278, 279, 291, 296, 297, 304,  
309, 313, 332, 333, 336, 341, 369,  
375, 457, 459, 460, 465, 469, 539,  
540, 558, 564, 584, 596
- Atreya: རྒྱན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ 394, 406, 407, 408,  
410, 474
- Avadhutipa: ཨ་ཕ་རྒྱ་ཉི་པ་ 337
- Avalokitavratā: རླུང་རས་གཟིགས་བརྒྱལ་གས་  
266
- Avatara: འཇུག་པ་ 407
- Avitarka: རྣམ་པར་མི་རྟོག་པ་; ཨ་བི་ཏར་ཀ་ 204,  
205, 206, 218, 455
- Ba Ratna: བ་རན་ 244
- Ba Salnang: བ་ས་གསལ་སྣང་ 238, 239, 243,  
244
- Ba Trizik: བ་ཕྱི་གཟིགས་ 243, 244
- Bagen Tsojé Drup: བ་ཤན་འཚོ་བྱེད་གྲུབ་ 412
- Bak-tön Zhönnu Tsultrim: བག་རྩོན་གཞོན་རུ་  
རྩེ་ཡ་ཁམས་ 314, 315, 463
- Baling Acharya: བ་ལིང་ཨུ་ཙུ་ 278, 292
- Balpang Nawa: བླུ་ཕྱང་སྐུ་བ་ 297
- Barahita: བར་ཉི་ཏ་ 248
- Barawa Gyaltzen Zangpo: འབར་ར་བ་རྒྱུ་པ་  
མཚན་བཟང་པོ་ 348
- Bari Rinchen Drakpa: བ་རི་ལོ་རྒྱ་རིན་ཆེན་  
གྲགས་ 273, 315, 341
- Baro Chak-dum: འབར་འོ་ཕུག་རུས་ 291
- Barompa Darma Wangchuk: འབར་འོ་མ་པ་དར་  
མ་དབང་ཕུག་ 347
- Bé Lodrö Wangchuk: བློ་བློ་གྲོས་དབང་ཕུག་  
328
- Belré: བལ་རས་ 374
- Ben Könchok Dorjé: འབན་དཀོན་མཚོག་རོ་རྩེ་  
254, 458
- Bérotsana: བི་རོ་ཙན་ 241, 243, 258, 310,  
311, 315, 316, 324, 326, 327, 328,  
330, 332, 415, 416, 420, 459, 463,  
475, 486, 553, 583



- Bhadepa: ལྷ་དེ་པ་ 295  
 Bhadra: བཟང་པོ་ 179, 180  
 Bhago: ལྷ་གོ་ 225  
 Bhallika: བཟང་པོ་ 85  
 Bharadhvaja: ལྷ་ར་ལྷ་འོ་ 414  
 Bhavabhadra: ལྷ་བ་ལྷ་དྲ་ 230, 295, 304  
 Bhavaviveka: ལལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ 210, 266, 561  
 Bhavyakirti: ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ 230  
 Bhikshu Arhat: དགེ་སྤོང་དགེ་བཅོམ་པ་ 202  
 Bhikshu Singha: དགེ་སྤོང་ལོང་གོ་ 200, 202, 455  
 Bimbisara: རིམ་སྤུ་ར་ 399, 473  
 Bimbisara: གཟུགས་ཅན་སྤོང་པོ་ 237, 393, 396  
 Bitpalo: རིཏྲ་ལོ་ 400  
 Black Héruka: ལྷ་འཕྲུང་ནག་པོ་ 329  
 Bodhibhadra: བྱང་ཆུབ་བཟང་པོ་; བོ་རྗེ་ལྷ་དྲ་ 228, 230  
 Bodhisatto: བོ་རྗེ་སཏྲ་; བོ་རྗེ་སཏྲ་ 241, 243  
 Bodhivajra: བྱང་ཆུབ་རྗེ་རྩི་ 295  
 Bodong Bangka Dangchung: བོ་དོང་སྤང་ག་འདང་ཆུང་ 275  
 Bodong Jikdral Chenpo: བོ་དོང་འཇིགས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་ 391  
 Bodong Rinchen Tsémo: བོ་དོང་རིན་ཆེན་ཅེ་མོ་ 370  
 Bodong Yönten Lodrö: བོ་དོང་ཡོན་ཏན་སྤོང་གོ་ས་ 425  
 Bönpö Dro-tsang Drukpha: བོན་པོ་ལྷོ་ཁང་འབྲུག་ལྷ་ 357  
 Brahma: ཆངས་པ་ 407  
 Brahmin Krishna: བྲས་ཟེན་ག་པོ་ 216, 301  
 Buborpa Yeshé Gyaltzen: བྱུ་འབོར་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 310  
 Buddhadev: མངས་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་ 204  
 Buddhaguhya: མངས་རྒྱལ་གསང་བ་ 71, 100, 227, 272, 273, 274, 309, 313, 441, 460, 462, 508  
 Buddhagupta-nata: མངས་རྒྱལ་ལྷས་པའི་མགོན་པོ་ 368, 371  
 Buddhajnana: མངས་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 68, 229, 230, 276, 278, 290, 457, 460, 461  
 Buddhamitra: བྱུལ་མི་ཏྲ་ 202  
 Buddhanandi: བྱུལ་ན་རྗེ་ 202  
 Buddhapaksha: མངས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ 399  
 Buddhapalita: མངས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱང་ 210, 266, 267, 561  
 Buddhashanti: མངས་རྒྱལ་ཞིབ་ 227  
 Buddhashri: བྱུལ་གྱི་ 342  
 Buddhirakshita: ལྷོ་སེམས་འཚོ་ 238  
 Bugom: འབྲུ་སྐོས་ 359  
 Bümtrak Sumpa: འབྲུ་ས་ལྷག་གསུམ་པ་ 260  
 Bunja Tséten: ལྷུང་ཚེ་བརྟན་ 412  
 Butön Rinchen Drup: བུ་རྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ 247, 251, 252, 253, 261, 268, 273, 274, 278, 279, 305, 307, 315, 316, 423, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463, 476, 574  
 Butön Rinpoché: བུ་རྟོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ 213, 297, 307, 316  
 Butrapa Kétsun Sönam Özer: ལྷུ་ཏུ་པ་སུམ་འབྲུན་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར་ 373, 374, 470  
 Chadar Tönpa: ལྷ་དར་རྟོན་པ་ 259, 260, 459  
 Chagen Wangchuk Gyaltzen: ཆག་ན་དབང་ལྷུག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 338, 339, 340, 466  
 Chak Chöjé Pal: ཆག་ཚེས་ཇེ་དཔལ་ 277, 278, 291, 306, 369, 370, 460, 469  
 Chak Drachom: ཆག་དགེ་བཅོམ་ 246, 305, 306, 462  
 Chal Chökyl Zangpo: དལུལ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་ཚས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་ 246, 278, 305, 306, 369, 462  
 Chal Chöpal Zangpo: དལུལ་ཚས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ 290, 291, 461  
 Chal Pakpa Pal: དལུལ་འཕགས་པ་དཔལ་ 330  
 Chal Sönam Gyaltzen: དལུལ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 301, 302, 462  
 Chanaka: ཙན་ཀ་ 289  
 Chandaka: འདུན་པ་ 81  
 Chandanapala: ཙན་ལྷོང་ 383  
 Chandra Sirya: ཙན་སི་རུ་ 418  
 Chandragarba: ལྷ་བའི་རྗེ་དཔོ་ 173, 407  
 Chandragomi: ཙན་གཤེན་ 138, 215, 217, 269, 310, 380, 382, 383, 388, 429  
 Chandrakirti: ལྷ་བ་གྲགས་པ་ 12, 209, 210, 220, 265, 266, 267, 268, 344, 382, 383, 459, 527, 560, 561  
 Chandranandana: ལྷ་བལ་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བ་ 411, 412, 475  
 Chandranata: ལྷ་བ་མགོན་པོ་ 369  
 Chandravardhana: ལྷ་བས་བྱིན་ 218  
 Chang Rawa: ལྷང་ར་བ་ 270

- Chang Tsangpa Sengé Gyaltzen: སྤང་ཚང་པ་  
པ་མེང་གོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 274
- Chao Wang: ཅི་ལུ་ཅི་ལུ་པ་ 432
- Chapa Chökyi Sengé: རྩ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་མེང་གོ་  
267, 389, 459
- Charaka: ཚ་ར་ཀ་ 407, 474
- Chatipa: ཚ་ལྷི་པ་ 295
- Ché Chandrakirti: ལྷེ་ཚ་རྒྱ་ཀྱི་རྟི་ 359
- Ché Tashi: ལྷེ་བཀྲ་ཤེས་ 276, 573
- Chégom: ལྷེ་སྐོས་ 340, 466
- Chen-nga Chökyi Drakpa: ལྷན་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་  
གྲགས་པ་ 248, 371
- Chen-nga Tsultrim Bar: ལྷན་པ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་  
འབར་ 334, 335
- Cherjé Takla Gasum: ཆེར་རྗེ་རྟག་ལ་དགའ་གསུམ་  
417
- Cherjé Tipa: ཆེར་རྗེ་རྟི་པ་ 417
- Cherjé Zhangtön Zhikpo: ཆེར་རྗེ་ལང་ལྷོན་  
ཞིག་པོ་ 412, 416, 417, 475
- Chétsen Kyé: ཆེབ་ཚན་སྐྱེས་ 329
- Chétsun Sengé Wangchuk: ལྷེ་བ་ཚུན་མེང་གོ་  
དབང་ལྷལ་ 328
- Chilupa: ཚོ་ལུ་པ་ 227, 228, 305, 456
- Chim Namka Drak: མཚེས་མ་ནམ་མཁའ་གྲགས་  
254
- Chim Shakya Prabhava: མཚེས་མ་འཕྲུ་བ་རྩ་བ་  
331
- Chimtsön Sengé: མཚེས་མ་བཙོན་མེང་གོ་ 254
- Chö Tashi: ཚོས་བཀྲ་ཤེས་ 402
- Chödruk Gyatso: ཚོས་གྲགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 318, 391
- Chögyal Pakpa: ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ་ 433
- Chöjé Gangpa: ཚོས་རྗེ་གངས་པ་ 374
- Chöjé Lama Dampa: ཚོས་རྗེ་སྐུ་མ་དམ་པ་ 390,  
391
- Chok Tamché-lé Gyalwé Lha: རྩོགས་ཐམས་  
ཅད་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷ་ 319
- Chokdru Sherab Lama: ཚོག་གུ་ཤེས་རབ་སྐུ་མ་  
290, 291, 292, 461
- Chokro Lu'i Gyaltzen: ཚོག་རྩོ་ལུ་ལྷེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
241, 243, 244, 251, 253, 259, 267,  
315, 316, 458, 459, 463, 553
- Chokro Nyönpa: ཚོག་རྩོ་སྐྱོན་པ་ 360
- Chöku Özer: ཚོས་སྐུ་འོད་ཟེར་ 279
- Chökyi Jungné: ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་ 270, 350,  
413, 421, 422, 426, 476, 600
- Chökyi Nangwa: ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐང་བ་ 350, 384,  
402, 403, 471, 473, 599, 600
- Chökyi Wangchuk: ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབང་ལྷལ་ 319,  
349
- Chola Mönbar: ཚོག་ལ་ལྷོན་འབར་ 414
- Chomden Rikpé Raldri: བཙོས་ལྷན་རིག་པའི་  
རལ་གྱི་; བཙོས་ལྷན་རིག་པའ་ 246, 254, 309,  
310, 314, 315, 462, 463, 572, 574
- Chöpal: ཚོས་དབལ་ 290, 291, 360, 461,  
469
- Choro Mangpozi: ཚོག་རོ་མང་ལོ་གཟིགས་ 415
- Chöying Dorjé: ཚོས་དབྱིངས་རྗེ་རྗེ་ 349, 402
- Chöying Gyatso of Tsang: ཚངས་པ་ཚོས་  
དབྱིངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 402
- Chubep: རྒྱ་འབབས་ 408
- Chu-kyer Tulku Tsering: རྒྱས་ལྷེར་སྐུ་ལྷ་རྩེ་  
རེང་ 402
- Chunda: རྩུ་རྩ་ 87
- Chung Chung: རུང་ཚུང་ 413
- Dadrak: ལྷ་གྲགས་ 417
- Dakchen Lodrö Gyaltzen: བདག་ཆེན་སྐོ་གྲོས་  
རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 342
- Dakini Wearer of Human Bone  
Ornaments: དཀྱི་ཀླ་མེ་རུས་པའི་རྒྱན་ཅན་  
304
- Dakpo Duldzin: དཀའ་པོ་འདུལ་འཛིན་ 347
- Dakpo Gomchung: དཀའ་པོ་གློ་ས་རྒྱང་ 347
- Dakpo Lhajé: དཀའ་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་ 246, 347, 350
- Dalai Lama (great fifth): རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་  
247, 402
- Damarupa: ལྷ་མ་རུ་པ་ 337
- Dampa Déshek: དམ་པ་བདེ་གཤེགས་ 310
- Dampa Jarchen: དམ་པ་ཕུར་ཆེན་ 360
- Damshtasena: དེ་སྤེ་སེན་ 173, 259
- Damzin Chökyi Lodrö: དམ་འཛིན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐོ་  
གྲོས་ 332
- Danashila: དུ་ན་ཤི་ལ་ 242, 243, 251, 291,  
458
- Dandi: དཤྱི་ 426, 427, 477
- Dangma Lhungyal: ལྷང་མ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ 328
- Darikapa: དུ་རི་ཀ་པ་ 221, 295, 344
- Darjé Paldrak: དར་རྗེ་དབལ་གྲགས་ 310
- Darma Gönpö: དར་མ་མགོན་པོ་ 416, 417,  
475
- Darpa: འདར་པ་ 381, 384
- Darpana Acharya: དམེཾ་ལྷ་ཙནུ་ 291, 375
- Darshana: རོང་བ་ 201

- Dasabala Shrimitra: ལྷོབས་བཅུ་དཔལ་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 47, 55
- Dawa Sengché: ལྷུ་བ་མེང་གེ་ 373, 470
- Dengipa: རྩོག་པ་ 295, 344
- Denma Könchok Sengché: ལྷན་མ་དཀོན་མཚོག་མེང་གེ་ 267
- Den-pakpa Mawé Sengché: དན་པལག་པ་ལྷ་བའི་མེང་གེ་ 267
- Déshek Pamodruga: བདེག་ཤེགས་ཕག་མོ་གྲུ་བ་ 318
- Dési Sangyé Gyatso: ལྷེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 403, 421, 422, 424, 476
- Déavadatta: ལྷས་བྱུན་ 80, 158
- Dévakarachandra: དེ་བླ་ཀར་ཙམ་ལྷ་ 277, 292
- Dévapala: དེ་བ་པུ་ལ་ 398, 399
- Dévavidyasingha: ལྷ་རྩིག་པའི་མེང་གེ་ 405
- Devendrabrahma: ཚངས་པ་ལྷ་དབང་ 432
- Devendrabuddhi: ལྷ་དབང་ལྷོ་ 387, 388, 392, 471
- Devendrasingha: ལྷ་དབང་མེང་གེ་ 431
- Dévikara: དེ་བླ་ཀར་ 279
- Dézhin Shekpa: དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ 349, 433
- Dharma Ashoka: ལྷ་མ་ཨ་ཤོ་ཀ་ 190
- Dharmadéva: ལྷ་མ་དེ་བ་ 383
- Dharmakara: ལྷ་མ་ཀར་ 253, 270, 383, 426, 427, 429, 599, 600
- Dharmakirti: ལྷ་མ་ཀུན་གྱི་ལྷེན་མོ་ 216, 217, 241, 381, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 455, 471, 472, 548, 553
- Dharmakosha: ལྷ་མ་ཀོ་ཏ་ 414
- Dharmamitra: ལྷ་མ་གྱི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 60, 148, 150, 250, 494
- Dharmapa: ལྷ་མ་པ་ 295
- Dharmapala: ལྷ་མ་པུ་ལ་; ལྷ་མ་སྲོང་ 215, 217, 226, 229, 232, 247, 251, 435, 456
- Dharmaraja: ལྷ་མ་རུ་ལ་ 414
- Dharmarajapala: ལྷ་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་ 329
- Dharmata Shila: ལྷ་མ་ཏ་ཤི་ལ་ 242
- Dharmatrata: ལྷ་མ་སྲོབ་ 204
- Dharmottara: ལྷ་མ་མཚོག་ 388, 389, 392
- Dhiman: ལྷི་ལྷུན་ 399, 400, 473
- Dhitika: ལྷི་ཏི་ཀ་ 200, 201, 202, 455
- Dignaga: ལྷིགས་སྲོང་ 213, 216, 217, 253, 317, 386, 387, 388, 389, 455, 471, 548, 558
- Dingipa: རྩོག་པ་ 221
- Dingri Chökyi Drakpa: དིང་རི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་ 368
- Dipamkara: དྲི་པ་ཀར་རྩི་རྫོན་; དྲི་པི་ཀར་ 230, 277, 333, 370
- Dipamkara Shrijnana: དྲི་པ་ཀར་རྩི་རྫོན་; དཔལ་མར་མེ་མཚན་ 230, 333
- Dipamkarabhadra: མར་མེ་མཚན་དབབང་པོ་ 230, 435
- Divyakaragupta: དི་བླ་ཀར་ལུག་ 205
- Dok Lekpé Sherab: དོག་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་
- Dok-jang Men: དོག་བྱང་ལྷན་ 417
- Dolpa Zangtal: དོལ་པ་བང་ཐལ་ 364
- Dolpo Sangyé: དོལ་པོ་སངས་རྒྱལ་ 354, 371
- Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen: དོལ་པའོ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 213, 269, 270, 307, 371, 423, 460, 476, 559, 594
- Dombi Héruka: རོམ་ཤེ་རུ་ཀ་; རོམ་པ་ 224, 301, 302, 337, 338, 344, 456
- Do-ngak Lingpa: མདོ་ལྷགས་སྲིང་པ་ 332
- Dönyö Dorjé: དོན་ཡོད་རྩོ་རྩེ་ 374
- Dönyö Palwa: དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ་བ་ 391
- Dopa Tashi Gyalpo: དོ་པ་བཀའ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 401
- Dorbum Chödrak Bönpo Drak-tsal: དོར་འབྲུམ་ཚོས་གྲགས་བོན་པོ་དྲག་ཙམ་ 418
- Doring Kunpong-wa: དོར་འིང་ཀུན་སྲོང་བ་ 342
- Dorjé: རྩོ་རྩེ་ 339
- Dorjé Denpa: རྩོ་རྩེ་གདན་པ་ 315, 375
- Dorjé Denpa Kunga Namgyal: རྩོ་རྩེ་གདན་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ 315
- Dorjé Gyaltsen: རྩོ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 251, 370
- Dorjé Lingpa: རྩོ་རྩེ་སྲིང་པ་ 332, 419
- Dorjé Özer: རྩོ་རྩེ་འོད་ཟེར་ 390
- Dorjé Pal: རྩོ་རྩེ་དཔལ་ 247
- Do-tsuk Jatruk Garken: དོ་ཙུགས་རྒྱ་ལུག་གར་མཁན་ 414
- Drakpa Gyaltsen: གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་; འོ་ལོ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 213, 275, 338, 341, 371 (two persons; one a translator)
- Drakpa Sengché: གྲགས་པ་མེང་གེ་ 349, 374
- Drama: དུ་མ་ 244
- Drangti: བྲང་ཏི་ 412
- Drangti Darma Nyingpo: བྲང་ཏི་དར་མ་སྲིང་པོ་ 253, 254
- Drangti Gyalpo: བྲང་ཏི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 417
- Drangti Palden Tsojé: བྲང་ཏི་དཔལ་ལྷན་འཚོ་བྱེད་ 421

- Drapa Ngönshé: གྲཱ་པ་སངོན་ཤེས་ 420, 601  
 Drapa Zhönnu Sherab: གྲཱ་པ་གཞིན་རྒྱ་ཤེས་རབ་  
 274  
 Dré Sherab Bar: འབྲེ་ཤེས་རབ་འབར་ 246,  
 260, 261, 459  
 Drenpa Namka: དྲན་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ 389  
 Drimé Özer: འྲི་མེད་འོད་ཟེར་ 112, 137, 157,  
 270, 328  
 Dro Sherab Drak: འབྲོ་ཤེས་རབ་གྲགས་ 305,  
 306, 368, 462  
 Drogom: འབྲོ་སྐོས་ 359  
 Drogön Chögyal Pakpa: འབྲོ་མགོན་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་  
 འཕགས་པ་ 342, 429, 430, 477  
 Drogön Chöjé Tönpa: འབྲོ་མགོན་ཚེས་རྗེ་སྟོན་  
 པ་ 353, 468  
 Drogön Gyaltsa Kuön: འབྲོ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་ཚ་ལྷ་  
 དཔོན་ 348  
 Drogön Pakdru: འབྲོ་མགོན་པག་གྲུ་ 246  
 Drogön Réchen: འབྲོ་མགོན་རེ་ཚེན་ 346,  
 349  
 Drogön Sangyé Tönpa: འབྲོ་མགོན་སངས་རྒྱལ་  
 སྟོན་པ་ 364  
 Drokmi Palgyi Yeshé: འབྲོ་མི་དཔལ་གྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་  
 330  
 Drokmi Pönlop: འབྲོ་གམི་དཔོན་སྟོབ་ 304  
 Drokmi Shakya Yeshé: འབྲོ་གམི་ཤུའུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་  
 301, 302, 304, 336, 337, 338, 339,  
 340, 341, 461, 462, 465, 586, 587,  
 595  
 Droktsa Gyen: འབྲོ་གཚུན་ 364  
 Drolde Gyalwa Jungné: འབྲོ་ཤེ་རྒྱལ་བའི་འབྲུང་  
 གནས་ 364  
 Drolwé Gönpö: འབྲོ་ལ་བའི་མགོན་པོ་ 143, 354,  
 355, 371, 384, 468, 470  
 Drom Dépa Tönchung: འབྲོ་ཤེ་དེ་པ་སྟོན་ཚུང་  
 338, 339  
 Drom Tongtsen: འབྲོ་ས་སྟོང་བཅོན་ 260  
 Dromtön Gyalwé Jungné: འབྲོ་ས་སྟོན་རྒྱལ་བའི་  
 འབྲུང་གནས་ 259, 260, 333, 334, 336,  
 459, 465, 585, 595  
 Drongzho Salwa Drak: རྫོང་ཞོ་གསལ་བ་གྲགས་  
 304  
 Droshul Khergé Jangchub Pal: རྫོ་ཤུལ་ཁེར་  
 གད་བྱུང་རྩལ་དཔལ་ 247  
 Drotön: རྫོ་སྟོན་ 306  
 Drum Gyalwé Yeshé: རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་  
 253, 458  
 Drup-tob Ngödrup: རྒྱལ་ཐོབ་དངོས་གྲུབ་ 240  
 Drusha Sönam Sengé: རྒྱ་ཤ་བསོད་ནམས་སེང་གེ་  
 267  
 Dudul Nuden Dorjé: བདུད་འདུལ་རུས་ལྡན་རྡོ་རྗེ་  
 332  
 Dumbu Kodrakpa: དུམ་བུ་ཀོ་བྲག་པ་ 339,  
 340, 466  
 Durampa Chimé Déwa: དུས་རམ་པ་འཆི་མེད་  
 བདེ་བ་ 425  
 Durjayachandra: མི་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་བ་ 295, 301,  
 338, 461  
 Dusum Kyenpa: དུས་གསུམ་མཉམ་ན་པ་ 347,  
 349, 433, 578  
 Dvaipayana: རྒྱིང་སྐུས་ 385  
 Dzamen Lebpo: རྩ་སྐོན་ལེབ་པོ་ 421  
 Dzimpa Lochen: འཛིན་པ་སྐོར་ཚེན་ 273, 274,  
 460  
 Dzimpa Sherab Ö: འཛིན་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ 251  
 Dzom Drowé Gönpö: འཛིན་པ་འབྲོ་བའི་མགོན་པོ་  
 310  
 Dzoro: འཛོར་ 414, 415, 416, 475  
 Dzumlang Scholar Jayananda: འཛུམ་ལང་གི་  
 པ་རྩེ་ཏང་ལྷ་ན་རྩེ་ 425  
 Épa Kukpa: ཨེ་པ་ལྷགས་པ་ 402  
 Étrosé: ཨེ་རྩོ་ཤེ་ 422  
 Ever Virtuous: ལྷན་རྒྱ་དགེ་བ་ 221  
 Fu Hsi: མུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཤེ་ 413, 425  
 Ga Namgyal Dorjé: གཤ་ནམ་རྒྱལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ 305,  
 369, 411, 469  
 Gajé Dampa: དགའ་འབྲུད་དམ་པ་ 412  
 Galenus: གཡེ་རུས་ 414  
 Gambhiravajra: ཟབ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ 224, 225, 456  
 Gampopa: གླམ་པོ་པ་ 213, 246, 318, 346,  
 347, 350, 467, 578, 586, 589, 590,  
 591, 592  
 Gangpa Shéu: གངས་པ་ཤེའུ་ 268  
 Gangsumpa Déchen Chökyi Palwa: གང་  
 གསུམ་པ་བདེ་ཆེན་ཚེས་གྱི་དཔལ་བ་ 307  
 Gar: མགར་ 239, 333, 552  
 Garab Dorjé: དགའ་རབ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ 189, 190, 194,  
 327, 328, 453, 454, 464, 523, 544  
 Garbharipa: གརྐ་རི་པ་ 338  
 Garga: གར་ 422

- Garwang: གར་དབང་ 319, 349  
 Gautama: གོ་ཏ་མ་ 169  
 Gavamyati: བལ་མ་བདག་ 168  
 Gayadhara: གཡ་རྩ་ར་ 301, 304, 337, 341, 342  
 Gélek Palwa: དགེ་ལེགས་དཔལ་པ་ 356  
 Gélek Palzang: དགེ་ལེགས་དཔལ་བཟང་ 266  
 Geshé Chapa: དགེ་བཤེས་ཕྱ་པ་ 261, 459  
 Geshé Drakpa: དགེ་བཤེས་དྲག་པ་ 359  
 Geshé Trapa: དགེ་བཤེས་གྲུ་པ་ 246  
 Géwé Shenyen: དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 250  
 Ghandhatapa: གླ་ཏུ་པ་ 295  
 Ghenghis Khan: ཇིང་གི་ཤླ་ན་ 433  
 Ghoshaka: དབྱངས་སྒྲིག་ 204  
 Ghundaripa: གུ་རྩ་རི་པ་ 295  
 Gö Kukpa Lhétsé: འགོས་ལྷག་པ་ལྷས་བཅས་ 277, 278, 279, 280, 296, 301, 304, 338, 342, 460, 461, 586  
 Go Lama: མགོ་བླ་མ་ 260  
 Gö Zhönnu Pal: འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ཏུ་དཔལ་ 248, 253, 313, 371, 573  
 Godan: གོ་དན་ 433  
 Golung Zhönnu Pal: གོ་ལུང་གཞོན་ཏུ་དཔལ་ 370, 373  
 Gomadevi: གོ་མ་དེ་བེ་ 224, 309  
 Gomi Gomchen: གོ་མི་སྐོས་ཚེན་ 274  
 Gomishra: མ་འདྲེས་པ་ 220, 551  
 Gönpö Sönam Chök-den: མགོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྡན་ 315  
 Go-nyön: གོ་སྟོན་ 402  
 Gopa: མ་འཚོ་མ་ 80, 402, 441  
 Gorampa Sönam Sengé: གོ་རམ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་མེང་གེ་ 391  
 Gorong Sengé Drak: གོ་རོང་སེང་གེ་བྲག་ 245  
 Goshri Paljor Döndrup: གོ་སྤེ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དོན་གྲུབ་ 349  
 Gö-tsangpa Gönpö Dorjé: རྟོན་ཚངས་པ་མགོན་པོ་དོན་མེ 348  
 Gowo Yeshé Jungné: གོ་བོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྱུང་གནས་ 254  
 Gunamitra: གུ་ཏེ་མི་ཏུ་ 259  
 Gunaprabha: ཡོན་ཏན་འོད་ 217, 249, 250, 251, 458, 556  
 Gungpa Kyotön Drimé: གུང་པ་སྐྱོན་ཏུ་བྲི་མེད་ 390, 472  
 Gungshing Tsöndru Gyaltzen: གུང་ཤིང་བཙུན་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 274  
 Gupta: གུམ་པ་ 201, 229  
 Guru Chökyi Wangchuk: གུ་རུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཕྱུག་ 332, 418  
 Gya Duldzin: གྱུ་འདུལ་འདྲིན་ 246, 251, 458  
 Gyaben Dorö: གྱུ་བན་དོར་འོད་ 418  
 Gadulwa Wangchuk Tsultrim: གྱུ་འདུལ་པ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ 251  
 Gyagom Hartön: གྱུ་སྐོས་ཏར་མོན་ 364  
 Gyalka: གྱུལ་དྲག་པ་ 423  
 Gyalmo Yudra Nyingpo: གྱུལ་མོ་གཡུ་སྐྱེ་སྤོང་པོ་ 311  
 Gyalpo Chölo: གྱུལ་པོ་ཚོས་སྟོ་ 275  
 Gyaltzap: གྱུལ་ཚབ་ 316, 391, 392, 402  
 Gyaltzap Darma Rinchen: གྱུལ་ཚབ་དར་མ་རིན་ཚེན་ 391  
 Gyaltzap Drakpa Döndrup: གྱུལ་ཚབ་བྲག་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་ 402  
 Gyaltzap Jé: གྱུལ་ཚབ་ཇེ་ 392  
 Gyalwa Döndrup: གྱུལ་བ་དོན་གྲུབ་ 366  
 Gyalwa Gendun Drup: གྱུལ་བ་དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་ 335  
 Gyalwa Gö-tsangpa: གྱུལ་བ་རྟོན་ཚང་པ་ 372  
 Gyalwa Kyung-tsangpa: གྱུལ་བ་ལྷུང་ཚང་པ་ 346  
 Gyalwa Tené: གྱུལ་བ་ཏེ་ནས་ 361  
 Gyalwa Yang-gönpa: གྱུལ་བ་ཡང་དགོན་པ་ 348  
 Gyalwa Zhangtön: གྱུལ་བ་ཞང་ཏོན་ 328  
 Gyanam Dozepa Loden: གྱུ་ནམ་དོག་མེལ་སྟོ་ལྡན་ 296, 297, 461  
 Gyatön Drakpa Sherab: གྱུ་ཏོན་བྲག་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ 417  
 Gyatso Namgyal Sengé: གྱུ་མཚོ་ནས་གྱུལ་མེང་གེ་ 422  
 Gyené: གྱེན་ནེ་ 366  
 Gyéré Chok-kyong: གྱུ་རེ་མཚོག་སྐྱོང་ 310  
 Gyijo Dawé Özer: གྱུ་ཇོ་བླ་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་ 301, 303, 304, 305, 338, 340, 342, 368, 369, 461, 462, 466, 469, 594, 595  
 Gyijong Ukari: གྱུ་ཇོང་མ་དབུ་དྲག་ར་ 339  
 Gyipen: གྱུ་པན་ 245  
 Gyu Palgyi Zhönnu: གྱུ་པ་དཔལ་གྱི་གཞོན་ཏུ་ 329, 330  
 Hagalikanayanasha: ཏུ་གལ་ལི་ཀ་ཏ་ལ་ན་པ་ 202

- Han Ming-ti: དྲན་མིང་ཏི་ 432  
 Han Wang Hwang: དྲན་ཡང་འཕང་ 414  
 Haribhadra: མེང་གེ་བཟང་པོ་ 127, 211, 213,  
 217, 229, 258, 459, 557, 558  
 Harichandra: ཏ་མི་ཙལ་ 407, 474  
 Hashang Mahayana: ཏ་ཤང་མ་འཕྲུ་ན་ 240  
 Hasuraja: ཏ་སུ་རྟ་ཇོ་ 400  
 Hayagriva: ཏ་མཚོག་ 224, 456  
 Hordar: ཏོར་དར་ 402  
 Hua To: ཏུ་ཕོ་ 413  
 Huang Ti: ཏང་ཏི་ 413  
 Hung Dhi: ཏུང་ཏྲི་ 425, 477  
 Hungkara: ཏུ་ཀ་ར་ 330
- Indra: ཨིན་ 339  
 Indrabhuti: ཨིན་བླ་ཏི་ 161, 177, 219, 223,  
 224, 225, 295, 343, 344, 449, 456  
 Indrabodhi: ཨིན་བོ་རྟེ་ 194, 523  
 Indradhruva: ཨིན་རྩུ་བ་ 383, 471  
 Ishvarasena: དབང་ཕུག་ཤེ་ 216, 387
- Ja: རྩལ་པོ་ཇེ་ 192, 193, 453  
 Ja Duldzin: རྩལ་དུལ་འཛིན་ 246, 251, 333,  
 458  
 Jadulwa Wangchuk Bar: རྩལ་དུལ་བ་དབང་ཕུག་  
 འབར་ 251  
 Jak-chen Gyaltzen Büm: འཇག་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
 འབུམ་ 353, 355, 356  
 Jak-chen Jampa Pal: འཇག་ཚེན་རྩམས་པ་དབལ་  
 356  
 Jalandharipa: རྩལ་རྩུ་རི་པ་ 221  
 Jamari: ཇོ་མུ་རི་ 388  
 Jamchen Rabjampa Sangyé Pel: རབ་  
 འབུམས་པ་མངས་རྒྱལ་འཕེལ་ 391  
 Jamgön Drupé Pawo Palden Kunga  
 Drolchok: འཇམ་གཤོན་གྲུབ་པའི་དཔལ་བོ་དཔལ་  
 ལྡན་ཀུན་དགའ་གྲོལ་མཚོག་ 354  
 Jamgön Lama Gyurmé Tenzin Pelgyé:  
 འཇམ་གཤོན་བླ་མ་འཇུར་མེད་བསྟན་འཛིན་འཕེལ་རྒྱལ་  
 428  
 Jampa Lingpa: རྩམས་པ་གླིང་པ་ 371  
 Jampal Nyingpo: འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷིང་པོ་ 297,  
 568  
 Jamyang Chenpo Döndrup Özer: འཇམ་  
 དབྱུངས་ཚེན་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་འོད་ཟེར་ 424  
 Jamyang Kaché: འཇམ་དབྱུངས་ལ་ཚེ་ 427
- Jamyang Kyapo: འཇམ་དབྱུངས་རྩལ་པོ་ 390  
 Jamyang Kyentsé Wangchuk: འཇམ་དབྱུངས་  
 མཁེན་བ་ཚེ་ལི་དབང་ཕུག་ 342  
 Jamyang Sakya Pandita: འཇམ་དབྱུངས་ས་སྐུ་  
 པཎ་ཚེན་ 247  
 Janadhana: ཇོན་རྩ་ན་ 412  
 Janardhana: ཇོན་རྩུ་ན་ 416  
 Jang Kadampa: རྩང་བཀའ་དམས་པ་ 359  
 Jangchub Dorjé: རྩང་རྩུབ་དོར་ཇེ་ 319  
 Jangchub Sempa Kunga: རྩང་རྩུབ་སེམས་དཔལ་  
 ཀུན་དགའ་ 360, 361, 468  
 Jangchub Yeshé: རྩང་རྩུབ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 340  
 Jangdak Namgyal Drak-zang: རྩང་བདག་རྣམ་  
 རྩུལ་གྲགས་བཟང་ 371  
 Jang-gom: རྩང་གོམ་ 375  
 Jang-men Palé: རྩང་མེན་དཔལ་ལེ་ 421  
 Jangpa Rikden Chenpo Namgyal Drak-  
 zang: རྩང་པ་རིགས་ལྡན་ཚེན་པོ་རྣམ་རྩུལ་གྲགས་  
 བཟང་ 421  
 Jang-sem Jinpa Zangpo: རྩང་སེམས་རྩིན་པ་  
 བཟང་པོ་ 354  
 Jang-tsé: ཡོ་ཚེན་རྩང་ཚེ་ 371, 391  
 Jarchung: རྩར་རྩུང་ 360  
 Jarpo Penchen: རྩར་པོ་པཎ་ཚེན་ 421  
 Jatadhari: རལ་པ་འཛིན་པ་ 408, 409  
 Jaya: ཇོ་ཡ་ 400  
 Jayakara: ཇོ་ཡ་ཀ་ར་ 248  
 Jayananda: ཇོ་ཡ་ནུ་ན་ 425  
 Jayanandipa: ཇོ་ཡ་ནུ་མི་པ་ 295  
 Jayasena: ཇོ་ཡ་སེན་ 297  
 Jayashri: ཇོ་ཡ་ཤེ་ 338  
 Jayulwa: རྩལ་ལུལ་པ་ 336  
 Jé Rinpoché: ཇེ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ 209  
 Jétari: ཇོ་ཏུ་རི་ 272, 388  
 Jétsun Zilnön: ཇེ་བཙུན་ཟེལ་འོན་ 364  
 Jikdral Chenpo: འཇིགས་བྲལ་ཚེན་པོ་ 371, 391  
 Jikdral Palden Chökyong: འཇིགས་བྲལ་དཔལ་  
 ལྡན་ཚེས་རྩོང་ 337  
 Jina: རྩལ་བ་ཅན་ 387, 388, 471  
 Jinabhadra: རྩལ་བ་བཟང་པོ་ 230, 295  
 Jinadeva: རྩལ་བའི་ལྷ་ 222, 427, 428, 477  
 Jinamitra: ཇོན་མི་ཏུ་ 244, 251, 253, 458  
 Jinaputra: རྩལ་པོ་ལྷ་སྐུ་ 148, 252, 253  
 Jinarakshita: ཇོན་རྩི་ཏུ་ 306  
 Jivakumara: གཞོན་རུས་གསོམ་ 408, 410, 474  
 Jnana-akara: རྩུན་ཨ་ཀ་ར་ 333

