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*History and Literature of the
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CHAPTER 17

'Jam mgon Kong sprul and the Nonsectarian Movement

I. Introduction

IT WAS IN 1960 that I first heard of the *Encompassment of All Knowledge*, the *Shes bya kun khyab*, from my guru, Deshung Rinpoche. He described this treatise as one of the greatest masterpieces of later Tibetan scholarship. During my studies, he told me much of the nineteenth-century cultural renaissance, the finest flower of which was the nonsectarian (*ris med*) movement of eastern Tibet. As the names and achievements of Kong sprul, Mkhyen brtse, Mchog gling, Ju Mi pham, Gzhan dga', and Rdza Dpal sprul flowed from his mouth, I became convinced that this group of scholar-saints had enormous significance for the cultural history of Tibet. I decided to prepare for research into this period.

With the publication of Mme. Ariane Macdonald's study of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakapāṇḍalā*⁷⁵ in 1962, the first information about the significance of the life and works of Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse became available to Tibetan scholars outside Asia. Mme. Macdonald was the first to describe the *Shes bya kun khyab* in a Western publication. During the summer of 1962, I had the good fortune to see a complete set of this work at the Library of Uppsala University in Sweden, at that time probably the only copy outside India.

Shortly after my arrival in India, I was elated to discover that Lokesh Chandra was planning to reproduce this magnificent work. Through the gracious efforts of the Sikkimese savant, Rai Bahadur T. D. Densapa (Birmiok Athing), two sets of the frequently unclear xylograph edition had been placed at his disposal for use in the preparation of the new edition. At last, a print of the *Shes bya kun khyab* was ready to be placed before the scholarly public.

II. *The Shes bya kun khyab and Its Place in the Ris med Tradition*

During his long lifetime, Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–99) produced an astonishing literary output of slightly more than ninety volumes in the Dpal spungs edition of his collected works (*gsung 'bum*).⁷⁹⁶ Together with the *gsung 'bum* of 'Jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po (1820–92),⁷⁹⁷ the *Rgyud sde kun brus*⁷⁹⁸ and *Sgrub thabs kun brus*⁷⁹⁹ collections, the *Five Treasuries (Mdzod lnga)* into which the writings of Kong sprul are traditionally divided represent our chief literary sources for the nonsectarian movement, one of the most important developments in the nineteenth-century Tibetan Buddhist world.

The *Shes bya kun khyab* is traditionally regarded as the first and smallest of the *Five Treasuries*. Consisting of a concise *sāstra* in verse followed by a three-volume autocommentary, this work at first may appear to represent just one more example of that slavish imitation of a Sanskrit model and unhappy stylistic rigidity that makes Tibetan exegetic literature so dull. The title page of the verse text (*kārikā*) reads: *Theg pa'i sgo kun las brus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslib pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab*, a rough rendering of which would be "*The Encapsulation of All Knowledge: A Śāstra That Well Explains the Precepts of the Three Trainings, a Treasury of Precious Scripture Compiled from the Approaches Followed by All the Vehicles.*" The work is sometimes known in the bibliographical sources as the *Shes bya mdzod*. *The Treasury of Knowledge*. According to the colophon, the verses were composed at the behest of the great Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po. However, from Kong sprul's autobiography⁸⁰⁰ we gain a more detailed picture of the situation surrounding the composition of the *kārikā*.⁸⁰¹ Bla ma Nges don⁸⁰² had for some time requested Kong sprul to write a treatise on the topic of the three vows, a theme that inspired some of the most significant indigenous works in Tibetan Buddhist literature.⁸⁰³ Bla ma Nges don promised to write a commentary on Kong sprul's verses. When Kong sprul showed the manuscript of the completed draft to Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po in 1862, that great teacher praised the work effusively and declared that this was the first of the *Five Treasuries* that he prophesied Kong sprul would give the world. It was Mkhayen brtse who first gave it the name *Shes bya mdzod*. He urged Kong sprul to produce his own prose commentary. By now, Nges don was ailing and was unable to keep his promise. Though Kong sprul had been working on the verses, his conception of what the work should be gradually changed. While in a broad sense Kong sprul retained his intention to produce a treatise on the three vows,

he went further and demonstrated that, just as the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, in a sense, led naturally into the Vajrayāna, so all the other practical methods of the Vajrayāna reached their epitome in the streamlined *atiyoga* of the Rdzogs chen system. We already find Kong sprul exercising his predilection for the Gzhan stong doctrine, the mortar that held his eclectic structure together.

Kong sprul finished the first draft of the three-volume autocommentary by 1863. He revised and finally completed it in 1864 with the assistance of Bkra shis 'od zer (1836–1910).⁸⁰⁴ The *Shes bya mdzod* appears to be the earliest statement of nonsectarian thought. As the relationship between Mkhayen brtse and Kong sprul matured, their conception of the implications of the nonsectarian movement for the various traditions of Tibetan religious life changed. They stretched the bounds of eclectic thinking, integrating both structured bodies of doctrine and fragile lineages of oral transmission. Their innovation called into question the extent to which the synthetic effort may efface the very traditions it seeks to preserve. And yet the esteem with which Kong sprul, Mkhayen brtse, and their collaborators continue to be regarded are a testimonial to the tact and judgment they possessed. Although the nonsectarian movement did engender reactionary intolerance and occasionally the denigration of other traditions of Buddhist practice, even these sectarian responses were couched in the language of eclecticism and unity.

III. *The Origins of the Ris med Tradition*

The roots of eclecticism and tolerance are sunk as deep into the soil of Tibetan tradition as those of sectarianism and bigotry. From the very beginning, when Bon and Buddhism fought for the faith and patronage of Tibetan nomads and peasants, there have been those who would erect a barrier between the two so great that it could not be crossed. Yet there have also been those who viewed the two as kindred traditions that shared common cultural content and that probably sprang from a single source. In western Tibet (*Stod*) intolerance often predominated. The literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is filled with the struggles of Bon and Buddhism; we read of contests to the death between such figures as Lo chen Rin chen bzang po (938–1035) and Klu Skar rgyal,⁸⁰⁵ between Mi la ras pa and Na ro Bon chung. The pattern in the south (Lho brag and Lho kha) and east (Khams and A mdo), on the other hand, seems to have been one of good-natured synthesis, or at least mutual tolerance. In the central and western areas (Dbus and

and the Fourth 'Dzi sgar Rdo rje drag po (1740–98) among the 'Brug pa. Even Dge lugs pa teachers found *gter ma* and received visions, such as Dpal ldan rdo rje of 'Phan yul⁸¹³ and the Fifth Dalai Lama. Kong sprul tells us that the Indian scholar, Vanaratna of Sadnagar⁸¹⁴ (1384–1468), received the *Padma tshe khrid* in a vision and propagated it to his Tibetan disciples.

The false prophet is a possibility that plagues any tradition that accepts the principle of continuing revelation with doubt. Many Tibetan scholars were highly critical of revelation in the forms of *gter ma*, *sa gter*, and *dgongs gter*. Even some of the Rnying ma pa teachers were concerned with devising criteria for separating the genuine from the spurious. Apparently, even Padmasambhava recognized the possibility of false prophets and teachings, and their negative effects on the credibility of those who were genuine. During periods when great numbers of *gter ston* appeared, the tradition was especially subject to criticism. Kong sprul quotes a text from the rediscovery of Dri med Kun dga':⁸¹⁵

Prophets will not come in a regular flow.

Hidden teachings will appear like the tracks of a herd of deer.

These, too, shall not be without their fruits.

This is my testimony, the one of O rgyan, [Padmasambhava].⁸¹⁶

According to the Rnying ma pa teachers, the whole of the Himalayan region is filled with *gter ma* that will be revealed at the appointed time. In the *gter lung* of Ratna gling pa we read:

For each important valley there is an important hidden treasure.

These also are signs of the one from O rgyan.

For each little place there is a minor hidden treasure.

These, too, are signs of the one from O rgyan.⁸¹⁷

Many *gter ma* texts are superb examples of Tibetan literature. It is important to remember, however, that Tibetan Buddhism, especially the form followed by the Rnying ma pa, is intended first and foremost to be pragmatic—*a* putting into practice of the insights realized by all the buddhas and bodhi-sattvas of the past. The explanation for the multiplicity of metaphors and tutelary deities lies in the fact that there must be a practice suited to every sentient creature somewhere. Forms or metaphors that were relevant yesterday may lose their efficacy in the changed situation of today. Achieving realization through the practice of a teaching is the ultimate test. Certain rediscoveries

or revelations may have a greater relevance in a given situation and produce especially remarkable results. One such example is the *Dkon mchog spyi dhis* of Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585–1656),⁸¹⁸ which spread rapidly through most of the other sects and throughout the Tibetan cultural world. Other instructions or rituals might produce an insight into enlightenment for only one being and then disappear. Handing on the esoteric teachings that one receives as unbroken tradition assumes great importance, for some sentient creature yet to come—even one's own future reembodiment—might achieve enlightenment through the practices outlined therein.

Doctrinal systematization reached a high point in Tibet during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The greatest name in Rnying ma pa intellectual history lived in this period: Klong chen Rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer. To understand Kong sprul and his writings, one must be acquainted with this phenomenal intellect who set forth the essentials of the Rdzogs chen approach, and indeed of all Buddhist thought, in his *Seven Treasuries (Mdzod bdun)*⁸¹⁹ and *Three Triple Cycles (Skor gsum gum)*.⁸²⁰ These *śāstras* are certainly among the most brilliant and original treatises in the indigenous Tibetan literature. Klong chen pa was a master of logical organization. His usage of classical Tibetan has a lucidity that has seldom been equaled. Like most of the great teachers of the Tibetan tradition, he was not narrowly sectarian. He studied with gurus belonging to all major lineages of his time. His close connections with the 'Bri gung Bka' brgyud pa, opponents of the rising power of the Phag mo gru pa, resulted in the unjust aversion of the great Ta'i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan, the dominant political figure of the mid-1300's. This story has a happy ending: after a decade of exile, wandering in Bhutan and the Mon pa lands, Klong chen pa was reconciled with the founder of the Phag mo gru dynasty.

Another fourteenth-century eclectic was Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), the veritable embodiment of wisdom itself. His period was one of tremendous intellectual activity and scholastic synthesis that invites comparison with the nineteenth century. The Sa skya pa hegemony had reached its end. The Yüan dynasty collapsed in 1368, largely bringing the period of intellectual cross-pollination between Mongol China and Tibet to a close.

The history of the next three centuries is the story of a progressive solidification of teaching lineages and academic establishments into religious sects. An important factor that allowed the rise of religious sects was the absence of a strong central authority and related political rivalries. From the 1430s onward, conflicts were bitter until the settlement of 1642 brought peace to Tibet.