- Jnanagarbha: ཡེ་ཤེས་རྣམ་པོ་ 138, 266, 267, 277, 345
- Jnanaguhya: ལྷོ་ན་གུ་ཅུ་ 358
- Jnanamitra: ཡེ་ཤེས་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 225, 226
- Jnanapada: ཡེ་ཤེས་ཞབས་ 213, 558
- Jnanaséna: ལྷོ་ན་སེ་ན་ 242
- Jnanashila: ལྷོ་ན་ཤེ་ལ་ 248
- Jnanashri: ལྷོ་ན་ཤྱི་ 314, 315, 463
- Jnanashrimitra: ལྷོ་ན་ཤྱི་མི་ཏུ་ 230, 388
- Jnanasutra: ལྷོ་ན་སུ་ཏུ་ 190, 544
- Jnanatala: ལྷོ་ན་ཏུ་ལ་ 205
- Jomo Sangyé: རོ་མོ་སངས་རྒྱུས་ 360
- Jonang Kunpang: རོ་ལང་ཀུན་སྐངས་ 338, 339, 340, 342, 343, 466
- Jor Chökuwa: འབྲོར་ཚོས་སྐུ་བ་ 348
- José Indra: རོ་ཤས་ཨི་རྩུ་ 339, 340
- Jvala: འབར་བ་ 432
- Kachö Wangpo: མཁའ་རྟུན་དབང་པོ་ 374
- Kalachakrapada the Elder Manjuvajra: དུས་ཞབས་ཚེན་པོ་འཇམ་པའི་དོ་རྗེ་ 305
- Kalachakrapada the Elder: དུས་ཞབས་ཚེན་པོ་ 228
- Kalachakrapada the Younger: དུས་ཞབས་རྒྱུང་བ་ 228
- Kalahamsakumara: ཀ་ལ་ཏཱ་ས་ཀུ་མུ་ར་ 295
- Kalama: ལྷོ་ཆལ་ཤེས་ 81
- Kalasha: ཀ་ལ་ཤ་ག་; ཀ་ལ་ཤ་ 202, 274
- Kalden Sengé: ལྷོ་ལ་ལྷན་སེང་གེ་ 364
- Kalden Sharchokpa Könchok Pendé: ལྷོ་ལ་ལྷན་ཤར་ལྷོ་གསལ་པ་དཀོན་མཚོ་གཤན་བཤེ་ 402
- Kalidasa: ལྷོ་ལ་ཤེ་ལེ་པོ་ 426, 427, 477
- Kalyanamitra: དགེ་ལེགས་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 250
- Kam Yeshé Gyaltzen: ཀ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 357, 358, 359, 468
- Kamagarbha: ཀ་མ་ལ་གརྩ་ 206
- Kamalarakshita: བརྩ་སྐང་; ཀ་མ་ལ་ར་ལྷི་ཏུ་ 230, 289
- Kamashila: ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤེ་ལ་ 266, 267, 356, 388, 471
- Kambala: ལྷ་བའི་ན་བཟའ་; ལྷ་བ་པ་ 209, 221, 224, 225, 456
- Kambu Yalé: ལམ་ལུ་ལེ་ལེ་ 366
- Kamkalapa: ཀ་ཀ་ལ་པ་ 295
- Kanishka: ཀ་ནི་ལྷ་ 181, 452
- Karak Gom-chung Lodrö Wangchuk: ལ་རག་སྐོམ་རྒྱུང་ལོ་དྲོ་ལོས་དབང་ལུག་ 374, 470
- Karma Chakmé: ཀ་མ་ཚགས་མེད་ 349, 350
- Karma Lekshé Tsol: ཀ་མ་ལེགས་བཤད་འཚོ་ལ་ 421
- Karma Pakshi: ཀ་མ་པ་ལྷི་ 346, 349, 433, 595
- Karma Rinchen: ཀ་མ་རིན་ཚེན་ 402
- Karma Siddha Utpala: ཀ་མ་སི་དྷ་ལུ་ཤྱ་ལ་ 425
- Karma Tenpé Nyinjé Tsuk-lak Chökyi Nangwa: ཀ་མ་བཟླན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་གཙུག་ལག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐང་བ་ 350, 600
- Karma Trinlé: ཀ་མ་ཐིན་ལས་ 319
- Karnaripa: ཀ་ར་རི་པ་ 344
- Karshö Karma Tashi: ཀ་ར་ཤོས་ཀ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ 402
- Kashyapa: འོད་སྐངས་ 168, 169, 170, 180, 200, 202, 238, 386, 434, 450, 455, 536
- Katyayana: ཀ་ཏི་འི་བུ་ 380, 381, 470
- Kawa Ö Chok-drak: ཀ་བ་འོད་མཚོ་གཤགས་ 245
- Kawa Paltsek: ཀ་བ་དཔལ་བརྟེན་ 241, 243, 244, 253, 259, 315, 316, 389, 458, 463, 553
- Kayashri: ཀུ་ལ་ཤྱི་ 375
- Kédруп Gélek Palwa: མཁའ་སྐུ་བ་དགེ་ལེགས་དཔལ་བ་ 307
- Kédруп Jé: མཁའ་སྐུ་བ་རྗེ་ 266, 307, 392
- Kéwang: ཀེ་ལང་ 245, 424
- Kéwang Norzang Gyatso: མཁའ་དབང་འོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 424
- Khampa Gocha: ལམས་པ་གོ་ཅ་ 259, 330
- Khampa Ronyam Dorjé: ལམས་པ་རོ་མཉམ་རྗེ་ 277, 279
- Khampa Tramo: ལམས་པ་བྲ་མོ་ 425, 426, 477
- Khampa Usé: ལམས་པ་དབུ་ཤེ་ 347
- Khang-tön Özer Gyaltzen: ལང་སྟོན་འོད་བཟེར་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 390, 472
- Kharchen Palgyi Wangchuk: མཁར་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་དབང་ལུག་ 330
- Khön Gépa Kirti: འཕོན་གདང་པ་ཀི་རི་ 279
- Khön Könchok Gyalpo: འཕོན་དཀོན་མཚོ་ག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 339

- Khön Lu'i Wangpo Sungwa: འཕོན་གྲུའི་  
དབང་པོ་སྤུང་བ་ 329, 330
- Khön Puwa Chökyi Gyalpo: འཕོན་ཕུ་བ་ཚེས་  
ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 339
- Khu: ལུ་ལོ་རྩེ་བ་ 209
- Khulö Muken: ལུ་ལོ་དྲ་ལུ་ལཱ་ན་ 415
- Khutön Sherab Tsöndru: ལུ་ཕྱོན་ཤེས་རབ་  
བཙུན་འགྲུས་ 333
- Kimsheng: ལྱིས་ཤོང་ 414
- Kirti: གྲགས་པ་ 177, 451
- Ko Drakpa: ཀོ་བྲག་པ་ 306
- Kodrak Sönam Gyaltzen: ཀོ་བྲག་བསོད་ནམས་  
རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 370
- Könchok Gyaltzen: དཀོན་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
247
- Könchok Yenlak: དཀོན་མཚོག་ཡན་ལག་ 319
- Kong Pu Tsi: ཀོང་ཕུ་ཙི་ 426
- Kongmé Kyenpa Lata Tséwang: ཀོང་སྐང་  
ཀྱོན་པ་ལྷ་རྩ་ཚེ་དབང་ 421
- Kong-tsé: ཀོང་ཙེ་ 426
- Kor Nirupa: ཀོར་ནི་རུ་པ་ 314
- Krishna: རྒྱལ་པོ་; ཀྱི་རྩ་ 201, 206, 222, 343,  
384, 407 (four mentioned: one of  
the seven patriarchs; the preceptor  
of Rahulabhadra; an abbreviated  
reference in a tantra to  
Krishnacharya; Taranata's grammar  
teacher)
- Krishna Asita: རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིན་མོངས་མེད་ 79
- Krishna Utsita: རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛིན་པ་མེད་པ་ 337
- Krishnabhijna: རྒྱལ་པོ་མངོན་ཤེས་ཅན་ 369
- Krishnachandra: ལྷ་བ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 425, 426,  
477
- Krishnacharya: རྒྱལ་པོ་སྦྱང་པ་; རྒྱལ་པོ་པ་ 220,  
221, 222, 225, 295, 297, 298, 456
- Krishnapada: རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་ 200, 302, 455
- Krishna-samaya-vajra: རྒྱལ་པོ་དམ་ཚིག་རྩི་རྩི་  
279, 291, 301
- Krishnavajra: རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྩི་རྩི་ 295, 301, 461
- Ku Chenpo Lhadingpa: ལུ་ཚེན་པོ་ལྷ་འཕྲུང་པ་  
259, 260, 459
- Kubjita: ལུ་ར་པོ་ 203
- Kublai Khan: ཀོ་བའལ་ 433
- Kuchor Tokden: ཀུ་ཅོར་རྟོགས་ལྡན་ 374
- Kuddala: རྟོག་རྩེ་པ་ 337
- Kugom Chökyi Sengé: ལུ་རྫོགས་ཚེས་ཀྱི་མེང་གོ་  
364, 365, 366
- Kukkutipa: ཀུཊུ་རི་པ་ 295
- Kukuraja: ཀུཊུ་རཱ་ཇ་ 193, 194, 223, 309,  
454
- Kukuripa: ཀུཊུ་རཱིི་པ་ 224, 225, 456
- Kumara: ཀུམ་ར་ 310, 330, 432
- Kumarala: ཀུམ་ར་ལ་ 202
- Kumaralata: ཀུམ་ར་རུ་ལེན་ 204
- Kundün Karma Sidral: ལུ་མ་དུན་ཀར་མ་སྲིད་བྲལ་  
402
- Kunga Drolchok: ཀུན་དགའ་རློལ་མཚོག་ 354,  
355, 468, 591
- Kunga Gyaltzen: ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 607
- Kunga Namgyal: ཀུན་དགའ་འཛམ་རྒྱལ་ 342
- Kunga Nyingpo: ཀུན་དགའ་ལྷིང་པོ་ 320, 341,  
342, 466
- Kunkyong Lingpa: ཀུན་སྦྱོང་གླིང་པ་ 332
- Kunpang Tsöndru: ཀུན་སྐངས་བཙུན་འགྲུས་  
364, 365, 469
- Kunpang Zhang Tuktjé Tsöndru: ཀུན་སྐང་  
ཞང་ཐུགས་རྩེ་བཙུན་འགྲུས་ 369, 370, 371,  
469
- Kunzang Sherab: ཀུན་བཟང་ཤེས་རབ་ 350
- Kurmapada: ལུ་རྒྱལ་ཞབས་ 221
- Kusali Physician Bönpo Lhabum: ཀུ་ས་  
སྤོན་པ་བོན་པོ་ལྷ་འབུམ་ 418
- Kusara: ཀུ་ས་ར་ 239
- Kyangpo Chökyi Lodrö: ཀུང་པོ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་སྦྱོང་གིས་  
278
- Kyasé Tokden: ལུ་ཤེ་རྟོགས་ལྡན་ 364
- Kyé Pa: ལྷ་པ་ 413
- Kyéme Gayen: ལྷེ་མེད་དགའ་ཡན་ 364
- Kyen Nong: ལྷེན་ནོང་ 413
- Kyentsé Chenmo: མཁྱེན་བཙུན་ཚེན་མོ་ 401,  
403
- Kyer-gangpa: ལྷེར་སྐང་པ་ 356
- Kyi Jéma Lungpa: ལྷི་ཤེ་མེ་ལུང་པ་ 293
- Kyinor Jnana: ལྷི་ནོར་རྩུ་ན་ 274
- Kyo Rawa Dönyö Pal: ལྷོ་ར་བ་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ་  
307
- Kyo Shakya Yeshé: ལྷོ་ཤུག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 362, 363,  
469
- Kyobpa Jikten Sumgön: ལྷོ་བ་པ་འཛིག་རྟེན་  
གསུམ་མགོན་ 318, 348
- Kyok Duldzin: ལྷོགས་འདུལ་འཛིན་ 251
- Kyotön Sönam Lama: ལྷོ་ཕྱོན་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷ་ས་  
357



- Kyung Lhépa Zhönnu Sönam: ལུང་ལྷ་ས་པ་  
གཞིན་ཏུ་བསོད་ནམས་ 279
- Kyung-nak Shakya Dargyé: ལུང་ནག་འབྲུ་དར་  
རྒྱས་ 425, 426, 477
- Kyungpo Draksé: ལུང་པོ་གྲགས་སེ་ 389
- Kyungpo Naljor: ལུང་པོ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ 351, 352,  
353, 467, 540, 591, 595, 596
- Kyungpo Tsitsi: ལུང་པོ་ཙུ་ཙི་ 414
- Kyungpo Tsulgön: ལུང་པོ་རྣལ་མགོན་ 353
- Kyungpo Yutri: ལུང་པོ་གཡུ་ཁྱི་ 404, 405, 474
- Kyura A-kyab: ལུ་ར་ཨ་རྒྱབས་ 369
- Lacham: ལ་ལམ་ 364
- Lachen Gongpa Rabsal: ལྷ་ཚེན་དགོངས་པ་རབ་  
གསལ་ 244, 245, 251, 457, 554
- Ladu Dorjé Dronma: ལ་དུས་དོན་རྫོན་མ་  
364, 365, 469
- Lakshashva: ལལ་ཨ་ཤུ་ 205
- Lakshmikara: ལལྷི་ཀ་ར་ 430
- Lalita: རོལ་པས་སྐྱེག་ 407, 456
- Lalitavajra: སྐྱེག་དོར་; ལ་ལེ་ཏ་བཟོ་ 222, 223,  
276, 289, 290, 292, 309, 313, 461,  
462, 567
- Lama Kyo: ལྷ་མ་རྫོག་ 290, 291, 292, 461
- Lama Shang: ལྷ་མ་ཤངས་ 352
- Lang Darma: ལྷང་དར་མ་ 244, 247, 405,  
457
- Lang Darma Udum Tsen: ལྷང་དར་མ་ལུ་དུས་  
བཅོན་ 244
- Lang Khampa Gocha: ལྷངས་ཁམས་པ་གོ་ཚ་  
258, 459
- Lang-lungpa Gyalwa Döndrup: ལྷང་ལུང་པ་  
རྒྱལ་བ་དོན་གྲུབ་ 364
- Langri Tangpa: ལང་རི་གང་པ་ 334, 336
- Lasum Gyalwa Jangchub: ལ་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བ་བྱུང་  
རྒྱལ་ 244
- Latö Könchok Kar: ལ་ལྷོད་དགོན་མཚོག་མཁར་  
353, 354
- Latö Marpo: ལ་ལྷོད་དམར་པོ་ 374, 418, 470
- Latö Sherab Gönpö: ལ་ལྷོད་ཤེས་རབ་མགོན་པོ་  
348
- Latö Wangchuk Gyaltsen: ལ་ལྷོད་དབང་རྒྱལ་  
རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 370, 371, 470
- Latö Wangyal: ལ་ལྷོད་དབང་རྒྱལ་ 339, 340,  
466
- Lavapa: ལལ་བ་པ་ 295, 343, 344, 523
- Lekshé Tsol: ལེགས་བཤད་ཚེས་ 421
- Lékyi Dorjé: ལས་ལྱི་དོན་ 336
- Len Tsul-jang: ལྷན་རྒྱལ་བྱུང་ 251
- Létro Lingpa: ལས་ལོ་རྒྱུང་པ་ 419
- Lha Lama Yeshé Ö: ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་ལེ་ཤེས་འདྲི་ 247
- Lha Totori Nyentsen: ལྷ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་གཉན་ [also  
ལྷན་] བཅོན་ 221, 236, 238, 239, 457,  
552
- Lhajé Zurpoché Shakya Jungné: ལྷ་ཇེ་རུར་  
པོ་ཚེ་འབྲུ་འབྲུང་གནས་ 330
- Lhajé Dropukpa: ལྷ་ཇེ་སློ་ཤུག་པ་ 306, 310
- Lhalung Palgyi Dorjé: ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་དོན་; ལྷ་  
ལུང་དཔལ་དོར་ 245, 253
- Lhasa Nyönma: ལྷ་ས་སྟོན་མ་ 363
- Lhatsun Jangchub Ö: ལྷ་བཙུན་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་འདྲི་  
279
- Lhatsun Tashi Palzang: ལྷ་བཙུན་བཀྲ་ཤེས་  
དཔལ་བཟང་ 421
- Lhazig Lang: ལྷ་གཞིགས་རྒྱངས་ 329, 330, 465
- Lhopa Dharma Kyab: ལྷོ་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱབས་ 375
- Lhopa Kunkyen Rinchen Pal: ལྷོ་པ་ཀུན་མཁུག་  
རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་ 390
- Li Tse: ལི་ཙེ་ 404
- Licchavi: ལི་ཚྭ་བྱི་ 88, 178, 192, 236, 237,  
239, 457, 552
- Lilavajra: སྐྱེག་པའི་དོན་; ལྷི་ལ་བཟོ་ 230, 304
- Ling Répa Péma Dorjé: ལྷིང་རས་པམ་དོན་  
348, 467
- Livikara: ལི་བི་ཀ་ར་ 405
- Liza Sherab Drönma: ལི་བཟབ་ཤེས་རབ་རྫོན་མ་  
327
- Lo Répa Darma Wangchuk: ལོ་རས་པ་དར་མ་  
དབང་རྒྱལ་ 348
- Lochen Dharmashri: ལོ་ཚེན་ལྷ་མ་ཤྱི་ 173,  
246, 311, 424
- Lochen Drakpa: ལོ་ཚེན་གྲགས་པ་ 391
- Lochung Lekpé Sherab: ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་  
རབ་ 274
- Lokaprada: ལོ་ཀྲུང་དྲ་ 304
- Lokya Sherab Tsek: ལྷོ་གསུམ་ཤེས་རབ་བཞེགས་  
296, 461
- Longchen Rabjam Zangpo: ལྷོང་ཚེན་རབ་  
འབྲམས་བཟང་པོ་ 72, 310, 328
- Longchenpa: ལྷོང་ཚེན་པ་ 11, 108, 112,  
137, 157, 172, 270, 309, 327, 328,  
451, 462, 464, 499, 508, 519, 520

- Lord Marpa: མངལ་བདག་མར་པ་ 279, 303, 304, 314, 317, 318
- Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk: ལོ་སྟོན་དོ་རྗེ་དབང་ཕུག་ 245
- Lowo Sherab Rinchen: ལྷོ་བོ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཆེན་ 291, 424, 425, 476
- Lozang Drakpa: ལྷོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ་ 247, 268, 279
- Lozang Drakpé Pal: ལྷོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ་པའི་དབལ་ 320
- Ludrup Gyatso: ལུ་སྐྱེ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 213, 342
- Lumé Tsultrim Sherab: ལུ་མེས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཤེས་རབ་ 245, 246, 251
- Lupa: ལུ་པ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བ་ 251
- Luyipa: ལུ་ཡི་པ་ 220, 221, 222, 226, 295, 297, 298, 344, 456
- Ma Chökyi Sherab: མ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རབ་ 357, 358, 468
- Ma Géwé Lodrö: མ་དགེ་བའི་སློབ་ཤོས་ 368, 369, 389, 390, 469, 472
- Ma Rinchen Chok: མ་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོག་ 244, 309, 310, 324, 329, 462, 486, 582
- Ma Tok Rinchen: མ་ཏོག་རིན་ཆེན་ 329, 464
- Machik Angjo: མ་ཅིག་ཨང་ཇོ་ 346
- Machik Drupé Gyalmo: མ་ཅིག་གྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ 346, 466
- Machik Lapdrön: མ་ཅིག་ལབ་སྟོན་ 336, 359, 363, 364, 365, 469, 593, 595, 596
- Machik Zhama Naljorma: མ་ཅིག་ལ་མ་རྟམ་འབྲུང་མ་ 340, 587
- Madhuraghoshapala: དབུང་མ་སྐྱན་སྦྱང་བ་ 276
- Madhyantika: ཉི་མ་གུང་པ་ 200, 202, 455
- Mahadéva: མ་དུ་དེ་བ་ 179, 414, 451
- Mahajana: མ་དུ་ཇོན་ 248
- Mahakaruna: བྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ 291
- Mahakyinda: མ་དུ་ཀྱིན་འདའ་ 414
- Mahamayadévi: ལྷ་མོ་སྐུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ 70, 78
- Mahanaman: མིང་ཆེན་ 396
- Maharishi: དང་སྲོང་ཆེན་པོ་ 407
- Mahasammata: ཀུན་གྱིས་བཀུར་བ་ 180
- Mahasukhatavajra: ཇོ་རྗེ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ 230
- Mahatseta: མ་དུ་ཅོ་ཏ་ 415
- Maheshvara: དབང་ཕུག་ཆེན་པོ་ 407
- Maitreya: བྱམས་པ་ 12, 55, 77, 89, 124, 142, 155, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216, 252, 257, 258, 269, 270, 313, 318, 455, 460, 527, 548, 549, 557, 559, 560
- Maja Jangtsön: མ་བྱ་བྱང་བཙོན་ 268
- Majawa Tsöpel Sengé: མ་བྱ་བ་ཙོད་པའི་སེང་གེ་ 267
- Majo Jangchub: མ་རྗོ་བྱང་ཚུབ་ 363
- Mal Lodrö Drakpa: མལ་ལོ་སྟོན་གྲགས་པ་ 274, 275, 296, 341, 461
- Manakashri: མ་ན་ཀ་ཤྱི་ 296
- Mang Karwa Lodrö Gyaltsen: མང་མཁའ་བ་སློབ་ཤོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 354
- Mang-lam Zhikpo: མང་ལམ་ཞིག་པོ་ 340
- Mang-lo Men-tsun: མང་ལོ་སྟོན་བཙུན་ 416
- Manjushrikirti: འཇམ་དབལ་བྲགས་པ་ 173, 176, 292, 385, 431, 451, 471, 567
- Manjushrimitra: འཇམ་དབལ་བ་ཤེས་གཉེན་ 190, 196, 229, 230, 292, 453, 538, 544, 567
- Manjushriyashas: འཇམ་དབལ་གྲགས་པ་ 368
- Manjuvajra: འཇམ་པའི་དོ་རྗེ་ 305
- Manota: མ་ནོ་ཏ་ 202
- Mar Chökyi Gyalpo: དམར་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 390
- Mar Shakyamuni: མྱེར་ཤུལ་ལུ་ནེ་ 244, 245, 251, 457, 554
- Marab Sengé Gyaltsen: མར་རབ་སེང་གེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 278
- Markendeya: མ་རྟེ་རྗེ་ཡ་ 427
- Marpa Chökyi Lodrö: མར་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཤོས་ 277, 278, 293, 296, 301, 302, 303, 338, 344, 460, 462, 586, 595
- Marpa Dopa Chökyi Wangchuk: མར་པ་པོ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཕུག་ 296, 297, 461
- Marpa Dorjé Yeshé: མར་པ་རྗོར་ལེ་ 274
- Marpa Drup-tob: མྱེར་པ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ 348
- Marserchen: དམར་པེར་ཅན་ 427, 477
- Masé Tok-den Lodrö Rinchen: མ་སེ་རྟོགས་ལྷན་སྟོན་ཤོས་རིན་ཆེན་ 349
- Matangipa: མཱ་ཏ་ཁྱི་པ་; མཱ་ཏ་ཁྱི་ 220, 343, 344, 551
- Matichitra: མ་ཏི་ཅོ་ཏ་ 210
- Matigarbhashri: སློབ་ཤོས་སྦྱང་པའི་དབལ་ 221
- Matriceta: མ་ཏོམ་ 210
- Matso Changdor: མ་ཚོ་བྱང་ཇོར་ 246
- Maudgalyayana: མིང་གལ་ཀྱི་བྱ་ 168
- Mé Atsom: མེས་ཨག་ཚོམ་ 413, 414, 475
- Mechalingpa: མེ་ཅོ་ལིང་པ་ 291

- Menla Döndrup: མཉམ་བུ་དོན་གྲུབ་ 401, 403  
 Menlung Guru: མན་ལུང་གུ་རུ་; མན་ལུང་པ་  
 368, 370  
 Menlung Lama: མན་ལུང་གྱི་བླ་མ་ 330  
 Mé-nyak Gomring: མེ་ཉལ་གློ་མ་རིང་ 348  
 Métön Sonam Gyaltzen: མེས་ལྷོན་བསོད་ནམས་  
 རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 301, 302, 303, 317, 462  
 Métön Tsonpo: མེས་ལྷོན་ཚེན་པོ་ 345  
 Métriipa: མི་ཏི་པ་ 211, 212, 293, 301, 302,  
 303, 314, 343, 345, 352, 362, 461,  
 466, 548  
 Méu Tönpa: མེུ་ལྷོན་པ་ 353  
 Mi'i Nyima: མི་དི་ཉི་མ་ 421  
 Mikyö Dorjé: མི་བསྐྱོད་དོན་རྗེ་ 213, 268, 292,  
 319, 402, 403, 421, 428, 559  
 Mikyö Gawa: མི་བསྐྱོད་དགའ་བ་ 319  
 Mikyö Gyalwa: མི་བསྐྱོད་རྒྱལ་བ་ 318, 319,  
 463  
 Mila Zhépa Dorjé: མི་ལ་བལྟ་བ་དོན་རྗེ་ 345  
 Milarepa: མི་ལ་རས་པ་ 2, 296, 317, 345,  
 346, 347, 466, 575, 578, 586, 590,  
 606  
 Minling Terchen: མིན་གླིང་གཏེར་ཚེན་ 270  
 Minyak Drak-rin: མི་ཉལ་གྲགས་རེན་ 374  
 Mipam Namgyal: མི་པམ་ནམ་རྒྱལ་ 427  
 Mitrayogi: མི་ཏུ་འོག་གི་ 374, 470  
 Mogor Khan: མོ་གོར་ཀན་ 433  
 Mohammed the Dark One: མུན་ཅན་མུང་  
 ཅི་ལེ་ལྷོ་གྲོ་མ་ 423  
 Mok-chokpa Rinchen Tsöndru: མོ་ག་ལྷོ་གསལ་  
 པ་རེན་ཚེན་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ 353  
 Mön Karpa Tön-zhung: མོན་དཀར་པ་ལྷོན་  
 ཀུའུང་ 340  
 Mrigaja: རི་དགས་རྩེ་མ་ 80  
 Muchen Gyaltzen Palzang: མུས་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
 དཔལ་བཟང་ 354  
 Muchen Namka Naljor: མུས་ཚེན་ནམ་མཁའ་  
 རྣལ་འབྱོར་ 356  
 Mugen Trizik: མུ་གན་ལི་གཟིགས་ 415  
 Mukachandra: ཀའོང་ཅན་རྒྱ་བ་ 407  
 Muktikakhatti: མུ་ཏིག་འཕྲི་ཤེང་ཅན་ 396, 472  
 Muktiki: མུ་ཏིག་ཅན་ 396  
 Muné Tsépo: མུ་ནེ་བཙའ་པོ་ 242  
 Muni Krishnamishra: མུབ་པ་ཀྲི་མི་ཤྱ་ 428  
 Murum Tsépo: མུ་རུ་མ་བཙའ་པོ་ 242  
 Mutik Tsépo: མུ་ཏིག་བཙའ་པོ་ 242  
 Mutri Tsenpo: མུ་ཁྲི་བཙའ་པོ་ 238  
 Muzuk Labar: དམུ་གཟུགས་ལ་འབར་ 244  
 Nadipa: རྩ་དྲི་པ་ 295  
 Naga: ལྷ་ 180, 207  
 Nagabodhi: ལྷ་འི་བྱང་རྩུབ་ 158, 210, 220,  
 222, 550  
 Nagahvaya: ལྷ་ས་བོས་ 210  
 Nagarjuna: ལྷུ་རྒྱུབ་ 89, 138, 202, 205, 206,  
 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 217, 219,  
 220, 233, 265, 266, 268, 269, 270,  
 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 314, 320,  
 337, 343, 344, 399, 411, 455, 457,  
 459, 460, 463, 473, 475, 523, 527,  
 536, 547, 548, 550, 560, 577, 581,  
 590  
 Nakpo Sherdê: ཀན་པོ་ཤེར་དང་ 314  
 Nakrin Panchen: ཀན་ཀས་རེན་པམ་ཚེན་ 252  
 Naktso Tsultrim Gyalwa: ཀན་ཚོ་རྩུལ་ཁྲིམས་  
 རྒྱལ་བ་ 278, 290, 291, 297, 333, 461,  
 465, 584  
 Nalandapa: ཀ་ལེ་རྩུབ་ 228  
 Namtso-wa Mikyö Dorjé: ཀན་མ་མཚོ་བ་མི་  
 བསྐྱོད་དོན་རྗེ་ 364  
 Nanam Dawé Dorjé: ལྷ་ནམ་རྒྱ་བའི་དོན་རྗེ་ 253  
 Nanam Dorjé Dujom: ལྷ་ནམ་དོན་རྗེ་བདུད་  
 འཛོམས་ 330  
 Nanam Sok-men: ལྷ་ནམ་སོག་ལྷན་ 418  
 Nanda: དགའོ་ 205, 206, 455, 547  
 Nandakirti: དགའ་བའི་གྲགས་པ་ 211  
 Nandamitra: དགའ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 205  
 Nandika: དགའ་བྱེད་མ་ 82  
 Nandin: དགའ་བྱེད་ 178  
 Naropa: རྩ་རོ་པ་ 38, 222, 226, 228, 230,  
 254, 277, 296, 301, 302, 303, 343,  
 344, 345, 350, 366, 368, 369, 461,  
 462, 466, 469, 578, 589, 591, 594  
 Narotapa: རྩ་རོ་ཏུ་པ་ 220, 297, 344  
 Nédo: ཀན་མ་མདོ་ 364  
 Nédo Karma Chakmé: ཀན་མ་མདོ་ཀམ་ཆགས་  
 མེད་ 350  
 Nelpa Pandit: རེལ་པ་བཟླེ་ཏུ་ 238  
 Néso Drakpa Gyaltzen: རྩེ་སོ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་  
 མཚན་ 251  
 Nga-bong: ང་བོང་ 422  
 Ngak-gi Wangchuk: ངག་གི་དབང་ལུག་ 364

- Ngawang Chödrak: དག་དབང་ཚོས་གྲགས་ 392  
 Ngawang Lozang Gyatso: དག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་  
 ལྷ་མཚོ་ 433  
 Ngenlam Gyalwa Chok-yang: ངན་ལམ་རྒྱལ་  
 བ་མཚོག་དབུངས་ 244  
 Ngok Lekpé Sherab: འོག་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་  
 333  
 Ngok Loden Sherab: འོག་ལོ་ལོ་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་  
 རབ་ 246, 259, 260, 261, 267, 269,  
 270, 316, 389, 390, 391, 392, 459,  
 460, 463, 472  
 Ngoktön Chöku Dorjé: འོག་སྟོན་ཚོས་སྐྱོ་རྩེ་  
 293, 301, 302, 303, 317, 345, 462  
 Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo: ངོར་ཚེན་ཀུན་དགའ་  
 བཟང་པོ་ 247, 273, 342  
 Ngultön Rinwang: དངུལ་སྟོན་རིན་དབང་ 353  
 Niguma: རི་ལྷ་མ་ 351, 352, 353, 354, 355,  
 468, 589, 591  
 Nigupta: རི་ལུག་ 355  
 Nishkalangka: རིཏ་ལཏ་ 291  
 Norzang Pal: རོར་བཟང་དཔལ་ 391  
 Nup Dulwa Dzinpa: ལྷུབས་འདུལ་བ་འཛིན་པ་  
 373  
 Nup Namké Nyingpo: གཏུབས་ནམ་མཁའི་སྣང་  
 པོ་ 329, 330, 332  
 Nupa Uyuk-pa Rikpé Sengé: ལུཔ་པ་འུ་ཡུག་  
 པ་རིག་པའི་སང་གོ་ 390, 472  
 Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé: གཏུབས་ཚེན་སངས་  
 ལྷས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 290, 310, 313, 315, 316,  
 324, 328, 329, 330, 332, 463, 464,  
 486  
 Nuptön Zhangtrom: གཏུབས་སྟོན་ཞང་ཨོམ་  
 418  
 Nur Nyima Özer: ལུར་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་ 273,  
 274, 460  
 Nya: ཉ་ལོ་ཚེན་པོ་ 390  
 Nyak Jnana Kumara: གཉག་མ་རྣམ་ཀུམ་ར་  
 309, 310, 327, 329, 330, 486, 582  
 Nyak-ön: གཉག་དབོན་ 391  
 Nyakré Séo: གཉག་རེ་སེའོ་ 348  
 Nyalpa Nyima Sherab: གཉམ་པ་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་རབ་  
 274  
 Nyalpa Yönten Sengé: གཉམ་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་སང་གོ་  
 267  
 Nyalpa Zhikpo Jampal Dorjé: གཉམ་པ་ཞིག་པོ་  
 འཇམ་དཔལ་རྩེ་ 370  
 Nyang Indrawaro: ཉང་ཨི་རྩུ་ལ་འོ་ 259  
 Nyang Sherab Chok: ཉང་ཤེས་རབ་མཚོག་  
 329, 330, 464  
 Nyang Yeshé Jungné: ཉང་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུང་གནས་  
 327, 330  
 Nyang-ben Tingzin Zangpo: ཉང་བན་ཉིང་  
 འཛིན་བཟང་པོ་ 327, 328, 464  
 Nyang-dé Sengé Dra: ཉུང་འདས་སང་གོ་སྐྱ་  
 416  
 Nyangdren Chökyi Sengé: ཉུང་བཟན་ཚོས་ལྷི་  
 སང་གོ་ 267  
 Nyang-gom: ཉང་གོམ་ 340  
 Nyang-ral Nyima Özer: ཉང་རལ་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་  
 240, 332, 418  
 Nya-ön Kunga Pal: ཉ་འོན་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ་  
 390  
 Nyatri Tsenpo: གཉམ་པ་ལྷི་བཙན་པོ་ 237, 238  
 Nyédo brothers: ཉེ་མདོ་སྐུ་མཚེད་ 373, 470  
 Nyédo Kunga Döndrup: ཉེ་མདོ་ཀུན་དགའ་དོན་  
 ལུབ་ 306, 373  
 Nyé-dowa: ཉེ་མདོ་བ་ 361  
 Nyen: གཉན་ལོ་ 277, 278, 460  
 Nyen Darma Sengé: གཉན་དར་མ་སང་གོ་ 390,  
 472  
 Nyen Palyang: གཉན་དཔལ་དབུངས་ 330  
 Nyentön Tsultrim Bar: གཉན་ཏོན་ཚུལ་འབར་  
 274  
 Nyéwor Yikgi Rinchen: ཉེ་ལོར་ལོ་ལུ་བ་དབྱིག་  
 གི་རིན་ཚེན་ 416  
 Nyipu Gyergom: ཉེ་ལུ་ལྷུང་གོམ་ 348  
 Nyi-tokpa Sangyé Kun-mön: ཉི་ཐོག་པ་སངས་  
 ལྷས་ཀུན་སྟོན་ 390  
 Nyö Jungpo: གཉོས་འབྲུང་པོ་ 277, 278, 290,  
 291, 292, 296, 342, 460, 461  
 Nyönpa Beré: ཉོན་པ་བེ་རེ་ 363  
 Nyönpa Rangnang: ཉོན་པ་རང་སྣང་ 364  
 Nyötön Öma: གཉོས་སྟོན་འོད་མ་ 369  
 Nyukpa: ལྷུག་པ་ 335  
 Ö Jung: འོད་འབྲུང་ 331  
 Odren Palgyi Wangchuk: འོད་བཟན་དཔལ་ལྷི་  
 དབང་ལུག་ 329, 330, 465  
 Okaranata: ཨོ་ཀ་ར་ན་མ་ 226  
 Ön: དབོན་ 390  
 Ön Ngélek Tenzin: དབོན་ངེས་ལེགས་བཟུན་འཛིན་  
 424

- Ong-men Alé: ཨོང་མེན་ཨ་ལེ་ 416  
 Öngom Tsultrim Nyingpo: དབོན་སྒྲོམ་རྒྱལ་  
 ཁྲིམས་སྤྱིང་པོ་ 347  
 Öntön Kyer-gangpa: དབོན་མེན་རྒྱུར་སྤང་པ་  
 353  
 Orgyen Chokgyur Déchen Lingpa: ཨོ་རྒྱན་  
 མཚན་གྱུར་བདེ་ཚེན་གླིང་པ་ 332  
 Orgyenpa: ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་ 372, 374, 418, 470  
 Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal: ཨོ་རྒྱན་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་  
 372, 374, 418, 470  
  
 Padampa Sangyé: ཕ་དམའ་པ་སངས་རྒྱལ་ 356,  
 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363,  
 365, 418, 468, 469, 587, 592, 594,  
 595  
 Padmagarbha: པདྨ་གླིང་པོ་ 410  
 Padmakara: པདྨ་ཀ་ར་ 142, 190, 196, 324,  
 325, 434, 464, 478, 485, 544, 582,  
 607  
 Padmasambhava: པདྨ་འབྲུང་གནས་; པདྨ་སའ་བླ་བ་  
 196, 241, 243, 310, 324, 328, 330,  
 572  
 Padmavajra: མཚོ་སྤུལ་དོ་རྗེ་; པདྨ་བཟོ་ 276  
 Pagor Bérotsana: པ་གོར་བེ་རོ་ཙོན་ 244, 259  
 Pakdro Dorjé Gyalpo: ཕག་གྲུ་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 347  
 Pakmo Drupa: ཕག་མོ་གྲུ་པ་ 340, 348, 466,  
 467  
 Pakpa Ö: འཕགས་པ་འོ་ད་ 279  
 Palabhadra: པ་ལ་ལྷ་དུ་ 384  
 Palden Drukpa: དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པ་ 346  
 Palden Gyen: དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱན་ 364  
 Palgyi Sengé: དཔལ་ལྱི་སེང་གོ་ 326  
 Palgyi Sengé the later: དཔལ་ལྱི་སེང་གོ་ཕྱི་མ་  
 330  
 Paljor: ལོ་ཙོ་བ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ 248  
 Palyang: དཔལ་དབྱངས་ 244, 330  
 Pamting brothers: ཕམ་ཐིང་སྐུ་མཚེད་ 296  
 Pamtingpa: ཕམ་ཐིང་པ་ 302  
 Pandava brothers: ལྷུ་བསེང་བྲུ་ལྷ་ 237, 551  
 Pandu: ལྷུ་བསེང་ 201  
 Pang Loten: སྤང་གློ་བཞེན་ 254, 371, 383,  
 384, 427, 429, 430, 471, 477  
 Pang-gün Mipam Gönpö: སྤང་ཚན་སི་ཕམ་  
 མགོན་པོ་ 327  
 Pang-gün Sangyé Gönpö: སྤང་ཚན་སངས་རྒྱལ་  
 མགོན་པོ་ 326, 327, 464  
  