The origin of the Tshar pa subset of the Sa skya pa illustrates rather well

Chos dbang grags pa, had tended to neglect. On the other hand, the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa could boast a number of skilled poets and wits during this period, such as Bod mkhas pa Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal⁸²⁸ and Mkhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569–1645). Several of the Bka' brgyud pa masters of *kāvya* wrote mocking verses to tease the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa for their rigid scholasticism, and their constant provocation annoyed a number of important Dge lugs pa clerics. The Fifth Dalai Lama was under considerable pressure to retaliate against these offenders. His wise solution was to institute the study of poetics among his own followers. As an introduction to the subject, he composed his famed *Snyan ngag dbyangs can dgyes glu*,⁸²⁹ which begins with a frontal attack on the arrogance of unnamed Bka' brgyud pa critics. Following criticism of the Mahāmudrā approach, he warms up to do real battle:

Certain adherents of the Dwags rgyud pa have been following these writings of Stag tshang pa and joining together words intended to cast snide aspersions on Lord Tsong kha pa. These Bka' brgyud pa master meditators are like the [timid and cowardly] offspring of the fox skulking into the midst of battling tigers and lions, the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa scholars, perfect in the strength of their intellect and knowledge of canon, engaged in debate. Beware! This behavior is very offensive.⁸³⁰

The Fifth Dalai Lama is warning the 'Brug pa literati not to play where adult logicians are at work! It would seem that Bod mkhas pa or Sangs rgyas rdo rje had annoyed the Dalai Lama considerably. The Northern 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa began to lose the favor that they had only recently come to enjoy.

A new sectarian policy for the Dga' ldan Pho brang was slowly evolving. An epigram attributed to the Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho himself reflects the situation as it existed shortly after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama:

The Sa skya pa, Dge lugs pa, and Rnying ma pa are victory banners of the Buddha's teaching: the Karma Bka' brgyud pa, 'Brug pa, and Bon po are the robbers and thieves of the Buddha's teaching.⁸³¹

The 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa had fallen together into a single category of enemy with the opponents of the Dalai Lama's ruling group in 1642.

The patronage that the Rnying ma pa enjoyed under the Fifth Dalai Lama and Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho began to provoke opposition from the more conservative monks from the great monasteries. During this period we find gurus

like Rtog ge ba Blo bzang rin chen⁸³² and Sle lung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje, who produced as yet uninvestigated syntheses of Dge lugs pa, Rnying ma pa, and Bka' brgyud pa teachings. Bzhad pa'i rdo rje's son, G.yung mgon rdo rje, the 'Brug pa Kun legs incarnation of Dre'u lhas in Gnyal, was also an extremely interesting forerunner of the nonsectarian approach. In light of this apparent resurgence of Rnying ma pa influence, the *dge bshes* of the three big monasteries, many of whom were Mongols with that bigoted conviction of the truth of their own faith that is so often characteristic of the convert, would view the Dzongar excesses against the Rnying ma pa as acts comparable to Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje's righteous assassination of the apostate Glang Dar ma. Nevertheless, the Rnying ma pa later gained the sympathy of Pho lha nas and his friend, Mdo mkhar Zhabs drung Tshе ring dbang rgyal,⁸³³ and thus the great monasteries of Smin grol ging and Rdo rje brag were rebuilt.

The name of 'Jigs med gling pa (1730–98) is of enormous significance. His fame dominates the eighteenth-century Rnying ma pa renaissance and stands second only to that of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa in the development of Rdzogs chen thought. His incarnations, the so-called Mkhyen brtse "fam-ily," include many of the greatest names in the nonsectarian movement. I have discussed the Rnying ma pa antecedents of these eclectic developments in Khams during the nineteenth century in some detail in the introduction to the autobiography of Mkhan po Ngag dga' of Kaḥ thog, so I will not dwell upon it here.

As the Dge lugs pa missionary fervor spread to Sde dge and the surrounding areas in the nineteenth century,⁸³⁴ a different form of religious bigotry appeared. With the codification of the scholastic manuals (*yig cha*) of the great monasteries of Central Tibet, a sort of intellectual petrification occurred. While that magnificent tradition that had added so much to Tibetan ethical and spiritual values continued to produce remarkable teachers and gurus, the rank and file Dge lugs pa monks concentrated upon the slavish pursuit of formalistic argumentation according to the scripts set forth in the *yig cha*. The refutation of a doctrine, a teacher, or a spiritual experience came to be simply a problem of identification. Once the opponent was identified, the refutation was simply the application of the appropriate arguments that had been memorized from childhood. Unless the opponent was a Dge lugs pa and, better still, a graduate of the same college or affiliate using the identical syllabus, there could be no contest. The opponent had already been defeated. In the contest for patronage and followers, these *dge bshes* were not above using such pointless debates to convince the local population of the natural superiority of the new over the old.

The nonsectarian tradition emphasized a different aspect of religious education: scriptural exposition (*bshad pa*). The trend was toward simplification. In their exposition seminars (*bshad grwa*), monastic educators continued to teach a small number of classical Indian Buddhist *sāstras* in their Tibetan translations as the curriculum. Their students were expected to master these works through oral exposition and the study of editions provided with interlinear explanatory annotations (*mbhan*).⁸⁵⁵ The basic aim was comprehension, not only of the words and arguments, but also of the doctrinal implications. This reorientation toward the Indian originals, it was felt, would eliminate many controversies that arose through variant expositions of the same texts by different Tibetan exegetes. There was a parallel tendency to reject the theory that to identify and name the opponent is paramount to defeating him. In other words, many of the great nonsectarian teachers rejected labels.

The Khams pas tell a charming story about the encounter of Rdza Dpal sprul⁸⁵⁶ with two dialecticians that illustrates this trend well. Once, when Rdza Dpal sprul was in retreat, several scholars opposed to his nonsectarian approach appeared at the entrance of his cave with the intention of engaging him in sectarian debate. They were accompanied by a large crowd made up of a few sincere followers and the rest village layabouts eager for diversion.

Rdza Dpal sprul received his visitors with grace and humility. In order to get the debate under way, one of the scholastic monks asked Rdza Dpal sprul what religious affiliation he claimed. It was expected that he would answer that he was a Rnying ma pa. Instead he replied that he was only a follower of the Lord Buddha. Anxious to establish his Rnying ma pa connections, his would-be opponent then asked Dpal sprul the name of his refuge and *mūlāguru*, expecting to elicit the name of 'Jigs med rgyal ba'i myu gu, the Rnying ma pa master who had initiated him. To this query Rdza Dpal sprul replied that the *mūlāguru* in whom he took refuge was the Three Jewels, an answer that left his opponents no grounds on which they could contest. Greatly frustrated, the logician asked Dpal sprul to reveal his "secret name" (*gsang mtshan*), the name bestowed at the time of esoteric initiation, knowing full well that this name would surely pinpoint him as a Rnying ma pa. Without the slightest hesitation, Dpal sprul displayed his penis, indicating that it was his *gsang mtshan*. In Tibetan, the honorific for "penis" is *gsang mtshan*, literally "secret mark," identical in all respects with the word meaning tantric initiatory name. The crowd howled with laughter. The hoped-for debate did not come off as planned, and the logicians left greatly discomfited. This story illustrates especially well the essential approach of the great non-

sectarian teachers. Kong sprul's life story, too, is in effect the story of the nonsectarian ideals and their impact on Khams.

IV. 'Jam mgon Kong sprul and His Friends

Kong sprul⁸⁵⁷ was born in late December of 1813⁸⁵⁸ at Rong rgyab near Padma lha rse in 'Bri zla⁸⁵⁹ Zal mo sgang in Khams. His nominal father was Bsod nam's 'phel, a village lama of the Bon religion. It is likely, however, that Kong sprul was born from the union of 'Bkra shis 'tsho, the wife of Bsod nam's 'phel, and the Khyung po lama G.yung drung bstan 'dzin. Kong sprul firmly believed that his real father was G.yung drung bstan 'dzin, and he gives a long account of that lama's Khyung po lineages⁸⁶⁰ in his autobiography. He was, however, looked after and brought up as a Bon po priest by Bsod nam's 'phel.

Kong sprul's education as a Bon po is not documented in any detail, but it was evidently thorough. He also studied medicine with Karma phun tshogs. Around 1827 a great catastrophe engulfed his family and changed the entire course of the young genius' life. A blood feud resulted in an expedition by the Sde dge authorities. His father, Bsod nam's 'phel, and a number of other kinsmen were captured, taken to the Chos sde Pho brag, and imprisoned. The youth followed to take on the task of feeding his father while he was in prison. During these sad days, he met one Chab mdo dbu mdzad named Lha mgar, with whom he discovered he shared an interest in religious art. Through Lha mgar, he met the governor of Chos sde Fortress, Tshe 'phel of Khang sar tshang, who was so impressed with Kong sprul's personality and talents that he asked him to become his secretary and in return promised to help his kinsmen.

The Khang sar tshang seem to have been followers of the Rnying ma pa. Kong sprul's patron introduced him to Zhe chen 'Jigs med blo gsal, who was awed by the youth's knowledge of Bon literature and traditions. When Khang sar shifted from Chos sde to 'Dan khog, Kong sprul followed him and began his studies with the great 'Jam mgon 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal of Zhe chen. He received his final vows as a Rnying ma pa monk in 1832 from 'Gyur med mthu stobs rnam rgyal.

It seems that the Rnying ma pa were operating under considerable stricture, because in 1833 Dbon rgan Sprul sku of Dpal spuings requisitioned the services of Kong sprul as his secretary. The relations seem to have been quite strained between the Zhe chen Rnying ma pa and the Dpal spuings Karma Bka' brgyud pa. The Dpal spuings lamas insisted that Kong sprul take a second

ordination as a monk, presumably because they did not recognize the Rnying ma pa vows that he had taken the previous year from Zhe chen Dbon sprul. This pertinence and sectarianism distressed Kong sprul, but there was little he could do but accede to the demands of Dbon rgan.⁸⁴¹ This small experience of intolerance seems to have been significant in channeling Kong sprul's interests toward a nonsectarian approach to Buddhist practice and scholarship.

The list of Kong sprul's teachers is amazing; a reverential petition to his gurus written in 1843 contains over sixty names.⁸⁴² His teachers represented all of the sects and esoteric lineages, and his interests covered the entire field of traditional Tibetan scholarship.

Kong sprul's reputation as a promising scholar had spread widely. The Dpal spungs authorities expected that the government of Sde dge would requisition the services of their talented new monk just as they had taken him from Zhe chen. There was an unwritten rule that incarnations of a monastery were exempt from obligatory service. It was imperative, therefore, to name Kong sprul as an incarnation of Dpal spungs. The problem was to find an incarnation lineage of which they could recognize him to be the reembodiment. After a certain amount of research, Si tu proclaimed the youth to be the rebirth of a servant of the previous Si tu. Dpal spungs had successfully foiled the Sde dge plot to claim the young prodigy. Kong sprul's tone when he describes this event that occurred so many years before is one of wistful sadness and mild dismay that the world is such a deceitful place.⁸⁴³

In 1846, Kong sprul set out on a tour of eastern Kham. He reports that the ruler of the Khro skyabs principality in the Rgyal rong states had begun carving the xylograph blocks for the Bon po canon. When he visited there, over a hundred volumes of the *Bka' gyur* had already been completed.⁸⁴⁴

The times were troubled by religious conflicts.⁸⁴⁵ In 1848 open warfare broke out between the great Dge lugs pa monastery of 'Ba' Chos sde and the affiliate of Dpal spungs, Spungs ri dgon nang. Lcags mdud Sprul sku was slain in the conflict. Kong sprul did what he could to calm the situation.⁸⁴⁶

Si tu, the presiding incarnation of Dpal spungs, died on the seventh day of the Fifth month of 1853. The reembodiment was subsequently recognized in Central Tibet (Gnam mtsho kha). In 1857 Kong sprul was sent to Lhasa to secure the release of the little incarnation's parents, who were subjects (*mi ser*) of Bkra shis lhun po. After visiting Smin grol gling and other great monasteries, Kong sprul was received at Lhasa by the infant Dalai Lama and the Rwa sgreng regent. He obtained the help of the future strongman, Bshad grwa Dbang phyug rgyal po, in persuading the Bkra shis lhun po officials to release the family of the Dpal spungs incarnation.

The Nyag rong incidents were about to break out in eastern Tibet. In 1863 the armies of Mgon po rnam rgyal, the Nyag rong chieftain, swept over Sde dge, capturing all the fortresses and seizing Sde dge's widowed queen and her son. The Lhasa government dispatched an expedition under Phu lung ba to drive back the invaders. The countryside was plagued with constant war and famine until the eighth month of 1865, when the cornered Mgon po rnam rgyal was burnt to death with all of his family in his besieged castle by Khri smon's force.

Kong sprul's difficulties were not yet over. The Dge lugs pa factions availed themselves of the presence of the victorious Lhasa army under Phu lung ba to settle old scores with the other sects and extract the maximum advantage from their new position of strength. It seemed that Kong sprul, too, would be a victim of the purges. At this point, his skill as a doctor stood him in good stead. The Dge lugs pa monasteries of Brag g.yab, Go 'jo, and Ri chab were insisting that Dpal spungs be leveled and its estates and property transferred to themselves. Suddenly, the Brag g.yab leader, Gdong kam, was seized by a severe illness. Kong sprul was called in as the most competent physician in Kham. Gdong kam Bla ma survived and so did Dpal spungs. The Sde dge queen and her minor son, as well as Dpal spungs Dbon sprul, were released. It was during these exceptionally troubled years that the *Shes bya kun khyab* was written.

During the postwar period, 'Jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po (1820–92) and Kong sprul had tremendous influence in Sde dge. They quickly gained the respect of the Lhasa generals posted in the east and were the moral leaders for the distressed people of Sde dge. In 1870 a princess from the ancient house of Ra ga shar (Mdo mkhar ba) arrived in Sde dge as a bride for the heir. This alliance led to one more troubled generation, during which Mkhayen brtse and later Mi pham would be forced to exercise much temporal authority. The political maneuverings were extraordinarily complicated during this period; yet despite the demands made upon them by worldly concerns, Kong sprul and Mkhayen brtse continued to progress by leaps and bounds in their intellectual and spiritual development. The last half of the nineteenth century is one of the most fascinating periods in Tibet's cultural history. There is a wealth of historical sources for the period; a thorough study should eventually be possible.

The relationship between Mkhayen brtse and Kong sprul is one of the most fascinating yet elusive problems in the nonsectarian movement. Kong sprul added the thorough knowledge of Bon that he had gained during his childhood to their common experience. He contributed his deep understanding of

the Dpal spungs synthesis that went back to Si tu Paṅ chen. It was Si tu who had blended the seemingly irreconcilable Gzhan stong and Mahāmudrā positions and spread them throughout the Karma Bka' brgyud pa traditions of Kham.

A close associate of Kong sprul and Mkhjen brtse in revitalizing the Gzhan stong theories was the Zhwa lu Ri sbug sprul sku, Blo gsal bstan skyong. This Kālacakra master from Gtsang was ultimately successful in persuading the administrator (*skyabs dbyings*)⁸⁴⁷ of Bkra shis lhun po to allow him to survey the extant blocks at Dga' Idan Phun tshogs gling, Tāranātha's monastery, and Ngam rings, the provincial capital of the La stod Byang pa myriarchs.⁸⁴⁸ The majority of the blocks stored in the printeries of these two establishments had been sealed by the Fifth Dalai Lama who went so far as to forbid even the copying of existent prints. The liberal Bkra shis lhun po administrator agreed with Blo gsal bstan skyong that the Jo nang pa works should again be printed; consequently, a number of impressions were made from the ancient blocks.

Much more could be said about the great figures of the nonsectarian movement and the significance of their individual contributions: encyclopedic scholars like Mi pham rgya mtsho; grammarians of the caliber of Ngor pa Dpon slob Ngag dbang legs grub (b. 1811), Lhag bsam rgyal mtshan,⁸⁴⁹ and Mkhan chen Bkra shis 'od zer (1836–1910); magnificent *gter ston* such as Bdud 'joms gling pa (b. 1835), Rig 'dzin Padma 'dus pa rtal (1810–72), and Las rab gling pa (b. 1856); and Bon po scholastics like Shar rdza Bkra shis rgyal mtshan (b. 1859), who was for the Bon po what Kong sprul and Mkhjen brtse were for the Buddhists. It should suffice to say that if one studies the character development of any of these teachers, the names of Kong sprul, Mkhjen brtse, Mi pham, and Mchog gling occur again and again.

V. *The Shes bya kun khyab As an Encyclopedia*

To style the *Shes bya kun khyab* an encyclopedia can be misleading. There is, of course, no arrangement of the contents alphabetically; there exists no index in which one might expect to find where any particular term, subject, or concept has been treated. Kong sprul has merely created a new treatise following rather faithfully a model sanctioned by centuries of use by his predecessors, the scholars of India. The *Shes bya kun khyab* can be termed encyclopedic by virtue of the comprehensiveness of the subject matter rather than on any formal grounds.

The totality of Tibetan scholastic knowledge has been compressed into a verse work (*mūla*) that runs to only seventy-eight folia. These cryptic verses

(*kārikā*) become the subjects of a three-volume autocommentary (*bhāṣya*), in which Kong sprul expands upon all that he includes in the verses. This autocommentary follows the traditional format, which might be confusing to anyone unfamiliar with the Sanskrit tradition of exegesis. It opens with a detailed explanation of the Sanskrit title that Kong sprul chose for his work.⁸⁵⁰ After completing the preliminary formalities required by the *śāstra* form, he follows precisely the structure of the verses.

Kong sprul divides his treatise into ten sections (*gnas*) and forty chapters (*skabs*). Each section contains four chapters that have been arranged with a concern for balance. This chapter order within the sections reflects the fact that the *Shes bya kun khyab* began as a treatment of the “three disciplines” or “three vows” (*trisaṃvara*). His special intention is to stress the virtues of the Rdzogs chen *atiyoga* approach of the Rnying ma pa sect. Within this rigid architectural framework, Kong sprul nevertheless propounds with skill his conception of the Gzhan stong position and the merits of the nonsectarian approach. While the structure is suited to Kong sprul's aim, it may be confusing to the non-Tibetan who would like to use the *Shes bya kun khyab* as an encyclopedia of Indian and Tibetan learning as it was understood in nineteenth-century Sde dge, the center of art, literature, and education for most of eastern Tibet. Stylistically, Kong sprul is not a remarkable writer. The verses show a cryptic terseness with a concomitant syntactic ambiguity. In the autocommentary, his prose is usually lucid and literary in style, although one occasionally notes questionable structures and spellings.

VI. *Kong sprul on the Development of Tibetan Artistic Styles*

A fairly typical example of Kong sprul's approach is his treatment of the emergence of Tibetan schools of painting and the plastic arts from Nepalese styles:⁸⁵¹

From the tradition of Nepalese painting [appeared] the Sman [and] Mkhjen schools of painting, [making] two; that of Byi'u [made] the third. Through [the efforts of] the three [who bore the name of] Bkra shis, The Sgar bris school came into being. In casting and sculpture there also appeared a succession of craftsmen.

Kong sprul elucidates these three lines of verse:⁸⁵²

As for painting, only the Nepalese tradition in the beginning spread widely. Then Sman bla Don grub, Mañjuśrī in human form, was born at Sman thang in Lho brag. His birth coincided with the discovery of a vein of natural vermilion pigment (*mishal*) in that region.⁸⁵³ Because of his wife, he set out to wander and went to Gtsang, where he studied painting with Rdo pa Bkra shis rgyal po. As a result of seeing a Chinese scroll painting from a time when he had taken rebirth in China, he remembered that former existence; he became known as the great master artist of Sman thang, and so forth. He practiced an excellent style of painting, and his tradition flourished in both the lineages of his sons and disciples.

Next, the great art master Mkhyen brtse, who was born at Gong dkar Sgang stod, founded a style of painting separate from that of Sman thang. These two, Sman and Mkhyen, are separate traditions that have become famed as the sun and the moon [of art] in the Land of Snows.

Again, [there appeared one who], because he roamed about here and there tirelessly for the sake of artistic craftsmanship, was known as the Sprul sku Byi'u [lit. "little bird"]. Because of his consummate genius, he founded a school differing from the former two that surpassed others in its coloring and shading.

Later, Gtsang pa Chos dbyings rgya mtsho founded the New Sman [ris] manner. That and numerous other styles of art appeared, but the majority of them belonged to those [two main schools described] above.

Again, the Sprul sku Nam mkha' bkra shis appeared in Yar stod. The Lord Mi bskyod zhabz had prophesied that he would be [one of] his own rebirths, one who would carry on the activities of his own body. The [Fifth] Zhwa dmar Dkon mchog yan lag and the [Fourth] Rgyal tshab Grags pa don grub directed him [in his studies]. He studied the Sman tradition of painting with the fortunate easterner from E, Dkon mchog phan bde, reputed to be an emanation of the Chinese consort, Kong jo. He based his bodily proportions and forms on Indian bronzes and the Sman thang traditions. In his treatment of the backgrounds, etc., and his usage of color, he took inspiration from the Chinese scroll paintings of the Ming period. This style, called the Encampment style [Sgar bris], thus arose.

Later, one called Chos bkra shis came forth. Afterward appeared Kar shod Karma bkra shis. This school [to which these belong] is

without rival in the practice of painting and continues to this very day. In short, these three [called] Bkra shis established in a great way the [Karma] Encampment style.

In sculpture, the most excellent were Sprul sku Sle'u chung pa and Padma mkhar pa. Later one finds the peerless intellect, Karma srid bral Sgo smyon, the attendant of Dwags po Sgo pa, skilled in the Encampment style for sculpture. He was regarded to be a rebirth of the Eighth Lord [Mi bskyod rdo rje]. This [Encampment sculpture] school that included [craftsmen] such as Karma rin chen no longer exists.

The sculptors celebrated as divine emanations, E pa Lkugs pa (the deaf-mute of E)—alias Hor dar—and the Sprul sku Bab phro, appeared during the time of the great Fifth Dalai Lama. Traditions that later stemmed from those two included the 'Dod dpal school, which was especially excellent in sculpture.

He continues:⁸⁵⁴

Exceptional in the practice of art [was] the Lord of the World [the Karma pa].

The aesthetic sensibility [exercised by] Gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba was beyond ordinary comprehension, and [his paintings] become nectar for the eye.

Superior to all of these [was] the Lord of the World practicing art, the glorious Karma pa Chos dbyings rdo rje. This personage studied painting with the Chus khyer sprul sku Tshe ring of Lho brag, a follower of the Sman ris, and during the early part of his life he worked in the Sman ris manner. During the latter part, however, he was inspired by Chinese scroll painting for painting (*bris*) and influences from [old] Kashmiri originals for his sculpture (*'bur*). His marvelous paintings, along with his embroideries, can be seen even today.

Later, the paintings and sculptures produced by the discernment of the omniscient Gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba surpass the ordinary mind. These magical creations can even today become nectar for the eyes of ordinary folk. How his art is this exceptional was explained in the omniscient lama's own writings on the set of *Avadānakalpalatā* paintings.