 Pang-jé Nyima Drak: སྤང་རྗེ་ཉི་མ་གྲགས་ 340  
 Panini: སྤྱ་རི་ལྷི་ 380, 381, 382, 429, 470,  
 471, 487  
 Parajaya: སྤ་རུ་ཇོ་ལ་ 400  
 Paramasena: དམ་པའི་རྗེ་ 206  
 Parshva: ལྕེབས་ལོགས་; དག་སྤོང་ལྕེབས་ 181,  
 202, 452  
 Patsab: པ་ཚབ་ 267, 268, 459  
 Patsab Gompa: པ་ཚབ་སྐོས་པ་ 361  
 Pawo: དཔའ་པོ་ 349  
 Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa: དཔའ་པོ་གཙུག་ལག་  
 སྤེང་བ་ 89, 315, 319, 523, 550, 605  
 Pékar Yi-zhin Wangpo: པད་དཀར་ཡི་དབེན་  
 དབང་པོ་ 425  
 Péma Karpa: པདྨ་མཁར་པ་ 402  
 Péma Karpo: པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་ 268, 431  
 Péma Lédrél: པདྨ་ལམས་འབྲེལ་ 328  
 Péma Lingpa: པདྨ་གླིང་པ་ 330, 332, 418  
 Péma Rikzin: པདྨ་རིག་འཛིན་ 350  
 Penyul Drapgom: འཕན་ལུལ་གྲུབ་སྐོས་ 305  
 Pindopa the Younger: བིནོ་པ་རུང་བ་ 228  
 Pito Acharya: བི་ཏོ་ཨུ་ཙཱ་ 227, 305  
 Pitopa: བི་ཏོ་པ་ 231  
 Pitriceta: ཕའ་ཁོལ་ 210  
 Pochung Tsultrim Lama: སྤོ་རུང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་སྤྱ་  
 མ་ 251  
 Podrang Shiwa Ö: ཕོ་བྲང་ཞི་བ་འོ་ད་ 274  
 Pönmo Sher-tsul: དཔོན་མོ་ཤེར་རྒྱལ་ 340  
 Pön-tsang Yeshé: དཔོན་ཚང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 422  
 Po-nyön Sengé: ཕོ་སྤོན་སེང་གོ་ 364  
 Potowa Rinchen Sal: པོ་ཏོ་བ་རིན་ཚེན་གསལ་  
 334  
 Prabhava: ཀའི་བཞིད་ཙན་ 431  
 Praharani: སྤ་ཏ་ར་རི་ 189  
 Prajnakara: ཤེས་རབ་འབྲུང་གནས་ 228, 230,  
 388  
 Prajnakaragupta: ཤེར་འབྲུང་སྐས་པ་ 388  
 Prajnapala: སྤྲྀ་སྤལ་ 247  
 Prajnapalita: སྤྲྀ་སྤལི་ཏ་ 227  
 Prajnavarman: ཤེས་རབ་གོ་ཚ་ 237  
 Prakashchandra: སབ་གསལ་ལྷུ་བ་; སྤྲུག་ཙན་  
 226, 227, 456  
 Prakashdharmamani: སྤྲུག་ཤར་མ་རི་ 206  
 Prasanajit: ཀམས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ 237  
 Prashantamitra: སབ་ཞི་བ་ཤེས་གཉེན་ 230  
 Prétaka: སྤོ་ཏ་ཀ་ 248

- Pu-chungwa Zhönnu Gyaltsen: ཕུ་ཚུང་པ་  
གཞིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 334, 335
- Puhrang Lochung: ཕུ་རྩང་ལོ་ཚུང་  
296, 358, 461
- Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso: ཕུ་ཀ་པ་ལྷུང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་  
མཚོ་ 424, 425, 476
- Pundarika: རིགས་ལྡན་པ་སྒྲ་དཀར་པོ་ 293
- Punyashri: ཕུ་ཉུ་གྲི་ 315, 370
- Punyéshri: ཕུ་ཉུ་གྲི་ 278
- Purna: ཀར་པོ་ 168, 187, 188, 453
- Purnachandra: ཕུན་ཅན་ 383
- Purnavardhana: ཀར་སྤེལ་ 252, 253
- Purushottama: སྤུལ་བུ་མཚོག་ 381
- Pushpam: ཕུ་ཤོ་ 412
- Putopa: ཕུ་ཏོ་པ་ 246
- Ra Chörab: ར་ཚོས་རབ་ 277, 278, 292,  
305, 368, 369, 460, 462, 469
- Ra Dorjé Drak: ར་དོ་རྗེ་གཤག་པ་ 290, 291,  
292, 461
- Ra Yeshé Sengé: ར་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐེང་གེ་ 305
- Rabjampa Orgyen Chödrak: རབ་འབྱམས་པ་  
ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཚོས་གཤག་པ་ 311
- Rahula: ར་ལུ་ལ་ 84, 168, 202, 218, 338,  
352, 397, 473
- Rahulabhadra: སྐ་ཀ་ཅན་འཛིན་བཟང་པོ་ 81, 206,  
210, 217, 230, 455 (three  
mentioned: one sometimes identified  
with Saraha; a disciple of  
Buddhajñana; the son of Buddha.)
- Rahulamitra: ར་ལུ་ལ་མི་ཏུ་ 205
- Rahulashribhadra: ར་ལུ་ལ་གྲི་རྩ་བ་ 306, 370
- Rakshitapada: སྤུང་བའི་ཞབས་ 220, 229
- Ram Tsenchen: རས་བཅོན་ཅན་ 301, 303,  
462
- Rama: རངས་བྱེད་ 81
- Ramachandra: ར་མ་ཅན་ 381
- Ramana: ར་མ་ཎ་ 222
- Ramashrama: ར་མ་གྲས་ 427
- Ramo Shelmen: ར་མོ་ཤེལ་སྐུན་ 418
- Rangjung Dorjé: རང་བྱུང་དོ་རྗེ་ 131, 164,  
269, 270, 306, 317, 328, 343, 349,  
364, 373, 374, 423, 424, 460, 470,  
476, 575, 584, 595
- Rangjung Gyalwa: རང་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་བ་ 317,  
318, 463, 575
- Ratna Lingpa: ར་རྩ་གླིང་པ་ 332, 419
- Ratnadasa: དཀོན་མཚོག་འབངས་ 215
- Ratnakara: ར་རྩ་ཀར་; རིན་ཚེན་འབྲུང་གནས་ 301,  
407, 461
- Ratnakarashanti: རིན་འབྲུང་གནས་ཞི་བ་ 304,  
388, 427, 428, 477
- Ratnakarashantipa: ར་རྩ་ཀར་འཁྲི་ཤི་པ་; རིན་འབྲུང་  
ཞི་བ་ 230, 231
- Ratnamati: ར་རྩ་མ་ཏི་ 383
- Ratnarakshita: ར་རྩ་ར་སྐྱི་ཏ་ 231, 242, 370
- Ratnashri: ར་རྩ་གྲི་ 427
- Ratnavajra: རིན་ཚེན་དོ་རྗེ་ 230, 295
- Ravindra: རེ་བོན་དུ་པ་ 274, 278
- Ravishrijnana: ཉི་མ་དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 368, 469
- Réchung Dorjé Drakpa: རས་ཚུང་དོ་རྗེ་གཤག་  
པ་ 346
- Réchungpa: རས་ཚུང་པ་ 314, 345, 346,  
347, 466, 486
- Rendawa: རེད་མདའ་བ་ 254, 268, 316
- Rendawa Zhönnu Lodrö: རེད་མདའ་པ་གཞིན་གྱི་  
སྤོ་གྲོས་ 391
- Rikpé Kuchuk: རིག་པའི་ཁུ་བྱུག་ 266
- Rikpé Raldri: རིག་པའི་རལ་གྲི་ 310, 572, 574
- Rikzin Gökyi Demtruchen: རིག་འཛིན་གོང་གྱི་  
ལྗེས་འཇུ་ཅན་ 418
- Rikzin Tséwang Norbu: རིག་འཛིན་ཚེ་དབང་ནོར་  
བུ་ 342
- Rinchen Gyen: རིན་ཚེན་གྱུན་ 364
- Rinchen Lingpa: རིན་ཚེན་གླིང་པ་ 332, 349,  
418
- Rinchen Namgyal: རིན་ཚེན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ 261
- Rinchen Zangpo: རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་པོ་ 68, 246,  
259, 260, 261, 274, 275, 277, 278,  
292, 293, 296, 316, 341, 412, 416,  
417, 459, 460, 461, 463, 475
- Ring-zhön Ngépar-nyé: རིང་གཞིན་དེས་པར་  
རྗེད་ 412
- Rinpoché Kar-chuwa: རིན་པོ་ཚེས་ཁར་རྒྱལ་  
373
- Rinpung-pa: རིན་སུངས་པ་ 427
- Rohita: རོ་ཉི་ཏ་ 396
- Rok Chökyi Tsöndru: རོག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཙོན་འགྲུས་  
254, 458
- Rok Shakya Ö: རོག་གྲུ་འོད་ 331
- Rok Sherab Ö: རོག་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ 310, 358,  
359, 361, 363, 592

- Rolpé Dorjé: རོལ་པའི་དོརྗེ་ 320, 374, 591  
 Rongling Dorjé Wangchuk: རོང་གླིང་དོརྗེ་  
 དབང་ལྷལ་ 305, 306, 462  
 Rongpa Chaksor-wa: རོང་པ་ཕྱག་མོར་བ་ 333  
 Rongpa Ga: རོང་པ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ 370  
 Rongpo: རོང་པོ་ 252  
 Rongpo Gargé: རོང་པོ་མགར་དགེ་ 296, 461  
 Rongtön Shéja Kunzik: རོང་སྟོན་ཚེན་པོ་ཤེས་བྱ་  
 །ཀུན་གཟིགས་; རོང་སྟོན་ཚེན་པོ་ 260, 261, 267,  
 317, 318, 319, 391, 459, 576  
 Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo: རོང་ཚོམ་ཚོས་གྱི་  
 བཟང་པོ་ 290, 291, 309, 310, 329, 330,  
 332, 461, 462, 465  
 Rudrachakrin: དུག་པོ་ 233, 432  
 Rudraka: ལྷལ་ལྷོད་ 81  
 Rupati: ལུ་པ་ཏི་ 237
- Sacha Jaga: ས་ཆ་གུ་དགའ་ 415  
 Sachen Kunga Nyingpo: ས་ཚེན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྟིང་  
 པོ་; ས་ཚེན་ 275, 296, 338, 340, 341,  
 369  
 Sajjana: ས་རྒྱུན་ 211, 268, 269, 270, 460  
 Sakya Pandit: ས་སྐུ་པཎ་ཅན་; ས་པཎ་ 247, 251,  
 254, 278, 291, 301, 316, 342, 369,  
 389, 390, 392, 429, 433, 458, 463,  
 472, 477, 557, 590, 607  
 Sakya Pandit Kunga Gyaltsen: ས་སྐུ་པཎ་ཅན་  
 །ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 389  
 Samanta Shri Jnana: ས་མཚན་ཤྱི་རྣམ་ལྷན་ 248  
 Samantashri: ས་མཚན་ཤྱི་ 305, 369  
 Samayavajra: དམ་ཚིག་དོརྗེ་ 230  
 Samdingpa Zhönnu Drup: བསམ་མྱིང་པ་གཞོན་  
 ལུ་གྲུབ་ 353  
 Sam-gyalwa: བསམ་རྒྱལ་བ་ 424  
 Samten Özer: བསམ་གཏན་འོད་ཟེར་ 364  
 Samten Zangpo: བསམ་གཏན་བཟང་པོ་ 254  
 Samyaksatya: ཡང་དག་བདེན་པ་ 206  
 Sangdak Dropukpa: གསང་བདག་སྟོན་ཕུག་པ་  
 330  
 Sanghabhadra: དགོ་འདུན་བཟང་པོ་ 250, 253  
 Sanghaguhya: དགོ་འདུན་གསང་བ་ 412  
 Sanghanandi: ས་རྩེ་ན་རྩི་ 202  
 Sanghashri: ས་རྩེ་ཤྱི་ 427  
 Sangtön Yeshé Lama: གསང་སྟོན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བླ་མ་  
 327  
 Sangyé Dorjé: སངས་རྒྱས་དོརྗེ་ 372
- Sangyé Lingpa: སངས་རྒྱས་གླིང་པ་ 332, 418  
 Sangyé Nyentön: སངས་རྒྱས་གཉེན་སྟོན་ 353,  
 356  
 Saptavarman: སམ་པ་མཚན་ 383, 384, 471  
 Saraha: ས་ར་ཏ་ 218, 220, 226, 304, 314,  
 374, 456, 549, 550  
 Saroruha: ས་ཚོ་རྩུམ་; ས་ཚོ་རུ་ད་ 222, 223, 301,  
 302, 336, 337, 456, 461, 465  
 Sarvakama: བསམ་ཅད་འདོད་ 203  
 Sé: སེ་ 340  
 Sé Karchungwa: སེ་མཁའ་རྒྱུང་བ་ 339, 466  
 Sé Zhönnu Tsultrim: སེ་གཞོན་རུ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་  
 306, 369  
 Ségom Drak-gyal: སེ་རྩོམ་གྲགས་རྒྱལ་ 340  
 Ségom Jangchub Yeshé: བསེ་རྩོམ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་  
 ཤེས་ 339  
 Sémo Chéwa: སེ་མོ་ཚེ་བ་ 370  
 Sénalek Jingyön: སང་ན་ལེགས་མཛིང་ཡོན་ 242  
 Senara: སེ་ན་ར་ 224  
 Sengé Gu-tsar: སང་གེ་དགུ་རྩ་ 348  
 Sengé Zilnön: སང་གེ་ཟིལ་གཞོན་ 252  
 Serdok Panchen: གསེར་མདོ་ག་པར་ཚེན་ 250  
 Serlingpa Tashi Pal: གསེར་གླིང་པ་བྲག་ཤིས་དཔལ་  
 353  
 Shaktiman: རབ་རུས་ 207  
 Shaktri Yeshé Jungnê: ཤག་ཁྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུང་  
 གནས་ 416  
 Shakya: ཤཱུ་ 47, 64, 69, 70, 79, 80, 81,  
 237, 440, 552  
 Shakya Arjuna: ཤཱུ་མིན་ལྷུབ་ 80  
 Shakya Chok-den: ཤཱུ་མཚོ་ག་ལྷན་ 254, 391  
 Shakya Dandapani: ཤཱུ་ཡག་ན་བེ་ཅོན་ 80  
 Shakya Géwa Rabsal: ཤཱུ་དགེ་བ་རབ་གསལ་  
 245  
 Shakya Ö: ཤཱུ་འོད་ 240  
 Shakyamati: ཤཱུ་སྟོན་ཤིས་ 138, 387, 388,  
 392, 471  
 Shakyamitra: ཤཱུ་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 67, 68, 70,  
 227, 273, 275, 440  
 Shakyamuni: ཤཱུ་སུ་ནི་; ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོ་ 45,  
 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 68, 69, 79, 106,  
 107, 210, 283, 316, 320, 336, 347,  
 349, 365, 432, 437, 445, 463, 500,  
 514, 516, 518, 542, 575, 576, 593  
 Shakyaprabha: ཤཱུ་འོད་ 217, 249, 250,  
 458

- Shakyaprabudhi: འུཏ་པ་བུ་བྱི་ 224  
 Shakyasena: འུཏ་སེན་ 251  
 Shakyashri: འུཏ་ཤྱི་ 229, 246, 251, 254, 277, 278, 279, 306, 369, 370, 389, 458, 460, 556  
 Shakyashribhadra: འུཏ་ཤྱི་བྱོ་བྱོ་ 368  
 Shalihotra: འུ་ལེ་ཏོ་ཏཱ་ 407, 416  
 Shami Mönlam Dorjé: འུ་མི་མོ་ལྷོ་ལམ་དོ་རྗེ་ 246  
 Shamkara: འུ་ཀ་ར་ 239  
 Shamkarapati: འདེ་བྱེད་བཀའ་པོ་ 206  
 Shanavasa: འན་འེ་གོ་ས་ཅན་ 200, 201  
 Shangpa Joten: འངས་པ་ཇོ་རྟེན་ 252  
 Shang-tön: འངས་སྟོན་ 373  
 Shankarananda: འདེ་བྱེད་དགའ་བ་ 387, 388, 471  
 Shantanika: དམག་བརྒྱ་པ་ 237  
 Shantarakhshita: ཞི་འཚོ་: འུ་རྟ་རྒྱེ་ཏཱ་ 238, 241, 243, 266, 267, 388, 457, 471  
 Shantibhadra: ཞི་བ་བཟང་པོ་ 304, 345  
 Shantideva: ཞི་བ་ལྷ་ 138, 210, 217, 265, 266, 459, 527  
 Shantigupta: ཞི་བ་སྤྲུལ་ 224, 225, 226, 232, 302, 305, 368, 371, 456, 469  
 Shantingarbha: འུ་རྟི་གཞུ་ 553  
 Shantipa: འུ་རྟི་པ་ 213, 269, 276, 301, 337, 418, 558  
 Sharawa Yönten Drak: འར་བ་ཡོན་ཏན་གཤག་ས་; འར་བ་ 246, 334, 336  
 Shariputra: འུ་རི་པུ་ 127, 155, 157, 168, 203, 206, 374, 381, 403, 474, 548  
 Sharpa Sherab Jungné: འར་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འབྱུང་གནས་ 390, 472  
 Shavaripa: འབ་རི་པ་; འབ་རི་ 210, 221, 232, 306, 338, 345, 368, 370, 371, 469  
 Shavata: འབ་ཏཱ་ 202  
 Shen Nung: ཞིང་རུང་ 413  
 Sherab Gyaltsen Pal Zangpo: ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ 371  
 Sherab Sengé: ཤེས་རབ་སེང་གེ་ 370  
 Sherab Tartuk Parpuwa: ཤེས་རབ་མཐར་བུག་སྲ་ལུ་བ་ 348  
 Shéu: འུ་བུ་ 306  
 Shila: ངང་རྩལ་ 399  
 Shila Manju: ཤྱི་ལ་མཛུ་ 240  
 Shilamitra: རྩལ་ཁྲིམས་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 250  
 Shilendra Bodhi: ཤྱི་ལེ་རྫོ་བོ་རྟི་ 242  
 Shin Tsi: འུ་ན་ཙེ་ 433  
 Shinglopa: ཞིང་ལོ་པ་ 344  
 Sho'i Gyalcé Lekpa: ཤོ་འི་རྒྱལ་སྤེས་ལེགས་པ་ 328  
 Shong Dorjé Gyaltsen: ཤོང་འོ་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 371, 382, 383, 384, 429, 430, 471, 477  
 Shri Bhadra: ཤྱི་བླ་བྱ་ 228  
 Shri Bhadrabodhi: ཤྱི་བླ་བྱ་བོ་རྟི་ 305  
 Shri Dhara: དཔལ་འཛིན་ 230, 290  
 Shri Dharasena: དཔལ་འཛིན་སྡེ་ 428  
 Shri Dharmapala: དཔལ་ལྡན་ཚོས་སྦྱང་ 270, 460  
 Shri Harshadéva: དཔལ་དགའ་བའི་ལྷ་ 429  
 Shri Jnana: དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 428  
 Shri Krishna: དཔལ་ལྡན་ནག་པོ་ 407  
 Shri Kushala: དཔལ་ལྡན་དགེ་བ་ 412  
 Shri Lata: དཔལ་ལེན་ 204  
 Shri Mapayanti: དཔལ་ལྡན་དགོང་པ་ 407  
 Shri Singha: ཤྱི་མིང་ཏཱ་ 190, 326, 464, 544  
 Shri Singhaprabha: ཤྱི་འོང་མེང་གེ་ 309, 462  
 Shri Subhuti Shanta: ཤྱི་སུ་བླུ་ཏི་ཤྱི་བྱོ་ 248  
 Shri Vardhana: དཔལ་འཕེལ་ 408  
 Shriman: དཔལ་ལྡན་ 207  
 Shubhagupta: དགེ་སྤུང་ 388  
 Shubhakaragupta: ཤུ་བླ་ཀ་ར་ལུ་མུ་ 231  
 Shuddhodana: ཟས་གཙང་མ་ 67, 68, 69, 70, 78, 393  
 Shuké Drakpa Gyaltsen: ཤུང་གེ་གཤག་ས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 291  
 Shura: དཔལ་པོ་ 210, 217  
 Shurangamavarma: ཤུ་རྩལ་མཚམ་ 175  
 Siddharta: དོན་ཡོད་གྲུབ་པ་; དོན་གྲུབ་ 60, 63, 67, 68, 70, 79, 440, 441, 504  
 Singharaja: མི་ཏཱ་རཱ་ཇོ་ 194  
 Situ: མི་ཏུ་ 349, 350, 600  
 Smriti Jnana: མྱི་ཏི་རྟུན་ 254, 278, 458  
 So Yeshé Jungné: སོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྱུང་གནས་ 329, 330, 464  
 So Yeshé Wangchuk: སོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་ལུག་ 329  
 So-chung Gendun Bar: སོ་རྩུང་དགེ་འདུན་འབར་ 358, 359, 468  
 Sokpo Palgyi Yeshé: སོག་པོ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ 310, 330



- Somanata: ལྷ་བ་མགོན་པོ་ 228, 305, 368, 369
- Sönam Drak: བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་ 251
- Sönam Gyalchok: བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 342
- Sönam Gyaltzen: བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 342, 374
- Sönam Gyen: བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱན་ 364
- Sönam Lama: བསོད་ནམས་བླ་མ་ 363
- Sönam Tsémo: བསོད་ནམས་ཙེ་མོ་ 341
- Sönam Yeshé Gyaltzen: བསོད་ནམས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 421
- Songtsen Gampo: སྟོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ་ 239, 241, 243, 290, 400, 405, 413, 414, 457, 475, 552
- Sönpa Kun-gyalwa: སྟོན་པ་ཀུན་རྒྱལ་བ་ 370, 371, 470
- Srigdhari: སྲིག་རྩ་འི་ 399
- Stiramati: སྟོ་བརྟན་ 180, 252, 253
- Stirapala: བཟུང་སྦྱང་ 260
- Subduer of Fear: འཇིགས་ཐུབ་ 394, 472
- Subhadra: རབ་བཟང་ 87
- Subhagini: མཉམ་པ་བཟང་མོ་ 222, 343
- Subhuti: རབ་འབྱོར་ 155, 263
- Subhutchandra: ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཉི་ཙུང་ 429
- Subhutipalita: རབ་འབྱོར་སྦྱང་ 227
- Suchandra: ལྷ་བ་བཟང་པོ་ 164, 176, 177, 368, 431, 450, 451, 537
- Sudarshana: ལེགས་མཐོང་ 200, 201, 202, 455
- Sugatigarbha: འགོ་བཟང་ 273
- Sujata: ལེགས་སྐྱེས་མ་ 82
- Suka Mahasiddhi: ལུ་ལ་མ་དུ་མི་རྩི་ 344
- Sukadhari: ལུ་ལ་རྩ་འི་ 344
- Sukasiddhi: ལུ་ལ་མི་རྩི་ 343, 351, 352, 595
- Sukayana: ལུ་ལ་ཡན་ 201
- Sumatikirti: ལུ་མ་ཉི་ལྡི་རྩི་ 298
- Summen: ལུ་མ་སྐྱོན་ 417
- Sumpa Dharma Yönten: ལུ་མ་པ་རྩ་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་ 297
- Sumpa Nöjin: ལུ་མ་པ་གནོད་སྦྱིན་ 404, 405, 474
- Sumtön: ལུ་མ་སྦྱོན་ 275, 420
- Sumtön Yeshé Zung: ལུ་མ་སྦྱོན་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཟུངས་ 420
- Sunayashri: ལུ་ན་ཡ་གྱི་ 278
- Sunyata-samadhi: སྤོང་ཉིད་ཉིང་འཇིན་ 295
- Surendra Bodhi: ལུ་རེ་རྣམ་པོ་རྩི་ 242, 259
- Surya: ཉི་མ་ 38, 407
- Suryagupta: ཉི་མ་རྒྱས་ 387, 388, 471
- Suryapala: ཉི་མ་སྤང་བ་ 410, 411, 474
- Suryaprabhasingha: ཉི་འོད་སངས་ལོ་ 310
- Suryarata: ཉི་མ་ཤེང་རྩ་ 431
- Sushanata: ལུ་གན་ཏ་ 202
- Sushruta: ལེགས་ཤོས་ 408
- Suvarnadvipi: ཀམ་མེད་རྒྱིང་པ་ 230
- Svastika: བཀྲ་ཤིས་ 82
- Tadakapa: ཏ་ཏ་ཀ་པ་ 295
- Tai Hu: ཐའི་ཏུ་ 433
- Tai Ju: ཐའི་རྩུ་ 433
- Tai Ming Yunglo: ཏུ་མིང་གཡུང་ལོ་ 433
- Tak-déwa Sengé Gyaltzen: ལྷག་ལྷེ་བ་མེང་ལོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 371
- Taklungpa: ལྷག་ལུང་པ་ 302
- Taktsang: ལྷག་ཚང་ལོ་རྩུ་ 401
- Tana Chukyé: ཐན་ཅུ་རྒྱུས་ 415
- Tang Hsuan Tsang: ཐང་ཇང་ཇང་ 432
- Tanglopa: ཐང་ལོ་པ་ 344
- Tang-men: ཐང་མུན་ 419
- Tangpa Tashi Palwa: ཐང་པ་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དཔལ་བ་ 348
- Tangtong Gyalpo: ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 354, 355, 468, 591, 607
- Tantapa: ཏར་པ་ 295
- Tap-kawa Rinchen Gyaltsen: ལྷམ་ཀ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 335
- Tara: ཐོ་ལ་པ་ 432
- Taranata: ཏུ་ར་རྩུ་མ་; སྟོ་ལ་བའི་མགོན་པོ་ 73, 89, 143, 164, 202, 226, 230, 299, 302, 304, 305, 355, 371, 384, 508, 512, 513, 549, 568, 573, 591, 594, 597, 607
- Tarlo Nyima Gyaltzen: ཐང་ལོ་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 368
- Tarpa Nyima Gyaltsen: ཐང་པ་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 310, 572
- Tashi Namgyal: བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ 348
- Tatagatarakshita: དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་སྤུང་ 230
- Tazhi: མཐའ་བཞི་ 417
- Télopa: ཏེ་ལོ་པ་; ཏེ་ལོ་ 224, 225, 343, 349, 366, 589

- Teng Tsultrim Jungné: རྟེན་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་འབྲུང་གནས་ 306, 315
- Tennyi Lingpa: བསྟན་གཉིས་གླིང་པ་ 332
- Tenpé Nyinjé: བསྟན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་ 270, 350, 410, 420, 428, 429, 430, 477, 600
- Tenzin Chökyl Nyima: བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་ 427, 600
- Tépupa Vimalamitra: ཏེ་ཕུ་པ་དྲི་མེད་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 346, 466
- Terchen Rinpoché: གཏེར་ཚེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ 311
- Terdak Lingpa: གཏེར་བདག་གླིང་པ་ 330
- Tilésé: ཐེ་ལེ་མེ་ 238
- Tillipa: ཏི་ལྷི་པ་ 225
- To Kunga Dorjé: ཐོ་ཀུང་དགའ་དོ་རྗེ་ 254
- Tobchung: ཐོབ་ཆུང་ 237
- Togar Namdé: ཐོ་གར་གནས་ལྗེ་ 254, 458
- Tongsum Gangwa: ཐོང་གསུམ་གང་པ་ 415
- Tongwa Dönden: ཐོང་པ་དོན་ལྷན་ 318
- Tonmi Sambhota: ཐོན་མི་སོ་རྟོ་ཏ་ 240, 243, 315, 316, 404, 405, 457, 463, 474, 574
- Tönyön Samdrup: ཐོད་སྟོན་བསམ་འགྲུབ་ 364
- Tötön Könchok Kyab: ཐོད་སྟོན་དཀོན་མཚོ་གསུབས་ 417, 418, 476
- Trapa Ngonshé: གྲུ་པ་མངོན་ཤེས་ 270
- Trapusha: ག་ཤོན་ 85
- Tréchen Chökyl Gyatso: ཏྲེ་ཚེན་ཚེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 349
- Trého: ཏྲེ་ཏོ་ 349
- Tri Ralpachen: ཏྲི་རལ་པ་ཅན་ 242, 244, 259, 457, 563
- Tridé Tsukten: ཏྲི་ལྷེ་གཙུག་བརྟན་ 242
- Trijayadhaka: ཏྲིལ་ཏ་གསུམ་པ་ 388
- Trikandhendra: མགྲིན་གསུམ་དབང་པོ་ 276
- Trim-jom Sogé: ཁྲིམས་འཛིན་གསེའ་དགེ་ 412
- Trinlépa: ཐྲིན་ལས་པ་ 424, 425
- Trinlépa Choklé Namgyal: ཐྲིན་ལས་པ་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ 424
- Trisong Déutsen: ཏྲི་སོང་ལྷེ་ལུ་བཅན་ 32, 240, 241, 242, 243, 259, 272, 325, 326, 401, 414, 415, 457, 464, 475, 539, 552, 553, 563, 583
- Tritsun: ཏྲི་བཙུན་ 239
- Trolung Lodrö Jungné: ཏྲོ་ལུང་གློ་གྲོས་འབྲུང་གནས་ 261, 459
- Trom: ཏྲོམ་ 305
- Trom Péma Özer: ཏྲོམ་པ་པུ་འོད་ཟེང་ 369, 469
- Tropu Jampa Pal: ཏྲོ་ཕུ་ལོ་རྫོབ་བྱམས་པ་དབལ་ 374, 418
- Trugu Ze'uto: ཏྲུ་གུ་ཟེ་ལུ་ཕོ་ 415
- Tsak Wangchuk Sengé: ཏས་གཤམ་དབང་ལྷུག་མེང་གེ་ 267
- Tsakyawa Tönshak: ཏས་ལུ་བ་ཏོན་ཤཀ་ 273, 274, 460
- Tsami Sangyé Drak: ཏམི་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་ 305, 306, 369, 462, 469
- Tsang Karak Gom-chung Lodrö Wangchuk: ཏས་གཤམ་ཁ་གཏུག་ལོ་དྲོ་གཤམ་དབང་ལྷུག་ 375
- Tsang Nakpa Tsöndru Sengé: ཏས་གཤམ་པ་ཏོན་དྲུག་སེང་གེ་ 267, 269, 270, 460
- Tsang Powa: ཏས་གཤམ་པོ་བ་ 433
- Tsang Rabsal: ཏས་གཤམ་རབ་གསལ་ 244, 245, 457, 554
- Tsangma Shangtön: ཏས་གཤམ་མ་གངས་ཏོན་ 353, 354
- Tsangpa Dréгур: ཏས་གཤམ་པ་འབྲེ་རྒྱུར་ 268
- Tsangpa Gyaré: ཏས་གཤམ་པ་རྒྱ་རས་ 346, 348
- Tsangwa Dungkur-wa: ཏས་གཤམ་དུང་ཀུར་པ་ 433
- Tsarchen Losal Gyatso: ཏས་ཚེན་གློ་གསལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 342
- Tsémi Kyébu: ཏེ་མི་ལྷེ་ལུ་ 252
- Tsen Kawoché: ཏས་ཚན་ཁ་བོ་ཆེ་ 269, 270, 460
- Tsenden Trul-zhik: མཚན་ལྷན་འབྲུག་ལྷིག་ 374
- Tsenpa Shilaha: ཏས་པ་ཤི་ལཱ་ 410
- Tséwang: ཏེ་དབང་ 364
- Tsi Dulwa Dzinpa: ཏེ་འབྲུག་པ་འཛིན་པ་ 251
- Tsok: ཏོགས་ 390
- Tsomé Kenchen: མཚོ་སྐད་མཁན་ཚེན་ 421
- Tsonapa: མཚོ་སྐལ་ 251, 458, 556
- Tsöndru Zangpo: བཙུན་འབྲུག་བཟང་པོ་ 354
- Tsongkapa: ཏོང་ཁ་པ་ 209, 213, 247, 279, 307, 356, 391, 392, 465, 559, 577, 593
- Tsongkapa Lozang Drakpé Pal: ཏོང་ཁ་པ་གློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པའི་དབལ་ 335, 586
- Tsuk-lak Chökyl Nangwa: གཙུག་ལག་ཚེས་ཀྱི་སྐང་པ་ 600
- Tsukru Rinchen Zhönnu: གཙུག་རུ་རིན་ཚེན་གཞོན་ནུ་ 310
- Tsunmo Chen: བཙུན་མོ་ཅན་ 279

- Tsurtön Wang-gi Dorjé: མཚུར་སྟོན་དབང་གི་དོ་  
 ཇི་ 277, 278, 279, 302, 303, 317, 461
- Tu-chen Tokden: མཐུ་ཅན་ཚོགས་ལྡན་ 412
- Tuk-jé Palwa: ཐུགས་ཇི་དཔལ་པ་; ཐུགས་ཇི་དཔལ་  
 335, 383
- Tulku Baptro: ཐུལ་སྐུ་བབ་ཕོ་ 402
- Tulku Chiu: ཐུལ་སྐུ་འབྱེད་ 401
- Tulku Léu-chungpa: ཐུལ་སྐུ་སྤྲེའུ་རུ་ཚུང་པ་ 402
- Tulku Namka Tashi: ཐུལ་སྐུ་ནམ་མཁའ་བཟང་ཤིས་  
 402
- Tumtön Lodrö Drak: ཀུའུ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་གོ་སྐྱོ་གྲགས་  
 334
- Udayana: བདེ་སྟོན་ 207, 237, 381, 383,  
 432, 471
- Udbhatasiddhisvamin: མཐོ་བཅུན་གྲུབ་ཇི་  
 205, 206, 455
- Udrada: རྩལ་སྟོན་ 63
- Udrayana: རྩུ་བྲ་ཡན་ 396, 472
- Ukpa Chöseng: དུལ་པ་ཚོས་མེང་ 417
- Umapa: དབུ་མ་པ་ 336
- Umdzé Sönam: དབུ་མེད་བསོད་ནམས་ 247
- Upa Losal Sangyé Büm: དབུ་མ་པ་སྟོ་གསལ་  
 མངས་རྒྱས་འབུམ་ 315, 574
- Upagupta: ཉེ་སྐས་ 200, 201, 203, 398,  
 455
- Upali: ཉེ་བར་འཁོར་ 168, 169, 450, 536
- Upaya Kusala: ཐབས་དགེ་ 412
- Upaya Shrimitra: རྩུ་པ་ཡ་ཤྲི་མི་ཏུ་ 291
- Uttamabodhibhagavan: བྱང་རྩུབ་མཚོག་གི་སྐལ་  
 པ་ཅན་ 272, 460
- Uyuk Kung-rab Lama Pal: དུ་ཡུག་ཀུང་རབ་ལྷ་  
 མ་དཔལ་ 278
- Vagbhata: བ་ལོལ་ 411, 412, 475
- Vairochana: བེ་འོ་ཅན་ 227, 434, 517
- Vairochana Rakshita: བེ་འོ་ཅན་རྒྱུ་ཏུ་ 314
- Vairochanabhadra: བྲོལ་ཕྱེ་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་  
 བཟང་པོ་ 258
- Vajra Kroda: བཛྲ་ལྷོ་རྩུ་ 360
- Vajraghantapa: རྩི་ཇི་དེལ་བུ་པ་ 220, 221,  
 295, 297, 298, 456
- Vajrahasa: རྩི་ཇི་བཞད་པ་ 276, 573
- Vajrapani: བཛྲ་པ་ནི་ 314
- Vakishvara: དག་གི་དབང་ལྷལ་ 337
- Vakishvarakirti: དག་དབང་གྲགས་པ་ 66, 228,  
 230, 427
- Valmiki: བྲོག་མཁར་བ་ 427, 428
- Vanaratna: བཀའ་སྐྱི་རིན་ཚེན་; བུ་ན་རྩུ་ 232,  
 368, 371
- Vararuchi: བ་རེག་སྲིང་ 380, 381, 470
- Vasanu: བས་ཏུ་ 434
- Vasistha: བཀའ་ས་འཛོག་ 407
- Vastiputra: བཀའ་ས་པུ་ 180
- Vasubandhu: དབྱིག་གཉེན་; བས་ལུ་བརྗེ་ 123, 148,  
 173, 202, 203, 213, 214, 215, 216,  
 217, 232, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254,  
 257, 258, 269, 386, 432, 455, 460,  
 527, 548, 549, 553, 555, 557, 558
- Vasubhasha: བས་ལུ་བརྗེ་ག་ 329
- Vasumitra: དབྱིག་གི་བཤེས་གཉེན་; བས་ལུ་མི་ཏུ་ 181,  
 204, 252, 253, 458
- Vasundhara: བས་ལུ་རྗེ་ར་ 232
- Vibhaga: བི་བྱ་ག་ 202
- Vibhutchandra: བི་བྱ་ཉི་ཅན་ 274, 306,  
 368, 369, 370, 469
- Vigataragadvaja: བི་ག་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ག་རྩུ་ཇོ་ 205
- Vijaya: བི་ཇོ་ཡ་ 400
- Vijaya Sambhava: བི་ཇོ་ཡ་སྐྱོ་གྲུབ་ 434
- Vijaya Virya: བི་ཇོ་ཡ་བྱིད་ 434
- Viji Champa Shilaha: བི་ཇི་ཅན་པ་ཤི་ལ་ཏུ་  
 414
- Viji Lekden Gönpö: བི་ཇི་ལེགས་ལྡན་མགོན་པོ་  
 421
- Viji Lhuné: བི་ཇི་ལུན་ནེ་ 417
- Vimalamitra: བི་མ་ལ་མི་ཏུ་; རྩི་མེད་བཤེས་གཉེན་  
 190, 241, 250, 309, 310, 312, 324,  
 327, 328, 330, 332, 350, 462, 464,  
 486, 544, 553
- Vimuktisena: རྣམ་གྲོལ་ཕྱེ་ 258, 459
- Vinapa: བྱིན་པ་ 295, 341, 344
- Vinasa: བིན་ས་ 225, 523
- Vinayadatta: འདུལ་བས་བྱིན་ 304
- Vinitadeva: འདུལ་བའི་ལྷ་ 215
- Viravajra: དཔལ་བའི་དོ་ཇི་ 337, 338
- Virupa: བི་རུ་པ་ 222, 224, 291, 301, 302,  
 336, 337, 338, 341, 433, 461, 465
- Virupaksha: བི་རུ་པ་ལྷ་ 222, 456
- Viryabhadra: བི་རྩུ་མ་ཏུ་ 277
- Vishakhadéva: མ་གའི་ལྷ་ 250, 252
- Vishésamitra: རྩུད་པར་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 250
- Vishnupati: བི་ལྷ་པ་ཉི་ 384
- Vishvakarma: བི་ཤུ་ཀར་མ་ 394, 395, 398,  
 472