Were these remarks on the history of artistic styles to be incorporated into a true encyclopedia, the entry would have to be rewritten and expanded. Even in the autocommentary, Kong sprul assumes a familiarity on the part of his readers with the whole religious and historical background. Such an expanded entry might read as follows:

Until the fifteenth century, the mainstream of Tibetan painting primarily followed Indian models and canons that had been introduced through the Kathmandu Valley and were collectively known as *Bal ris* or the Nepalese Newar style. Following Tāranātha's history of Buddhism in India, Kong sprul notes that Tibetan art initially derived from the art of Nepal, but that the Kashmiri influences were significant, particularly in the western areas. One can distinguish three phases in both the Newar Buddhist art and the Kashmiri. The three stages in the development of Newar art were: (1) a style similar to the old western (Nub rnying) style; (2) a style like the eastern Indian (Shar), i.e., the Pāla style; and (3) the later Newar style. The Kashmiri style is likewise a sequence of phases: (1) a style like the central Indian (Dbus) Magadhan style related to the Pāla style; (2) a style like the old western Indian style (Nub rnying); and (3) the Kashmiri (Kha che ma) style proper, attributed to the perhaps legendary Hasurāja. Tibetan painting derived primarily from Newar painting.⁸⁵⁵

Sman bla don grub of Sman thang in Lho brag founded the Sman ris school during the middle of the fifteenth century.⁸⁵⁶ The most significant characteristic of this school was its incorporation of Chinese influences of the Ming period. The Chinese works that influenced Sman bla don grub most were Ming paintings that came to Tibet as religious offerings to the great lamas of Gtsang in the early 1400's. During this period, Gtsang was the center of Tibetan art and culture. It is significant that it was here that the Sman bla don grub learned to paint, rather than in Lho brag in southern Dbus.

The mid-fifteenth century also saw the birth of the second great school, the Mkhayen ris, which takes its origins and name from Mkhayen brise chen mo of Gong dkar.⁸⁵⁷ This style, too, shows a degree of Chinese influence and differs from the Sman ris in its greater realism, its complicated stylized lotuses, and a few other details. The murals of Gong dkar of the late fifteenth century represent this school at its best. Examples of the Mkhayen ris are much rarer than representative works of the other major schools, a fact that suggests that the style of painting declined along with the Sa skya schools in Central Tibet from the mid-1600s onward. But the style experienced a temporary revival thanks to the patronage of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The Encampment style (*Sgar bris*) or Karma Encampment style (*Karma*

Sgar bris)⁸⁵⁸ is more than a school of painting; it represents a complete approach to religious art. It developed out of the classical Sman ris during the second half of the sixteenth century and shows the greatest Chinese influence of any of the Tibetan schools. The founder of this school was Sprul sku Nam mkha' bkra shis.⁸⁵⁹ He studied the Sman ris tradition with Dkon mchog phan bde of E, who was reputed to be an emanation of the Chinese princess Wen ch'eng Kung chu, the consort of Srong btsan sgam po. Kong sprul notes that the chief characteristics of the *Sgar bris* were: 1) innovations in backgrounds and composition and 2) a distinctive use of colors and shading. The *Sgar bris* in some respects reflects Ming dynasty developments in Chinese painting; Tibetan art historians regard the greatest practitioners of this style to be the three artists named "Bkra shis," i.e., Nam mkha' bkra shis, Chos bkra shis,⁸⁶⁰ and Karma bkra shis. The last was a contemporary of Si tu Pañ chen who flourished in the mid-eighteenth century. His lineage of students flourished at Kar shod near Karma Monastery in Khams, where there was a famed teaching establishment of painting until 1959. The *Sgar bris* was the style in which the majority of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa artists of Khams painted. The Fifth Zur mang Che tshang was another noted representative of this school. The classical *Sgar bris* was transformed by the commissions and experiments of Si tu Pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas in the eighteenth century.

The *Byi'u ris*⁸⁶¹ dated from the first half of the fifteenth century. Kong sprul observed that the distinctive feature of this school was its extraordinary usage of color. Little is yet known of its founder, Sprul sku Byi'u, or his relationships with other painting styles, though Byi'u may have been a generation earlier than Sman thang pa.

The establishment of the New Sman ris is attributed to the seventeenth-century artist, Chos dbyings rgya mtsho of Gtsang. Gtsang pa Sprul sku flourished between 1620 and 1665. Initially, he seems to have attracted the notice of the First Pañ chen Lama, under whose patronage he painted the frescos for many of the renovated and newly constructed chapels of Gtsang. Later, his services were requisitioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama for at least one major project.⁸⁶² The most obvious characteristic of the New Sman ris is its stylized use of richer colors. There is great attention to detail: the patterns of the elegant brocaded garments of the figures in the thangka are meticulously painted. Flowers are painted petal by petal, leaf by leaf. In the best murals and thangkas of the early New Sman ris there is, nevertheless, something of the flow and grace of Chinese paintings.

There were a number of lesser schools that seem largely derivative of one or more of the major styles. These minor schools remained largely provincial,

e.g., the Dwags ris, associated with the name of Zhun mthing pa.⁸⁶³ This style was confined to Dwags po, and some of the sources compare it to Bhutanese and Mon pa painting. Among the regional styles, the “Northern Tradition” of northwest Gtsang (*Byang lugs*) with its antiquity and exaggerated realism is also of interest. It may be one of the oldest schools of art. It is associated with Ngam rings, the capital of the myriarchs of La stod Byang, and seems to have enjoyed a brief period of popularity around Yar ’brog.⁸⁶⁴ No examples of tangkas representing this school have yet come to light.⁸⁶⁵

One provincial style developed into a national artistic idiom: that of Bhutan. The Northern ’Brug pa hierarch, Padma dkar po (1527–92), is supposed to have followed the classical Sman ris⁸⁶⁶ in his painting, and one would assume that the scions of the house of Rwa lung also upheld this idiom. The First Zhabs drung Ngag dbang nam rgyal (1594–1651) of the Southern ’Brug pa supposedly included painting among his numerous talents, but none of his creations seem to have survived the fires that plagued Bhutan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Painting as an educational discipline was introduced in Bhutan probably during the seventeenth century by Sprul sku Mi pham chos ’phel, who followed a fusion of the classical Sman ris and Mkhyyen ris.

Remarkable skill in weaving and textile design is a distinctive characteristic of Bhutanese cultural heritage. These folk traditions have left their mark on the religious art, where one finds a composite style that is quite striking in its charm. The embroidered and appliqué thangkas of Bhutan are perhaps the finest in the Tibetan cultural world. Grags pa rgya mtsho (1646–1719)⁸⁶⁷ produced the most magnificent example of the embroidered thangka in the First Mthong ba rang grol of Punakha. His talents as an artist attracted the not especially welcome attention of the Bhutanese ruler, Bstan ’dzin rab rgyas, and he was pressed into service to design and assume responsibility for producing an enormous embroidered thangka, the “Gos sku mthong grol chen mo” or “Mthong ba rang grol” of Punakha (Spungs thang). This project was begun in 1689 and completed in 1692. It was this thangka that served as the inspiration and model for at least one similar work, the Zhabs drung thangka of 1753. Grags pa rgya mtsho was then immediately charged with the difficult task of building and painting the frescos of the hermitage of Spa gro Stag tshang (1692–93).

Bhutanese painting soon developed into an indigenous school that borrowed the mannerisms of the classical Sman ris and Mkhyyen ris schools, but drew upon a rich indigenous aesthetic sensibility that transformed even the Tibetan palette into one that was distinctively Bhutanese. Through Bhutan’s

religious ties with the ’Brug pa establishments in Ladakh, Lahoul, Spiti, and Nepal, Bhutanese art spread far beyond its boundaries. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Bhutanese painters continued to absorb innovations and influences from both Central Tibet and Khams and to adapt them to that idiom that continued to remain Bhutanese.

While Tibetan art does not for the most part possess great artistic names, the paintings of certain lamas were so highly esteemed that an account of Tibetan art would be incomplete without their mention. At different periods of their lives, these artists’ works embodied more than one school or style. Kong sprul mentions two: the Tenth Rgyal dbang Karma pa, Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–74),⁸⁶⁸ and Si tu Pañ chen Chos kyi ’byung gnas.⁸⁶⁹ The first is largely remembered because of his employment of old Chinese and Kashmiri models.⁸⁷⁰ Si tu was a competent painter, but was immeasurably more brilliant and influential as a hands-on designer of paintings, directing teams of professional artists.

In bas relief work⁸⁷¹ two of the great names of the early period were Sprul sku Sle’u chung pa⁸⁷² and Padma mkhar pa. During the next generations, Karma srid bral, alias the madman of Sgo,⁸⁷³ and Karma rin chen were important artists of the Encampment school of sculpture. Karma srid bral was considered to be an emanation of the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje. The school of Karma srid bral and Karma rin chen had already died out by Kong sprul’s time.

During the seventeenth century, when art flourished under the patronage of the Fifth Dalai Lama, there were two craftsmen whose skill in sculpture was almost miraculous: Sprul sku Bab phro and Hor dar, the deaf-mute of E.⁸⁷⁴ The superb artistic tradition that stemmed from these two is called the ’Dod dpal. A famous recent artisan in metalcraft was the Tenth Si tu of Dpal spungs, Padma kun bzang chos rgyal (1854–85), Kong sprul’s student. Usually referred to as Si rгод ma, this lama specialized in the design of ritual musical instruments. His *rgya gling* were famous throughout Khams. My friends from Dpal spungs inform me that his carvings that were preserved were most original in their conception and execution.

The serious study of the history of Tibetan art is still just beginning. The pioneering work of Tucci, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, A. K. Gordon, and Lokesh Chandra revealed a good deal about iconography, but knowledge of historical developments and stylistic features lags behind. For decades the pontifications of eminent musicologists and art historians regarding the characteristics and dates of the various styles and schools represented nothing but uninformed guesses. Fortunately, Sinologists are making progress toward

filling in the lacunae in research on Yuan and Ming dynasty Chinese art. Knowledge of Nepalese artistic history is continually increasing. As more of the considerable number of Tibetan literary sources become available, and as discerning eyes have the opportunity to examine representative collections of significant artwork, there will be little room left for the obscurantism and disimulation that for so long has filled museum catalogs as well as popular works in the West.

It has been the aim of this little exercise to give a small indication of the incredible wealth of information stored in the *Shes bya kun khyab*. Answers to many of the questions that have long intrigued researchers are now readily available. The portals to the treasury of Indic learning that was spirited away to Tibet for safekeeping so many centuries ago stand open. The concise and authoritative statements of the *Shes bya kun khyab* must now become the starting point for many kinds of future research, whether into Tibetan medicine, the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar in the Land of Snows, or obscure points of esoteric Buddhism.

VII. *The Many Names of Kong sprul*

One of the greatest problems confronting the would-be bibliographer of Tibetan literature is the plethora of names, titles, and epithets by which lamas are known, especially those of the older orders. The case of Kong sprul illustrates this problem especially well. Briefly, Kong sprul was given seven types of names during his life: childhood name, monastic ordination name, bodhisattva vow name, tantric initiation name, name as a rediscoverer of hidden treasure, name as a grammarian, and finally an incarnation name.

1. Names of Childhood

Within a year after the birth of a child, a ceremony for bestowing a name normally takes place. Customs vary from place to place. In some regions girls' names are given to male children to confuse malevolent spirits who might do harm to boys. As one would expect in a culture where mantra plays such an important part, names are potent forces. Seldom does the name given at birth remain the one by which a child is known throughout his life. In the case of religious personages it is never so.