- Vishvamitra: ཀུན་གྱི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ 80, 510  
 Visukalpa: བི་སུ་ཀལཔ་ 218  
 Vridhacharya Vasubandhu: བརྩན་པ་དབྱིག་  
 བཤེས་ 386  
 Vyasa: རྒྱལ་པ་ 427  
 Wé Manjushri: དབས་མཛུ་ལྷོ་ 259, 272, 460  
 Wé Yeshé Gyalwa: དབས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་པ་ 253,  
 458  
 Wencheng Gonju: རུན་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ་ 239  
 Wui Kung: ལྷོ་ལྷུང་ 413  
 Wui Ti: ལྷོ་ཏི་ 413  
 Ya Zangpa: ཀལཔ་བ་བཟང་པ་ 373  
 Yak Mipam Chökyl Lama: ཀལཔ་མི་ཡམ་ཚོས་  
 རྒྱུ་སྐུ་མ་ 260, 261, 459  
 Yakké Zémarwa: ཀལཔ་ག་ཟེ་ཟེ་དམར་པ་ 274,  
 296, 461  
 Yamana: མི་འུ་བྱང་ 204  
 Yamari: ཡ་མཱ་རི་ 387, 388, 471  
 Yar: ཡར་ལོ་ 429  
 Yarlung Mara Serpo: ཡར་ལྷུང་སྐར་ལེང་པོ་  
 357, 362, 469  
 Yarlung Sengé Gyaltsen: ཡར་ལྷུང་སེང་གོ་རྒྱལ་  
 མཚན་ 342  
 Yashah: གཤག་མ་པ་ 178, 203  
 Yashobhadra: ལྷན་གཤག་མ་བཟང་པོ་ 301, 461  
 Yasodhara: གཤག་མ་འཛིན་ 80, 81, 84, 441  
 Yé Chenpo Sherab Drak: ཀལཔ་མཚན་པོ་ཤེས་  
 རབ་གཤག་མ་ 254, 458  
 Yé Lapdrön: ཀལཔ་འེ་ལཔ་ལྷོན་ 363  
 Yelpa Yeshé Tsepa: ཡེ་ལ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟེགས་པ་  
 348  
 Yeshé Gyaltsen: ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 245, 421  
 Yeshé Wangpo: ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་ 244  
 Yo Géjung: ཀལཔ་དེ་གོ་འབྲུང་ 244, 245, 251,  
 457, 554  
 Yol: ཡོ་ལ་ 333  
 Yönten Gyatso: ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 38, 329  
 Yorpo Gyamoché: ཀལཔ་ར་པོ་རྒྱ་མོ་ཚེ་ 353  
 Yoru Ya Gyongpo: ཀལཔ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་པ་ལྷོང་པོ་ 417  
 Yuan Wan Ling: ཡུན་ཐན་ལིང་ 426  
 Yudra Nyungpo: ཀལཔ་སྐུ་སྤོང་པོ་ 245, 246,  
 327, 328, 330  
 Yul-nying Kun-tso: ཡུལ་སྤོང་ཀུན་འཚོ་ 412  
 Yungdrung Ö: ཀལཔ་དྲུང་འོ་ 417  
 Yung-tön Dorjé Pal: ཀལཔ་དྲོན་དོ་ཇི་དབལ་  
 331  
 Yutok Bümseng: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་འབུམ་སེང་ 421  
 Yutok Drak-sé: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་གྲགས་སེ་ 417  
 Yutok Gyagar Dorjé: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་གྲུ་གྲར་དོ་ཇི་  
 417  
 Yutok Jipo: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་བཟིང་པོ་ 417  
 Yutok Kyungpo: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་ལྷུང་པོ་ 417  
 Yutok Yönten Gönpo: ཀལཔ་ཕོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་  
 པོ་ 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421,  
 475, 476, 601  
 Zangkar: ཟངས་དཀར་ 274  
 Zangri Répa: ཟངས་རི་རམས་པ་ 346  
 Zarawa Yeshé Sengyé: ཟར་བཡེ་ཤེས་སེང་གོ་ 348  
 Zhalu Chökyong Zangpo: ལྷ་ལུ་ཚོས་རྒྱུང་  
 བཟང་པོ་ 383, 385, 429, 471  
 Zhama: ལམ་ 339, 466  
 Zhama Dawé Ozer: ལམ་རྒྱ་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་ 340  
 Zhama Sengé Gyaltsen: ལམ་སེང་གོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
 389  
 Zhamar: ལྷ་དམར་ 349  
 Zhamar Könchok Yenlak: ལྷ་དམར་དགོན་  
 མཚན་གཡན་ལག་ 402  
 Zhang Dodé-pal: ལང་མདོ་ཟེ་དབལ་ 390,  
 391, 472  
 Zhang Gyalwé Yönten: ལང་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་  
 310  
 Zhang Nyibüm: ལང་ཉི་འབུམ་ 112  
 Zhang Tsalpa: ལང་ཚལ་པ་ 369  
 Zhang Tsalpa Tsöndu Drakpa: ལང་ཚལ་པ་  
 བཙོན་འབུམ་གཤག་མ་པ་ 347, 433  
 Zhang Yeshé-dé: ལང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཟེ་ 243, 315,  
 316, 463  
 Zhang Zhungpa Chöwang Drakpa: ལང་  
 ལུང་པ་ཚོས་དབང་གཤག་མ་པ་ 307  
 Zhang Zhung Gyalwé Sherab: ལང་ལུང་རྒྱལ་  
 བའི་ཤེས་རབ་ 247, 248  
 Zhang Zhung Lingkawa: ལང་ལུང་གླིང་ལ་བ་  
 357  
 Zhang Zhung Sherab Ö: ལང་ལུང་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་  
 417  
 Zhang-gom Chöseng: ལང་གོམ་ཚོས་སེང་ 353  
 Zhangmo Gyaltng: ལང་མོ་རྒྱལ་མཐེང་ 363  
 Zhangtang Sakpa Yeshé Jungné: ལང་ཐང་  
 སག་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུང་གནས་ 268  
 Zhangtön: ལང་ཕྱོན་ 339, 466  
 Zhangtön Chöbar: ལང་ཕྱོན་ཚོས་འབར་ 340

- Zhangtön Ziji Barwa: ཞང་མོན་ཟེ་བཟིང་འབར་  
བ་ 417, 418
- Zhikpo: ཞིག་པོ་ 361
- Zhikpo Hurtön : ཞིག་པོ་རུར་ཐོན་ 364
- Zhing Pukpa: ཞིང་ཕུག་པ་ 340, 466
- Zhönnu Lodrö: གཞོན་རུ་སློ་གྲོ་མ་ 335
- Zhu Darma Gyaltsen: ལུ་དར་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
343
- Zhu Korlo: ལུ་འཁོར་ལོ་ 343
- Zhung-la Kyékyi-bu: གཞུང་ལ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་བུ་ 407
- Zu Dorjé Gyaltzen: གཟུམ་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
251, 458
- Zungkyi Palwa: གཟུངས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་བ་ 338, 342
- Zurchung Sherab Drak: ཟུར་རྒྱུང་ཤེས་རབ་  
གྲགས་ 330
- Zur-kangpa Kar Shakya Drakpa: ཟུར་ཁང་  
པ་དཀར་ཤུག་གྲགས་པ་ 390, 472
- Zurkar: ཟུར་མཁར་ 421, 422, 476
- Zurkar Kuwo Nyam-nyi Dorjé: ཟུར་མཁར་  
ལུ་པོ་མཉམ་ཉིད་དོ་རྗེ་ 421
- Zurkar Lekshé Tsol: ཟུར་མཁར་ལེགས་བཤད་  
འཚོལ་ 410, 474
- Zurkar Lodrö Gyalpo: ཟུར་མཁར་སློ་གྲོ་མ་རྒྱལ་  
པོ་ 421
- Zurpa: ཟུར་པ་མེས་དབོན་ 309, 310, 462
- Zur-pukpa Rinchen Pal: ཟུར་ཕུག་པ་རིན་ཆེན་  
དཔལ་ 373, 470

## LIST OF NAMES OF NONHUMAN BEINGS

Kongtrul mentions many beings, both holy and mundane, whose only common characteristic is the fact that they are not human beings. We find among them denizens of hell, animals, and gods, as well as wisdom deities, buddhas, and bodhisattvas.

Where possible, I have translated these names into English. Years ago, I asked three Kagyu masters their opinions concerning the translations of names, and I received three different answers. All three seem perfectly reasonable to me, yet I had to make a choice. Dabzang Rinpoché believed every name should be rendered in its language of origin, which he explained meant that deities' names should appear in Sanskrit. Trangu Rinpoché quoted from memory directives given to the first Tibetan translators, telling them to translate everything they could—names included—into Tibetan. Tai Situpa, whose advice I followed in the end, advised to keep human beings' names as the individuals in question had known them, but to translate into English (when possible) names of deities, buddhas, and bodhisattvas, as they belong to us all.

You will find here the names as they appear in translation, followed by how they appeared in the original text.

- Agnivesha: མེ་བཞིན་འཇུག་ 407, 427, 474  
 All Knowing: ཀུན་རིག་ 274, 275  
 All-Knowing God: མཐོན་ལྷ་ན་དེ་བ་ 379  
 All Seeing: ཀུན་དུ་གཟིགས་ 49, 52  
 All-Seeing Lord: མགོན་པོ་ཀུན་དུ་གཟིགས་ 44  
 All-Seeing One: གླུན་རས་གཟིགས་ 49, 127, 159, 191, 205, 238, 239, 266, 273, 279, 334, 354, 375, 382, 391, 457, 465, 535, 552  
 Altruistic: སེམས་ལྷན་ཅན་ 189, 190, 453  
 Arapacha Manjugosha: འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཨ་ར་པ་ཙ་ 273  
 Ashvini: བ་སྐར་ 407  
 Atreya: གླུན་ཤེས་བུ; ཨ་ཏྲེ་འི་བུ་ 394, 406, 407, 408, 410, 474  
 Attainment of Great Strength: མཉམ་ཆེན་ཐོབ་ 49  
 Audushta: ཨོ་དུཌ་ 201  
 Avang: ཨ་ལང་ 50
- Beautiful Brilliance: མཛེས་མ་འོད་ཟེན་ 412  
 Bhela: ལུག་ནག་ 407  
 Binder of the Wheel: འཁོར་ལོ་མྱོམ་པ་ 193, 221, 231, 298, 403  
 Black Neck: མགྲིན་པ་ནག་པོ་ 191  
 Black Slayer of the Lord of Death: ཀའིན་ཇེ་གཤེད་ནག་པོ་ 223, 291, 292, 411  
 Blazing Mouth: ཁ་འབར་ 105  
 Bodhisattva Who Turned the Wheel of the Teachings upon Developing the Intention to Attain Awakening: བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་མ་ཐག་དུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐོར་བ་ 86  
 Boundless Life: ཚོད་དཔག་མེད་ 49  
 Boundless Light: འོད་དཔག་མེད་ 325, 333, 349  
 Brihaspati: བུར་བུ་ 379, 380, 470  
 Brahma: རྩེ་སེམས་པ་ 79, 82, 85, 86, 97, 105, 111, 124, 146, 150, 186, 200, 394, 395, 405, 406, 407, 408, 411, 442, 443, 472, 474, 494  
 Buddha Skull: མངས་རྒྱུ་མ་ཐོད་པ་ 218, 304, 456, 462, 569
- Calm Purna: བུ་རྩ་ཉེ་བར་ཞི་བ་ 187, 188, 453  
 Crown of the Powerful One: དབང་པོའི་རྟོག་ 63, 64, 440, 501
- Crown of the Shakyas: འུ་ཀྲུའི་རྟོག་ 66
- Dasha Prajapati: སྐྱེ་དཀྲུའི་བདག་པོ་ལྔ་རུ་བ་ 407  
 Destroyer of Cyclic Existence: འཁོར་བ་འཇིག་ 348  
 Déva Excellent Protector: དེ་བ་བཟང་སྤོང་ 189  
 Devotion: མོས་པ་ 45, 49  
 Dhanvantari: བྲང་ལ་འབར་ 407  
 Dharma Cloud: ཚོས་རླིན་ 58  
 Dispeller of Obscurations: སློབ་སེལ་ 206
- Earth Goddess: མའི་རྩ་མོ་ 83  
 Essence of Earth: མའི་རྩིང་པོ་ 102  
 Ever Excellent (Buddha): ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་ 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 103, 184, 185, 229, 326, 327, 443, 452, 464, 480, 481, 514, 515, 516, 517, 541  
 Ever Excellent (others): ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་ 56, 112, 172, 175, 191, 195, 238, 328, 382, 552  
 Excellent Deeds: ལེགས་མཛད་ 52  
 Excellent Generosity: ལེགས་སྤྲོན་ 99  
 Excellent Splendor: ལེགས་བྱིན་ 99  
 Excellent Wisdom: ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་ 57  
 Exceptional God: ལྷ་ག་པའི་རྩ་ 47  
 Extremely Wrathful Seer: རབ་དུ་ཚོས་པ་དང་སྤོང་ 110
- Father Consummate Monarch: ཡབ་མཛོན་རྗེ་གས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 107  
 Fearsome Vajra: རོ་རྩེ་འཇིགས་མཛད་ 289, 290, 291, 292, 351, 367  
 Fierce Terrifying Demon: དྲག་པོ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ 162, 163, 164, 187, 450  
 Flawless Light: འོད་ཟེར་རྩི་མེད་ 273  
 Flawless Topknot: གུའུ་ག་རྩར་རྩི་མེད་ 273  
 Four-Armed Protector: བྱུག་བཞི་པ་ 411  
 Four Great Kings: རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞི་ 85  
 Four Seats: གདན་བཞི་ 304, 305, 462, 569  
 Frowning Goddess: རྩོ་གཉེར་ཅན་ 239, 552
- Gaiety: རབ་དགའ་ 87  
 Gangaja: གཞུ་རླུམ་ 380  
 Gentle Melody: འཇམ་དབྱངས་ 240, 241, 316, 325, 341, 390, 392, 401, 405, 426, 457, 552

- Gentle Splendor: འཇམ་དཔལ་ 158, 159, 171, 172, 176, 191, 196, 205, 336, 399, 449, 451
- Glacial Lake: ཀངས་ཚེན་མཚོ་ 96, 101, 397, 473, 492, 493, 514, 516, 517
- Glorious Gentle Accumulation of Power: དབང་པོའི་ཚོགས་འཇམ་དཔལ་ 49
- God of the Pure: ཚངས་པའི་ལྷ་ 46, 47, 54, 436
- Goddess of Charm: རྒྱལ་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་ 102
- Goddess of Flowers: མེ་ཉལ་ལྷ་མོ་ 102
- Golden Sage: ཀམ་མེད་བྱུབ་ 45
- Gopurarakshita: འདྲ་བས་སྐྱོང་གི་བྱ་ 407
- Great Beauty: མཛེས་ཚེན་ 50
- Great Compassion: རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་ཚེན་པོ་ 128, 138, 237, 240, 349, 356, 375, 401, 433
- Great Embodiment: ཡུང་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་ 57
- Great Exquisite Flower: མེ་ཉལ་མཛེས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ 98
- Great Glorious Goddess: ལྷ་མོ་དཔལ་ཚེན་མོ་ 80
- Great Illumination: རབ་གསལ་པ་ 246
- Great Supreme Héruka: ཚེ་མཚོག་ཉེ་རུ་ཀྱ་ 195
- Guardian of the Light: འོད་སྣང་ 45, 52, 62, 77, 107
- Héruka: ཉེ་རུ་ཀྱ་ 162, 163, 187, 196, 216, 222, 225, 295, 324, 450, 485, 535, 568
- Holder of a Human Skull: མི་ཡི་ཐོང་པ་ཅན་ 187, 188, 453
- Honored by Multitudes: མང་བཀུར་ 78
- Horse Neck: རྟ་མགྲིན་ 224, 356, 569
- Illuminator: ལྷང་མཛེད་ 45, 73, 159, 160, 272, 273, 449, 492, 493, 517, 568
- Illuminator Great Glacial Lake: རྟོག་སྐྱང་གང་ཚེན་མཚོ་ 100, 101, 397, 444
- Illuminator of Form: རྟོག་པར་སྐྱང་མཛེད་ 111
- Illustrious Mind That Protects from Fear: དཔལ་འཇིགས་པ་སྐྱོབ་པའི་ཡིད་ 106
- Inconceivable Holy Illuminator: ལྷང་བྱེད་དམ་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ལྟུབ་པ་ 106, 109
- Increase of the Shakyas: འཕྲུ་འཕེལ་ 79
- Indra: དབང་པོ་ 124, 158, 339, 340, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 406, 407, 425, 470, 471, 474, 533
- Infinite Light: འོད་དཔག་མེད་ 44
- Ishvara: དབང་ལྷུག་ 257, 394, 424, 425, 476
- Jatukarna: རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱ་ 407
- Jewel Heart: རིན་ཚེན་སྦྱང་པོ་ 44, 48, 49, 437
- Jeweled Crown: རིན་ཚེན་གཟུག་ཉེར་ཅན་ 408
- Jeweled Rosary: རྟོར་བུའི་ཕྱིང་པ་ 99
- Joyous Splendor: དགའ་བའི་དཔལ་ 398
- Kalika: རྣལ་པོ་བྱུབ་ 83
- Kandara: ཚེར་མ་ཅན་ 410
- Kanishkani: ཀ་རྟི་རྟི་ 412
- Kanyi Chó: དཀའ་ལ་གཉིས་སྦྱོང་ 407
- King of Form: ཀལ་གསལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 104
- King of Joy: དགའ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 50
- King of the Shakyas: འཕྲུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 44, 45, 348, 437
- King Perfectly Stable Cluster of Jewels: བརྟན་པ་ནོར་བུ་བཟེགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 49
- King Radiant Noble Manifold Glory: འོད་ཟེར་ཀུན་འཕགས་དཔལ་བཟེགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 49
- Ksharapani: འཕྱིའི་ལག་པ་ 407
- Kunjara: ཀུན་རྩེར་ 188
- Lamp Radiance: མར་མེ་མཛེད་ 52, 58
- Lightning Flash: རྒྱོག་གི་འོད་ 99
- Lion-Faced Dakini: མེང་གེའི་གདོང་ཅན་ 373
- Lion's Roar: མེང་གེའི་ང་རོ་ 349, 467
- Lord Creator of Delight: དགའ་བྱེད་དབང་ལྷུག་ 106
- Lord of Death: འཆི་བདག་གཤེན་ཇེ་ 66, 105, 329, 394, 395
- Lord of Secrets: ཀསང་བའི་བདག་པོ་ 163, 172, 175, 176, 177, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 205, 206, 218, 311, 336, 344, 349, 354, 355, 431, 451, 453, 454, 468, 538, 542
- Lord of Speech of the Basic Space of Phenomena: ཚོས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་གི་དབང་ལྷུག་ 164, 450
- Lord of the World, Ocean of Victors: འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ལྷུག་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 346
- Love's Display of Intelligence: བརྟེ་བས་རོལ་པའི་སྒྲོ་གྲོས་ 107
- Loving-Kindness: བྱམས་པ་ 171, 172, 200, 205, 349, 451



- Luminous: འོད་ལྗན་ 46, 437
- Magnificent One of an Even Nature: མཉམ་པའི་རང་བཞིན་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་ 110
- Mahalakshmi: ལྷོ་ཆེན་མོ་ 229
- Mahamaya: མ་དུ་སྤྲུལ་ 225, 304, 351, 441, 462, 569
- Maheshvara: དབང་ལྷག་ཆེན་པོ་ 210, 404, 407
- Maitreya: བྱམས་པ་ 12, 55, 77, 89, 124, 142, 155, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216, 252, 257, 258, 269, 270, 313, 318, 455, 460, 527, 548, 549, 557, 559, 560
- Manjushri Fearsome Vajra: འཇམ་དཔལ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ 292
- Matrix of Mystery: གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ 160, 161, 177, 218, 219, 220, 223, 227, 229, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 283, 288, 289, 337, 344, 351, 367, 369, 449, 456, 460, 506, 523, 534, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 572, 573
- Matrix of Mystery All-Seeing One: གསང་འདུས་སྤྲོད་རས་གཟུགས་ 279
- Matrix of Mystery Unmoving Vajra: གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་ 219
- Medicine Buddha: སྐྱེན་ལྷི་སྤྲུ 273, 419, 420, 422, 476
- Moon of Humanity: མིའི་རྒྱབ་ 44
- Mucilinda: བཏང་བརྩུང་ 85
- Nemindhara: སྤུང་འཛིན་ 407
- Net of Magical Illusion: སྤྲུའཕྱལ་དུ་བ་ 223, 229, 292, 310, 311, 314, 324, 329, 367, 464
- Ocean Heart: ལྷ་མཚོའི་སྤིང་པོ་ 48
- Ocean Particles: ལྷ་མཚོའི་རྩལ་ 48, 49, 50, 60, 436
- Open Eyes: མིག་མི་འཇུག་ 48, 49
- Parashara: མཎའ་མཚོག་ 407
- Powerful God: དབང་པོ་ 82
- Precious Qualities: མངས་རྒྱལ་དཀོན་མཚོག་ཡན་ལག་ 57
- Protector of the Region: ཡུལ་འཁོར་སྐྱོང་ 51
- The Pure: ཚངས་པ་ 47, 150
- Purposeful Lasso: དོན་ཡོད་ཞགས་པ་ 273
- Red Slayer of the Lord of Death: གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤད་དམར་པོ་ 162, 222, 223, 289, 291, 410, 456
- Renowned Eminent Protector: གྲགས་ལྡན་མཚོག་སྐྱོང་ 191, 192
- Sacred Golden Light: གསེར་འོད་དམར་པ་ 107, 174, 408
- Sacred White Crown: དམར་པོ་ཏྲུག་དཀར་པོ་ 62, 66, 67, 77, 441
- Sage Victory Banner of Power: དབང་པོའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བུབ་པ་ 52
- Sarasvati: དབྱངས་ཅན་མ་མ་རྩུ་ 380, 384, 385, 471, 487
- Secret Moon Vital Essence: ལྷ་བཟང་ཐིག་ལེ་ 223, 229
- Selfless Goddess: བདག་མེད་མ་ 162, 223, 224, 337
- Shakra: བརྒྱ་བྱེན་ 79, 81, 86, 104, 155, 397, 398, 404, 473
- Shakyamuni: ཤཱལྷ་བུ་པ་ 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 68, 69, 79, 106, 107, 210, 283, 316, 320, 336, 347, 349, 365, 432, 436, 445, 463, 500, 514, 516, 518, 542, 575, 576, 593
- Shesha: ལྷག་མ་ཅན་ 380, 381, 382, 470
- Sholdro Kyé: བཞོལ་འཕྱོ་སྤྱེས་ 407
- Shooting Star Face: སྐར་མཎའ་གཤོང་ 192
- Showing Flowers to All: མི་ཏོག་ཀྱུན་དུ་སྤོན་ 66, 67, 440
- Shridévi: དཔལ་མོ་ 406
- Sight of the Meaningful: དོན་ཡོད་མཐོང་ 48, 50, 438
- Sign of the Times: དུས་མཚན་ 163
- Sinless: ལྷིག་མེད་ 49
- Six-Faced Youth: གཞོན་རྒྱུ་གཤོང་རྒྱག་ 383, 471
- Skillful Intelligence: སྤྲོ་གྲུལ་ཐབས་ལྡན་ 192, 453
- Slayer of Lord of Death Who Overpowers with Gestures: གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤད་ལྷག་རྒྱ་སྒེལ་གཞོན་ 329
- Slayer of the Lord of Death: གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤད་ 161, 196, 222, 223, 224, 289, 290, 291, 292, 324, 329, 358, 449, 461, 534
- Son of Renown: རྣམ་ཐོས་སྤྲུལ་ 53

- Sovereign of Activity: ལས་ཀྱི་དབང་མོ་ 188, 195, 196, 454
- Splendid Excellence: དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ 44
- Spoke's Rim: ཟླུ་ལྷ་ལུང་ 48, 49
- Star Monarch: མར་རྒྱལ་ 52, 53, 62, 500
- Star Protector: མར་མ་སྐྱོང་ 49
- Steadfast: རབ་བརྟན་ 158, 448
- Strength of Clouds: སློན་གྱི་གུགས་ཅན་ 107
- Strong Holder of Force: སྐྱབས་ཚེན་གུགས་འཛུང་ 49
- Subhagini: མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྐལ་པ་བཟང་མོ་ 222, 343
- Sun Illuminator: ཉི་མ་རབ་དུ་སྐྱང་བྱེད་ 106
- Supreme Bliss: བདེ་མཚོག་; འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་ 162, 163, 165, 176, 177, 220, 221, 222, 289, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 337, 341, 345, 349, 351, 367, 423, 449, 456, 461, 474, 534, 535, 567, 568, 569
- Takshaka: འཛོག་པོ་ 192
- Tara: སྐྱོལ་མ་ 239, 366, 382, 383, 429, 535, 552
- Trakshé: དྲམ་དྲ་ 251, 556
- Union with the Buddhas: མངས་རྒྱལ་མཉམ་སྦྲུང་ 223, 229, 456,
- Unmoving: མི་འཕྲུགས་པ་ 273, 568
- Unmoving Vajra: མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་ 219
- Unshakeable: མི་འཕྲུགས་པ་ 44, 49
- Unwavering Luminosity: འོད་མི་འཕྲུགས་པ་ 106
- Vajra Bearer: རྗེ་རྗེ་འཛུང་ 3, 69, 70, 94, 98, 99, 100, 105, 106, 111, 163, 175, 185, 192, 247, 273, 280, 281, 288, 293, 342, 344, 351, 353, 371, 441, 444, 470, 481, 504, 505, 514, 516, 517, 567, 568
- Vajra Dagger: རྗེ་རྗེ་ཕུར་པ་ 329, 330, 464
- Vajra Dharma: རྗེ་རྗེ་ཚོས་ 161, 175, 177, 187, 188, 195, 453
- Vajra Essence: རྗེ་རྗེ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ 97, 100, 162, 176, 177, 301, 431, 443, 451
- Vajra Female Zombie: རྗེ་རྗེ་མོ་ལངས་མ་ 223
- Vajra Holder: ལག་ན་རྗེ་རྗེ་; ཕྱག་རྗེ་རྗེ་ 110, 159, 162, 163, 171, 172, 175, 177, 191, 193, 194, 219, 226, 239, 242, 273, 293, 295, 341, 451, 454, 552
- Vajra of Delight: དབྱེས་པ་རྗེ་རྗེ་ 162, 165, 176, 222, 223, 224, 225, 289, 301, 302, 303, 317, 318, 337, 338, 341, 342, 344, 350, 351, 367, 369, 431, 433, 449, 456, 461, 463, 466, 467, 534, 567, 568, 569, 575, 576, 600
- Vajra Sow: རྗེ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོ་ 176, 221, 313, 365
- Vajrasattva: རྗེ་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔལ་ 81, 100, 112, 188, 189, 190, 194, 195, 295, 305, 308, 309, 445, 453, 454, 462, 485, 516, 568, 570
- Vajra Yogini: རྗེ་རྗེ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ་ 163, 231, 297, 344, 372, 373, 470, 595
- Vast Light: ཡངས་པའི་འོད་ 47
- Vasuki: རྗེ་རྗེ་ལྷ་བྱ་ 406
- Vemachitra: ཐགས་བཟང་རིས་ 104
- Virtuous Intellect: དགོ་བའི་སྒོ་གྲས་ 99
- Vishnu Wind: ལྷ་བ་འཇུག་རླུང་ 49
- Vishvakarma: བིཤ་ཀམ་ 394, 395, 398, 472
- Wheel of Excellent Conduct: འཁོར་ལོ་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱོང་པ་ 99
- Wheel of Time: དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ 5, 70, 73, 164, 165, 176, 207, 209, 216, 222, 227, 228, 232, 279, 289, 292, 293, 295, 305, 306, 307, 308, 318, 367, 368, 369, 372, 382, 403, 404, 409, 423, 424, 431, 450, 451, 456, 462, 474, 476, 495, 564, 567, 568, 570, 571, 574, 579, 594
- Wrathful Manjushri: འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷོས་པ་ 223, 229
- Wrathful Monarch: ལྷོས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ 107
- Yamantaka: ཡམ་སྐྱེད་ 290
- Yangdak Héruka: ཡང་དག་ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་ 329, 330, 464
- Youth Playful Frolic: གཞོན་ནུ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ 106
- Youth Powerful Warrior: གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་པོ་ སྐྱབས་ལྡན་ 107
- Youthful Diligent Action: གཞོན་ནུ་བཙོན་འགྲུས་ སྦྱོང་ 57
- Yudhishtira: བརྟན་པ་ 380



## LIST OF PLACE NAMES

The map where we might find all the locations listed here does not exist. Such a map would include the heavens, the pure lands, and many locations on our globe invisible to most of us. Entries in English of the locales as they appear in the translated text are followed by the Tibetan renderings of their names as Kongtrul wrote them.

- Abhayagiri: འཇིགས་མེད་གནས་ 180  
 Amdo: ཨ་མདོ་ 350, 357  
 Anga: ཨང་ 205  
 Arama Stupa: མཚོད་རྟེན་ཀུན་དགའ་རབ་ 215  
 Ardha Temple: ཨ་རྩ་ 434  
 Ashoka: ལྷ་འཇམ་མེད་པའི་ཡུལ་ 411  
 Assembly Place of Immortality: འཆི་མེད་  
 འདུན་ས་ 80  
 Azha: འཇ་ 414, 415, 475  
 Bangala: རྟོག་ལ་ 221, 225, 226, 227  
 Baré Tsongdu: བ་རེད་ཚོང་འདུས་ 246  
 Bhiruka Grove: རྩི་རུ་ཀའི་ཚལ་ 381  
 Bird-Foot Mountain: རི་བོ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཚན་ 194,  
 454  
 Blazing Mountain of Fire: མེ་རི་འབར་བ་  
 194, 195  
 Blissful: བདེ་བ་ཚན་ 44, 49, 73, 74, 186,  
 207, 341  
 Bliss-Giving Pinnacle Stupa: མཚོད་རྟེན་བདེ་  
 བྱེད་བ་ཚེགས་པ་ 196, 544  
 Bodhgaya: རོ་རྗེ་གདན་ 23, 26, 39, 231, 501,  
 595  
 Bodong: བོ་དོང་ 342  
 Changdo Pémé Tashi Gépél Temple: ཅང་  
 རྩོད་པེ་མེད་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དགེ་འཕེལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་  
 242  
 Chimpu: མཚིམས་ཕུ་ 241, 259, 313, 326  
 China: ལྷོ་ནུབ་, མ་དུ་ཚོན་ 201, 224, 240, 356,  
 357, 360, 397, 398, 401, 404, 405,  
 410, 412, 414, 415, 422, 425, 430,  
 432-434, 473, 475, 478, 488, 489,  
 572, 584, 602, 605  
 Chölung: ཚོས་ལུང་ 247  
 Chushul Sokma Monastery: ལུ་ཤུལ་སོག་མ་  
 དགོན་པ་ 247  
 Chuwori: ལུ་བོ་རི་ 241, 326  
 Cool Grove: བསེལ་བའི་ཚལ་ 194, 375  
 Dakpo: དུགས་པོ་ 319  
 Dakpo Gopa Monastery: དུགས་པོ་གློ་མ་ 402  
 Dakpo Lekshé Ling: དུགས་པོ་ལེགས་བཤའ་གླིང་  
 319  
 Dakshina: ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ 382, 400  
 Deer Park, Descent of the Sages: དུང་སྐོང་  
 ལྷུང་བ་རི་དུགས་ཀྱི་ནགས་ 86  
 Den: འདན་ 245  
 Denlong Plain: འདན་རྫོང་གང་ 254  
 Dentik Shel: འདན་རྟིག་ཤེལ་ 244  
 Dhanakosha: ལྷ་ན་ཀོ་ཤ་ 194, 326, 454  
 Dhanashri: ལྷ་ན་ལྷོ་ལྷིང་གླིང་ 435, 478  
 Dharmabhadramegha's inner fortress:  
 ཚོས་བཟང་ལྷོན་གྱི་ཡང་ཚོང་ 411  
 Dharmaganja: ལྷ་ས་གཤེ་ 219  
 Dhumatala: ལྷུ་མ་ཐ་ལ་ 373

- Dingri: དིང་རི་ 357, 368  
 Dokmé Sin-dzong: མདོག་སྐད་སྐོང་ 354  
 Dolpo: དོལ་པོ་ 345, 371  
 Dönmo Mountain: དོན་མོ་རི་ 374  
 Dorjé Drakra Enchung Nam-dzong: ལྷོ་  
 རྗེ་བྲག་ར་ཨུན་ཚུང་གནམ་རྫོང་ 244  
 Dravida: འགྲོ་ལྷིང་ 232, 295, 430, 434, 435,  
 478, 489, 602  
 Dring Tangla: འབྲིང་ཐང་ལ་ 357  
 Drusha: ཐུ་ག་ 267, 328, 464  
 Dulakshétra: དུ་ལལྷེ་ཏྲ་ 345  
 Dzokchen Monastery: རྫོགས་ཆེན་ 350  
 Dzong: རྫོང་ 341, 342
- Endurance: མི་མཇེད་ 49, 72, 106, 111, 187,  
 493, 542
- Ferghana: ལོོ་མ་ 414  
 Forest of Medicine: སྐྱེན་གྱི་ནགས་ 408, 410,  
 474
- Gampo Monastery: སྐམ་པོའི་དགོན་པ་ 347  
 Gandhamadana: རི་སྐོམ་གྱི་དང་ལྗང་ 86  
 Ganges: གཏུ་ 48, 64, 200, 229, 237, 501  
 Gaya Peak: རི་བོ་གལ་ 86  
 Gendun Gang: དགེ་འདུན་སྐང་ 247  
 Ghéu-dohan Temple: རྗེ་ལུ་དོ་ཉན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་  
 ཁང་ 434  
 Golden Land: བྱང་གསེས་མདོག་ཅན་ 341  
 Golok: གལ་ལོག་ 244  
 Gongkar Gangtö: གོང་དཀར་སྐང་རྫོང་ 401  
 Gönpö Monastery: མགོན་པོའི་དགོན་ 327  
 Gorum Library: སྐོ་རུམ་དཔེ་ཁང་ 273  
 Group of the Pure: ཚངས་རི་ 494  
 Gyalmo Tsawa Rong: རྒྱལ་མོ་ཚ་བ་རོང་ 327  
 Gyalrong Drak: རྒྱལ་རོང་བྲག་ 327  
 Gyaltang: རྒྱལ་ཐང་ 364, 469  
 Gyalwa Katok Monastery: རྒྱལ་བ་ཀཱ་ཐོག་  
 310
- Heart of Awakening: བྱང་རྒྱབ་སྣིང་པོ་ 67,  
 68, 76, 82-85, 128, 146, 156, 169,  
 440, 442, 510  
 Heaven of the Pure: ཚངས་པའི་འཛིན་རྟེན་ 47  
 Heaven of the Thirty-three: ལུམ་རུ་ཚ་གསུམ་  
 86, 88, 159, 168, 175, 189, 192, 246,  
 379, 449, 534
- India: རྒྱ་གར་ 2, 6, 20, 23, 24, 26-29, 38,  
 76, 78, 163, 181, 190, 194, 200,  
 201, 204, 207, 210, 217, 218, 221,  
 224-226, 228, 231-233, 239,  
 240-243, 246, 247, 249, 250, 259,  
 271, 276, 277, 289, 293, 295, 296,  
 301, 305, 309, 315, 326, 328, 330,  
 333, 338, 344-346, 351, 357, 367,  
 368, 370-372, 381, 382, 384-386,  
 390, 393, 396, 404, 405, 407, 410,  
 411, 414, 417-419, 422, 423, 425,  
 427-429, 432, 434, 435, 458, 461,  
 464, 471, 474, 476, 484, 487, 488,  
 508, 509, 518, 531, 539, 540, 545,  
 546, 549, 551, 552, 567, 581, 582,  
 589, 592, 594, 595, 598, 602, 605,  
 607
- Jago: རོ་གོ་ 225  
 Jalandhara: རྫོ་ལ་སྐར་ 181, 372  
 Jambu River: རོམ་བུ་རུ་ 86  
 Jamchen Temple: འོར་རུ་བུམ་མེན་གཙུག་ལག་  
 ཁང་ 310  
 Jang: འཇང་ 424, 434, 476  
 Java: ར་མ་གླིང་ 435, 478  
 Jé-dzing: རྗེ་རྩིང་ 247  
 Jetavana: རྒྱལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཚལ་ 86, 106, 107, 180,  
 445  
 Jokang: རོ་ཁང་ 239, 398  
 Jonang: རོ་ནང་ 164, 213, 226, 266, 270,  
 304, 305-307, 317, 371, 384, 462,  
 559, 570  
 Joyful Heaven: དགའ་ལྗན་ 53, 62, 66, 69,  
 76, 77, 89, 160, 165, 211, 440, 441,  
 449, 523, 534
- Kaboka: ཀའ་བོ་ཀ་ 373  
 Kalapa: ཀའ་ལུ་པ་ 140, 380, 383, 384, 411,  
 431, 471, 487  
 Kapilavastu: མེར་སྐུ་ 79, 86, 396  
 Karchung Dorjé Ying: སྐར་རྒྱང་དོ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་གྱི་  
 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ 242  
 Karnikavana Temple: ར་རྒྱན་ 181  
 Kashi: གསལ་ལུ་ན་ 397, 407, 472  
 Kashmir: ལ་ཆེ་ 179, 181, 201, 204, 243,  
 246, 251, 268, 274, 278, 305, 357,  
 368, 369, 400, 412, 435, 473, 484