Names of laymen may change for a number of reasons. Should someone, especially a child, in the village die, the name of all children who bear the same

name is changed. After a child reaches a certain age, the female or deprecatory names that had initially been given to ward off evil forces and protect him are customarily changed.

A respected lama may be asked to give a name to a child even though the child already has a name. In 1815, the chief leader in the Bon faith, Bsod nams blo gros,⁸⁷⁵ twenty-second abbot of Sman ri Monastery in Gtsang, visited the semi-nomadic settlement in which our subject was born. On this occasion, he performed a ceremony of tonsure and bestowed the name Bstan 'dzin g.yung drung on the young Kong sprul. This is the first name mentioned in the autobiography.

Names given on the occasion of the tonsure ceremony may be regarded as a type of religious initiatory name since the vows of *dge bshyen* (*upāsaka*) are normally administered on this occasion. In the case of Kong sprul, however, we are justified in treating the name Bstan 'dzin g.yung drung as an example of the first type since the Bon po vows of *upāsaka* led to no full ordination. In any case, we have yet to see a literary work of Kong sprul in which he uses his early Bon po name to sign a colophon. Since names of youth are almost never the forms by which authors become known, we can for practical purposes disregard them, even though they are frequently mentioned in biographical works.

2. Names of Monastic Ordination

When the layman takes the robes of a monk, he always changes his name. In some cases a new name is bestowed at the time of taking the *upāsaka* vows. In the case of high incarnations destined for monastic ordination, the vows of the *upāsaka* are a mere formality preliminary to the vows of the novice (*dge tshul*) and fully ordained monk (*dge slong*). While the normal practice for the Dge lugs pa school is to receive the new name when taking the novice's vows, we do find cases in which a lama of the older schools has received new names at the different stages of his monastic ordination.

An illustration is provided by the case of the Eighth Rgyal dbang 'Brug pa Kun gzigs chos kyi snang ba (1768–1822). He received his *upāsaka* vows and the name Bka' brgyud bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 'gyur med yongs grub dam chos nyi ma in about 1775 from the Seventh Dpa' bo Gtsug lag dga' ba (1718–81). In 1777 he requested the vows of *dge tshul* and was given the name Mi pham kun gzigs chos kyi snang ba pad dkar bzhad pa'i dge mtshan 'gyur med rdo rje'i snying po mchog tu grub pa'i sde. On the occasion of his final ordination (*bshyen rdzogs*) in 1794, he received the name Dpal ldan 'chi med

grub mchog ye shes nyi ma 'phrin las nram par rgyal ba'i sde. Often the names bestowed at the final stage of monastic ordination are simply expanded versions of names received with the novice vows.

An additional type of preliminary monastic name was that bestowed on him by the Eighth Dalai Lama in 1776: Blo bzang mi pham bstan 'dzin nram rgyal. The government of the Dalai Lama claimed the right of recognition and investiture of all important incarnations. Consequently, we find a practice of two tonsural ceremonies in cases of high-ranking incarnations. These names bestowed by the Dalai Lama or a regent seldom have any bibliographical significance in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although we must reckon with them at a later period.

In summary, we should recognize four distinct classes of monastic initiatory names: 1) names bestowed on the occasion of taking the *upāsaka* vows, 2) those received with the novice's vows, 3) names received when the full ordination as *bhikṣu* is taken, 4) tonsural names bestowed through governmental prerogative.

In 1833, Kong sprul received the name Karma ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho 'phrin las kun khyab dpal bzang po with the vinaya vows of the western transmission (*Stod lugs*)⁶⁷⁶ from the Ninth Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po (1774–1853) and Dbon rgan Karma theg mchog bstan 'phel (d. 1842). Kong sprul had previously been fully ordained according to the eastern transmission (*Smad lugs*)⁶⁷⁷ of the vinaya by 'Jam mgon 'Gyur med mthu stobs nram rgyal of Zhe chen in 182. I am as yet ignorant of the name that Kong sprul received on this occasion. The initial "Karma" is generic and is a part of the ordination name for all teachers belonging to the Karma Kari tshang tradition.

Abbreviated forms of the monastic name employed by Kong sprul in his colophons include Ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho and Yon tan rgya mtsho. On occasion he signs himself simply Guṇa, the Sanskrit equivalent of Yon tan.⁶⁷⁸

3. The Bodhisattva Vow Name

Parallel to the vinaya vows of the *prātimokṣa*, the Tibetan tradition postulates two other sets: the vows of the bodhisattva, the discipline of Mahāyāna, and those of the *tantrika*, the discipline of the Vajrayāna. The vinaya is equated with Hīnayāna. Just as one takes a new name when one enters the monastic tradition, so one receives a new name on the occasion of ordination as a bodhisattva.

In 1839 Kong sprul received this set of vows and the name Rgyal sras Blo gros mtha' yas (pa'i sde) from Si tu. Such names are invariably preceded by

Byang chub sems dpa' or Rgyal sras, the Tibetan equivalents or epithets for bodhisattva. Blo gros mtha' yas is probably the name that Kong sprul uses most frequently in signing colophons. I would suggest entering Kong sprul's literary works under the name Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas.

4. Esoteric Initiatory Name

The esoteric initiatory (*gsang mshan*) name is for Vajrayāna what the bodhisattva name is for Mahāyāna. After one is initiated into one of the esoteric systems, one's tantric guru or, occasionally, one's tutelary deity bestows a secret or esoteric name. When Kong sprul requested the initiation of the *Rsa gyum dril sgrub* in 1836, he received the "secret" name Padma gar gyi dbang phyug phrin las 'gro 'dul rtsal. Often Kong sprul uses a hybrid form composed of the first portion of his esoteric name followed by his bodhisattva name: Padma gar gyi dbang phyug blo gros mtha' yas pa'i sde.

5. Name As Rediscoverer of Hidden Treasure Troves

The teachings that were concealed by Padmasambhava and his close colleagues for discovery at a future time are called *gter ma*. The teachers who are to open these miraculous caches have all been prophesied by Padmasambhava. Names of *gter ston* to appear in the future are noted in each successive discovery of authentic *gter ma* texts. At the risk of oversimplification, we may say that the names of all *gter ston* were given by Padmasambhava (*gyu ru rin po che* *btags pa'i ming*). The *gter ston*-to-be is usually annointed by an already practicing discoverer. About 1855, Kong sprul met Mchog 'gyur gling pa (1829–70) for the first time, who proclaimed him to be a *gter ston* with the name 'Chi med bstan gnyis g.yung drung gling pa, often shortened to Bstan gnyis g.yung drung gling pa.

6. Grammatical Name

Following advanced instruction of Sanskrit or poetics, the teacher grants a grammatical name. Kong sprul signs certain of his works with the name Blo gter rab dga' tshangs byung snyems pa'i lang tsho'i zla snang. I assume that he received this name from Zhe chen 'Gyur med mthu stobs nram rgyal, although I have found no mention of this in the biographical materials as yet.

7. Incarnation Name

In order to prevent the Sde dge authorities from requisitioning the talented young Kong sprul for service in the government, the Dpal spungs lamas proclaimed him to be the rebirth of a personage connected with that convent, an accomplished monk from Bam stengs in Kong po. This monk had served the great Si tu Paṅ chen during his youth and early adulthood. Kong sprul was formally recognized to be the embodiment of this teacher as Kong po Bam steng(s) Sprul sku. Like most Tibetan titles, this one consists of two elements: (1) place or lineage of origin, and (2) function or status (here: *sprul sku*). This name was later shortened to Kong sprul. Because of Kong sprul's great wisdom and scholarship, his contemporaries and disciples likened him to Mañjuśrī and prefixed his name with the additional honorary title 'Jam mgon; thus we find 'Jam mgon Kong sprul as a common short form of his name. Kong sprul was regarded as a Mañjuśrī emanation as well as the reembodyment of the great translator, Vairocana.⁸⁷⁹ A name in its full form normally includes both a title and given religious name, for example: Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas or Kong sprul Ngag dbang yon tan rgyan mtsho.

VIII. The Literary Production of Kong sprul

The Tibetan tradition classifies the collected writings of Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas—numbering over ninety volumes in the Dpal spungs edition—into *Five Treasuries (Mdzod lnga)*. The Dpal spungs is the only edition of the entire *Five Treasuries*.⁸⁸⁰ The earliest attempt to fit all of Kong sprul's works into the format of the *Mdzod chen lnga* seems to appear in Kong sprul's autobiography, which was edited and completed by Gnas gsar Bkra shis chos 'phel. I have followed his classification here. Briefly, the *Five Treasuries* are:

1. The *Shes bya kun khyab (Encompassment of All Knowledge)*
2. The *Bka' brgyud ngags mdzod (Treasury of Bka' brgyud Mantras)*
3. The *Rin chen gter mdzod (Jewel Treasury)*
4. The *Gdams ngag mdzod (Treasury of Spiritual Instructions)*
5. The *Thung mong ma yin pa'i mdzod (Uncommon Treasury)*

1. The *Shes bya kun khyab* or *Shes bya mdzod* (three volumes)

This is reckoned as the first treasury of the five.

2. The *Bka' brgyud ngags mdzod* (four or six volumes)⁸⁸¹

This *Treasury* appears to be the first of the five to have been compiled; in 1856 we find Kong sprul bestowing the initiation of the new collection on Dbon rgan Sprul sku of Dpal spungs and others. The *Shes bya kun khyab* dates to the period 1862–64.

The *Bka' brgyud ngags mdzod* is a compilation of esoteric Bka' brgyud pa teachings that had, for the most part, been transmitted by Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros to Rngog ston Chos sku rdo rje. Rngog ston was one of the four chief disciples of Mar pa. He was a student who excelled in the exegesis of the explanations that Mar pa transmitted (*Gsung bshad chu bo rgyun lta bu'i bka' babs*), while Mi la ras pa was the most accomplished in the esoteric practices, especially that of *gtum mo*, the production of vital heat. The Rngog tradition continued up to Kong sprul's own day. To these major teachings of the Rngog pa Bka' brgyud pa, known collectively as the *Rngog dkyil 'khor bdun*, Kong sprul later added some other rare instructions of the Bka' brgyud pa and Rnying ma pa traditions in some of his own liturgical renditions.⁸⁸²

3. The *Rin chen gter mdzod* (sixty or sixty-three volumes)⁸⁸³

The *Rin chen gter mdzod* is a collection of the smaller basic texts, important supplementary works, newly written liturgical texts devoted to the initiations (*abbiseka*) and propitiation (*sādhana* and *sevavidhi*), and introductory instructions for the majority of the authoritative *gter ma* cycles that had been revealed in Tibet up to Kong sprul's own time. The vast majority of the collection is the work of Kong sprul, who had painstakingly collected the instructions and initiations, many of which were on the point of disappearing. The *Rin chen gter mdzod* is sometimes inaccurately described as a collection of the *gter ma* texts themselves; Kong sprul's intention was never to displace the enormous collected cycles like the *Gnam chos* or 'Ja' tshon *pod drug*. He seems only to want to bring some order into the chaos of this "rediscovered" literature, to establish some criteria of authenticity for this genre that had often been reviled and rejected by Tibetan scholars of a more purist bent. His approach, as ever, was eclectic.⁸⁸⁴

4. The *Gdams ngag mdzod* (ten volumes)

The fourth of Kong sprul's *Treasuries* is a systematic presentation of the most important instructions of all the Buddhist sects of Tibet. The *gdams ngag* is

the guru's practical instruction to the disciple. Its essence is a record of the insights of an experienced master. At times it may be phrased in the language of ambiguity or paradox;⁸⁸⁵ this is the parable, the metaphor, intended to induce a spiritual disciple into an all-encompassing experience of, and ultimately identity with, reality, which we normally only experience as multiplicity through delusion. In apprehending diversity as unity, metaphor can have a profound influence. Kong sprul saw that parable and its language was ultimately at the root of many of the sectarian conflicts. By collecting the instructions and confirmations of an enormous number of such *gdams ngag* and passing them on to his disciples as an organized unit, Kong sprul was implicitly pointing out their ultimate identity.