- Kawa Namó Ché: ཀ་བ་ན་མོ་ཚེ་ 242  
 Khagendra: ཁ་གེ་རྩ་ 225, 232  
 Kham: ཁམས་ 244, 245, 254, 260, 278, 310, 350, 357  
 Khotan: གེ་ཡུལ་ 430, 434, 478, 489, 602  
 Koki: ཀོ་ཀི་ 226, 231, 232, 457  
 Kongkana: ཀོང་ཀན་ 220  
 Kosala: ཀོས་ལ་ 86, 227, 237, 314, 403  
 Kukkutapada Mountain: ཧུ་གག་རྒྱང་གི་རི་ 211  
 Kusana Temple: ཀུས་ས་ 181  
 Kushinagara: གོང་ཁྲོ་རྩ་ཅན་ 87, 168  
 Kusmapuri Temple: ཀུས་མུ་ཕུ་རི་ 177, 178, 451  
 Kyichu River: སྐྱིད་ཚུ་ 242  
 Kyishö Valley: སྐྱིད་ཤོད་ 239, 240
- Lada: ལཱ་ 218  
 Lamo Ragyel: ལ་མོ་ར་ལ་བྱེལ་ 246  
 Land of exalted beings: འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་;  
   འཕགས་ཡུལ་ 53, 70, 171, 198, 199, 200, 217, 223, 226, 229, 232, 251, 258, 259, 270, 272, 273, 344, 384, 454  
 Land of Jambu: རྩོམ་བུ་གླིང་ 48, 63, 70, 78, 88, 109, 110, 142, 162, 163, 193, 198, 199, 200, 222, 237, 350, 353, 419, 432, 434, 441, 450, 454, 504, 600  
 Latö Né-nying: ལ་སྐོད་གནས་རྫིང་ 353, 468  
 Lhari Yolwa: ལྷ་རི་ཡོལ་བ་ 237  
 Lhasa: ལྷ་ས་ 239, 259, 336, 363, 398, 405  
 Lhodrak: ལྷོ་བྲག་ 301, 336, 344, 345, 402  
 Lotus Light: པ་རྣམ་འོད་ 190  
 Lotus Mound Stupa: པ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་ས་ 393, 472  
 Lumbini Grove: ལུམ་ལྷི་འབྲུག་མོས་ཚལ་ 79, 393, 441
- Madhyadesha: ཡུལ་དབུས་ 207  
 Magadha: མ་ག་རྩ་ 46, 70, 88, 128, 162, 163, 168, 171, 172, 227, 229, 232, 396, 398, 399, 400, 435, 451, 473, 504  
 Maharashtra: མ་རྩ་རྩུ་ 384  
 Malaya Park: མ་ལ་ཡའི་སྐྱེད་མོས་ཚལ་ 431  
 Malung: མ་ལུང་ 244
- Mandara Mountain: མ་རྩཱ་ 406  
 Maru: མ་རུ་ 204, 399  
 Maru Palace: མོ་བང་མ་རུ་; མུ་མཁར་མ་རུ་ 239, 405  
 Maruta: མ་རུ་ར་ 179  
 Mastery Over Others' Creations: ཀལན་འཕུལ་དབང་བྱེད་ 160, 163, 449, 494  
 Mentang, Lhodrak: ལྷོ་བྲག་སྐྱོན་ཐང་ 401  
 Mindrol Ling Monastery: སྐྱིན་ལོལ་གླིང་ 311, 361  
 Minyak: མི་ཉལ་ 374, 417, 433  
 Mongolia: ཏོར་ཡུལ་ 1, 107, 244, 356, 414, 415, 433, 475  
 Mount Gandhamadana: སྐོས་ཀྱིང་དལང་ 201  
 Mount Malaya: རི་མ་ལ་ཡ་ 110, 156, 191, 453  
 Mount Meru: རི་རབ་ 395  
 Mount Shripurvata: དཔལ་གྱི་རི་ 207
- Nairanjana River: ཚུ་གྲུང་རྟི་ར་རྩེ་ན་ 68, 82, 510  
 Nalada: མ་ལ་ད་ 206  
 Nalanda: མ་ལ་རྩ་; འདས་བུས་བྱེད་; ལྷན་སྐྱེར་ 179, 205, 206, 210, 222, 227, 228, 231, 382, 418, 455, 548, 551  
 Narlé Moché: ལྷར་ལྷས་མོ་ཚེ་ 252  
 Nartang Monastery: ལྷར་ཐང་ 334, 335  
 Nata-bhatika Monastery: ཀར་མཁན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ 203  
 Ngari: མཁང་བཟེས་ 247, 314, 357  
 Ngor: རོར་ 341, 342, 466  
 Nyagrodha Cave: ཧུ་གོ་རྟའི་ཕུག་ 168, 169, 450  
 Nyal: ཀཉལ་ 357  
 Nyang: ཉང་ 247, 259, 275, 327, 329, 330, 464  
 Nyang-tö Gyen: ཉང་རྟོད་རྒྱུན་ 247  
 Nyangtren Rock: ཉང་བྲན་པ་བོང་ལ་ 239, 240  
 Nyémo Tsalmik: སྐོ་མོ་ཚལ་མིག་ 247
- Ocho-lhatsé: འོ་ཅོ་ལྷ་ཅེ་ 364  
 Odantapuri: ཨོ་ཏན་ཕུ་རི་ 230, 241  
 Oddiyana: ཨོ་བྱུན་; ཨོ་ཁྱེལ་ན་; ཨོ་ལུན་ 110, 161, 165, 190, 194, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224-25, 229, 241, 331, 331, 398, 419, 435, 449, 456, 550  
 Ominous Sound: ལྷ་མི་སྐྱུར་ 237

- Ön: འོན་ 242, 390, 424  
 Orgyen Mindrol Ling: ཨོ་རྒྱན་མྱེན་གྲོ་ལ་གླིང་ 246  
 Orissa: ཨོ་ཏི་བེ་ཤ་; ཨོ་ཏའི་བེ་ཤ་ 218, 221  
 Orru: འོར་རུ་ 310  
 Orvipa: ཨོ་བྲི་པ་ 227
- Palyul Monastery: དཔལ་ལྷུལ་ 350  
 Pamting Temple: ཕམ་ཕིང་གུཅུག་ལག་ཁང་ 260  
 Payigu: པལི་གུའི་གླིང་ 435, 478  
 Penyul: པས་ལུ་ལལ་ 242, 305  
 Perfect Collection Without Particles: རྒྱལ་བྲལ་ཡང་དག་བསགས་ 44  
 Persia: ཏུ་བེག་ 414  
 Potala: གྲུ་འཛོན་; བོ་དལ་ 237, 341, 370, 382  
 Pu-hrong: བུ་མོང་ 416, 475  
 Pushpahari Monastery: བུ་ཤུ་ཏུ་རིའི་དགོན་པ་ 345
- Rajgir: རྒྱལ་ཤེའི་ཁབ་ 81, 86, 107, 154, 172, 398  
 Ramoché: ར་མོ་ཚེ་ 239, 398  
 Rasa: ར་ས་ 401  
 Ratnagiri: རིན་ཆེན་རི་བོ་ 227  
 Ravana: རྩ་རྩོག་ 88, 396  
 Red Cliff Göñ-dzong: རྒྱལ་དམར་དགོན་རྫོང་ 327  
 Richly Adorned: རྒྱག་པོ་བཀོད་པའི་ཞིང་ 65, 66, 72, 73, 95, 96, 185, 186, 205, 441, 443, 452, 492, 502, 516  
 Rigong Tô: རི་གོང་རྩོད་ 354  
 Rinpung: རིན་ལུང་ས་ 275  
 Riwoché: རི་བོ་ཚེ་ 354  
 Rong Laksor: རོང་ལག་མོར་ 333  
 Rongling Soka Monastery: རོང་གླིང་སོག་ཀྱུ་དགོན་ 306
- Sahor: ས་ཏོར་ 193, 279  
 Saiwai Si: སའི་བའི་གམི་ 432  
 Sakya Monastery: ས་སྐ་ 273, 341  
 Samyé Monastery: བསམ་ལམ་ 240-242, 309, 325, 332, 401, 457, 563, 602  
 Sangpu: གསལ་ཕུ་ 267, 333  
 Sangpu Ne'u-tok: གསལ་ཕུ་ནེ་ཏུ་མོག་ 333  
 Sankashya: གསལ་ལྡན་ 86
- Shambhala: གཤལ་ 218, 227, 228, 233, 293, 305, 367, 368, 370, 422, 469, 537, 568, 602, 606, 607  
 Sha-uk Takgo: གཤུག་རྩུག་རྩོ་ 357  
 Sheldrak: ཤེལ་བྲག་ 326  
 Shravasti: མཉན་ཡོད་ 86, 161, 219, 449  
 Shriparvata: དཔལ་ལྷུ་རི་བོ་ 220, 550  
 Somapuri Temple: སོ་མ་ཕུ་རིའི་གུཅུག་ལག་ཁང་ 343  
 Sri Lanka: སི་ཀླ་ལའི་གླིང་ 201, 209, 295, 396, 419, 435, 478  
 Stam Vihar: སྐྱ་བེ་ཏར་ 370  
 Stupa Adorned with a Crown Offered by the Mallas: བྱད་ཀྱིས་དབུ་རྒྱན་བདགས་པའི་མཚོན་རྟེན་ 88  
 Sudhu Temple: སུ་ཏུ་ 434  
 Sumatra: གཤེར་གླིང་ 435  
 Supreme Mountain: རི་རབ་ 159, 160, 163, 164, 165, 175, 241, 449, 534
- Tamra: ཟངས་གླིང་ 435, 478  
 Taxila: རྩོ་འཛོག་ 410  
 Temple of Magical Manifestation: འབྲུག་རྩུང་ 239, 398  
 Togar: བོ་གར་ 204, 254, 458  
 Tôlung: རྩོད་ལུང་ 417  
 Tongkung Rong: རྩོང་ལུང་རོང་ 327  
 Tradruk temples: ལ་འབྲུག་ 400  
 Treasure Mound Stupa: འབྲས་སུང་མཚོན་རྟེན་ 86, 164, 165, 365, 450  
 Truly Joyous: མངོན་དགལ་ 44, 50, 104  
 Tsalung: ཚ་ལུང་ 417  
 Tsang: གཙང་ 244, 245, 247, 251, 267, 269, 270, 297, 354, 363, 364, 375, 401, 402, 417, 432, 433, 457, 460, 554  
 Tsang Yéru Shang: གཙང་གལས་མུ་ཤར་ས་ 352, 591  
 Tsang-rong: གཙང་རོང་ 345  
 Tsari: ཅའི་ 357  
 Tsarong Taktse Kar: ཚ་རོང་རྒྱག་རྩེ་མཁར་ 327  
 Tsentang Gozhi: བཅོན་ཐང་རྩོ་བཞི་ 237  
 Tukharistan: བོ་གར་ 204
- Ujjaini city: འབྲས་གསལ་གུལ་ 201  
 Unsurpassed: འོག་མེན་ 65-74, 102, 104, 159, 160, 163, 165, 170, 184, 185,

- 187, 192, 195, 440, 441, 449, 452,  
480, 492, 494, 501-04, 508, 509,  
514, 516, 523, 524, 534, 541, 542
- Uru: དབུ་ལུ་ 417
- Uruvisha: ལུ་ལུ་བེ་ལ་ 222
- Vaidarbha: བེ་དར་མ་ 207
- Vaishali: ཡངས་པ་ཅན་ 47, 81, 86, 87, 88,  
156, 177
- Vajra Seat: རྗེ་མཚན་ 46, 62, 63, 65, 107,  
110, 231, 279, 315, 398, 399, 401,  
439, 473, 501, 504, 505, 508
- Varanasi: བ་ར་སུ་ཤི་ 86, 146, 153, 169,  
194, 204, 223, 398, 454
- Varendra: བ་རེ་རྩ་ 228, 382, 400
- Vatsa: བཟ་ 237
- Vidha Temple: བི་ཏཱ་ 434
- Vikramashila Temple: རྣམ་གཞིན་ངང་རྩལ་; བི་ཀྲ་  
མ་ཤེ་ལ་ 217
- Vimalasambhava Mountain: བི་མ་ལ་ས་རྩ་བ་;  
རྩི་མེད་འབྲུང་བ་ 171, 172, 451
- Vindhya Hills: རི་བོ་འབེགས་ཀྱེད་ 203, 231,  
232, 457
- Vriji: འྱི་ཇོ་ 169
- Vulture Peak: འྱུ་རྗོད་ཕུང་པོ་འདི་ཇི་ 86, 107, 154,  
365
- Willow Grove: ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་ 159, 175, 451,  
534
- Yamshu: ཡམ་ཤུད་ 246
- Yang Dzong: ཡང་རྩོང་ 326
- Yarlung: ཡར་ལྷུང་ 342, 357, 362, 417, 469
- Yerpa: ཡེར་པ་ 241, 246, 326
- Yertö: ཀཤེ་ར་རྩོད་ 415
- Yumbu Lagang Palace: མོ་བང་ཡུམ་བུ་གླ་སྒང་  
238
- Zadam Nyinjé Ling: ཟ་དམ་ཉིན་ཕྱེད་གླིང་ 319
- Zahor: ཟ་ཏོར་ 223, 241, 243, 456
- Zhalu: ལྷ་ལུ་ 279, 305, 306, 307, 317,  
462, 570
- Zhang Zhong: ལང་ཞོང་ 352, 591
- Zhang Zhung: ལང་ལུང་ 247, 248, 307,  
357, 414, 415, 417, 475
- Zhung: ཀལུང་ 345, 417
- Zulpu: ལུལ་ཕུ་ 251





## LIST OF TEXTS CITED

The following texts were mentioned by Kongtrul in *The Treasury of Knowledge: Books Two, Three, and Four*. You will find the title as it appears in the translation, followed by the words in Tibetan Kongtrul used to refer to the text, rather than its more formal, long title. This is followed by the author, and in the case of works among the collections of the Buddha's words (*Kangyur*) and Indian Buddhist works (*Tengyur*) in Tibetan translation, a number preceded by either a K in the case of the Buddha's word or a T, to indicate the book's placement among the classics.

All such numbers coincide with the texts' location within the Dergé editions of those collections, except when the K or T is preceded by a P, to signal that the book in question is found within the Beijing editions. Scholars who wish to find the complete Tibetan and Sanskrit title of a text can enter the number into the search function at [http://web.otani.ac.jp/crj/twrp/tibdate/Peking\\_online\\_search](http://web.otani.ac.jp/crj/twrp/tibdate/Peking_online_search) to glean that and more information. My impression is that native Chinese speakers who might read this book far outnumber Sanskritists; alas, I do not know of a website where one could similarly get one's bearings in the midst of English, Tibetan, and Chinese translations of Buddhism's holy texts.

My reasoning in recording here Kongtrul's nicknames for texts is to help those wanting to enquire further with living Tibetan-speaking teachers, who will likely be more familiar with the short name of a book than its formal title. Further, since Kongtrul (like other Tibetan authors) gives us only the flimsiest hints of what text he refers to at any point, it seems helpful to divulge the stepping-off point for any possibly faulty conclusion. For the same reason, I have tried to limit my designation of locations of any text in the collections of Buddhist scriptures to those that seem highly likely. Thus, a number of tantras and commentaries that Kongtrul mentioned in passing remain "unlocated" although one could

easily hazard a guess, which I do not feel entitled to do in this sort of reference work.

- An Abridged Method of Accomplishment* (སྐབ་ཐབས་མདོར་བྲམ་) by Nagarjuna (T1796) 220
- The Accomplishment of Actions* (ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་) by Vasubandhu (T4062) 215
- An Account of the Paintings to Accompany “The Wish-Fulfilling Vine, the Buddha’s Past Lives”* (སྐྱེས་རབས་དཔག་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་གི་ལལ་ཐང་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་) by Tsuk-lak Chökyi Nangwa 403
- Adorning Flowers for “The Secret Essence Tantra”* (གསང་བ་སྣོད་པོ་སྐབ་པ་རྒྱན་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག་) by Chomden Rikpé Raldri 310, 572
- Adornment of the Lord of Secrets’ Wisdom* (འབྲུ་འགྲེལ་གསང་བདག་དགོངས་རྒྱན་) by Lochen Dharmashri 311
- The Aggregate of Dharma* (རྣམ་གྱི་ཕུང་པོ་) by Shariputra 157
- All-Seeing One’s Fearless Conduct* (སྤྲོན་རས་གཟེགས་བརྒྱལ་ལུགས་) by Avalokitavrata (T3859) 266
- Analysis of Relations* (འབྲེལ་པ་བརྟག་པ་) by Dharmakirti (T4214) 387, 389
- Analysis of the Object* (དམིགས་པ་བརྟག་པ་) by Dignaga (T4205) 387
- Analysis of What Is to Be Excluded* (མེལ་བ་བརྟག་) by Dignaga 387
- Ancient Praise* (བསྟོན་རྗེ་) by Nagarjuna 89
- Annotated Commentary* (སྤྲོན་འགྲེལ་) by Buddhaguhya (P-T4756) 71
- The Avali Tantra* (ལྷ་རྒྱའི་རྒྱུད་) (K427) 224
- The Armor Against Darkness* (སྤྲོན་པའི་གོ་ཚ་) by Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé 313
- Aroma Prescriptions* (རྩི་འཛོལ་བ་) by Nagarjuna (P-T5808?) 411
- The Array of the Three Pledges* (དམ་རྗེས་གསུམ་བཀོད་) (K502) 273
- Ascertaining the Two Truths* (བདེན་གཉིས་རྣམ་ངེས་) by Atisha (T3902) 141, 266
- Ascertainment of Dignaga’s “Compendium of Logic”* (རྣམ་ངེས་) by Dharmakirti (T4211) 387, 388
- Ashtadashapura* (མཉུ་དང་ལུ་རྫོ་) by Markendeya 427
- The Authoritative Scriptures* (ཡང་དག་པར་ལྡན་པའི་ཡུང་) a compilation 170
- Ava Herb Preparation* (ཚུ་ཨ་ལའི་ཚོག་) by Nagarjuna (T4308) 411
- Ba Salnang’s Chronicles* (མ་སལེང་) by Ba Salnang 239
- The Basic Discourse of Novice Training* (དག་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱབ་པའི་གཞི་མདོ་) by Kalyanamitra (T4130) 248
- The Basic Scripture* (ཡུང་གཞི་) (K1) 250
- The Benefit of Others Trilogy* (གཞན་པན་སྐོར་གསུམ་) by Drakpa Gyaltsen 275
- The Bharata* (རྩ་རྟེ་) by Vyasa 426, 427, 477
- The Bhasha* (བློ་པ་) by Purushottama 381
- Black Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra* (གཤིན་རྗེ་གཤེད་ནག་གི་རྒྱུད་; རག་པོའི་རྒྱུད་) (K469) 291, 411
- Blaze of Reasoning* (རྟོག་གེ་འབར་བ་) by Bhavaviveka (T3856) 172
- Blazing Radiance: The King’s Master Copy* (རྒྱལ་པོའི་བླ་ཡིག་འོད་འབར་) by Champa Shilaha 415
- Blue Beryl: The Medical Tantra Commentary* (རྩུང་འགྲེལ་གི་རྒྱུར་སྟོན་པོ་) by Dési Sangyé Gyatso 422
- The Blue Records* (རིག་ཟེག་སྟོན་པོ་) 259
- A Bouquet of Flowers* (མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱན་པོ་) by Sakya Pandita 429
- A Brief Introduction to Medicine* (མགོ་ཐོན་བསུམ་པ་) 414
- ’Bu shag ma bu che chung* (འབྲུ་ཤག་མ་བུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུང་) 414

- The Buddha's Past Lives* (སྐྱེས་[རབས་]) by Aryashura (T4150) 334
- Buddhapalita* (བུ་ལྷ་པེ་ཏ་) by Buddhapalita (T3842) 266
- Certainty about the Conditioned and the Unconditioned* (འདུམ་བྱས་དང་འདུམ་མ་བྱས་རྣམ་པར་ངེས་པ་) by Dasabala Shrimitra (T3897) 47, 134
- Certainty in Relation to the Ultimate* (དེ་ཉིད་རྣམ་ངེས་) by Asanga (T3981?) 257
- Chandra's Grammar* (རྩོད་རྒྱ་ཀར་ན་) by Chandragomi (T4271) 382, 383
- Charaka* (ཚ་ར་ཀ་) by Charaka 407, 474
- The Cherished Jeweled Key to the Teaching Method* (བཤད་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་གཅེས་པའི་ལྷེ་རུ་མིག་) by Butön Rinchen Drup 307
- The Chinese Knot Commentary* (རྒྱ་སྐད་དོ་འགྲེལ་) by Chandragomi 310
- Clarification of the Meaning Through Symbols* (བར་དོན་གསལ་བ་) by Drakpa Gyaltzen 338, 342
- Classification of the Aspects of a Stupa* (སཱེ་རྟེན་གྱི་ཆ་དབྱེ་བ་) 403
- The Clear Distinction* (རབ་བྱེད་གསལ་ལྡན་) by Anubhuti (T4298) 384
- The Clear Essence of the Three Contemplative Practices* (རྣམ་འབྱོར་གསུམ་གྱི་སྣང་པོ་གསལ་བ་) by Rangjung Dorjé 306
- Clear Recollection of the Natural State* (གཉུག་མ་དྲན་གསལ་) 338
- A Clear Summary of the Five Stages* (རིམ་པ་ལྔ་བརྒྱུས་པ་གསལ་བ་) by Naropa (T2333) 220
- Clear Tantric Pledges* (དམ་ཚིག་གསལ་བཀྲ་) by Lalitavajra (P-T4744) 313
- The Clear Variety of Synonyms* (སངས་རྒྱལ་གསལ་བ་) by Shri Dharasena (T4453) 407
- Clear Words* (ཚིག་གསལ་) by Chandrakirti (T3860) 158, 209, 266
- Clear Words* (ཚིག་གསལ་) a text of the Severance tradition 366
- Cloud Messenger* (སྤྲིན་གྱི་པོ་ཉ་) by Kalidasa (T4302) 427
- A Cluster of Jewels* (རིན་ཆེན་སྲུང་པ་) by Dharmaraja, Mahakyinda, and Viji Champa Shilaha 410, 415, 474
- Coemergent Accomplishment* (མཉན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་གྲུབ་) by Dombi Héruka (T2223) 224
- A Commentary of Clear Meaning* (འགྲེལ་པ་དོན་གསལ་) by Haribhadra (T3791 and 3793) 258
- A Commentary on Dignaga's "Compendium of Logic"* (རྣམ་འགྲེལ་) by Dharmakirti (T4210) 317, 387, 388, 389
- A Commentary on "Discerning Between the Center and the Extremes"* (དབྱུ་མཐའ་རྣམ་འགྲེད་[གྲི་འགྲེལ་པ་]) by Vasubandhu (T4027) 215
- A Commentary on the Awakened Mind* (བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་འགྲེལ་) by Nagarjuna (T1800–1801) 337
- A Commentary on "The Buddha Skull Tantra"* (སངས་རྒྱལ་མོད་པའི་བཀའ་འགྲེལ་) by Saraha (T1652) 218
- A Commentary on the Difficult Points of "The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline"* (སངས་རྒྱལ་མོད་པའི་དཀའ་འགྲེལ་) by Butön Rinchen Drup 252
- A Commentary on "The Discourse of Awakening's Ten Stages"* (ས་བརྩ་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Vasubandhu (T3993) 215
- A Commentary on "The Discourse on Interdependent Causality"* (རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱལ་མོད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Vasubandhu (T3995) 215
- A Commentary on "The Foremost Praise from the Gods"* (ལྷ་ལས་ལུམ་བུ་བྱེད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Prajnavarman (T1113) 237
- A Commentary on "The Journey to Lanka Discourse"* (ལཱ་ན་ར་གཤེགས་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Jnanashribhadra (T4018) or by Jnanavajra (T4019) 202
- A Commentary on "The Ornament of the Discourses"* (སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་) by Vasubandhu (T4026) 133, 215
- A Commentary on "The Perfection of Sublime Insight"* (ཤེར་རྒྱུ་) by Dharmamitra (T3796) 60

- A Commentary on “The Perfection of Sublime Insight in One Hundred Thousand Verses”* (འབྲུག་སྒྲིག་) by Damshtasena (T3807-08) 173, 259
- A Commentary on “The Treasury of Observed Phenomena”* (མངོན་འགྲེལ་) 173
- A Commentary on “The Vajra Cutter Discourse”* (རྡོ་རྗེ་གཅོད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Kamalashila (T3817) 173
- A Commentary on “The White Umbrella Crown Tantra”* (གཙུག་ཏོར་གདུགས་དཀར་གྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Shurangamavarma (T3108) 175
- A Commentary on Yoga Tantra* (ཡོ་གའི་འགྲེལ་པ་) by Anandagarbha 175
- A Commentary to Summarize “Vairochana’s Manifest Awakening Tantra”* (རྣམ་སྐར་མངོན་བྱང་གི་བཟུམ་འགྲེལ་) by Buddhaguhya (T2662) 227
- A Compendium of Activities* (བྱ་བ་བདུས་པ་) by Acharya Darpana (T2531) 375
- A Compendium of All Discourses on Logic*, also referred to as *Compendium of Logic* (ཚད་མ་ཀུན་བདུས་; ཚད་མའི་མདོ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་པ་) by Dignaga (T4203) 216, 386, 387, 471
- A Compendium of Observed Phenomena* (མངོན་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་པ་; ཀུན་བདུས་) by Asanga (T4049) 211, 252, 253, 254
- A Compendium of the Great Way* (ཐཱ་ག་བཟུས་) by Asanga (T4048) 56, 211
- A Compendium of the King, Officials, and Subjects* (རྒྱལ་སློན་དམངས་གཞུས་བཟུས་པ་), comprising a root text, *The Five Treasuries of Jewels*, and a branch work, *The Great and Medium Treasures* 414, 415, 475
- A Compendium of the Essence of Wisdom* (ཡེ་ཤེས་སྣང་པོ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་པ་) by Aryadeva (T3851) 210
- A Compendium of Training* (བསྐྱབ་; ཀུན་བདུས་) by Shantideva (T3940) 135, 136, 141, 334
- A Compendium of Wisdom’s Concepts* (རྟོག་བཟུས་) by Shribhadra (T2201) 100
- A Compilation of All Astrology* (རྗེས་ཀུན་བཟུས་པ་) by Rangjung Dorjé 306, 424
- A Compilation of Essentials* (གཙམ་བདུས་) by Shri Vardhana 408
- A Compilation of “The Original Supreme Glory Tantra”* (དཔལ་མཚོག་རིགས་བཟུས་) 275
- A Compilation of “The Vajra Pinnacle Tantra”* (རྗེ་མོ་རིགས་བཟུས་) 275
- A Compilation on Thatness* (དེ་ཉིད་བཟུས་པ་) by Shantarakhita (T4266) 64, 388, 471
- The Complete Illumination of the Hidden Meaning* (ཐུས་དོན་ཀུན་གསལ་) by Jampal Nyngpo 297
- The Complete Path of the Seals* (ཕྱག་རྒྱའི་ལམ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྒྱགས་པ་) by Indrabodhi 337
- The Composition of Rudra Kapyari* (དྲག་པོའི་འབངས་ཀྱིས་སྦྱར་བ་) by Shridharasena 428, 477
- The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight* (ཐུང་པ་; མངོན་ཐུང་པ་) (K13) 59, 127, 258, 359, 420
- The Concise Essence* (སྣང་པོ་བཟུས་པ་) by Bodong Yönten Lodrö 425, 440
- The Concise Long Mantra of the Precious Top Ornament* (འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རྟོག་) (K138) 89
- The Concise Meaning, the Jewel Lamp* (དོན་བཟུས་རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲོན་མེ) 263
- The Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time* (དུས་འཁོར་བཟུས་རྒྱུད་) by Manjushrikirti (T1347) 70, 176, 209, 293, 404, 424, 431
- The Concise Version of Monastic Discipline* (འདུལ་བ་བཟུས་པ་) by Vishésamitra (T4105) 248
- The Condensed Essence of the Eight Branches* (ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱུད་པའི་སྣང་པོ་བཟུས་པ་) 416
- The Continual Flower Garland* (མེ་རྟོག་ཕྱེང་རྒྱུད་) by Vishakhadéva (T4123) 141, 250, 252, 313
- Crushed to Powder* (ཞིབ་མོ་རྩིས་འཐག་) by Nagarjuna (T3830) 208, 209

- Cures for Bird Demons and Rabies* (བྱ་འདྲེ་  
ཁྱི་སྦྱོན་བཅོམ་) by Nubtrön Zhangtrom  
418
- The Cycle of Nine Lamps of the  
Pacification of Suffering* (ཞི་བྱེད་སྦྱོན་མ་དགུ་  
སྐར་) 359
- Cycles on the Extraction of the Essence of  
Nectar* (བདུད་རྩི་བཅུད་ལེན་སྐར་) by Latö  
Marpo and Gya-ben Dorö 418
- The Dawn of Positive Forms* (དཀར་པོ་རྣམ་  
པར་འཆར་བ་) Shri Dharmapala 270
- The Deer-Skin Case One Hundred  
Thousand Verses* (འབྲུམ་གསུང་ཅན་) 259
- Defeat of Harm to the Three Versions of  
the Mother of Sublime Insight* (ཡུམ་གསུམ་  
གནོད་འཛོམས་) by Vasubandhu (T3808)  
173, 257
- The Definite Essence* (ངེས་ཉིད་) by Rinchen  
Zangpo 274
- The Definitive Use of Terms: A Compila-  
tion of the Names of Medicines* (སྒྲན་མིང་  
བྱུར་བཀོལ་སྒྲ་སྦྱོར་) by Chandranandana  
412
- Diagnosis* (མཚན་མེད་?) 407
- The Disc of the Sun* (ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་) by  
Mikyö Dorjé 319
- Discerning Activity's Culmination* (ལས་  
མཐའ་རྣམ་འབྱེད་) by Nagabodhi (T1811)  
220
- Discerning Between Phenomena and Their  
Nature* (ཚེས་དང་ཚེས་ཉིད་རྣམ་འབྱེད་) by  
Maitreya (T4022-23) 141, 211, 212,  
269
- Discerning Between the Center and the  
Extremes* (དབུ་མཐའ་རྣམ་འབྱེད་) by Maitreya  
(T4021) 141, 211, 212, 269
- The Discourse in Verse on Healing* (འཚོ་བའི་  
མདོ་ཚིགས་སྟུ་བཅད་པ་) by Nagarjunagarbha  
(T4307) 411
- The Discourse of All-Encompassing  
Awareness* (ཀླན་འདུམ་རིག་པའི་མདོ་) (K829)  
313
- The Discourse of Awakening's Ten Stages*  
(མདོ་སྡེ་ས་བརྒྱ་པ་) (a chapter of K106) 127
- The Discourse of One Hundred Actions*  
(མདོ་སྡེ་ལས་བརྒྱ་པ་) by Gunaprabha  
(T4118) 90
- The Discourse of One Hundred Homages  
to Renunciation and Fulfillment* (སྐར་  
སྐར་བུག་བརྒྱ་པ་) (K267) 238
- The Discourse of Separate Appearances  
Within the Unmoving Nature of  
Reality* (ཚེས་ཉིད་རང་ངོ་མེ་གཡོ་བར་ཐ་དད་སྣང་བའི་  
མདོ་) (K128) 173
- The Discourse of the Container* (མདོ་སྡེ་ཟམ་  
ཉོག་) (K116-17) 238
- The Discourse of the Definite Elucidation  
of the Wisdom Mind* (དགོངས་པ་ངེས་འབྲེལ་)  
(K774) 137, 386
- The Discourse of the Heart of the  
Perfection of Sublime Insight* (ཤེས་རབ་སྣང་  
པོ་) (K531) 127, 357, 361
- The Discourse of Richly Adorned* (གྲུག་སྟུག་པོ་  
བཀོད་པ་) (K110) 205
- The Discourse of the River's Play* (རྒྱུའང་རོལ་  
པའི་མདོ་; རྒྱུའང་མདོན་པར་རོལ་པའི་མདོ་) 331,  
361
- The Discourse of the Wise and the Foolish*  
(མདོ་སྡེ་མཛོངས་སྒྲན་) (K341) 89, 90
- A Discourse on Letters* (ཡི་གེའི་མདོ་) by  
Chandragomi (T4271) 382
- The Discourse on Pulse Diagnosis* (རྩ་བ་བྲིས་  
པའི་མདོ་) by Kyé Pa (Chi Po?) 413
- The Discourse on the Perfection of  
Sublime Insight in Eight Thousand  
Verses* (བརྒྱད་སྟོང་པ་) (K12) 258, 260
- The Discourse on the Perfection of  
Sublime Insight in One Hundred  
Thousand Verses* (འབྲུམ་; ཤར་བྱིན་འབྲུམ་པ་)  
(K8)
- The Discourse on the Perfection of  
Sublime Insight in Twenty-five  
Thousand Verses* (ཉི་ལྔ་) (K9) 127, 129,  
259, 260
- The Discourse on the Prophetic Dreams of  
King Kriki* (ཀྲི་ཀྲི་འི་རྗེ་ལས་ལུང་བཟུན་གྱི་མདོ་)  
181
- A Discourse on Unadi, etc.* (མུ་རྩ་སོགས་གྱི་  
མདོ་) by Chandragomi (T4427) 383
- A Discourse on Verbal Roots* (བྱིངས་མདོ་) by  
Chandragomi (T4269?) 383

- The Discourse Requested by Bodhisattva Infinite Wisdom* (སྒྲོགས་མེ་ཟད་པས་ལུས་པའི་མདོ) (K89) 59, 173
- The Discourse Requested by Chandragarbha* (རྒྱ་བའི་སྤིང་པོས་ལུས་པའི་མདོ) (K356) 173
- The Discourse Requested by Powerful King of Dharanis* (གཟུངས་ཀྱི་དབང་ལུག་རྒྱལ་པོས་ལུས་པའི་མདོ) (K167?) 151
- The Discourse Requested by Shariputra* (ཤ་རིའི་བུས་ལུས་པའི་མདོ) 403, 474
- The Discourse Requested by the Young God* (ལྷའི་བུ་ལུས་པའི་མདོ) (K161) 122
- The Discourse Showing the Transcendent Buddhas' Inconceivable Mysteries* (དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་གསང་བའི་མདོ) (K185) 123
- The Discourse That Distinguishes Particularities* (བྱུ་བྲག་འབྲེས་པའི་མདོ) by Panini 381
- The Discourse That Gathers Wisdom's Realization* (མདོ་དགོངས་པ་འདུས་པ་; མདོ) 112, 192, 316, 324, 328, 329, 445, 464
- The Discourse That Presents All Qualities* (ཡོན་ཏན་ཡོངས་སུ་བཀོད་པའི་མདོ) (K782) 63
- The Discourse to Assuage Ajatashatru's Despair* (མ་སྐྱེས་དགའི་འཇུང་པ་བསལ་བའི་མདོ) (K216) 127
- Discourses on Healing, Texts Concerning the Treatment of the Life Essence* (སློབ་དབྱུང་གྱི་གཞུང་འཚོ་བའི་མདོ) a collection 414
- Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions* (ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱའི་སྤུན་སེལ་) by Longchenpa 310
- A Dissertation on the Five Aggregates* (ལུང་པོ་ལྡེའི་རབ་བྱེད་; ལུང་པོ་ལྡེ་པ) by Vasubandhu (T4059) 141, 215
- A Drop of Nectar from the Whispered Lineage* (སྤྲན་བརྒྱུད་བདུང་ཚིའི་བློགས་པ) by Devachandra (T2226?) 418
- A Drop of Reasoning* (རིགས་པ་བློགས་པ) by Dharmakirti (T4212) 387, 388, 389, 471
- Drop of Reasons* (གཏན་ཚིག་བློགས་པ) by Dharmakirti (T4213) 387
- The Durga Singha Commentary* (འབྲེལ་པ་དུར་སིང་) by Durga Singha (T4425) 384
- An Easy-to-Understand Commentary on "The Concise Discourse on the Perfection of Sublime Insight"* (ལུས་འབྲེལ་རྟོགས་སྒྲུབ་) by Haribhadra (T3792) 258
- The Eight Branches* (ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱུད་པ) by Vagbhata (T4310-11) 411, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 475, 476
- The Eight Messengers* (པོ་ཉ་བརྒྱུད་) a collection, by Kalidasa 426, 427, 477
- Eighteen Thousand Verses on Logic* (ཚད་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བཅོ་བརྒྱུད་པ) by Alamkara Prajnaka 388
- The Eighth Chapter's Concise Meaning* (ལེ་བརྒྱུད་མའི་བཟུས་དོན་) by Haribhadra (T3793) 258
- An Elaboration on Logic in Three and a Half Thousand Verses* (ཚད་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལྷུང་དང་བཞི་པ) by Alamkara Prajnaka 388
- Eloquent Playful Sea of Speech* (ལེགས་བཤད་དག་གི་རོལ་མཚོ) by Tenzin Chökyi Nyima 427
- Elucidating a Variety of Points* (སྒྲེལ་གསལ་བ) by Shridharasena (T4453) 428, 477
- Elucidating Hidden Pith Instructions* (མན་དག་སྐྱམ་པ་གསལ་བྱེད་) 425
- Elucidating the Teaching's Collections* (སྡོད་གསལ་བྱེད་) 361
- Emptying the Wheel of Life's Depths* (འཁོར་བ་དོང་སྤྲུག་) 106
- Entering the Conduct of Enlightenment* (སྤོང་འཇུག་) by Shantideva (T3871) 141, 266, 313, 334
- Entering the Middle Way* (དབུ་མལ་འཇུག་པ) by Chandrakirti (T3861-62) 12, 266, 268, 319
- The Essence of Accomplishment* (སྤྲིང་པོ་དོན་གསུམ་) 314
- The Essence of Nectar: The Four Great Tantras of the Eight Branches' Secret Pith Instructions* (བདུང་ཚིམ་སྤྲིང་པོ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱུད་པ་གསལ་བ་མན་དག་གི་རྒྱུད་བཞི་) by Yutok Yönten Gönpö 420
- The Essence of Wisdom Tantra* (ཡེ་བཤམ་སྤིང་པོ) (K421) 311

- The Essential Collection in Twenty-five Chapters* (ཡང་ཚེས་ལེ་བུ་ཉེར་ལྔ་པ་) by Machik Lapdrön 363
- Establishing Debate* (ཚོད་པ་གྲུབ་) by Vridhacharya Vasubandhu 386, 471
- Establishing Other Continuums* (རྒྱུད་གཞན་གྲུབ་པ་) by Dharmakirti (T4219) 387
- Establishing the Essentials of Medicine* (གཙུག་པར་གྲུབ་པ་) by Suryapala 407, 410, 411, 416, 474
- Establishing the Validity of Designations* (ཐ་སྲུང་གྲུབ་པ་) 209
- The Ever-Excellent Grammar Discourse* (ཀུན་བཟང་སྒྲ་མདོ་) by Chandrakirti 382
- The Exalted Discourse on the Meditative State That Gathers All Merits* (འཕགས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་ཐོས་ཅད་སྤུང་པའི་ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱི་མདོ་) (K134) 331
- The Excellent Vase of Requisites* (ཉིར་མཁོ་བྱས་བཟང་) by Ön Ngélék Tenzin 424
- An Explanation of Categories* (རྣམ་དབྱེ་འགྲེལ་) by Buddhaguhya 309
- The Explanatory Tantra: The Matrix of Wisdom Mind* (བཤད་རྒྱུད་དགོངས་པ་འདུས་པ་) 313
- An Explicit Praise of Apparent Reality* (ཚོས་ཅན་ལ་གསལ་བར་བསྟོད་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1121) 208
- An Extensive Commentary to “The Basic Discourse on Monastic Discipline”* (འདུལ་བ་མདོའི་རྒྱ་ཚེར་འགྲེལ་) by Dharmamitra (T4120) 250
- An Extensive Commentary to “The Later Meditative Concentration Tantra”* (བསམ་གཏན་ཕྱི་མའི་རྒྱས་འགྲེལ་) by Buddhaguhya (T2670) 227
- An Extensive Commentary to “The Perfection of Sublime Insight Discourse in Eight Thousand Stanzas”* (བརྒྱུད་སྟོང་འགྲེལ་ཚེན་) by Haribhadra (T3791) 211, 403
- An Extensive Commentary to “The Secret Essence Tantra”* (རྒྱ་ཚེར་འགྲེལ་) by Suryaprabhasingha 310
- Eye Medicine* (མིག་སྒྲུབ་) by Sangyé Lingpa 418
- Familiarization with the Ultimate* (དོན་དམ་བསྟེན་པ་) by Pundarika (T1348) 431
- Fearing Nothing* (གལ་འཛིགས་མེད་) 266
- Fearsome Vajra’s Seven Segments* (འཛིགས་བྱུང་རྟོག་བདུན་) (K470?) 291
- The Fearsome Vajra Subsequent Awareness Tantra* (འཛིགས་བྱུང་རྗེས་སུ་རིག་པ་) 367
- The Fifty-Verse Karika for Novices* (ཀུ་རི་ཀུ་ལྔ་བཅུ་པ་) by Sanghabhadra or Kamalashila (T4128) 248, 250
- The Fifty Verses* (ལྔ་བཅུ་པ་) by Aryadeva 363
- Five Nails of Equanimity* (རོ་སྟོམས་གཟེར་ལྔ་) by Tilopa 366
- The Five Stages* (རིམ་པ་ལྔ་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1802) 220
- The Five Treasuries of Jewels* (རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཛོད་ལྔ་) 415
- The Flower Ornament Discourse* (ཕལ་ཚེན་; མངས་རྒྱས་ཕལ་པོ་ཆེ་) (K44) 37, 56, 85, 156, 205, 334, 423, 537
- The Foremost Presentation of the Concise Meaning of the Yoga Tantras* (རྣམ་འབྱུར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཙུན་པའི་དོན་འབྲུང་བའི་བཤད་པ་ཚེན་མོ་) by Butön Rinchen Drup 275
- The Fortunate Age Discourse* (མངོན་ལྔ་བསྐྱལ་པ་བཟང་པོ་) (K94) 44, 45, 173
- The Four Hundred Stanza Treatise* (བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་; རྣམ་འབྱུར་རྟུན་པ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་) by Aryadeva (T3846) 209, 266, 268
- The Four Medical Tantras* (རྒྱུད་བཞི་) 413, 419, 420, 421, 601
- The Four Stages* (རིམ་པ་བཞི་པ་) by Krishnacharya (T1451) 222
- The Framework of Medicine* (སྒྲིན་གྱི་ཁོག་དབྱེད་) by Zurkhar 410
- The Framework Scripture* (ཁོག་གཞུང་) by Vimalamitra 102, 188, 309, 312
- Fulfillment of Desire* (འདོད་འཇོ་) by Subhutchandra (T4300) 429
- The Full Length Master Copy* (སྤྱི་འགྲུར་ཚེན་མོ་) 259
- The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri* (མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཟོད་པ་; མཚན་



- བཛོད་) (K360) 137, 292, 293, 294, 359, 461, 567, 568  
*The Fully Ordained Monks' Karika* (རགེ  
 སློང་གི་ཀུ་རི་ཀུ) 248  
*The Fundamental Verses on Sublime  
 Insight* (ཚ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་) by Nagarjuna  
 (T3824) 208, 209, 266, 267, 268,  
 270, 313
- A Garland of Jewels Memorandum* (ཟིན་  
 གྱིས་རིན་ཆེན་ཕྱེང་བ་) by Rabjampa Orgyen  
 Chödrak 311  
*The Garland of Six Applications* (སྦྱར་ཕྱེང་)  
 by Tsami Sangyé Drak 369  
*The Garland of the Three Mixtures* (སྲིལ་ས་  
 གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱེང་བ་) 204  
*The Garland Trilogy* (ཕྱེང་བ་སྟོར་གསུམ་) a  
 collection, by Abhayakaragupta 231,  
 232  
*Garlands of Lamps of Knowledge* (ཤེས་རབ་  
 སྟོན་མའི་ཕྱེང་བ་) Bhavaviveka/  
 Buddhashrijnana (T3800) 266, 267  
*The Gateway to Scholarship* (མཁམ་པ་འདུག་  
 པའི་སྐོར་) by Sakya Pandit 429  
*The Gathering of Joyful Buddhas* (བདེ་  
 གཤེགས་འདུས་པ་) 195  
*The General Discourse That Gathers  
 Wisdom's Realization* (སྦྱི་དོན་དགོངས་འདུས་)  
 192  
*The General Meaning of the Sovereign  
 Tantra, the Secret Essence: The Lord of  
 Secrets' Oral Transmission* (རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་གསང་  
 བ་སྦྱིང་པའི་སྦྱི་དོན་གསང་བདག་ལཱ་ལུང་) by  
 Lochen Dharmashri 311  
*A General Presentation of the Action and  
 Conduct Tantras* (བྱ་སྦྱོང་གྱི་སྦྱི་རྣམ་) by  
 Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo 273  
*The Glorious Original Supreme Tantra*  
 (དཔལ་མཚོག་དང་པོ་: དཔལ་མཚོག་) (K487)  
 227, 274  
*The Glorious Secret Accomplishment  
 Tantra* (དཔལ་གསང་བའི་གྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱུད་)  
 176  
*The Glorious Tantra of Complete Victory  
 in War* (དཔལ་གཡུལ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱུད་)  
 425
- The Glorious Tantra of the Four Elements'  
 Exhaustion* (དཔལ་འབྲུང་བཞི་ཟད་པའི་རྒྱུད་)  
 106  
*The Golden Needle of the Litany of  
 Manjushri's Names* (མཚན་བཛོད་གསེར་གྱི་ལུར་  
 ས་) 359  
*A Graded Outline* (རྣམ་བཞག་རིམ་པ་) by  
 Nagabodhi (T1809) 220  
*The Grasped Quintessence* (ཟིན་ཏིག་) by  
 Darma Gönpö 417  
*The Great and Medium Treasures* (མཛོད་ཆེ་  
 འབྲིང་) 415  
*The Great Array of Ati* (ཨ་ཏི་བཀོད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་)  
 112  
*The Great Collection of Teachings* (བཀའ་ཚོམ་  
 ཆེན་པོ་) by Machik Lapdrön 363  
*The Great Commentary on Logic*  
 (ལྡིག་ཚད་ཆེན་) by Kamalashila 388  
*The Great Commentary on "The  
 Perfection of Sublime Insight in Eight  
 Thousand Verses"* (བརྒྱུད་སྦྱང་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་) by  
 Haribhadra 258, 260  
*The Great Commentary on Vajra of  
 Delight* (དགུམ་འོད་རློ་རོ་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་) by  
 Naropa 369  
*The Great Commentary to "The Tantra of  
 the Wheel of Time"* (འགྲེལ་ཆེན་) 70  
*The Great Compendium Discourse* (འདུས་པ་  
 ཆེན་པོ་) (K34) 206  
*The Great Compendium of Activity  
 Rituals* (ལས་ཚོག་ཆེན་པོ་) by Butön Rinchen  
 Drup 252  
*The Great Discourse of Transcendence of  
 Sorrow* (སྤང་འདས་ཆེན་པོ་) (K119-121) 90  
*The Great Discourse on Mindfulness* (དུན་  
 པ་ཉེར་གཞག་) (K287) 90  
*The Great Drum Discourse* (རྩ་བོ་ཆེད་མཛོད་)  
 (K222) 207, 371  
*The Great Explanatory Text* (རྣམ་བཤད་ཆེན་  
 མོ་) by Padmasambhava 310  
*The Great River Tantra of Ali Kali* (ལྷ་ལི་ཀུ་  
 ལི་རྩ་ལྷང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱུད་) 357, 361  
*The Great Seal That Ends the Turning of  
 the Wheel of Life* (ཕྱག་ཆེན་འཁོར་བ་རྒྱུད་གཙོང་  
 གྱི་གདམས་ངག་) by Saraha 374

- The Great Tantra of the Flourishing Wish-Granting Tree* (དངུལ་བསམ་ཚུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོ་) 112
- The Great Tantra of the Union of Sun and Moon* (ཉི་ཟླ་ལ་སྦྲུང་གྱི་རྒྱུད་) 104
- The Great Teaching Session* (གཏང་གུན་ཆེན་པོ་) by Gö Kukpa Lhétsé 280
- The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition* (བྱེ་བྲག་བཤད་མཛོད་) 140, 202, 203, 250, 410, 455
- The Great Validity* (འཐད་ལྡན་ཆེན་པོ་) by Dharmottara (T4227) 388
- The “Hand” Commentary to the Great Middle Way* (དབུ་མ་ལག་པའི་ཅན་ཙ་ཙ་ལྟེ་ལ་) by Aryadeva (T3844) 210
- Haravali* (ཀྲ་ལུ་བཞུ་) by Shridharasena 428, 477
- The Heart Essence of the Dakinis* (སེམས་འགྲོ་ཡང་རྟིག་) 328
- The Heart Essence of Vimalamitra* (བི་མ་སྟིང་རྟིག་) 328
- Helping Disciples* (སློབ་མཁའ་ཕན་པ་) by Dharmottara (T4231) 388
- The Highest Continuity* (རྒྱུད་སྐྱམ་) by Maitreya (T4024) 12, 76, 89, 121, 125, 138, 141, 152, 211, 212, 213, 269, 270, 271, 313, 317, 318, 420, 463, 548, 549, 575, 576
- The Highest Miraculous Display* (སྐྱེ་འཕུལ་སྒྲུ་མ་) 68, 104
- The Highest Scripture* (ཡུང་སྒྲུ་མ་) (K7) 250
- The Highest Tantra of Manifest Expression* (མངོན་བཟོད་) (K369) 298
- Horse Treatments* (རྟ་དཔྱད་) 416
- The Hundred Histories* (རྟོགས་བཟོད་བརྒྱ་པ་) (K343) 90
- The Hundred Light Rays* (འོད་ཟེར་བརྒྱ་པ་) by Durampa Chimé Déwa 425
- The Hundred Prescriptions* (སྦྱོར་བ་བརྒྱ་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T4306) 411, 475
- The Hundred Meditation Techniques* (སྐྱེ་བ་ཐབས་བརྒྱ་མ་) by Abhayakaragupta 341, 375
- The Hundred Thousand Instructions on the “Mani” Mantra* (མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ་) by Songtsen Gampo 240
- The Hundred Thousand Visualizations* (དམིགས་འབུམ་) 366
- Illuminating Light Rays: The Essence of the Profound Meaning Explained* (བཤད་རྒྱུར་ཐབ་དོན་སྟོང་པོ་སྟོང་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་) by Butön Rinchen Drup 307
- Illuminating the Absolute* (དེ་ཉིད་སྟངས་) by Anandagarbha (T2510) 274
- Illuminating “The Twenty Thousand Verses”* (ཉི་ཟླ་མང་; གཉིས་ལྷི་སྟངས་) by Vimuktisena (T3787-88) 258, 260
- The Illuminating Torch* (གསལ་ལྷོན་) 426
- Illuminating What Is Difficult to Understand* (རྟོགས་དཀའ་ལྡན་སྟངས་) Dharmakirtishri (T3794) 260
- The Illumination of Knowledge* (རྣམ་བཤད་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་) by Pang Loten 254
- Illumination of the Middle Way* (དབུ་མ་སྟངས་) Kamalashila (T3887) 266
- The Inconceivable* (བསམ་མི་ཁྲབ་) by Kuddala (T2228) 337
- The Increasing-by-One Scriptures* (གཅིག་ལས་འཕྲོམ་པའི་ཡུང་) 170, 171, 450
- The Individual Liberation Discourse* (སོ་བར་མདོ་) (K2) 87, 179, 248, 250
- Indra’s Grammar* (དབང་པོའི་བཏུ་སྟོད་; མི་རྒྱ་བློ་རུ་) 379, 381, 383, 384
- The Innermost Essence of the Dakinis* (སེམས་འགྲོ་ཡང་རྟིག་) 328
- The Innermost Essence of the Spiritual Master* (སྐྱམ་ཡང་རྟིག་) 328
- The Innermost Quintessence* (ཡང་རྟིག་) by Darma Gönpö 417
- Intentional Teachings* (ཚོམས་; ཆེད་དུ་བཟོད་པའི་ཚོམས་) (K326) 334
- An Introduction to Form: A Commentary to the Meaning of Panini* (བྲུ་ཁྱི་པའི་དོན་འགྲེལ་གསུགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་) by Dharmakirti 380, 381, 470
- An Introduction to “The Brief Tantra of the Wheel of Supreme Bliss”* (ཉུང་དུ་བྲི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མཚན་སྦྱོར་) by Sumatakiṛti (T1411) 298

- The Jewel Commentary* (དཀོན་མཚོ་གཟུང་འགྲེལ་  
རྒྱུ) by Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo 310
- The Jewel Garland of Mercury  
Prescriptions* (དངུལ་རྒྱུ་རྫོང་བ་རིན་ཆེན་མེད་བ་)  
by Nagarjuna 411
- The Jewel Garland of Practice* (ལག་ལེན་རྟོག་  
མེད་) by Durampa Chimé Déwa 425
- The Jewel Garland of the Summary of  
Treatments* (སྐད་ཕྱད་བམུས་དོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མེད་  
བ་) by Tötön Könchok Kyab 418
- The Journey to Lanka Discourse* (ལང་ཀར་  
གཤེགས་པ་) (K107) 65, 66, 73, 74, 156,  
202, 205, 207, 381
- The Joy of the Learned* (མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་) by  
Butön Rinchen Drup 307, 423
- The Kalapa Grammar* (ཀ་ལ་པ་བླ་ཀར་ན་) by  
Saptavarman 140, 380, 383, 384, 487
- Karma Sbatam* (ཀམ་པ་འདྲི་བ་) by Gunaprabha  
(T4118) 250
- The Key That Opens a Hundred Doors, A  
Commentary to the Treasury of the  
Gathering of Words and Meanings* (མིང་  
དོན་ཉེ་བར་བམུས་པ་མཛོད་འགྲེལ་སློབ་བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་པའི་ལྡེ་བུ་  
མིག་) by Subhutchandra (T4308), but  
a new translation by Dharmakara 429
- The Knowledge of Healing Tantra* (གསོ་བ་  
རིག་པའི་རྒྱུད་) 411
- The Kriyasamucchā* (ཀྱི་ཡ་ས་སུ་རྩེ་) 403
- Kumarasambhava* (གཞིན་རྒྱ་འབྲུང་བ་) by  
Kalidasa 427
- A Lamp for the Concise Practice*  
(སྨོན་བམུས་སྨོན་མེ) by Aryadeva (T1803)  
220
- The Lamp of Precious Jewels Discourse*  
(དཀོན་མཚོ་གཟུང་ལ་ཡའི་མཛོད་) (K847) 105
- The Lamp of Proof of Reasoning* (རིག་གྲུབ་  
སྨོན་མེ) by Chandragomi (T4242) 388
- A Lamp on the Path to Awakening* (བྱང་ཆུབ་  
ལམ་གྱི་སྨོན་མེ) by Atisha (T3947-48) 332,  
333
- A Large Vase of Nectar* (བདུད་རྩི་ཆེ་བུམ་ཅན་)  
by Dorbum Chödrak Bönpo Drak-tsal  
418
- The Later Meditative Concentration  
Tantra* (བསམ་གཏན་ཕྱི་མ་) (K808) 272
- The Latter Tantra of Binder of the  
Wheel* (སྒྲིལ་འབྲུང་གི་རྒྱུད་ཕྱི་མ་) (K367) 193
- The Latter Tantra of the Wheel of Time*  
(དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལའི་རྒྱུད་ཕྱི་མ་) (K363) 295, 382
- Leading to Certainty* (ངེས་ཤེས་འདོན་བྱེད་)  
420
- The Legend of the Joyful Spiritual Friend*  
(དགའ་བའི་བཤེས་གྱི་རྟོགས་བཞེད་) (T4146) 171,  
173
- Life Vase of Nectar* (བདུད་རྩི་ཆེ་བུམ་) by Létro  
Lingpa 419
- The Life Veda* (ཆེད་རིག་བྱེད་) 405, 406, 410,  
474
- Like the Tip of a Lamp Flame* (མར་མེའི་རྩེ་མོ་  
ལྷ་བུ་) by Saroruha (T1220) 337
- The Lion's Perfect Dynamic Expression*  
(སེང་གེ་རྩལ་རྒྱུགས་) 103
- Logic: A Treasure of Reason* (ཚད་མ་རིག་པའི་  
གཏེར་) by Sakyā Pandita 390, 472
- The Long Scriptures* (གྲུང་རིང་པོ་) 170
- The Lord of Rest* (རྗེ་བཅུན་ལལ་གསོ་) by Mikyö  
Dorjé 319
- Lotus Commentary Elucidating the  
Difficult Points* (དགའ་འགྲེལ་པརྩ་ཅན་) by  
Bhavabhadrā (T1181) 301
- The Magical Mirror of Existence* (སྲིད་པ་  
འཕུལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་) by Dharmakara? 426
- The Mahabhasha* (མ་རྩ་བླ་པ་) by Vararuchi  
380, 381, 382, 470
- The Major Commentary: A Clear Lamp*  
(སྨོན་མེ་གསལ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་) by Butön Rinchen  
Drup 279
- The Manifest Expression of Supreme Bliss*  
(བདེ་མཚོ་གཟུང་བཞེད་) 367
- The Manifold Adornment of the Victory  
Banner's Tip* (རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་རྩི་ཆེ་མེའི་དབུང་རྒྱ་རྩ་)  
(K923) 404
- The Manifold Instruction on the Buddha  
of Infinite Life That Accomplishes  
Beings' Welfare* (ཆོ་དཔག་མེད་འགྲོ་དོན་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་  
ཅན་) by Réchungpa 346
- Manjusbrimitra's Oral Instructions* (རྣམས་  
དཔལ་ཞལ་གྲུང་) by Buddhajñāna (T1854)  
230

- Manjushri's Net of Magical Illusion Tantra* (འཇམ་དཔལ་སྐུ་འཕུལ་བྲ་བ་) 292
- The Matrix of Mystery Mind Tantra* (ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་) (K443) 276, 573
- The Matrix of Mystery Root Tantra* (གསང་འདུས་ཚུལ་) 367
- The Matrix of Mystery Tantra* (གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་; འདུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་) (K442) 277, 279, 572
- The Meaning of the Scripture "The Discourse of the Definite Elucidation of the Wisdom Mind"* (མདོ་སྡེ་དགོངས་པ་ཇེས་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ཡུང་དོན་) by Longchenpa 137
- Meaningful to Behold* (མཐོང་བ་དོན་ལྡན་) by Taranata 89
- Medinikara* (མེ་དྲི་ནི་ཀར་) 428, 477
- The Meditation Technique of Ever Excellent* (སྐྱབ་ཐབས་ཀུན་བཟང་) by Buddhajñana (T1855) 229
- The Meditation Technique of Selfless Goddess* (བདག་མེད་མའི་སྐྱབ་ཐབས་) by Dombi Héruka (T1305) 224
- The Meditation Technique of the Vajra Basic Space of Phenomena* (རྫོག་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་ཐབས་) by Buddhaghuhya (T3526?) 227
- The Medium Length Master Copy* (སྒྲ་འགྲུབ་འབྲིང་པོ་) 259
- The Medium Length Scriptures* (ལུང་བར་མ་) 171
- Memoranda of Translator Tuksé* (ཐུགས་སྐྱེས་འོ་ལྷའི་བེན་བྲིས་) by Butön Rinchen Drup 307
- Mercury Prescriptions* (དངུལ་རྩེའི་སྦྱར་) by Rinchen Lingpa 418, 476
- A Message from a Friend* (བཞེས་སྦྱིང་) by Nagarjuna (T4182) 208, 313
- Metaphors* (དཔེར་བཞེད་) by Shri Jnana 428
- Metrical Composition That Satisfies on Being Heard* (ཐོབ་སྦྱར་ཐོས་པས་རྒྱབ་པ་) by Muni Krishnamishra 428
- The Mirror of Poetics* ([སྤྱན་དངགས་]མེ་ལོང་) by Dandi (T4301) 427
- The Mirror of the Great Sun* (ཉི་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་མེ་ལོང་) by Mikyö Dorjé 403
- Miscellaneous Chinese Treatments* (བློ་དཔུང་ཐོར་བུ་) 414
- The Moon of Words* (ཚིག་གི་རྒྱབ་) 428, 429, 477
- The Moon's Radiance* (རྒྱ་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་) by Zhangtön Ziji Barwa 418
- Moonlight of Analysis* (རབ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཟེར་) by Ramachandra 380, 381, 470
- Moonlight of the Words' Meanings* (རྒྱ་ཟེར་; ཚིག་དོན་རྒྱ་ཟེར་) by Chandranandana (T4312) 411, 412, 416, 475
- The Mother and Child Application of the Summary of the Five* (ཕྲ་བཟུས་ཀྱི་ལག་ལེན་མ་བུ་) by Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen 423
- Naropa's Treasure Box* (རྒྱ་རོ་བའི་སྦྱོམ་མེ་) by Naropa 369
- The Natural Liberation of Doubts* (ཐོ་རྗེས་རང་གྲོལ་) by Wui Ti 413
- The Nectar of Explanation* (ནམ་བཤའ་དབུང་ཅི་) 428, 429, 477
- Nectar Which Cures Death* (བདུད་ཅི་འཆི་གསེས་) by Tang-men
- The Net of Magical Illusion of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (སྐུ་འཕུལ་ཞི་ལྷོ་) 311
- The Net of Magical Illusion Tantra* (སྐུ་འཕུལ་; སྐུ་འཕུལ་བྲ་བ་) (K466) 223, 292, 310, 314, 324, 329
- The Nine Profound Modes* (ཟབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་དགུ་) by Saroruha
- The Noble Cluster of Jewels Discourse* (དཀོན་མཆོག་བརྗེགས་པ་) (P-K760) 90, 156, 205
- Notes to the Main Text* (གཞུང་མཚན་) by Tötön Könchok Kyab 418
- An Ocean of Dakas Supreme Bliss Tantra* (བདེ་མཚོག་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱུད་) (K372) 176, 177, 297, 423
- An Ocean of Jewels* (རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་) 425
- The Ocean-like Exposition Tantra* (བཤའ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱ་མཚོ་) 311
- Olapati* (ཨོལ་པ་ཏི་) by Krishnacharin 337
- The One Hundred and Fifty Verse Commentary to the Perfection of*

- Sublime Insight* (ཤར་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུ་ལྷ་བརྒྱུ་པའི་  
འགྲེལ་པ་) by Jnanamitra (T2647) 224
- One Hundred Instructions* (གདམས་པ་ཇག་བརྒྱ་  
པ་) 204
- One Hundred Thousand Verses on  
Healing Treatments* (གསོ་དཔུང་འབྲུག་པ་) by  
Brahma 405, 407
- One Hundred Thousand Verses on  
Observed Phenomena* (ཚོས་མངོན་སྟོང་ཕྱག་  
བརྒྱ་པ་) by Maitreya 252
- The Origins of Binder of the Wheel  
Tantra* (རྩོམ་འབྲུང་) (K373) 231, 298,  
403, 474
- The Ornament of Kosala* (ཀོས་ལའི་རྒྱན་) by  
Shakyamitra (T2503) 227, 403
- The Ornament of Manifest Realization*  
(མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་) by Maitreya (T3786)  
12, 140, 141, 155, 211, 212, 213, 257,  
258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 319, 459,  
549, 557, 558, 559
- The Ornament of the Discourses* (མདོ་ལྟེ་རྒྱན་)  
by Maitreya (T4020) 55, 59, 131, 132,  
133, 134, 140, 141, 211, 212, 213,  
215, 269, 334
- The Ornament of the Middle Way* (དབུ་མ་  
རྒྱན་) by Shantarakshita (T3884-85)  
141, 266
- The Ornament of the Sage's Wisdom  
Mind* (ཐུབ་པ་དགོངས་རྒྱན་) by  
Abhayakaragupta (T3903) 123, 141
- The Ornate Knot* (རྒྱ་མདུད་མ་) 366
- Panini's Grammar* (ཤུ་རི་བླ་ཀར་ན་) by  
Panini 381, 382, 471
- The Path of Pleasant Travel, the Chariot  
of the Dakpo Kagyu Accomplishment*  
(དཔག་བརྒྱུད་གྲུབ་པའི་ཤིང་རྩ་བདེ་བར་འདྲེན་པའི་གུམ་  
ལམ་) by Mikyö Dorjé 319
- The Path's Array* (ལམ་རྩམ་བཞོད་) by  
Buddhaguhya (P-T4736) 313
- The Peacocks' Entwined Necks* (སྐ་བྱ་འཇིང་  
བསྟོན་པ་) 106
- The Pith Instructions, a Garland of Views*  
(མནངག་ལྷ་བའི་ཕྱིང་བ་) by Padmasambhava  
(P-T4726) 325, 464
- The Play That Delights All Nagas* (སྐྱུ་ཀྱུན་དུ་  
དགའ་བའི་རྫོས་གར་) by Shri Harsadeva  
(T4154) 429
- The Play That Delights the Whole World*  
(འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀྱུན་དུ་དགའ་བའི་རྫོས་གར་) by  
Chandragomi (T4153) 429
- Praises to Skillful Means, Supreme  
Compassion* (ཐབས་སྤྱོད་ཇི་ཅེན་པོ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་) by  
Nagarjuna 208
- Praises to Sublime Insight, Mother of the  
Four Exalted Beings* (ཤར་ལྷན་པར་འཕགས་བཞིའི་  
ཡུམ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1127)  
208
- Praises to the Basic Space of Phenomena*  
(ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་) by Nagarjuna  
(T1118) 208
- Praises to the Incomparable* (དཔེ་མེད་པར་བསྟོད་  
པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1119) 208
- Praises to the Inconceivable* (བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་  
པར་བསྟོད་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1128)  
208
- Praises to the Supramundane* (འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་  
འདས་པར་བསྟོད་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T1120)  
208
- Praises to the Three Bodies of  
Enlightenment* (སྐྱུ་གསུམ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་) by  
Nagarjuna (T1123) 208
- Praises to the Ultimate* (དོན་དམ་པར་བསྟོད་པ་)  
by Nagarjuna (T1122) 208
- The Precepts of Pundarika* (མདོ་དཀར་ལལ་  
ལུང་) by Kéwang Norzang Gyatso and  
Pukpa Lhundrup Gyatso 424
- The Precious Design* (རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐུར་ཁབ་) by  
Lalitavajra 309
- The Precious Garland* (རིན་ཆེན་ཕྱིང་བ་) by  
Nagarjuna (T4158) 89, 208, 209
- The Precious Lotus Garland of Blazing  
Dharma* (ཚོས་འབར་པ་རྒྱ་གཉེས་ཕྱིང་བ་) by Dorjé  
Lingpa 419
- The Precious Treasury of the Unborn* (སྐྱེ་  
མེད་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་) by Aryadeva  
(T3839) 210
- The Pristine Wisdom Dakini's  
Instructions for Curing Illness* (ཡེ་ཤེས་  
མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ནད་སེལ་གྱི་གདམས་པ་) by Tropu  
Jampa Pal 418

- The Proclamation of Brahma: Characteristics of Painting* (རི་མེདི་མཚན་ ཉིད་ཚངས་པའི་ཚད་ཡིག) by Atreya 394
- The Profound Inner Meaning* (ཟབ་མོན་དང་ འོན) by Rangjung Dorje 306, 317, 318, 463, 575, 576
- The Profound Innermost Essence* (ཟབ་མོ་ཡང་ ཉིག) 328
- The Profound Meaning, the Essence of Wisdom Mind* (ཟབ་དོན་སྤྱུགས་སྣང་ལྷ་བྱ) by Samten Özer 364, 366
- The Profound Meaning That Covers the Plains* (ཟབ་དོན་གང་བཟའ་མ) by Taranata 355
- Proof of Omniscience* (ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྲེན་གྲུབ) by Shubagupta (T4243) 388
- Proof of the Significance of the External* (ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་གྲུབ) by Shubagupta (T4244) 388
- Punjaraja: The Long Commentary* (འགྲེལ་ ཆེན་པུའུ་རྩེ་རྩེ) 385
- The Purification Tantra of Buddha All-Knowing* (སྤོང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱན་རིག་; སྤོང་རྒྱུད) (K483 and 485) 274, 275,
- The Purple Collection: A Quintessential Drop* (བོ་བུམ་སྤྲུག་པ་ཉི་ཀ་ཡང་ཉིག) by Viji Champa Shilaha 414
- The Qualities of Meditation and Poetics* (སྨྲན་དང་གསལ་སྒྲམ་པའི་ཚོམ་) by Agnivesha's daughter 427
- The Questions of Subahu Tantra* (དབུང་བཟང་[གི་རྒྱུད་]) (K805) 159, 272
- Radiant Discipline* (འདུལ་བ་འོད་ལྗན) by Shakyaprabha (T4125) 125
- The Radiant Lamp* (སྒྲོན་གསལ་; རབ་དུ་སྒྲོན་གསལ་; སྒྲོན་མ་གསལ་བ) by Chandrakirti (T1785) 157, 160, 277
- Raghuvamsha* (ར་ལྷ་མོ་ཤ་ཤ) by Ramashrama 427
- Ramanaya* (རྣ་མ་ཏུ་ཡ) by Valmiki 427
- The Rare and Sublime Cloud Discourse* (དཀོན་མཚོག་སྤྱིན་གྱི་མདོ) (K231) 56, 57
- A Rational System of Exposition* (རྣམ་བཤད་རིགས་པ) by Vasubandhu (T4061) 117, 122, 125, 139, 215
- Rays of Sunlight* (ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར) by Tsonapa 251, 556
- Realizing Coemergence* (སྨྲན་ཅིག་སྤྱེས་གྲུབ) by Dhombi Héruka (T2223) 337
- Reasoning for Debate* (ཚོད་པའི་རིག་པ) by Dharmakirti (T4218) 387
- Red Pills* (རིལ་བྱ་དམར་པོ) by Tangtong Gyalpo 419
- The Red Records* (རིག་བློག་དམར་པོ) 259
- The Red Slayer of the Lord of Death Tantra* (གཤེན་རྗེ་བཤེད་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱུད) (K474) 410
- A Refutation of Arguments* (ཚོད་སྒྲོག) by Nagarjuna (T3828) 208, 209
- Relying on Turquoise for Poisoning, Withering Flesh, and Sores* (གཤམ་གཤེར་དུག་གེ་མོ) by Nanam Sok-men 418
- Removing Rust* (གཤམ་ལོ་མེལ) by Dési Sangyé Gyatso 403
- Returning the Buddha's Kindness Discourse* (མངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དྲིན་ལན་བསམ་བསམ་པའི་མདོ) (K353) 50, 158
- The Reunion of Father and Son Discourse* (ཡལ་སྐམ་མཇལ་བའི་མདོ) (K60) 64, 90
- The Ripened Stalks of the Definitive Meaning* (ངེས་དོན་སྣེ་མ) by Butön Rinchen Drup 307
- The Ritual for Manifest Realization of Binder of the Wheel* (འཁོར་ལོ་སྤོམ་པའི་མངོན་རྟོགས) by Luyipa (T1427) 221
- Rongtön's Major Commentary on the Perfection of Sublime Insight* (མར་འོང་རྒྱུག་ཆེན་མོ) 261
- The Root Discourse on Monastic Discipline* (མདོ་རྩ་; འདུལ་བའི་མདོ) by Gunaprabha (T4117)
- The Root Tantra of Manjusvri* (འཇམ་དཔལ་ཙ་རྒྱུད) (K543) 207, 210, 214, 216, 224, 237, 381
- The Root Tantra of the Wheel of Time* (དུས་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྩ་རྒྱུད) 431
- Running Letters* (རྒྱག་འཇམ་) by Chimtsön Sengé 254