In some cases Kong sprul adds his own explanation or notes. The arrangement of the collection is in itself a statement of the nonsectarian movement; this compilation is a source of profound importance for understanding what Kong sprul and his colleagues were trying to do. The *Gdams ngag mdzod* was certainly Kong sprul's last great project. Begun about 1886, the collection was finally completed a few years before Kong sprul's death.⁸⁸⁶

5. The *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* (ten volumes).⁸⁸⁷

The *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* is properly the collected writings of Kong sprul that do not belong to one of the other *mdzod*. The first volume (*Ka*) contains thirty-three titles. The bulk of this volume is devoted to praises (*stotras*), *guryogas*, and other liturgical pieces of this type. These minor works do, however, establish Kong sprul's reputation as a master Tibetan poet.

The second volume (*Kha*) contains thirty-one titles dealing with Vajrakāla in his various manifestations propitiated by the Rnying ma pa and Gsar ma ba sects. The last work in the volume is of considerable interest; it is Kong sprul's commentary on the *Phur pa rtsa dum* (*Dpal rdo rje phur pa rtsa bu'i rgyud kyi dum bu'i grel pa snying po bsdu pa dpal chen dgyes pa'i zhal lung* in 94 folia). The text of the *Phur pa rtsa dum* is critical for refuting the charges that all of the Rnying ma pa tantras are spurious. Here we have a fragment of one very important Rnying ma pa tantra for which there is ample historical evidence for a Sanskrit original. Kong sprul's editors have included an edition of the *Rtsa dum* itself in this volume.

The third volume (*Ga*) includes twenty-seven titles largely dealing with esoteric liturgy and deities, especially those of the Rnying ma pa school.

The fourth volume (*Nga*) is also concerned with esoteric liturgy, especially

that connected with the tutelaries of the Gsar ma ba sects. This volume includes thirty-eight separate titles.

With the fifth volume (*Ca*), we come to Kong sprul's works of exegesis, introductions to Mahāmudrā and the *Rdzogs chen Snying thig*. Among the forty-four separate titles, there are four of exceptional interest:

1. *Nges don dbu ma chen po la 'kbrul rriog nyer gum gyi 'bur joms pa legs bshad gser gyi tho bu*.

2. *Lta ba gnan la 'bebs pa las 'phros pa'i gnam skabs lnga pa lung dang rigs pa'i me tog rab tu dkod pa*.

This work was written in 1839 at the behest of Mkhayen brtse (here called 'jigs med mkhyen brtse). It is one of Kong sprul's first attempts to expound his understanding of the philosophical theories of the various sects.

3. *Gzhan stong dbu ma chen po'i lta kbrid rdo rje zla ba dri ma med pa'i 'od zer*.

4. *Ris med chos kyi 'byung gnas mdo tsam smos pa blo gsal mgrin pa'i mdzes rgyan*.

The first three titles are devoted to various aspects of the Gzhan stong problem. The fourth is a concise account of the various religious traditions and emphasizes their essential unity. In this work Kong sprul demonstrates his high regard for the Gzhan stong as a unifying concept.⁸⁸⁸ Kong sprul's Gzhan stong seems to differ from the more typical eighteenth-century Gzhan stong exemplified by Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. His is without doubt the most inclusive interpretation of the Gzhan stong that has ever been put forward by a Tibetan scholar.

The sixth volume (*Cha*) includes twenty-one collections or individual works. Here letters, instructions, poetical works, *dkar chag*, and monastic ordinances predominate. Kong sprul is the author of a number of intriguing *dkar chag*: one to the reliquary of Smṛtjñānākīrti, one outlining the funeral monuments to the deceased Dpal spungs Dbon sprul, another to the Lhasa Jo khang, another surveying the contents of the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa religious literature, and a bulky one devoted to the Dpal spungs hermitage of Kun bzang bde chen 'od gsal gling.

In volume *Ja*, the seventh, we find a total of sixty-eight separate miscellaneous works, the vast majority of which are concerned with popular Buddhism as it was practiced in Kham. In this volume there are several *dkar*

chag, one of which describes the reliquary built to house the remains of Khyung po Bla ma G.yung drung phun tshogs, a respected Bon po teacher. This text contains a fair amount of material on the Bon po tradition in Tibet: *Mchog gzigs bla ma dam pa g.yung drung phun tshogs kyi gdung rten dkar chag lha'i sgra snyan*. Kong sprul also includes a number of ephemera such as benedictory verses written on the occasion of the carving of new blocks for printing books.

The eighth volume (*Na*) commences with a number of rituals for invoking the protective and tutelary deities. Especially interesting are Kong sprul's works on the design and iconography of Tibetan thangka, his study of Sanskrit, and his introduction to medical practice. This volume contains twenty-two items.

The ninth volume (*Ta*) includes twenty-eight separate works. The editors begin with some treatises on astrology (*rtsis*), the largest of which are perhaps not the work of Kong sprul. He gives us an account of the Sde dge marriage custom of the *Mda' dar* as a sort of commemoration of the marriage of the Sde dge king and the daughter of Ra ga shar (Mdo mkhar). The majority of the works are prayers and methods for offering of *gtor ma*.

The tenth volume (*A*) contains three biographical texts on the life of Kong sprul:

1. *Phyogs med ris med kyi bstan pa la 'dung shing dge sbyong gi gzugs brnyan 'chang ba blo gros mtha' yas kyi sde'i byung ba brjod pa nor bu sma tshogs mdog can*. 210 ff.

The autobiography edited and completed by Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel.

2. *'Du shes gsum ldan spong ba pa'i gzugs brnyan padma gar gyi dbang phyug phrin las gro 'dul rtsal gyi rtags pa brjod pa'i dum bu smrig rgyu'i bduid risi*. 41 ff.

A supplement compiled at the order of the Fifteenth Rgyal dbang Karma pa Mikha' khyab rdo rje recounting Kong sprul's previous incarnations. The compiler seems to be Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel.

3. *Rje kun gzigs 'jam mgon ngag gi dbang phyug yon tan rgya mtsho'i zhabs kyi 'das rjes kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mshar nor bu'i suang ba*. 23 ff.

Account of the funeral ceremonies and memorial acts of merit performed by Kong sprul's disciples. Compiled by Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel in 1901.

Identical texts comprise volume *Ab* of the Mtshur phu edition of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Even the number of folia is identical. Consequently, it would

seem that the Dpal-spung edition of this volume derives from that of Mtshur phu. The reverse is usually the case, however.

The set of the last of Kong sprul's *Treasuries* in the Tibet House library in New Delhi seems to be incomplete. I have seen a Dpal spung print without marginal markings of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's annotated edition of Si tu Pan chen's eighteenth-century translation of the *Sārasvataryākaraṇa*.⁸⁸⁹ He is known to have written a commentary on the *Chandoratnākara* in 1872. One of Kong sprul's last works is the biography of his great friend, Mkhayen brtse: *Rje btsun bla ma thams cad mkyen cing gzigs pa 'jam dbyangs mkyen brtse'i dbang po kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus pa ngo mshar u dumba ra'i dga' tshal*.⁸⁹⁰

The bibliography of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's writings, compilations, commentaries, and adaptations would easily merit a volume in itself. As more of the intriguing works of this nineteenth-century Tibetan Leonardo become available, new dimensions will be added to our comprehension of the marvels of the Indic cultural heritage that were so carefully treasured beyond the Himalayas. We shall ultimately be better able to conceive how the Tibetan cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century came to flower.

Appendix

The Incarnation Lineages of Mkhayen brtse, Kong sprul,

Mchog gling, and Mi pham

Mme. Macdonald has included a diagram illustrating the Mkhayen brtse "family" of incarnations and a brief account of the Kong sprul rebirths in her study of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakapamaṇḍala*. Since the appearance of this work in 1962, a considerable body of data has come to light to which Mme. Macdonald had no access.

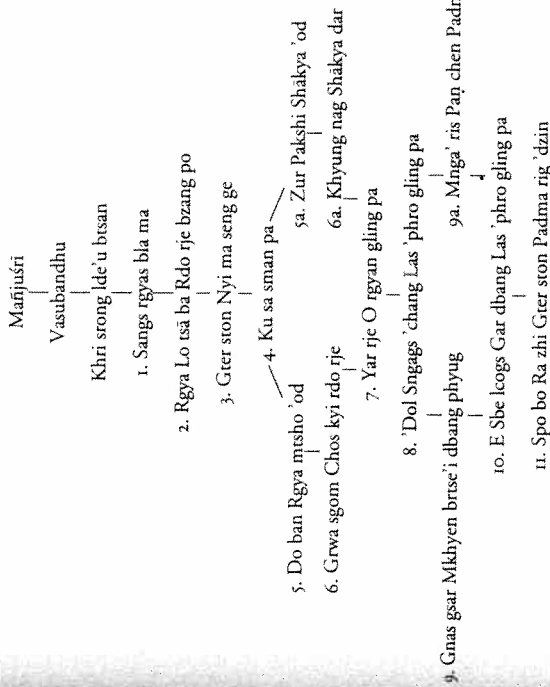
Some Tibetan traditions group three of the greatest Ris med figures, i.e., Mkhayen brtse, Kong sprul, and Mchog gling, together as the 'Jam dbyangs sprul pa rnam gsum, the three embodiments of Mañjuḥoṣa.

The cult of Mañjuśrī presents complex problems. Many of the great Sa skya pa masters of the House of 'Khon had been emanations of that bodhisattva. The incomparable Tsong kha pa was hailed as the wisdom of Mañjuśrī embodied. One should also remember that the Manchu Emperor was styled an emanation of that same tutelary. At a certain stage, China is defined as the field specially allotted to Mañjuśrī for conversion. Closely connected with the same problem is the origin and spread of the cult of Ge sar, the epic hero,

as a protective deity (*dgwa lha*) and his identification with Kuan Di, the Chinese god of war. A careful study of these phenomena might throw new light on Ch'ing dynasty policy and interaction with Tibetan Buddhist cultures. Especially intriguing are the evidences that can occasionally be discerned of hesitance regarding the new religious forms centering around Mañjuśrī and Ge sar and a simultaneous reaffirmation and elaboration of the Avalokiteśvara cult.

In addition to the above trio, there is the great Mi pham, a protagonist of the Ge sar cult, again revered as an avatar of Mañjuśrī. The fact that some recent Khams pa scholars have propounded alternative theories about the bodhisattva source of some of these teachers should be noted.