- The Sacred Golden Light Discourse* (མདོ་མེ་གསེར་འོད་དམ་པ་) (K555) 174, 408
- The Sambuta Tantra* (སུལ་ཏ་; སུལ་ཏི) (K376 or 381?) 298, 303
- Sarasvati's Grammar* (ས་ར་སྐྱི་བློ་ཀ་ར་ན་) by Anubhuti 384
- The Scripture of Distinctions* (ལུང་རྣམ་འབྲེད་) (K3) 250
- The Scripture on Monastic Discipline* (འདུལ་བའི་ལུང་) 250
- The Second Volume* (བམ་གཉིས་) (T4347) 135
- The Secret Absolute* (གསང་བའི་དེ་ལོ་ན་ཉིད་) by Krishnacharya (T1450) 222
- Secret Conduct* (གསང་སྲོད་) by Naropa 366
- The Secret Essence Tantra* (གསང་བ་སྣང་པོ་; དཔལ་གསང་བའི་སྣང་པོ་; གསང་སྣང་) 71, 101, 102, 195, 309, 310, 311, 329, 572, 574
- The Secret Heart Essence* (གསང་བ་སྣང་ཉིག་) 328, 420
- The Secret Tantra of the Rites of All Sacred Circles* (གསང་བ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུད་) (K806) 272
- The Seer's Heart Essence Medicine*  
*Consecration Cycles* (དང་མོང་སྣང་ཐིག་སྐྱེན་སྐབ་སྟོར་) by Guru Chöwang 418
- The Segment on Kurukullé* (ཀུརུ་ཀུལྲེ་འོ་ཚྭ་པ་) (T3578?) 224
- The Self-Arisen Doctrine Like an Only Child* (རང་བྱུང་བསྐྱེན་པ་བྱ་གཅིག་པ་) 109
- The Series of Important Medicines* (སྐྱེན་ཆེན་པོའི་རིས་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T4436) 411
- The Seven Treasures* (མཛོད་བདུན་) a collection, by Longchenpa 328
- Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness* (སྣང་ཉིད་བདུན་ཅུ་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T4436) 208, 209
- Shakatayana* (ཤ་ཀ་རྒྱ་ལ་ན་) a text included as a part of Panini's Grammar 380, 381, 470
- Shalihotra* (ཤ་མི་ཉོ་ཏ་) by Shalihotra (T4345) 407, 416
- Sheaves of Pith Instructions* (མན་སྟེ་) by Abhayakaragupta (T1198) 231
- The Short Length Master Copy* (སློབ་འཇུག་རྒྱ་ལྡང་རྒྱ་ལྡང་) 259
- The Short Root Tantra of Supreme Bliss* (ཉུང་དུའི་ཚ་རྒྱུད་; བཟུམ་རྒྱུད་) (K368) 297, 298
- The Six Applications of the Litany of Names* (མཚན་བརྗོད་སྟོར་བྱལ་) by Punyashri/Dipamkara 370
- Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning* (རྟོག་པ་བྱལ་བྱ་པ་) by Nagarjuna (T3825) 208, 209
- The Small Red Notebook* (ཡི་གེ་དམར་རྒྱུང་) by Viji Champa Shilaha 414
- A Small Vase of Nectar* (བཟང་ཚེ་བུམ་རྒྱུང་) by Rikzin Gödem-chen and Pema Lingpa 418
- Somaraja* (སོ་མ་རྩེ་) by Mahakyinda and Kyungpo Tsitsi 413, 414, 475
- The Source of Jewels Metrical Composition* (མེབ་སྦྲེལ་རིན་འབྲུང་) by Ratnakarashanti (T4303) 428
- The Source of Liberation Ultimate Tantra* (སྦྲོལ་མ་འབྲུང་བ་དོན་དམ་པའི་རྒྱུད་) 304
- The Sovereign All-Creating Mind Tantra* (ཀུན་བྱེད་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱུད་) (K828) 245
- The Sovereign Meditative State Discourse* (ཉིང་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་པོ་) (K127) 347
- The Sovereign of All Eloquent Speech, Milking the Splendor of Easy Accomplishment* (ལུབ་བའའི་དཔྱིད་འཛོལ་གསལ་བཤད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་) by Mikyö Dorjé 319
- Specific Treatments* (བྱིབྱལ་བཅོས་) by Sushruta 408
- Spring Vital Essence* (དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་) by Krishnacharya (T1448) 222
- The Stages of Awakening* (བྱུང་ས་) by Asanga (T4037) 56, 141, 334, 523
- The Stages of Contemplative Practice* (རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྦྱོང་བའི་ས་) by Asanga (T4035) 213
- The Stages of Meditation on Matrix of Mystery Blended with the Discourses* (མདོ་བསྟེ་) by Nagarjuna (T1797) 220
- The Stages of Meditation: Knowledge of One That Liberates All* (སྦྲོལ་རིས་གཅིག་གཅིག་གུན་གྲོལ་) by Men-lungpa 375
- Stages on the Path* (འཕམ་རིས་) by Buddhaghya (another name for P-T4736?) 100
- Stainless Brilliance* (རྫི་མེད་གཟི་བརྗིད་) by Zhangtön Ziji Barwa 331, 418

- The Stainless Goddess Prophecy* (ལྷ་མོ་དྲི་མ་  
མེད་པ་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་) (K193) 238
- The Stainless Light Commentary to “The  
Concise Tantra of the Wheel of Time”* (དྲི་  
མེད་འོད་; བཟུམ་པའི་རྒྱུད་) by Prajnakirti  
(T1347) 293, 404, 431, 568
- The Story of the Gold-Garlanded One*  
(གསེར་ཤིང་ཅན་གྱི་རྟོགས་བཅོམ་) 173
- Straightening the Crooked* (ཡོན་པོ་སྲོང་བ་) by  
Krishna Utsita (P-T5181) 337
- The Strainer Cycle of the Nectar of Oral  
Instructions* (དར་ཚོག་ཞལ་གདམས་བདུན་ཕྱེ་)  
talks by Patsab Gomba transcribed by  
Gyalwa Tené 361
- A Summary of Avenues of Explanation*  
(རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པའི་སྐོ་བཟུ་བ་) by Asanga  
(T4042) 214
- A Summary of Brahma’s Teaching* (ཚངས་  
པའི་བཤད་པ་བཟུམ་པ་) by Atreya 406, 407,  
408, 474
- A Summary of Definitive Presentations*  
(གཏན་ལ་དབབ་པ་བཟུ་བ་) by Asanga  
(T4038) 214
- A Summary of Enumerations* (རྣམ་གངས་  
བཟུ་བ་) by Asanga (T4041) 214
- A Summary of Logic: Eliminating the  
Mind’s Darkness* (ཚད་མའི་བཟུམ་པ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་སྤུན་  
མེལ་) by Chapa Chökyi Sengé 389
- A Summary of the Basis* (གཞི་བཟུ་བ་) by  
Asanga (T4039) 214
- The Sun’s Illumination* (ཉིན་ཕྱེད་སྒྲུང་བ་) by  
Lochen Dharmashri 424
- Supreme Delight* (མཚོག་དགའ་) by Pukpa  
Lhundrup Gyatso 425
- Svasamveda-prakrita* (རྒྱུད་སྐུ་སྐོ་བ་ད་པ་ལྷ་ཀྲི་ཏ་)  
225
- Swift Realization* (སྤུར་རྟོགས་) 380
- The Sword That Severs the Noose of  
Premature Death* (དུས་མིན་འཛི་ཞགས་གཙོད་  
པའི་རལ་གྱི་) by Dési Sangyé Gyatso  
422
- Syadanta* (སི་ཤོགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་) 384
- A Synthesis of the Absolute* (དེ་ཉིད་བཟུམ་པ་)  
(K479) 67, 227, 274
- A Synthesis of the Eight Branches’ Essence*  
(ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་རྫིང་པོ་བཟུ་བ་) by Yutok  
Yönten Gönpo 419
- A Table of Contents, an Adornment for  
“Stainless Light”* (ས་བཅད་དྲི་མེད་འོད་རྒྱུན་) by  
Butön Rinchen Drup 307
- The Tantra of Black Slayer of the Lord of  
Death’s Wisdom Body, Speech, and  
Mind* (སྐྱ་གསུང་བྱགས་གཤེན་ཇེ་གཤེད་ནག་པོའི་རྒྱུད་)  
(K467) 223
- The Tantra of Black Tresses* (རླང་ལོ་ནག་པོའི་  
རྒྱུད་) 419
- The Tantra of Buddha Illuminator’s  
Manifest Awakening* (རྣམ་པ་སྐྱང་མའོད་མངོན་  
པར་བྱུང་རྒྱུབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་; རྣམ་སྐྱང་མངོད་བྱུང་)  
272, 273
- The Tantra of Mahamaya* (མ་དུ་སྐྱ་ཡུའི་རྒྱུད་)  
(K425) 225
- The Tantra of the Great Black Lord’s  
Manifest Presence* (ནག་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་མགོན་པོ་མངོན་  
འབྱུང་གི་རྒྱུད་) (K416?) 222
- The Tantra of the Great Seal’s Symbol* (ཕྱག་  
རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོ་བཤའི་རྒྱུད་) (T2439?) 357
- The Tantra of the Secret Moon Vital  
Essence* (སྐྱགས་ཐེག་ལའི་རྒྱུད་) (K477) 223
- The Tantra of Union* (རྒྱུད་ཁ་སྦྲུར་) (K376?)  
222, 337
- The Tantra of Vajra of Delight* (དབྱེས་པ་དོ་  
རྗེའི་རྒྱུད་) 223, 224, 225
- The Tantra of Yoginis’ Conduct* (རྣམ་འབྱོར་མ་  
ཀུན་སྦྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་; ཀུན་སྦྱོད་) (K375) 221, 297,  
298
- The Teaching Cycle of the Disembodied  
Dakini* (ལུས་མེད་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ཚོས་སྐོར་) 346
- Teaching on the Nature of the Proof* (གཏན་  
ཚིག་གི་དེ་ཉིད་བསྟན་པ་) by Jétari (T4261)  
388
- Ten Million Relics* (བྱེ་བ་རིང་བསྐལ་) by  
Zurkar Kuwo Nyam-nyi Dorjé 421
- The Testament of Our Ancestors* (སེམ་པའི་  
ཞལ་ལུང་) by Zurkar Lodrö Gyalpo 421
- Thirty-four Past Lives of Buddha  
Shakyamuni* (སྐྱེས་རབས་སོ་བཞི་བ་) by  
Aryashura (T4150) 210
- The Thirty Letters* (སྐུམ་རུ་པ་) by Tonmi  
Sambhota (T4055) 404, 405, 474
- The Thought’s Meaning, A Series of  
Ocean Waves* (བཞེད་དོན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱབས་ཤིང་) by  
Shakya Chok-den 254



- The Three Cycles, Lamps of the Pacification of Suffering* (ཞིབྱེད་སྦྱོར་མ་སྐོར་གསུམ་) 358
- Three Deities' Collection of Activities and Healing Treatments* (ལྷ་གསུམ་ལས་ཚོགས་གསོ་དཔུང་) by Nyang-ral Nyima Özer 418
- The Three General Families of the Action Tantras* (བྱ་རྒྱུད་རིགས་གསུམ་མྱེ་) 273
- Three Hundred Verses on Monastic Discipline* (སྤྲུལ་བརྒྱུ་པ་) by Shakyaprabha (T4124) 248, 250
- Three Mothers, Fourteen Sons, and Four Exceptional Secret Sons* (མ་གསུམ་སུ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གསང་བའི་བུ་བཞི་) by Viji Champa Shilaha 414
- The Three Practices Discourse* (སྤུང་པོ་གསུམ་པའི་མངོན་) (K284) 50
- The Three Vows* (ཐོས་པ་གསུམ་པ་) 223
- Tibetan Grammar* (རྟོགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུག་པ་) by Tonmi Sambhota 404, 405, 474
- Training in the Awakening Mind* (བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་སྦྱོང་) by Tsang Karak Gom-chung Lodrö Wangchuk 375
- Transmutation into Gold* (གསེར་འབྱུར་) by Nagarjuna 411
- Treasure Vases* (གཏེར་འབུམ་) by Ratna Lingpa 419
- The Treasury of Immortality* (འཆི་མེད་མངོན་) by Amarasingha (T4299) 139, 428, 477
- The Treasury of Observed Phenomena* (མངོན་; མངོན་པ་མངོན་) by Vasubandhu (T4089) 51, 52, 53, 56, 140, 147, 149, 150, 157, 252, 253, 254, 255, 317, 319, 438, 458, 557, 572
- A Treasury of Verse* (ཚིགས་སུ་བཅད་པའི་མངོན་) by Suryagupta (T4331) 411
- The Treasury of Wisdom Body, Speech, and Mind* (སྐྱ་གསུང་བུགས་མངོན་) 314
- A Treasury of Words* (ཚིག་གཏེར་) by Sakya Pandita 429
- A Treatise of Logical Analysis* (རྟོག་གཞི་བཟླ་བ་བཅོས་) by Dvaipayana 385
- A Treatise on Desire* (འདོད་པའི་བཟླ་བ་བཅོས་) by Surupa (T2500) 410
- A Treatise That Presents the Eight Aspects of the Words and Meanings of Logical Analysis* (རྟོག་གཞི་བཟླ་བ་བཅོས་) by Akshapada 385
- The Trilogy of Mercury Prescription Texts* (དངུལ་རྒྱུ་ལྷོར་བའི་གཞུང་སྐོར་གསུམ་) by Ogyenpa Rinchen Pal 418
- The Trilogy of White, Black, and Multicolored Secret Treatments* (འཕྲུང་དཔུང་དཀར་ནག་ལ་གསུམ་) by Padampa Sangyé 418
- The Trilogy on Relaxation* (ངལ་གསོ་སྐོར་གསུམ་) by Longchenpa 328
- The True Compendium of the Dharma* (ཚེས་ཡང་དག་པར་སྦྱས་པ་) (K238) 205
- The Twelve Chapter Discourse* (མངོན་ལེན་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པ་) by Wui Kung 413
- Twelve Thousand Verses on Logic* (ཚང་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པ་) by Devendrabuddhi (T4220) 387, 388, 389
- A Twenty-Part Ritual for the Sacred Circle* (དཀྱིལ་ཚོག་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་) by Nagabodhi (T1810) 220
- Twenty Verses* (ཉི་ཤུ་པ་) by Vasubandhu (T4056) 215
- Twenty Verses on Bodhisattvas' Vows* (ཐོས་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་) by Chandragomi (T4081) 141
- Twenty-two Verses* (ཚིག་ལེ་ཉེར་གཉིས་པ་) 55
- The Two Cycles of Teachings of the Dakini Who Opens Eyes* (མིག་འབྱེད་མཁའ་འཁྲུའི་སྐོར་གཉིས་པ་) 359
- The Two Truths of the Middle Way* (དབུ་མ་བདེན་གཉིས་) by Jnanagarbha (T3883) 263, 266
- Tyadyanta* (ཉི་སོགས་ཀྱི་བུ་བ་) 384
- The Udmvara Tantra* (ལྷུ་དུམ་པ་) 365
- The Unimpeded Sound Tantra* (སྐྱེ་ཐལ་འབྱུར་; ཐལ་འབྱུར་; ཐལ་བ་) 311, 328
- Union with the Buddhas Tantra* (སངས་རྒྱུས་མཉམ་སྦྱོར་) 223, 456
- The Unwritten Great Seal* (ཡུག་ཚེན་ཡི་གེ་མེད་པ་) by Vakishvara 337
- Vajra Basic Space Tantra* (རྫོག་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་) 275
- The Vajra Daka Tantra* (རྫོག་རྗེ་མཁའ་འཁྲུའི་) (K370) 298

- The Vajra Essence Commentary* (རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་  
འགྲེལ་) by Yashobhadra (T1186) 301
- The Vajra Garland* (རྗོ་རྗོ་ཕྱོང་བ་) by  
Abhayakaragupta (T3140) 162, 375
- The Vajra Heart Ornament Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་  
སྒྲིང་པོ་རྒྱན་གྱི་རྒྱུང་) (K451) 69
- The Vajra Holder Empowerment Tantra*  
(ཕྱག་ན་རྗོ་རྗོ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱུང་) (K496) 175,  
273
- The Vajra Lines* (རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་རྗོ་) by Virupa  
(T2284) 337, 338
- The Vajra Mirror Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་མེ་ལོང་)  
(K833) 311
- The Vajra Nectar Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་བདུད་ཚིའི་རྒྱུང་)  
(K435) 225
- The Vajra of Delight Root Tantra* (དཔྱེས་  
རྗོ་རྗོ་རྒྱུང་) 367
- The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two  
Chapters* (བརྟག་གཉིས་; བརྟག་པ་གཉིས་པ་)  
162, 176, 303, 317, 318, 337, 463
- The Vajra Pinnacle Instruction Tantra*  
(བཤད་རྒྱུང་རྗོ་རྗོ་ཚེ་མོ་; ཚེ་མོ་) (K480) 69, 274
- The Vajra Tent Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་གྲུང་; གྲུང་)  
(K419) 303
- The Vajrasattva Great Sky Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་  
མེ་མཐམ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཚེའི་རྒྱུང་) 190
- Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion Tantra* (རྗོ་རྗོ་  
མེ་མཐམ་དཔལ་ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་དྲ་བ་) 112, 308, 445
- Vajrasattva's Net of Illusion, the Secret  
Essence, the Sovereign Tantra of  
Definite Suchness* (རྗོ་རྗོ་མེ་མཐམ་དཔལ་ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་དྲ་  
བཤམ་བ་སྒྲིང་པོ་དེ་ལོན་ཉིད་དེས་པའི་རྒྱུང་གྱི་རྒྱུལ་པོ་  
ཚེན་པོ་) by Vimalamitra 309
- Valid Cognition: An Ocean of Texts on  
Logic* (ཚད་མ་རིགས་གཞུང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་) by  
Chödrak Gyatso 391
- Varieties of Protective Medical Substances*  
(སྒྲན་རྩམ་སྲུང་བའི་རིགས་) by Bönpo Lhabum  
and Ramo Shelmen 418
- Various Scriptures on Monastic Discipline*  
(འདུལ་བ་ལུང་ཕྲན་ཚེགས་; ལུང་ཕྲན་ཚེགས་) (K6)  
202
- A Vase of Nectar* (བདུད་ཚིའི་སྲུམ་) by Ratna  
Lingpa 419
- A Vase of Nectar: A Short Medical Tantra*  
(རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་བདུད་ཚིའི་སྲུམ་པ་) by Yutok Yönten  
Gönpo 420
- The Vast Enjoyment Discourse* (རྒྱ་རྗོ་རྗོ་ལོ་  
པ་) (K95) 50, 55, 56, 89, 91, 148, 423
- The Victor's Spiritual Heir* (རྒྱལ་མཁས་མ་) by  
Jinaputra (T5554-55) 253
- The Victorious Slayer of the Lord of Death  
Tantra* (གཤེན་རྗོ་གཤེན་རྩམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱུང་)  
290
- The Vital Essence of Liberation* (གྲོལ་བའི་ཐིག་  
ལེ་) by Buddhajana (T1859) 68, 229
- The Weapon of Fearlessness* (མི་འཇིགས་པའི་  
མཚན་བྱ་) by Bharadvaja, Han Wang  
Hwang, and Galenus 414
- The Wheel of Time Root Tantra* (དུས་འཁོར་  
རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུང་) 164, 176, 367, 451
- The Wheel of Time Tantra* (དུས་འཁོར་)  
(K362) 73, 207, 216, 227, 305, 306,  
307, 403, 409, 423, 424, 456, 476,  
568, 570, 574, 594
- The Wheels of Reading of the Various  
Schools* (སློབ་པ་པ་དང་བཞུགས་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་) 180
- Wheels of the Sun and Moon* (ཉི་ཟླའི་འཁོར་  
ལོ་) by Dharmaraja, Mahakyinda, and  
Viji Champa Shilaha 415
- White Beryl* (ཇི་[དུབ་]དཀར་[པོ་]) by Dési  
Sangyé Gyatso 424
- White Healing: The Torch of the Path*  
(གསོ་བ་དཀར་པོ་ལམ་གྱི་རྒྱུན་མ་) by Tongsum  
Gangwa 415
- The White Lotus of Compassion  
Discourse* (ཉི་ཟླ་རྗོ་རྗོ་པ་དང་དཀར་) (K112) 48,  
173, 334, 347
- The White Lotus of Great Compassion  
Discourse* (ཉི་ཟླ་རྗོ་རྗོ་པོ་པ་དང་དཀར་) (K111)  
128
- The White Lotus of the Sacred Doctrine*  
(པན་དཀར་པོ་) (K113) 64
- White Pills* (ཇིལ་སྲུང་དཀར་པོ་) by Tangtong  
Gyalpo 419
- The Wide Gradual Path to Awakening*  
(བྱང་རྒྱ་བལམ་རིམ་ཚེན་མོ་) by Tsongkapa 336
- Wild Garuda* (ལྷུང་རྗོ་རྗོ་) by Ratna Lingpa  
419
- The Wisdom Dakini's Instructions for  
Curing Illness* (ཡེ་ཤེས་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ནད་སེལ་གྱི་  
གདམས་པ་) by Tropu 418

*The Wisdom Essence Tantra* (ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐིག་ལེ་)  
(K422) 337

*The Wish-Fulfilling Design Tantra* (ཡིད་  
བཞིན་རྒྱལ་པར་བཀོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་) 175

*The Wish-Fulfilling Discourse* (འདོད་འཇོ་  
by Nagarjuna (T3067?) 117

*The Wonderful Adorning Flame* (རྫོགས་རྒྱས་  
རྒྱན་མེ) by Pékar Yishin Wangpo 425

*The Yellow Manuscript of Miji* (མི་ཇིའི་སྐུ་ལྷེ་ལ་  
མེར་) by Champa Shilaha 415

## SUBJECT INDEX

- abiding nature of reality, 71, 155  
accurate discernment, 151, 448  
  as term for final wheel of teachings, 151  
absence of characteristics, 151, 152, 154, 155, 448  
  as term for second wheel of teachings, 151, 154  
accomplished masters, 3, 6, 143, 165, 187, 194, 206, 215, 217, 221, 222, 224, 226, 228, 241, 247, 248, 260, 267, 290, 295, 299, 304, 325, 326, 329, 330, 342, 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 353, 356, 358, 359, 364, 368, 371, 419, 452, 455, 464, 467, 468, 506, 570, 573, 583  
accomplishment  
  common, 284, 287, 288, 300  
  self-occurring, 196  
  sublime, 210, 218, 224, 225, 226, 287, 288, 289, 300, 338, 357, 373  
accumulations, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 98, 135, 165, 438, 497, 504, 535  
  gathering of, 52  
  karmic, 98  
  of karmic causes, 62  
  two, 57, 58, 59, 83, 497  
action tantra, 66, 158, 159, 175, 272, 273, 433, 440, 449  
  compilation, 175  
  extant transmissions, 272  
  location and audience of teaching, 159  
  practice in India, 218  
  speakers, 159  
  teaching in India, 272  
  teaching in Tibet, early period, 271  
  translations into Tibetan, 271  
  transmission during later period, 272  
acts of immediate fruition, five, 179  
  afflictive emotions, 70, 79, 83, 84, 104, 121, 125, 130, 132, 137, 139, 147, 157, 189, 255, 256, 284, 357, 442, 493, 529, 530  
ages  
  of conflict, 45, 46, 48, 49, 226, 229, 230, 371, 438, 470  
  dark, 44, III  
  Fortunate Age, 44, 45, 50, 173, 436  
  of illumination, 44  
  of perfection, 233, 412, 432, 475, 478  
  three incalculable, 46, 48, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 438, 439, 504  
aggregate, 130, 131, 133, 149, 150, 151, 157, 158, 160, 170, 194, 214, 255, 257, 448, 533, 534  
  five, as male buddhas, 102, 108, 215, 256  
  of Dharma, 157–58  
  psycho-physical, 133, 157, 214, 255, 531  
  scriptures belonging to form, 150  
  scriptures belonging to formative factors, 150  
Ananda  
  attainment of arhat, 169  
  birth date, 84  
  entrusted with discourses, 168  
  expulsion from assembly, 169  
  as patriarch, 200–01

- transcendence of sorrow, 201
- Ancient Tradition, 6, 114, 183, 184, 313, 323, 324, 330, 452, 463, 483, 485, 538, 539, 540, 571, 572, 581, 582, 583, 584, 586, 592, 596, 597
- lineages of meditation practice, 324–32
- three styles of descent, 184
- See also* awareness holders' lineage transmitted through symbols; early translation; human individuals' lineage transmitted through hearing; victors' lineage transmitted through wisdom mind
- antidotes, 104, 116, 117, 121, 133, 137, 157, 158, 189, 264, 281, 284, 286, 445, 446, 520, 521, 533
- anuyoga, scriptural transmission, 8, 107, 188, 189, 312, 313, 329, 543, 572
- appearances
- diverse, of manifest body, 105
  - of enlightenment, attuned to disciples, 102, 104, 108, 187
  - relative, ultimately nonexistent, 98
- Approach and Accomplishment of the Three Vajras, 323, 324, 372, 373, 464, 487, 582, 592, 595, 597
- lineages of meditation practice, 372–74
- arhat, 86, 107, 154, 168, 169, 170, 173, 177, 178, 179, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 250, 347, 393, 432, 434, 450, 451, 452, 457, 478, 536, 546, 547
- five hundred, first compilation assembly, 169
- midstream or mid-day, 200
- Aryadeva, main writings, 209–10. *See also* ornaments, six
- Asanga, main writings, 211, 213–14. *See also* ornaments, six; stages of awakening, seventeen
- ascetic practice, 68
- aspects of consciousness, school, 205, 206, 213, 455, 558
- aspiration, 21, 22, 43–56 *passim*, 81, 98, 212, 238, 241, 244, 245, 308, 331, 344, 350, 351, 405, 436, 438, 496, 498, 499, 508, 554
- lack of, 152, 531
- aspiration to awaken, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 56, 436, 499
- aspirationlessness, 155
- assemblies of followers, four, 154, 168, 169
- astrology, 422–26
- atiyoga, 8, 94, 112, 194, 310, 312, 454, 544, 572
- effortless way, 189
- attachment, 47, 52, 63, 65, 121, 126, 137, 169, 257, 283, 445, 565
- freedom from, 121
- austerities, 76, 81, 82, 87, 442, 496, 510
- awakened mind, 57, 102
- fluid of, 102
- awakening
- aspiration to attain, 43, 46, 50, 54, 438
  - five aspects, 163
  - mind of, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 59, 60, 64, 67, 69, 98, 99, 108, 230, 263, 264, 271, 436, 438, 439, 496, 497, 501, 527
  - See* paths of awakening; stages of awakening
- awareness, 13, 71, 84, 95, 100, 102, 104, 107, 112, 119, 123, 149, 184–96
- passim*, 218, 219, 223, 226, 263, 270, 273, 282, 284, 285, 290, 311, 312, 326, 330, 332, 350, 359, 381, 382, 441, 444, 452, 453, 456, 506, 515, 518, 530, 535, 540, 543, 544, 545, 583
  - awareness holder, 184, 187, 188, 190, 192, 193, 196, 218, 219, 226, 285, 311, 312, 326, 330, 332, 350, 452, 453, 456, 540, 543, 544, 545, 583
  - nine supreme, 196
  - non-manifest domains of, 188
  - awareness holders' lineage transmitted through symbols, 189–92
- basic space of phenomena, 71, 87, 96, 97, 98, 103, 163, 165, 184, 185, 195, 227, 265, 294, 443, 452, 541, 543
- basis of being, 95, 103, 185, 208, 299, 443, 515, 517, 541, 569

- appearance as worlds and beings, 103  
 place of purification of delusion, 185
- beings  
 six kinds, 16, 17, 104, 187, 444, 542  
 three kinds, 188, 191, 453
- bodhisattvas  
 conduct of, 54, 59  
 eighty inexhaustible qualities, 59  
 lords of three kinds of beings, 107, 188, 453  
 regression, 60
- body of perfect rapture, 65, 66, 67, 71, 73, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 104, 106, 109, 111, 160, 218, 265, 287, 397, 440, 443, 444, 445, 503, 516, 541, 542, 566
- appearing as Buddha Great Glacial Lake, 96
- appearing as Buddha Vajra Bearer, 99
- as body of ultimate enlightenment's dynamic expression, 96, 99
- lesser, 160
- material representation, of its doctrine, 109
- semi-apparent, 101, 104, 187
- seven natures of, 101
- supreme, 100, 101, 103, 104, 444
- body of ripened acts, 68, 503
- body of ultimate enlightenment, 71, 72, 76, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 109, 155, 184, 185, 262, 263, 265, 393, 443, 444, 516, 517, 541, 558
- material representation, of its doctrine, 109
- Bokar Rinpoché, 2, 24, 26, 29, 32, 39, 579, 592
- branches of Buddha's excellent speech, 134–36
- accounts to provide a framework, as category of teaching, 170
- placement within three collections, 136
- Buddha, Shakyamuni  
 degree of acumen, 58, 60  
 distribution of relics, 88  
 life events, 79–88  
 limitations of ordinary being, 63
- meeting previous Buddha Shakyamuni, 47
- narratives of life, 90, 514
- as one of thousand buddhas, 49–50
- as speaker of canon, 127
- See also* Buddha's enlightenment; past lives of Buddha; twelve deeds
- buddha, second, 142, 206, 207, 229, 349, 455
- buddha nature, 95, 212, 269, 271, 515, 527, 546
- Buddha Skull tantra, traditions of, 304
- Buddha's enlightenment  
 according to pious attendants, 62–63
- according to tantras, 66–70
- ages ago, 69
- demonstration of, 64, 70
- predictions of, 49, 79
- site of, 67, 83. *See also* Unsurpassed
- as tenth deed, 84
- time, according to Matrix of Mystery tantra, 160
- vision prior to, 83
- Buddha's speech, 122–25
- twelve branches, 134–36, 446
- value of, 142
- See also* branches of Buddha's excellent speech; canon; compilations of Buddha's word
- Buddha's Word as Instruction  
 lineages of meditation practice, 332–36
- buddhas  
 five, chiefs of manifest body's pure lands, 104
- four already appeared in this world, 45
- lords of the doctrine, 108
- mind of, beyond highest bodhisattvas, 103
- one thousand, 48–50
- seven successive, 106
- with partial doctrine, 108
- Buddhism  
 in China, 432–34
- in Dravida, 434–35
- in Khotan, 434
- in Shambhala, 431–32
- Indian, two periods of practice, 200

- as transmissions, 2–3
- Buddhist culture
  - erudition in, as qualification for author, 138
  - relation to teaching's three cycles, 430
- calculation, systems of, 54, 56, 438
- canon, 20, 117, 122, 124–37, 138, 140, 142, 157, 168, 170, 171, 179, 181, 189, 200, 202, 203, 257, 289, 311, 312, 324, 389, 404, 420, 446, 447, 452, 522, 523, 526, 531, 533, 539, 547, 548, 549, 551
  - authorized by Buddha, 128
  - blessed by Buddha, 127–28
  - compilation and catalogues in Tibet, 315
  - distinct from treatises, 122, 124–37
  - essence of, 124–26
  - reading transmission in India, 314
  - reading transmission in Tibet, 315
  - speakers of, 127–28
  - teachings from inanimate objects, 127
  - validation of canon's diverse sources, 127–28
  - virtuous in beginning, middle, end, 124, 125, 126
- caste, 45, 78, 80, 119, 201, 441, 508
- causes and conditions, 98, 286, 495
- cause-based spiritual ways, 95
- celestial palace, 71, 72, 100, 110, 160, 162, 163, 190, 283, 285, 534
- cessation, 95, 107, 117, 120, 121, 168, 286, 445, 521, 529
- channels, inner, 102
- characteristics of knowable things, three, 121, 156, 212, 215, 286, 312, 352, 448, 532
- charnel grounds, eight, 162, 163, 194, 450
- Chatral Rinpoché, 24, 29
- circles of followers. *See* assemblies of followers
- clairvoyance, 59, 105, 116, 169, 170, 205, 211, 224, 244, 285, 328, 498, 536
- clear light, 42, 85, 94, 103, 109, 163, 184, 185, 225, 285, 286, 287, 325, 343, 351, 353, 443, 452, 511, 517, 566
  - as teaching of victors' lineage, 185
  - collection of discourses, 129, 130, 446, 547
  - four reasons for term, 131
  - main subject, 129
  - overview of content, 130
  - part of first compilation, 170–71
  - purpose, 133
- collection on discipline, 51, 53, 87, 129, 132, 136, 168, 171, 181, 438, 446, 533
  - four reasons for term, 131–32
  - main subject, 129
  - overview of content, 130
  - part of first compilation, 171
  - purpose, 133
- collection on observed phenomena, 90, 129, 130, 132, 136, 149, 171, 181, 203, 211, 232, 252, 253, 254, 255, 319, 446, 458, 525, 536
  - four reasons for term, 132
  - main subject, 129
  - overview of content, 130
  - part of first compilation, 171
  - part of final compilation, 180
  - purpose, 133
- collections
  - nine, 130
  - pious attendants', 171
  - three, 129–34
  - three, of Nagarjuna, 207
  - three synthesized as two, 134
  - two, 122
- See also* canon; collection of discourses; collection on discipline; collection on observed phenomena; treatises
- common Buddhist way, 90, 91, 171, 512, 513
- compassion, 44, 50, 52, 70, 76, 96, 186, 191, 281, 312, 335, 346, 353, 443, 453, 586
  - of Buddha Ever Excellent, 96
- compilations of Buddha's word
  - final, 179–80
  - first, 168–71

- great way, 172
- middle, 177–78
- reasons for, 168
- vajra way, 175–77
- compiler, of teaching, 106, 128
  - Lord of Secrets as sole compiler of tantras, 176–77
  - Lord of Secrets, compiler of means of attainment, 195
  - of victors' lineage transmitted through wisdom mind, 188
- conduct
  - fearless, of awareness, 223
  - ten points of inappropriate, 177–78
  - rejecting two extremes, 123, 126, 133, 156, 212, 263, 532
- conduct tantra, 66, 67, 158, 159, 175, 218, 272, 273, 440, 456, 460, 503, 564
  - Buddha's enlightenment, 67
  - compilation, 175
  - extant transmissions, 272
  - location and audience, 159
  - practice in India, 218
  - teaching in India, 272
  - teaching in Tibet, early period, 271
  - translations into Tibetan, 271
  - transmission during later period, 272
- consciousness, 13, 102, 111, 130, 205, 206, 213, 225, 257, 285, 343, 455, 518, 532, 544, 558
- consequentialist school, 213, 266–68, 460
- contemplative practice, 130, 240, 262, 263, 283, 284, 286, 297, 367, 565
- continuity
  - of cause, 285, 299, 302, 303
  - of result, 285, 299, 300, 303
  - of techniques, 285, 299, 303, 569
- cycle of scriptural transmission. *See* wheel of teachings
- dakinis, 3, 106, 110, 176, 188, 192, 195, 196, 224, 277, 314, 326, 349, 351, 353, 354, 355, 363, 373, 375, 419, 451, 453, 454, 467, 468, 469, 544
- defilements, 121, 185, 214, 281, 285, 288, 502, 541
- degenerations, five, 49, 78, 79
- delusion, 96, 112, 119, 185, 312, 360, 372, 515, 518, 533, 541
  - resulting from movement of awareness, 112
- demons, 63, 68, 70, 77, 83, 84, 105, 160, 161, 162, 179, 201, 241, 338, 362, 434, 442, 449, 469, 496, 504, 510, 528, 534
  - Buddha's defeat of, 83–84
  - defeat of, by Supreme Bliss, 163
  - four bodies of, 163
  - incitement, 83
  - taking over the world, 163
- desire realm, 65, 147, 494, 509, 529, 534. *See also* realms, three
- detailed exposition school, 204
- devoted conduct, stage of, 56
- Dharma, 5, 20, 56, 58, 77, 84, 85, 86, 87, 116–28 *passim*, 133, 135, 136, 137, 146–61 *passim*, 165, 175, 177, 178, 180, 187, 188, 190, 195, 205, 297, 333, 375, 419, 442, 445, 446, 447, 448, 453, 481, 482, 483, 519, 520, 521, 528, 529, 530, 531, 535, 590
  - conventions for compilation, 128
  - essence, 117
  - etymology, 117
  - and meaning, defined, 133
  - as realization, 120–21
  - ten meanings, 117–18
- dialogue, mode of, ten advantages, 135
- diligence, 49, 52, 53, 58, 63, 79, 152, 222, 304, 315, 361, 372, 430, 439, 570, 574, 593
- Direct Vision, 11
- disciples, four kinds, 86
- discourses
  - as branch of Buddha' speech, 134–35
  - definition, 131
  - first compilation of, 169
  - provenance of majority of great way discourses, 205
  - See also* collection of discourses



- discourse school, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 157, 203, 204, 448  
 view of classification of scriptures, 150  
 view of four truths' twelve-part format, 153  
 view of seven texts on observed phenomena, 157, 203  
 view of wheel of Dharma, 147
- disillusionment, 78, 81, 152, 510
- dissension in the monastic community, 179–80
- doctrine  
 of fruition, 154  
 how to preserve, 249  
 ten foremost pillars who preserved, in Tibet, 315–16  
 what can be accepted as, 87  
 of wisdom body, speech, and mind, 109, 110  
*See also* duration of doctrine
- downfall, 131, 132, 136, 171, 556  
 restoration from, 132  
 sources of, 132
- dreams, 17, 30, 83, 96, 97, 103, 181, 189, 193, 194, 251, 254, 432, 453, 502, 517, 525, 556, 557  
 appearances as in, 97
- dualistic formulations, 121
- dualistic mind, 185
- duration of doctrine, 110, 537  
 for 5,000 years, 174  
 according to great way, 172–75  
 determining presence of doctrine, 174, 243  
 perspective of definitive meaning, 174–75  
 of pious attendants' system, 171  
 of secret mantra, 177  
 in valid or nominal forms, 171, 173
- duration of path to enlightenment in ages, 51–54  
 as dependent on individual acumen, 58  
 impossibility of calculation, 56  
 starting points, 56–57
- dynamic expression, 96, 99, 102, 103, 105, 516, 517, 518  
 synonymous with “blessings”, 96, 105  
 of wisdom, 103
- early translation, 68, 94, 112, 114, 128, 142, 175, 184, 224, 246, 260, 268, 272, 308, 309, 311, 323, 324, 389, 425, 426, 452, 462, 464, 472, 477, 522, 526, 539, 563, 571, 574  
*Net of Illusion Tantra*, 309–11  
 school, 67  
 tantras, 309
- eight major chariots, list of, 198, 323, 463
- elders' order, 47, 53, 56, 180, 233, 433, 438  
 system of calculation, 56
- elements, 96, 97, 102, 160, 192, 284, 308, 338, 408, 432, 443, 503, 505, 506, 534  
 five, as female buddhas, 102
- emanation, 69, 70, 74, 80, 81, 94, 98, 99, 100, 159, 160, 162, 163, 176, 190, 238, 239, 240, 294, 316, 370, 371, 402, 426, 431, 441, 443, 449, 450, 493, 504, 514, 516, 570
- empowerment, 10, 65, 67, 68, 69, 161, 163, 177, 186, 189, 194, 218–23, 225, 228, 229, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281–99, 301–09, 314, 317, 326, 329, 330, 335, 337, 341, 344, 354, 361, 362, 366, 374, 375, 431, 433, 440, 449, 452, 453, 503, 504, 506, 565, 570, 571, 593  
 as catalyst to enlightenment, 67, 68, 69  
 of eclipse of sun and moon, 68  
 of great radiance, 65  
 three profound, of victors' lineage, 186
- empowerment as regent  
 of Bodhisattva Loving-Kindness, 77  
 of Kashyapa, 168, 200
- emptiness, 95, 107, 141, 152, 154, 155, 209, 258, 265, 266, 270, 286, 287, 299, 363, 459, 506, 507, 527, 531, 543, 549, 559, 560, 562, 566, 597  
 according to cause-based Buddhist ways, 95
- energy centers, physical, 102