A. The Mkyen brtse Incarnations⁸⁹¹



Skū	Gsung	Thugs	Thugs	Thugs	Skū
Rdzong gsar Mkhyyen brtse 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi dbang po (1894?-1909; in 1909 Kahl thog Mkhyyen brtse was invited to become the lama of Rdzong gsar)	Be ri or Dpal spungs Mkhyyen brtse Karma mkhyyen brtse 'i 'od zer (1896-1945)	Sa skya Phun pho Mkhyyen brtse Khri chen Ngag dbang mthu stobs dbang phyug (1900-1950)	Dil mgo Mkhyyen brtse Rab gsal zla ba (b. 1910; at present preaching in Bhutan)	Sras 'Phags mchogs rdo rje, son of Rtogs ldan Śākya śrī, 1854-1919	Mdo Mkhyyen brtse Ye shes rdo rje (predeceased the <i>thugs sprul</i> into whom he was absorbed)
Dgon chen Mkhyyen brtse 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi dbang phyug (b. 1910); this incarnation was installed at Sde dge Dgon chen following his recognition as the <i>sku sprul</i>)	Name not known (b. 1946 as the son of Drag shos Phun of Bum thang in Bhutan)	first son of his daughter-in-law, died in infancy		Name unknown; born in Go 'jo	

Thugs	Yon Tan?	Yon Tan?	Yon Tan?	Thugs	Gsung
'Jam dbyangs Mkhyyen brtse 'i dbang po Kun dga' bstan pa 'i rgyal mtshan (1820-92)	Rdzogs chen Mkhyyen brtse Gu ru tshē dbang (c. 1897-c. 1945)	Nang chen Mkhyyen brtse Kun bzang 'gro 'dul (died c. 1945); monastery Rdza Bar me dgon pa	Nang chen Mkhyyen brtse Kun bzang 'gro 'dul (died c. 1945); monastery Rdza Bar me dgon pa	'Phrin Las Kahl thog (and after 1910 Rdzong gsar) Mkhyyen brtse 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi blo died in the palace monastery in Gangtok	Rdza Dpal sprul O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po (b. 1808)
		Name unknown; born in Shangs		Rdzong gsar Mkhyyen brtse 'Jigs med mkhyyen brtse nor bu alias 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgya mtsho (b. 1961; installed at Gangtok in 1968)	
					3 or more rebirths
					Rdza Rgyal dgon pa 'jigs med dbang po (a student of A 'dzom 'Brug pa)
					A mdo Gso yul name unknown (a student of A 'dzom 'Brug pa)
					Rdza Rgyal dgon pa 'jigs med dbang po
					Dpal dge Sprul sku Bsod nams sbyin pa

B. *The Emanations of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas* (1813–99)

Kong sprul is regarded by a few Tibetan authorities to be an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, although most scholars believe him to have been a Mañjuśrī incarnation. Bdud 'joms Rin po che mentions both Ānanda, the disciple of the Śākyamuni Buddha, and the great translator Vairocana as previous embodiments of the emanation lineage that Kong sprul represents. Vairocana, the Tibetan translator, is usually represented to be an embodiment of the Vairocana Buddha. The problem is extremely complicated.

Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel, who completed and edited Kong sprul's autobiography, implies that Kong sprul thought of himself as an incarnation of the lineage that passed from Kṛṣṇācārya through Jo nang Tāranātha. To this lineage he adds the great Snye mdo Thams cad mkhyen pa Kun dga' don grub:

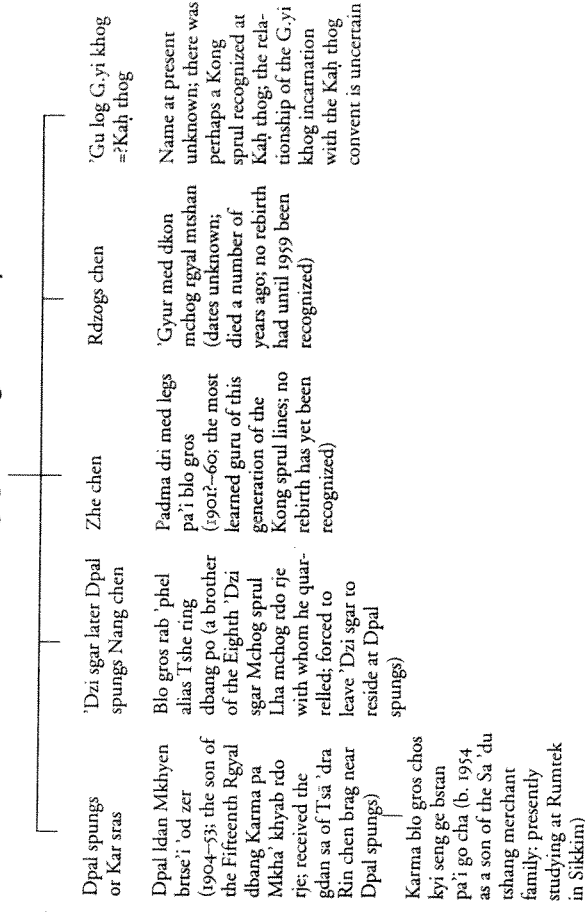
1. Nag po spyod pa (Kṛṣṇācārin)
2. Ra na bha hu la
3. Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po
4. 'Ba' rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug
5. Sa skya A ba dhū ti pa
6. Zhang ston 'Khrul zhiig 'Brug sgra rgyal mtshan
7. Gnyos Sangs rgyas ras chen (1164–1224)
8. Mkhas grub Sangha bha dra
9. 'Jam dbyangs Bkra shis dpal ldan (1379–1449)
10. Pañḍita Chos kyi nyi byed
11. Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog alias Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1495–1566)
12. Rgyal bu Dga' byed skyong of Tripura
13. Jo nang Rje btsun Tāranātha (b. 1575)
14. Snye mdo thams cad mkhyen pa Kun dga' don grub (b. 1268)

Tibetan scholars also believe that 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's coming had been foretold by the Buddha, Padmasambhava, and other great gurus of the past. They often cite a passage from the *Lañkāvatāra*:

*At a time subsequent to that,
the teacher of the five scholastic subjects
called the leader Blo gros,
a mighty hero, will appear.⁸⁹²*

No teachers between Snye mdo Kun dga' don grub and Kong sprul have been mentioned. Following the death of 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, we know of the recognition of at least five reembodiments:

'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas



C. *The Emanations of Gter ston Mchog gyur bde chen zbig po gling pa (1829–70)*

The third of the trio, Mchog gyur gling pa, was born in Kham Lho rgyud Yer stod at Sgom sde Grwa nang of the lineage of A leags 'Gru, by tradition a ministerial family of the Nang chen principality. His contemporaries hailed him as the eighth-century prince, Mu rug Btsan po, reborn. I have as yet been unsuccessful in tracing a list of the intermediate emanations.

Lha stras Mu rug Btsan po
 |
 Gter ston Mchog gyur gling pa (1829–70)

Rsi khe line

Dkon mchog 'gyur med btsan pa'i rgyal
 |
 mtshan

Karma mi gyur bde chen rdo rje (son of
 O rgyan tsho dbang mchog 'grub dpal
 'bar (b. 1920), a great grandson of the
 First Mchog gling; this incarnation
 resided at Rumtek in Sikkim)

Gnas brtan line

Padma 'gyur med theg mchog btsan pa'i
 rgyal mtshan Nges don grub pa'i rdo rje
 (1873?–1927)

Padma 'gyur med bde chen nges don
 theg mchog bstan phel 'Jam dbyangs
 smra ba'i zla ba tshangs sras dgyes pa'i
 lang tsho (b. 1928; resided in Bir, near
 Palampur, H.P.)

D. *The Emanations of 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912)*

The greatest name in the nonsectarian movement at the turn of the century was Mi pham Rin po che. He was regarded to be another Mañjuśrī emanation. Again, I have not yet been able to locate a list of the names of Mi pham's previous embodiments. At least three rebirths were recognized in the decade following his death: 1) Zhe chen Mi pham (a grandnephew of Mi pham rgya mtsho); 2) Tsho dbang bdud 'dul (1915–42), the last prince of Sde dge; 3) Khyung po Mi pham, an incarnation recognized by Rdzong gсар Mkhjen brtse 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi blo gros.

Notes

- 1 Mkhan po Ngag dga' is known by a number of names. He received the name Bstan pa rab 'phel from Zhe chen Rab 'byams pa, who recognized him as a minor incarnation of his monastery. In 1889 the Fifth Rdzogs chen, Thub bstan chos kyi rdo rje (b. 1872), performed the ceremony of tonsure and bestowed on the youth the name Gzhon nu padma legs grub. His monastic name, Ngag dbang dpal bzang po, was given at the time of his ordination by Dzi phu Bco brgyad Zhabs drung Blo gros rgya mtsho. The names most commonly found in his works on esoteric Buddhism are 'Od gsal rin chen snying po and Padma las 'brel rtsal, names he received on the occasion of tantric initiation. To his disciples and contemporaries, however, he was almost always known as Mkhan po Ngag dga' or Mkhan po Ngag chung.
 - 2 *Rnam thar* is the technical rendering of the Sanskrit *vimokṣa*, "liberation." In Tibetan literature, what we sometimes understand as a biography or autobiography often goes under the name *riogs brjod* (Skt. *avadāna*). One should note that the traditional "mystery dramas" like *'Gro ba bzang mo* are also *rnam thar*.
 - 3 In Tibet the principle of continuing revelation takes three forms: the rediscovery of texts and holy objects (*sa gter*) buried by Padmasambhava and his colleagues for revelation at a future time, the spontaneous appearances of teachings that were concealed in the transmigration principle of Padmasambhava of propagation by a future emanation (*dgongs gter*), and instruction passed on by manifestations of gurus and tutelaries in visions (*dag snang*).
 - 4 For the Rnying ma pa there is a process beyond those of emanation (*bskyed rim*) and realization (*rdzogs rim*): the great perfection (*rdzogs chen*). The Rnying ma pa approach to the process of uniting with the pervading spirituality of ultimate reality, or rather to the process of the complete realization of unity that has always existed, is one of extraordinary directions. Rnying ma pa devotees often compare the Rdzogs chen approach to rocket travel. They would not deny that jets and boats and bicycles and cars are useful; but they assert that, given a suitable launching pad, adequate fuel, and a pilot with proper training, some might prefer the fastest means of transportation.
- Guenther (1963), p. 138, has summed up the approach of the Mahāmudrā and, indeed, the other Gsar ma ba schools: "The transformation process, which is at the same time an ascent to higher levels and into greater spheres, needs confirmation by a competent Guru, who ultimately is reality itself. Although there are four confirmations this process is not to be understood numerically. All that has been said so far is merely the preliminary to becoming able to practice the various stages in the total pattern of transformation, and thus is termed the way to maturity. The Developing Stage, the Fulfillment Stage, and the ultimate coincidence of the two, is the actual way of liberation. Liberation is a way of existing rather than a goal to be achieved."

ff. There is a print of this work in the University Library in Oslo (Sørensen, no. 182). I did not notice a copy of Brag dkar's previous polemic in the Oslo collection. The complete works of Tre hor Brag dkar in nine volumes were available in a xylograph edition from Se ra Sngags pa grwa tshang.

791 Ldan ma Blo bzang chos dbyings is the author of a *Mi pham brsod lan* in ff. 55. This was xylographed at the Blo gsal gling grwa tshang printery at 'Bras spungs. This should be distinguished from Ldan ma Blo chos's *Brgal lan legs pa'i gam 'byed*, of which there was a block print from the Spom ra khams tshang of 'Bras spungs. Ldan ma Blo chos's works are available in India.