- enlightenment of Buddha Vajra Bearer, 99
- Entering the Middle Way*, overview, 268–69
- essence of being, 185, 541  
 as location of teaching, 185  
 designated as “Unsurpassed Realm”, 185
- ethical conduct, 9, 52, 124, 129, 130, 132, 133, 172, 174, 446, 546  
 as one of three trainings, 124
- Ever Excellent, Buddha  
 as essence of self-arisen awareness, 185  
 face and body all-directional, 103  
 liberation of, 95  
 teacher of the victors’ lineage, 185  
 threefold greatness, 95
- exalted beings, 53, 56, 57, 58, 70, 71, 84, 121, 127, 152, 171, 198, 199, 200, 217, 223, 226, 229, 232, 251, 258, 259, 270, 272, 273, 334, 344, 384, 439, 445, 454, 465, 531, 546  
 four kinds, 121  
 and truth of cessation, 121
- excellent group of five, 153, 154
- expedient meaning, 86
- experiential cultivation, 263, 265, 268, 271, 279–87 *passim*, 302, 306, 318, 337, 352, 374, 565, 570
- extrinsic emptiness, teaching tradition, 213, 265, 549, 559, 560  
 in India, 269  
 in Tibet, 270
- extrinsic emptiness view, 213, 270
- father tantras, 70, 107, 160, 177, 289–94, 314, 369, 564, 567  
 anger family, 289–92. *See also* Matrix of Mystery tantra  
 desire family, 276–89. *See also* Slayer of the Lord of Death tantra  
 stupidity family, 292–94. *See also* *The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*
- female consort’s space, 71  
 as “source of phenomena”, 162, 165  
 as Vajra Queen’s *bhaga*, 162, 165
- five certainties, 96, 100, 101, 284, 443, 444
- five excellent ones, 86
- five hundred years, periods of, 171, 173, 211, 289, 356, 548, 573  
 as markers in doctrine’s decline, 171, 172, 173, 174
- forbearance, 205, 206, 211, 341, 493
- form realm, 65, 71, 72, 73, 74, 494, 502.  
*See also* realms, three
- formless realm, 65, 112, 147, 518, 529. *See also* realms, three
- four noble truths, 63, 335, 504  
 sixteen aspects, 63  
 as term for first wheel of teachings, 151  
 three enunciations, 86  
 twelve stages, 107
- Four Seats tantra, traditions of, 304
- The Full Litany of the Names of Manjushri*, 292–94
- gateways to freedom, three, 152, 154, 155, 448, 531
- generosity, 32, 52, 139
- goddesses, 102, 111, 223, 242, 518  
 placing minds of sentient beings into tree, 111  
 great bliss, 13, 165, 409, 450, 535, 562  
 unending teaching of tantra within, 165
- Great Glacial Lake, Buddha, 96, 101
- great masters, four, 142, 217
- great perfection, 94, 99, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 195, 245, 293, 325, 326, 327, 340, 452, 454, 495, 514, 515, 516, 518, 519, 535, 538, 541, 542, 544, 567, 584
- eighteen tantras, appearance among humans, 194  
 not contradicting great way’s ultimate cosmology, 101  
 relation to three representations, 109
- six million, four hundred thousand tantras, 190  
 source of all teachings, 195  
 this realm as ideal for teachings, 111
- great seal, 289, 298, 300, 313, 314, 318,

- 338, 347, 354, 365, 375, 462, 535,  
574, 576, 589, 590  
as one of four seals, 314  
teaching systems which reached Tibet,  
313–14  
twenty-seven fragments, 314  
*The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, 202–03  
great way  
  compilation of, 171–72  
  depletion of collection of texts, in  
  India, 210  
  disparagement by lesser way, 205  
  duration, 172–75  
  early development, 205  
  establishment of Nalanda, 206  
  first masters, 205  
  succession of patriarchs, 202  
  superiority to lesser way in accounts of  
  Buddha's life, 91  
  unsuitability as historical record, 91  
heavens of meditative concentration, 69  
higher realms, 133, 407  
*The Highest Continuity*  
  conflicting views concerning nature of  
  text, 213  
  and extrinsic emptiness, 271  
  overview of text, 271  
  retrieval by Métripa, 211  
  in sequence of Maitreya's five treatises,  
  212  
  seven vajra subjects, 212, 271  
highest yoga tantra, 66, 69, 70, 158, 160,  
176, 218, 225, 276, 292, 293, 294,  
318, 440, 504, 507, 549, 564, 567  
  compilation of, 176–77  
  teaching traditions, 275–308  
  *See also* father tantras; mother tantras;  
  nondual tantras  
human individuals' lineage transmitted  
  through hearing, 184, 193–95  
  descent of tantras in the world, 194  
  prophecy of King Ja, 193  
  seven wondrous omens, 193  
  teaching of Vajrasattva to Garab  
  Dorjé, 194  
illusory body, 220, 225, 285, 286, 287,  
343, 351, 353, 566  
image, sacred, 105, 109, 110  
  protection of the doctrine, 110  
  representation of the manifest body's  
  doctrine, 109, 110  
immediate cause of awakening, 69, 70  
impermanence, 63, 152, 504  
independently verifiable reason school,  
213, 265–68, 459, 559, 561  
India  
  Buddhism in east, 232  
  Buddhism in south, 232  
  future spread of Buddhism in, 233  
  reason for being birthplace of  
  Buddha, 78  
individual liberation, 130, 243, 446,  
522, 553  
infinite purity, 103, 517  
inner way of mastery, 186, 542  
intrinsic emptiness, teaching tradition,  
258, 265–68, 459, 559, 560  
irreversible wheel, as subject of final  
  cycle of teachings, 152  
Jamgön Kongtrul  
  admission policy for three-year retreat,  
  13–14  
  authorship of *The Treasury of Knowledge*,  
  9–10, 18, 37  
  autobiographical statement, 10–11  
  education, 11–12  
  *Five Treasuries*, 10, 18  
  lifestyle, 14–15  
  as master of tantric Buddhism, 10–11  
  as military strategist, 14  
  primacy of tantra in writings, 12–14  
Joyful Heaven  
  Buddha's birth in, 66, 77  
  Buddha's departure from, 67, 77  
  location of Matrix of Mystery tantra  
  teaching, 160  
  Maitreya's teaching of Asanga, 211  
Kalu Rinpoché, 2, 4, 18–39 *passim*,  
533, 544, 570, 577, 578, 579, 588,  
592, 606

- and Bokar Rinpoché, 2
- and Dujom Rinpoché, 19–20
- fundraising, 26–27
- last public talk, 23–24
- prayer for translators, 21–22
- purpose of *The Treasury of Knowledge*, 18–19
- retreats, 24
- three principles of translation, 22–23
- vision of Buddhism's place in the world, 21
- Kashmir, 201
- Kashyapa, 168–69, 200
- kings of Tibet
  - dynasties, 238
  - kindness of, 243
  - Lha Totori Nyentsen, 238
  - Nyatri Tsenpo, first king, 237–38
  - origins, 237
  - Ralpachen, 242
  - Songtsen Gampo, 239–41
  - Trisong Déutsen, 241–44
- kriya tantra. *See* action tantra
- lack of inherent nature view, 213
- later translation school, 67, 174, 272, 313, 330, 380, 564, 582
- lesser way
  - compilation of, 168–71
  - as historical record, 89–91
- lexicography, 428–29
- life span, human, 394, 472
  - and appearance of buddhas, 45
  - decline, 45
  - degeneration of, 79
  - effect of increase or decrease, 78
  - increase, 45
  - twelve teachers during decrease, 106–07
- lineage, victors', transmitted through wisdom mind, 184–89
- links of interdependent causation, 84, 308, 442
- logic, 11, 119, 124, 125, 127, 140, 141, 149, 203, 216, 217, 314, 317, 319, 352, 379–92 *passim*, 446, 455, 456, 471, 472, 572, 599, 601
- Buddhist, in India, 386–89
- Buddhist, in Tibet, 389–92
- non-Buddhist, 385–86
- three kinds, 126
- lords of the three kinds of beings, 107, 188, 453
- luminosity, 100, 101, 121, 444, 518
  - inner luminosity, 100
  - inwardly luminous subtle wisdom, 95
  - outwardly appearing, 100, 101
- magical illusion, 66, 70, 102, 294
  - net of, 102
- Mahamaya tantra, traditions of, 303–04
- Maitreya's five treatises, 211–13, 216.
  - See also The Highest Continuity; The Ornament of Manifest Realization*
- majority order, 54, 180, 248, 434, 438, 540
- manifest body of enlightenment, 42, 68, 72, 73, 74, 97, 100, 103–05, 108, 109, 265, 441, 443
  - according to great perfection, 106–12
  - appearing to tenth-stage bodhisattvas, 104
  - diverse, 105
  - material representation, of doctrine, 109
  - purpose, 104
  - recounting deeds of, 76
  - sublime, 76, 104, 441
  - twelve during fortunate age, 106–07
- mantra way, 86, 151, 220, 221, 229, 232, 241, 283, 293, 309, 433, 435, 563, 568, 571
  - importance to Jamgön Kongtrul, 11
  - resulting in awakening, 12
- marks and signs of buddha's physical perfection, 62, 79, 82, 99, 101, 102, 104, 185, 187, 190, 399, 439, 442, 444, 452, 542
  - outer, inner, secret, 102
- Marpa's doctrinal lineage, teaching system
  - eighth Karmapa, writings of, 318–19
  - emphasis on meditation practice, 317

- existence of non-tantric monastic colleges, 319  
*The Highest Continuity*, importance of, 318  
 lineages of meditation practice, 343–51  
 original style, 317  
*The Profound Inner Meaning*, importance of, 317  
 Rangjung Dorjé's system, 317  
*The Vajra of Delight Tantra's Two Chapters*, importance of, 318  
 marvels, two, 217, 456  
 materialist school, 51, 52, 53, 203, 438, 498  
 view of provenance of seven texts on observed phenomena and *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, 203  
 Matrix of Mystery tantra  
 appearance of texts, 220  
 first teaching of, 160, 161, 219  
 Indian commentaries, 220  
 Indian traditions, 276  
 meaning of name, 288–89  
 overview, 279–89  
 position among tantras, 289  
 Tibetan traditions, 276–79  
 maturity, spiritual, 80, 104, 151, 347, 448, 510  
 bringing beings to, 59, 79, 80, 83, 123, 152, 347, 353, 441, 467, 498, 509  
 means of attainment, transmission of, 195–96, 454  
 meaning  
 definitive, 64, 69, 70, 85, 86, 89, 107, 135, 174, 210, 212, 287, 288, 294, 299, 360, 440, 442, 468, 537, 566  
 explicit, 287, 288  
 general, 250, 288, 302, 309, 312, 415, 569  
 hidden, 154, 155, 212, 257, 263, 288, 448, 557, 558  
 implicit, 287, 566  
 literal, 135, 283, 287, 577  
 non-literal, 287  
 provisional, 135, 287, 288, 294  
 semantic, 288  
 ultimate, 156, 288, 327, 504, 532  
 medicine  
 four medical tantras, 419–22  
 in China, 412–13  
 in India, 410–12  
 in Tibet, 413–19  
 origins, among humans, 407–08  
 origins, in the gods' realms, 405–07  
 taught by the Buddha, 408–10  
 meditative heat, 223, 264, 314  
 meditative states, 37, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 84, 99, 112, 124, 127, 129, 130, 161, 163, 169, 174, 179, 205, 211, 214, 260, 284, 285, 292, 312, 334, 338, 347, 372, 440, 442, 446, 446, 455, 503, 518, 524, 534, 536, 589  
 neither having nor not having discernment, 82, 112  
 nothing whatsoever, 68, 82  
 one of three trainings, 124  
 mendicant, 53, 81, 87, 119, 441, 510  
 merit, 1, 57, 58, 82, 83, 105, 116, 118, 142, 163, 193, 391, 426, 494, 497, 513, 520, 526, 531, 546, 579  
 as a meaning of *dharmā*, 118  
 metrical composition, 427–28  
 middle way, 10, 60, 126, 141, 148, 204, 206, 209, 212, 213, 248, 249, 258, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 293, 317, 333, 388, 389, 391, 392, 455, 459, 460, 472, 540, 549, 555, 559, 561, 567, 572, 581  
 first full elucidation, by Rahula-bhadra, 206  
 school, 60, 388  
 two systems, 266  
*See also* intrinsic emptiness, teaching tradition; extrinsic emptiness, teaching tradition  
 mindfulness, 87, 170, 283, 284, 603  
 mind-only, 213, 270  
 mind section, of atiyoga, 106, 313  
 miracles, 45, 66, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 105, 116, 136, 205, 221, 223, 347, 352, 419, 442, 520

- four great, 46, 87, 104, 116  
display of, location, 86, 221  
timing, different versions, 89
- monastic discipline, in Tibet  
first monastic ordination, 243–44  
first Tibetan monk, Ba Trizik, 244  
seven men under examination, 240, 243, 244, 457  
tradition from Kashmir, 246, 247  
tradition from lower Tibet, 244–46  
tradition from upper Tibet, 247–48
- monastic discipline, teaching traditions  
in India, 249–50  
in Tibet, 251–52
- mother of Buddha, 78, 86
- mother tantras, 70, 107, 176, 177, 275, 294–308, 314, 318, 451, 506, 507, 568, 570  
compilation of, 176  
family of permanence, 303–04. *See also* Mahamaya; Four Seats; Buddha Skull; sovereign horse  
héruka family, 295–303. *See also* Supreme Bliss tantra; Vajra of Delight tantra  
never disappearing, 177  
Vajrasattva family, 304–08. *See also* Wheel of Time tantra
- Nagarjuna  
death and reappearance, 207–08, 233  
posthumous appearance of tantric writings, 220  
three collections by, 207, 208, 209  
writings on Matrix of Mystery, 220  
*See also* ornaments, six
- nagas, 79, 83, 85, 86, 88, 124, 163, 191, 192, 201, 205, 207, 218, 219, 366, 381, 397–99, 406, 411, 427, 453, 473, 523, 524, 536, 547
- Nalanda, establishment of, 206
- nature of reality, 71, 87, 98, 101, 109, 111, 132, 135, 138, 178, 185, 195, 205, 281, 386, 497, 543  
indestructible self-appearing sound, 195  
indwelling state of, 100
- as a meaning of *dharmā*, 118  
sight of, as qualification for author, 138
- nonconceptual, 121, 532
- nondual, 532, 559, 560, 562  
nature of tantras' first teaching, 165  
profound clarity, 68, 503  
truth of cessation, 121, 521
- nondual tantras, 70
- non-returner, 174, 202
- non-self, 107
- noxious spirits, 79, 106, 110, 163, 191, 192, 201, 218, 399, 453, 473
- objects of perception, four, as goddesses, 102
- obscurations, 116, 117, 121, 136, 178, 293, 372, 445, 520, 521  
Dharma as antidote to, 117
- observed phenomena  
first compilation of, 170  
as “mother teachings”, 170  
teachings, in India, 252–53  
teachings, in Tibet, 253–54
- Oddiyana, 218, 219
- offerings, 47, 48, 51, 52, 79, 81, 88, 101, 161, 178, 193, 205, 238, 242, 244, 282, 284, 299, 554  
first, to Buddha after enlightenment, 85
- ogres, 105, 106, 107, 163, 205, 237, 435, 453, 523, 551
- once returner, 202
- orders, of lesser way  
eighteen secondary, 179, 180, 181, 452, 538  
four main, 180
- origin of suffering, 107, 187, 529, 542
- original basis, 96, 518
- The Ornament of Manifest Realization*  
eight topics, 261–63, 264–65  
overview, 261–65  
in sequence of Maitreya's five treatises, 212  
seventy branch points, 264
- ornaments, six, 142, 217
- outstanding masters, two, 142, 217

- Pacification, 323, 324, 356, 358, 359,  
 361, 362, 464, 468, 486, 582, 592,  
 593, 594, 597  
 lineages of meditation practice,  
 356–62
- Padmakara. *See* Padmasambhava
- Padmasambhava, 241–42
- painted images, 394–96  
 first Buddhist paintings, 396  
 in Tibet, 400–03
- particularist school, 147, 150, 153, 157,  
 447  
 view of classification of scriptures, 150  
 view of four truths' twelve-part for-  
 mat, 153  
 view of seven texts on observed phe-  
 nomena, 157  
 view of wheel of Dharma, 147
- past lives of the Buddha  
 aspirations to awaken, 47, 50, 51  
 final lifetime, 69  
 offerings to buddhas, 51–52  
 as wheel-monarch, 47  
 in hell realms, 50  
 praise as like white lotus, 45  
 praise of Buddha Star Monarch, 53
- Path with the Result, 323, 324, 336,  
 339, 463, 486, 581, 586, 587, 588,  
 589, 596  
 lineages of meditation practice,  
 336–43
- paths of awakening  
 accumulation, 56, 57, 62, 63, 65, 148,  
 264, 437, 438, 504  
 beyond training, 63, 281, 504  
 liberation, 147, 148, 280, 281, 282,  
 529, 530, 565  
 meditation, 55, 63, 352, 506, 530  
 preparation, 58, 65, 148, 264  
 relation to incalculable ages, 58  
 relation to wheel of Dharma, 147–48  
 seeing, 147, 231, 447, 506, 529, 530  
 training, 12, 57, 58, 439, 563  
 uninterrupted, 147, 148, 529, 530  
*See also* spiritual path
- patience, 38, 39, 52
- patriarchs, 179, 200, 202, 455
- peace, 47, 94, 98, 107, 119, 121, 125, 151,  
 152, 169, 177, 448, 451
- perception, 102
- perfection of sublime insight, 149, 154,  
 155, 211, 212, 213, 231, 242, 245, 249,  
 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 266,  
 269, 337, 359, 362, 363, 435, 459,  
 469, 527, 557, 558, 559, 572
- perfection of sublime insight, teaching  
 traditions  
 in India, 257–58  
 in Tibet, 258–61
- phase of completion, 13, 220, 221, 222,  
 225, 229, 284, 285, 288, 300, 318,  
 337, 367, 543, 565, 566, 576, 594
- phase of creation, 13, 220, 222, 284,  
 288, 294, 337, 506, 543, 561, 565,  
 566
- pinnacle of existence, 63, 81, 82, 442
- pious attendants, 46, 53, 62, 63, 73, 74,  
 88, 89, 90, 91, 107, 127, 131, 134, 135,  
 136, 137, 140, 146, 153, 157, 170, 171,  
 174, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207,  
 214, 232, 249, 250, 262, 266, 280,  
 288, 393, 420, 434, 435, 440, 442,  
 454, 455, 512, 522, 523, 524, 528,  
 537
- poetics, 426–27
- portents of the Buddha's birth, 79
- precepts, 48, 78, 169, 171, 241, 509
- precious human life, 17
- primordial purity, 17, 95, 516, 518
- procedure, formal monastic, 169
- pure domains, 65, 71, 72, 73, 74, 187,  
 441, 452, 494, 495, 502, 542
- pure realm, 42, 73, 74, 94, 95, 96, 97,  
 101, 104, 112, 159, 207, 420, 443,  
 502, 508, 542  
 on each atom, 96, 97–98, 101  
 body of ultimate enlightenment, 72  
 body of perfect rapture, 72  
 created by Vajra Bearer, 105  
 five, of manifest body, 104  
 manifest body, 72  
 sublime and lesser, 74
- purification, 78, 102, 256, 262, 263, 280,  
 281, 283, 285, 288, 293, 308, 372

- purity, 103, 121, 150, 152, 255, 302, 307, 517
- realms
  - in palm of Buddha Illuminator of Form, 111
  - purifying, 59, 98
  - three, of sentient beings, 74, 112, 125, 494, 518
  - See also* desire realm; form realm; formless realm; pure realms
- regent, 77, 89, 168, 188, 190, 200, 257, 269, 282, 343, 345, 349, 459, 466
- relics, of Buddha, 88
- renunciation, 11, 21, 70, 81, 95, 119, 137, 139, 151, 152, 442, 448, 504, 510
- representations of teachings, three, 108–12
- request for teaching, 85
- resolution, 95, 189, 554
- results
  - four, of lesser way, 86, 154, 202, 455
  - with or without remainder, 214
- retreat, 9, 13, 14, 15, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 86, 168, 169, 239, 252, 273, 509, 556, 557, 576, 578, 596, 597
- robes
  - Buddha's, after austerities, 82
  - saffron, 81
- royalty, 78, 552
- sacred art, 393–405. *See also* painted images; sculpted images; stupas; written language
- sacred regions, twenty-four, 163
- sacred support, 109, 393, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 404, 472, 473, 600
- saffron, 201
- Sanskrit grammar, 379–85, 405, 430, 470, 597, 599
- scholars, six, 142. *See also* Vikramashila Monastery
- scriptural transmissions, 122. *See also* canon; treatises
- scriptures, as a meaning of *dharmā*, 118
- sculpted images, 396–400, 402
  - secret mantra, 62, 76, 86, 94, 100, 130, 151, 159, 165, 177, 196, 204, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241, 242, 249, 274, 282, 283, 289, 290, 293, 309, 313, 316, 324, 331, 332, 333, 337, 338, 344, 347, 364, 372, 431, 433, 434, 435, 446, 456, 461, 465, 477, 478, 500, 503, 522, 523, 535, 538, 545, 568, 571, 574, 583, 586, 590
- self-arisen wisdom, 95, 443, 515, 518
- self-manifest, 72, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 109, 184, 185, 441, 443, 452, 518, 541
  - body of perfect rapture, 96, 97, 185, 443
  - enlightenment's, wisdom, 102
  - supreme clear light, 103
- self-manifestation, 185, 188, 541, 542
- sense, 124, 161, 255, 308, 372, 524
  - constituents, 130, 131, 133, 157, 160, 241, 255, 257, 308, 534
  - faculties, 130, 255
  - four organs, as bodhisattvas, 102
  - each performing function of all, 103
- sense bases, 118, 130, 131, 133, 157, 255, 257
  - as category of teaching, 170
- sentient beings, 44, 45, 59, 64, 79, 96, 97, 98, 105, 106, 111, 112, 122, 136, 152, 155, 175, 255, 265, 271, 281, 293, 443, 495, 496, 497, 498, 500, 516, 518, 532, 537, 563
- bonds of speech, 108
- degeneration of, 79
- dissolution, on contact with three representations, 109
- mental concepts, 108
- minds placed in tree, 111
- source of delusion, 96
- seven texts on observed phenomena, 129, 140, 157, 203, 255
- Seven Treasuries*, by Longchenpa, 11
- Severance, 356, 359, 362–67, 469, 487, 579, 582, 584, 592, 593, 596
  - lineages of meditation practice, 362–67
- Shakyamuni, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 68,



- 69, 79, 106, 107, 210, 244, 245, 251, 283, 316, 320, 336, 347, 349, 365, 432, 436, 445, 457, 463, 500, 514, 516, 518, 542, 554, 575, 576, 593  
 second given name of Buddha, 79  
 Shambhala, 218, 227, 228, 233, 293, 305, 367, 368, 370, 422, 469, 537, 568, 602, 606, 607  
 Shangpa Doctrinal Lineage, 323, 324, 351–56, 464, 486, 515, 579, 582, 589, 591, 592, 597  
   lines of meditation practice, 351–56  
 Six Applications, 323, 369, 370, 464, 594  
 six gate guardians. *See* Vikramashila Monastery  
 six sages, 104, 444, 542  
 Slayer of the Lord of Death tantra, 161–62, 223, 289–92  
 solitary sages, 131, 137, 214, 262, 280, 288  
 solitude, 285, 286, 288, 566  
 sovereign horse family, traditions of, 304  
 spiritual heroes and heroines, 163  
   spiritual path, 2, 6, 46, 48, 52, 54, 58, 97, 117, 118, 120, 121, 132, 147, 187, 219, 249, 256, 283, 352, 354, 361, 436, 438, 445, 496, 498, 508, 521, 529, 535, 569, 578, 589, 597  
 spiritual pioneers, of Tibet, 142  
 spontaneous presence, 72, 95, 96, 101, 127, 185, 518  
 spontaneously present jeweled enclosure, 95  
 stages of awakening, 7, 55, 72, 210, 211, 230, 455, 500  
   eighth, Unwavering, 58, 60, 107, 215, 439  
   eleventh, Pervasive Luminosity, 58  
   enlightenment, Ever Excellent, 56  
   of exalted beings, 58  
   first, Great Joy, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 264, 438, 439  
   impure, 73  
   ninth, 60, 73  
   of ordinary beings, 58  
   relation to incalculable ages, 57–58  
   seventeen, according to *The Stages of Contemplative Practice*, 213–14  
   ten stages, 268, 283  
   tenth, Cloud of Dharma, 56, 67, 73, 88, 89, 103, 104, 142, 175, 176, 186, 204, 205, 442, 444, 447, 455, 502, 503, 517, 541  
   third, Luminous, 210, 250, 455  
   twelfth, 70  
   three pure, 65, 440  
 stream enterer, 202  
 stupa, 27, 88, 195, 206, 207, 211, 238, 259, 393, 398, 399, 411, 434, 454, 472, 473, 548, 588, 595  
   as representation of wisdom mind, 393  
   built by King Ashoka, 88  
   first, in India, 393  
 substantialist order, 53, 180, 243, 248, 249, 250, 458, 540  
   exclusive order in Tibet, 248  
   invitation of order to Tibet, 243  
   system of monastic discipline, 250  
 suffering, 30, 47, 83, 97, 105, 107, 119, 139, 152, 187, 338, 357, 493, 521, 529, 542, 563, 597  
 Supreme Bliss tantra, 295–300  
   as atemporal teaching, 162  
   first teaching, 162–64  
   founders, Indian, 221–22  
   fourteen natures, 298–99  
   Indian traditions, 295  
   according to Jampal Nyingpo, 297–99  
   according to Taranata, 299–300  
   teacher appearing as fruition Héruka, 163  
   Tibetan traditions, 296–97  
 supreme masters, four. *See* great masters, four  
 tantra  
   compilation of, 175–77  
   decline in India, 226  
   descent, 194  
   distinction, compared to other Buddhist paths, 13

- eighteen, appearance in India, 223–24  
 esoteric, five, 223, 229  
 exoteric, three, 194, 229  
 locations of teaching, relative and ultimate, 165  
 Lord of Secrets as sole compiler, 176–77  
 monasteries, in India. *See*  
   Vikramashila  
 origins of, 160–64, 165  
 original teachers and disciples as nondual, 165  
 practice of, three forms, 13  
 retrieval, by Indian masters, 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225  
 unending teaching of, 165  
*See also* action tantra; conduct tantra; father tantra; great perfection; highest yoga tantra; mother tantra; nondual tantra; yoga tantra  
 tantric conduct, 67, 218, 219, 223, 503  
   fearless conduct of awareness, 223  
 tantric monasteries in India. *See*  
   Vikramashila  
 teaching  
   Buddha not teaching even one word, 149  
   Buddha's first, 86  
   locations of Buddha's, 86  
   request for, 85–86  
   secret mantra, by Buddha, 86  
   of tantra, 158–165  
   ten foremost pillars who preserved, in Tibet, 315–16  
 teaching in Joyful Heaven, 77  
 teaching systems, extant  
   early translations' tantras, 313  
   four doctrines, Géluk order, 316  
   in Kagyu order, 317–18. *See also*  
     Marpa's doctrinal lineage, teaching system  
   later translations' tantras, 313  
   later translations' way of philosophical systems, 313  
   six textual traditions in three pairs, Sakya order, 316  
   ten doctrines, Géluk order, 316  
   totals according to Gö Zhönnu Pal, 313  
 text, representation of body of perfect rapture's doctrine, 109, 110  
 threefold thousand cosmos, 73, 78, 82, 84  
 three bodies of enlightenment, 71, 72, 269, 441, 518  
   108 realms, 111  
 three corresponding realms, 97  
 three jewels, 86, 135, 271, 511  
 three trainings, 124, 125, 129, 130, 174, 446, 537  
   relation to three collections, 129  
 throne, 86, 164, 169, 170, 239, 422, 431, 496, 563  
 Tibet  
   geological origin, 237  
   temples on vital points of land, 239  
 Tibetan language, written, origin of, 240, 404–05  
 Tibetan people, origins of, 237  
 Tibetan Buddhism  
   arrival of Buddhism in Tibet, 238  
   four major orders, 1, 316, 347, 467  
   later spread of, 270, 273, 274, 277, 290, 291, 296, 315, 316, 338, 413, 416, 426, 461, 475, 574, 575, 586  
 time  
   degeneration of, 79  
   end of, 111, 496  
   five-hundred-year periods, 171, 172, 173, 174, 451  
   four, as goddesses, 102  
   fourth, 185, 186, 452  
   nature of, 57  
   periods of doctrine's duration, 171, 173–74  
 transcendence of sorrow, 77, 87, 90, 97, 118, 125, 149, 156, 169, 191, 201, 210, 212, 215, 218, 238, 394, 395, 398, 432, 442, 472, 473, 511, 521, 532  
   as a meaning of *dharmā*, 118  
 transcendent perfections  
   six, 58, 59, 106, 215, 439  
   ten, 59, 498

- transcendent states, 22, 94, 95, 119, 132, 133, 185, 188, 443
- translation in Tibet, 240–44
- treasure revealers, 128, 240, 324, 331, 332, 465, 522
- treasure teachings, 418, 476, 522, 547
- Tibet's first indigenous Buddhist text, 240
- validation of, 128
- The Treasury of Knowledge*
- as encyclopedia, 18
- as one of *The Five Treasuries*, 18
- as textbook, 25
- Buddhist Ethics*, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 23, 33, 34, 556, 606
- contents, 4–8
- The Elements of Tantric Practice*, 7, 33, 606
- Esoteric Instructions*, 8, 19, 20, 25, 580, 596, 606
- first publication of, 9
- Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy*, 7, 34, 498, 532, 538, 559, 560, 561, 606
- intended readership, 9–10, 23–24
- Journey and Goal*, 606
- Myriad Worlds*, 5, 16–17, 22, 23, 33, 34, 37, 42, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 501, 502, 509, 515, 516, 519, 528, 533, 538, 606
- Systems of Buddhist Tantra*, 7, 12, 33, 527, 562, 563, 567, 571, 606
- translation of, 19–21, 26, 32, 33
- The Treasury of Observed Phenomena*
- system, 52
- of calculation, 56
- overview of text, 255–57
- six topics, 256, 288, 298, 566, 568
- sublime insight as subject, 255
- teaching traditions, 252–54
- ultimate and representative knowledge, 255
- treatises
- acceptable, three types, 139
- authors' qualifications, 137–38
- collection and catalogues of, in Tibet, 315
- comparable to canon, 138
- decline in readers' appreciation of, 142
- deficient, three types, 139
- definition, 138
- earliest, 202
- etymology, 139
- functions, three, 140
- one of two collections, 122
- preservation of reading transmission, in India, 314
- preservation of reading transmission, in Tibet, 315
- three kinds, according to subject, 141
- on view and conduct of three turnings, 140–41
- worthless, 142
- tree of awakening, 63, 84, 107, 504
- truth
- of cessation, 121
- realized in fifteen moments, 147
- relative, 121, 131, 281
- two, 121, 271, 287, 566
- ultimate, 121, 131, 281, 287, 566
- Tsongkapa, praise of, 320
- turning the wheel of Dharma, 116, 149, 445, 530
- as foremost among Buddha's miracles, 116
- three, commentaries to view and conduct of, 140–41
- twelve deeds, 42, 62, 73, 75, 76, 77, 89, 90, 91, 104, 108, 439, 441, 509, 512, 517, 523
- divergence between versions, 87–91
- enumerated, 76–87
- in quote from *The Highest Continuity*, 76
- sources for content, 88
- sources for enumeration, 89
- union, contemplative practice of, 286
- unsurpassable way, 137, 158, 431
- Unsurpassed
- actual and nominal, 73
- as essence of being, 185
- as final result, 102
- of pure domains, 65

- Richly Adorned Realm, 65  
 six definitions of, according to Buddh-  
 aguhya, 71  
 Taranata's threefold categorization  
 of, 73  
 three categories of, according to Long-  
 chenpa, 72  
 upa tantra. *See* conduct tantra
- vajra, representation of body of ultimate  
 enlightenment's doctrine, 109, 110
- Vajra Bearer, Buddha  
 appearing as Lord of Secrets, 192  
 emanation as fruition Héruka, 163  
 emanation of Ever Excellent, 98  
 first intention to attain awakening, 98  
 indistinguishable from Ever Excel-  
 lent, 100  
 other names for, 100  
 path and enlightenment, 99, 163  
 realm, created by, 105  
 teaching of innate clear light, 163
- vajra-like meditative state, 65, 84, 440,  
 442, 503
- Vajra of Delight tantra  
 compilation of, 176  
 explanatory tantra different from root  
 tantra, 162  
 extant transmissions, 302, 303  
 first teaching of, 162  
 Indian traditions, 301  
 Marpa's tradition, 303  
 retrieval by Dombi Héruka, 224  
 retrieval by Kambala, 225  
 retrieval by Saroruha, 223  
 Sakya traditions, 302  
 Tibetan traditions, 301–02
- Vajra Yoga, 324, 367–72, 469, 487, 579,  
 582, 584, 592, 594, 597  
 lineages of meditation practice,  
 367–72
- Vasubandhu, main writings, 215, 216,  
 549. *See also* ornaments, six
- victors' lineage transmitted through  
 wisdom mind, 184–89
- views  
 degeneration of, 79  
 extreme, four, as female wrathful dei-  
 ties, 102  
 of perishable collections as self, 147  
 Vikramashila Monastery, 229, 230, 289,  
 338, 384, 551  
 virtuous acts, 45, 73, 133, 209, 366  
 visions, circumstances of Buddha's birth  
 four, 77, 78, 441  
 five, 77, 78–79  
 vows, 6, 9, 10, 34, 130, 132, 210, 216,  
 243, 244, 246, 248, 282, 317, 357,  
 494, 546, 553, 554, 555
- way of perfections, 12, 13, 352, 563  
 way of vedic asceticism, 187, 542  
 way that liberates from origin of suffer-  
 ing, 187, 542  
 ways of movement, to Heart of Awaken-  
 ing, 82  
 “well spoken”, definition of, 125  
 wheel of life, 47, 74, 84, 94, 95, 119,  
 139, 152, 185, 188, 190, 212, 285,  
 286, 293, 335, 362, 443, 495, 517,  
 568, 586  
 wheel of Dharma. *See* wheel of  
 teachings  
 wheel of teachings, 63, 68, 70, 74, 87, 89,  
 104, 150, 212, 291, 333, 347, 401  
 essence of, in general, 147  
 etymology of term, 150  
 final, 156  
 first, 146, 153, 154  
 as five paths, 148  
 as knowledge, 149  
 middle, 146, 153, 154–55  
 as path of seeing only, 147  
 related to wheel-monarch's wheel,  
 147  
 as scriptures, 148–49  
 three, 136, 137, 140, 151–52, 153, 207,  
 447, 455, 531  
 as three paths, 148  
 why metaphor “wheel” is used, 150
- Wheel of Time tantra, 164, 228, 176,  
 305–08
- wheel-monarch, 47, 48, 78, 81, 147, 495,  
 496, 528

- wisdom  
 five, 72, 96, 104  
 four, 102  
 inwardly luminous subtle wisdom, 95  
 of awareness, 71, 95, 515  
 self-arisen, 95, 443, 515, 518
- wisdom body, 67, 68, 70, 71, 106, 108,  
 109, 110, 111, 126, 127, 160, 164, 165,  
 184, 185, 190, 193, 195, 285, 288,  
 293, 324, 341, 342, 352, 372, 395,  
 396, 431, 440, 446, 450, 452, 472,  
 503, 534, 568  
 blessing, inspiring the canon, 127  
 doctrine of, 108, 109, 110  
 five, 104
- wisdom deity, 138, 225, 228, 239, 281,  
 343, 350, 368, 564, 571, 600  
 sight of, as qualification for author,  
 138
- wisdom family, 72, 96, 99, 100, 101, 163,  
 186, 192, 196, 285, 295, 308, 373,  
 444, 452, 541, 568
- wisdom mind, 108, 110, 121, 127, 128,  
 131, 135, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 288,  
 324, 326, 328, 331, 346, 351, 363,  
 372, 393, 445, 452, 453, 467, 470,  
 522, 541, 542, 543, 545, 584, 600
- as clear light, 185  
 blessing, inspiring the canon, 127  
 doctrine of, 108, 109, 110  
 intentions of, 108  
 single flavor within evenness, 188
- wisdom speech, 127, 185, 186, 188, 196,  
 288, 324, 337, 342, 391, 393, 404,  
 452, 465, 544, 600  
 blessing, inspiring the canon, 127  
 doctrine of, 108, 109, 110
- world-system, 44, 49, 64, 73, 78, 106,  
 111, 256, 493, 501, 534  
 four-continent, 163  
 written language, 404–05
- yoga tantra, 66, 67, 69, 70, 158, 159, 160,  
 161, 175, 176, 194, 218, 223, 225,  
 226, 227, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276,  
 279, 292, 293, 294, 318, 341, 440,  
 449, 451, 456, 460, 503, 504, 507,  
 549, 564, 567, 581
- Buddha's enlightenment, 67–69  
 location and speakers, 160  
 origin in India, 226  
 teaching, in India, 273  
 teaching, in Tibet, 274–75  
 three main Indian masters of, 227
- yogachara, 206
- yogini, 176, 177, 184, 218, 219, 223, 363
- youthful vase body, 95, 185, 443, 516,  
 518