792 See 'Jigs bral Rin po che, *Giangs ljongs*, p. 682.

793 See the following: Mi pham, *Shes rab*; this publication includes the *Brida shan 'byed the tshom dra ba gcod pa'i ral gri*. Mi pham, *Brgal lan*; dated 1889. Mi pham rgya mtsho, *Gzhan gyis*; dated 1903. Blo bzang rab gsal, *Jam dpal*; this text is a copy made from a rare print of the A mdo A rig Dgon chen edition of three of Dpa' ris Rab gsal's replies to Mi pham that were written in 1897. Blo bzang rab gsal, *Shes ldan*; dated 1903. Tre hor Brag dkar Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags, *Zab mo dbu ma'i gnad brjod pa blo gsal dga' ba'i gam*.

The reply of Brag dkar Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags to the *Brgal lan nyin* pham design to this group; it was, however, so abusive and ill-formulated that Mi pham *byed snang ba* is the representative work for the opposite side.

794 Ruegg (1969), p. 509.

795 Macdonald (1962).

796 See Chandra (1961), p. 516: "Dpal spungs. i. *Rin chen gter mdzod vogs kong sprul rin po ches mdzad pa'i mdzod rnam pa lnga*, 90 volumes."

797 The *gsung 'bum* of Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po was xylographed at Rdzong gsar through the efforts of 'Jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse Chos kyi blo gros (1896–1959). Prints from the xylograph blocks comprise about thirteen volumes. In addition, there were works by Mkhayen brtse that existed only in manuscript form in 1959. Much of the *gsung 'bum* is, however, preserved by the Mkhayen brtse Bla brang in Gangtok.

798 The *Anthology of Tantras, Rgyud sde kun bris*, was a compilation of the important tantric initiations (*abhiṣeka*) of the Gsar ma ba, i.e., the "Later" or "New" Tantra schools. It was compiled by order of Mkhayen brtse and contains thirty-two volumes. The catalog (*dkar chag*) volume is dated 1892.

799 The *Anthology of Sādhanas*, the *Sgrub thabs kun bris*, contains fourteen volumes and is a magnificent gathering of *sādhanas* taken largely from Gsar ma ba traditions. The credit for the editing of the collection goes to Mkhayen brtse's student, Ngor pa Dpon slob Blo gter dbang po, although the inspiration derives from his master.

800 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*. This is included in volume A (10) of the ten-volume collected works, i.e., *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*, of the Dpal spungs edition housed at the Tibet House. This autobiography was completed by Kong sprul's disciple, Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel, also known as Bkra shis chos 'phel.

801 Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, fol. 100v.

802 Nges don bstan pa rab 'gyas (1808–64 or 67) was the first Zla bzang sprul sku and the founder of Til yag Monastery in Nang chen.

803 Examples include the *Sdom gsum rab dbye* of Sa skya Pañdita, written to refute, among other things, the *dgeons grig* doctrines of 'Bri gung Skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po; and Minga'

ris Pañ chen's *Sdom gsum mam nges*, the basic defense of the tantric practices of the older schools.

804 Bkra shis 'od zer was a famous scholar and abbot (*mikhan chen*) of Dpal spungs. He is also known as Bkra shis 'od zer blo gros rgyas pa'i sde, or Karma bzod pa rab brtan dpal bzang po.

805 This personage is probably to be identified with Gshen chen Klu dga' (996–1035), whose rediscovery of the Bon po *abhidharma* text, the *Svid pa'i mdzod phug*, in 1017 at 'Grig mtshams mtha' dkar marks the beginning of the later spread (*phyi dar*) of Bon. The Buddhist sources have garbled the name of this extraordinary personage until we find the form Gshin rgru Glu dga' in the *Grub mtha' chen po'i mchan 'grel* of Ngag dbang dpal ldan, the Chos rje of Urga (b. 1797), presumably following 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648–1722). Sa skya Pañdita, in the *Sdom gsum rab dbye* (chapter 3, lines 462–68), refers to him as Sangs rgyas skar rgyal and does not specifically name him a Bon po. He criticizes him as a person possessed by a malevolent *klu* spirit who adulterated (*log par 'chos*) genuine teachings.

806 The important role of the hilly tracts of western India and Nepal in transmitting religious practices to Tibet is an urgent problem awaiting investigation.

807 The monastery of Sreg zhing evokes memories of the Sreg lineage to whom it once belonged. The Sreg were a lineage specializing in religious practice, much like the 'Khon of Sa skya pa and many other such clans. The line apparently died out in the sixteenth century. The sect was founded by the brothers Sreg ston Sgom btsun and Sreg ston Char 'bebs, who had gone to India with Rga Lo tsā ba and received esoteric teachings from Rtsa mi Sangs rgyas grags at Bodhgaya, which the family then treasured and came to specialize in. Char 'bebs founded the family into which Sreg ston Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1432–1506) was born. The teachings of this lineage were absorbed by the Dge lugs pa and seem subsequently to have disappeared. Pha rгод Kun dga' bzang po, the great-grandfather of the Second Dalai Lama, founded the new monastery of Rta nag Rdo rje gdan. Through him, the ancestral teachings of the Sreg merged with those of the 'Jag subsect of the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa. Kong sprul collected the rare teachings of this tradition, as well as those of the Bsam sdings subsect, and included them in the *Gedams ngag mdzod*. He was very interested in this sect as an intersection where two traditions that were in apparent conflict came together.

808 Kong sprul devotes volume *Kha* of his *gsung 'bum* (*Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*) to the various rituals connected with Vajrakīla and his various manifestations. This volume concludes with Kong sprul's magnificent commentary on the *Phur pa rtsa dum*, the *Dpal rab rje phur pa rtsa ba'i rnyud kyi dum bu'i 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa dpal chen agyes pa'i zhal lung* in 94 folia.

809 See Chandra (1962), p. 508. This edition in twenty-six volumes is based on the further editorial work of 'Jigs med gling pa and includes some texts that are supplementary to the Lhun grub pho brang redaction. In the late 1960s, Bduud 'joms Rin po che granted the initiation of the collection together with the *Bka' gyur* at Ghoom, Darjeeling. On this occasion the initiations of several supplementary volumes not found in the Sde dge edition were also bestowed.

810 Rin chen phun tshogs is better known as a *gter ston* under the name Gnam leags me 'bar. He was the sixteenth in the abbatial succession (*gdan rabs*) of 'Bri gung. His teachers included the Fourth Zhwa dmar Chos kyi grags pa, 'Bri gung pa Kun dga' rin chen, the Indian yogi Vajranātha, and Minga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal and his brother. In 1538, he recovered the *Dam chos dgeons pa yang zab* from the Ti gro Tshogs khang. There is a brief biography

of Rin chen phun tshogs in Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, ff. 134r–135v. Rtogs ldan Sprul sku Thub bstan bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (b. 1938) has published a short history of the 'Bri gung pa school. See Rtogs ldan, *Chos rje*.

811 Dkon mchog rin chen, the twentieth in the abbatial succession of 'Bri gung, was regarded to be a rebirth of Rgyal dbang Bsod nams rgya mtsho. He received a number of visionary revelations including the *Thugs rje chen po sogs rtsa gsum*. The transmission of these had apparently died out when Kong sprul wrote the *Gter ston bryga rtsa'i nam thar*.

812 Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa, the twenty-first in the abbatial succession of 'Bri gung, was regarded as the rebirth of Rin chen phun tshogs. He was one of the greatest scholars that the 'Bri gung pa school produced after 'Jig rten mgon po. He was a student of 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585–1656). His pure visions (*dag snang*) include texts from the *Gshin rje yang zlog* and the *Sgra mi sryan tsho sgrub*.

813 Dpal ldan rdo rje was a contemporary of the Third Dalai Lama, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588), on whom he bestowed the initiation of the *Tsho sgrub 'chi med rdo rje'i srog ching*, a long-life ritual that he had received in a vision. This liturgical method still enjoys some degree of popularity. See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, fol. 202r–v.

814 Pañ chen Nags kyi rin chen, or Vanaratna, belonged to the ruling house of Sadnagar (Grong khyer dam pa), which lay to the east of Gaya. He studied with Ratnakirti, apparently a famed Buddhist scholar of the day. For some reason, Vanaratna wandered to the Paro area of western Bhutan, and from there to Tibet, where he was received with great honor. His life was rich in mystic experiences and visions, during the most famous of which he received the *Padma tsho kbrül*. This teaching he passed on to the 'Brug chen Rgyal dbang incarnation, Kun dga' dpal 'byor (1428–78), through whom it entered the 'Brug pa Bka' bgyud pa. After a lengthy sojourn in Tibet, he went to the Kathmandu Valley, where he eventually died. A number of stories about this teacher are preserved to this day in Nepal. See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, ff. 202v–203v.

815 Dri med Kun dga' appears to have been born in 1357. He belonged to the Grwa phyi area of Dbus, where the great Rnying ma pa monastery of Smin grol gling now stands. See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, ff. 35v and 120r.

816 Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, fol. 35v.

817 Quoted in Blo gros mtha' yas, *Zab mo* i, fol. 35v.

818 Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po belonged to Ha ru Gnam tshal in Kong po. His names are many: Las 'phro gling pa, Huru nag me 'bar, Ngag dbang chos rgyal dbang po, and so forth. He was a disciple of the great gurus of the 'Brug pa (Mi pham Bkra shis blo gros, Lha rse ba, 'Brug chen Dpag bsam dbang po) and of the Dwags po (Nor bu brygan pa). The *Dkon mchog tpyi 'das* texts that he rediscovered were received by a host of renowned disciples: Nor bu brygan pa, 'Bri gung Chos kyi grags pa, Dpag bsam dbang po, Rdo rje brag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, Rse le Sna tshogs rang grol, Bka' 'gyur ba Mgon po bsod nams mchog ldan, and even the Karma pa hierarchs. 'Ja' tshon snying po is unusual as a *gter ston* since he remained a monk, whereas the prerequisite for the majority of *gter ston* is that they have a female partner. 'Ja' tshon snying po's *gter ma* remain some of the most common liturgical texts that one encounters.

819 The *Seven Treasures (Mdzod bdun)* of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa are: *Chos dbyings mdzod*, *Yid bshin mdzod*, *Grub mtha' mdzod*, *Theg mchog mdzod*, *Gnas lugs mdzod*, *Tshig don mdzod*, and *Man ngag mdzod*.

820 The *Three Triple Cycles (Skor gsum gsum)* are the *Ngal go skor gsum*, the *Rang grol skor*

gsum, and the *Man sel skor gsum*. The concepts of the *mdzod* and *skor gsum* played a great role in later Tibetan literature. The arrangement of Kong sprul's writings into the *Mdzod lnga* can be attributed to the influence of Klong chen's *Mdzod bdun*. We find 'jigs med gling pa writing a *Yon tan mdzod* to supplement and elucidate Klong chen Rab 'byams pa. The Bon po scholar, Shar rdza Bkra shis rgyal mtshan (b. 1859), wrote a Bon po *Mdzod bdun*. 'Jam mgon 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho is the author of a *Gnyug sems skor gsum*.

821 Grong mo che lies in the Miang mkhar valley, a little over a day's journey from Sa skya. The usual spelling of the name of that part of the Miang mkhar valley where Tshar chen's monastery is situated is 'Dar.

822 The Sa skya pa and Ngor pa developed along different lines than the Tshar pa. There was little exchange of teachings between the two major divisions of the Lam 'bras for several generations.

823 The biography of Dpag bsam dbang po is an extraordinary source for the history of Tibet during the decades immediately before the establishment of the Dga' ldan Pho brang government.

824 It should be remembered that the child who was to become the Fifth Dalai Lama had also been claimed as the rebirth of the Karma Bka' bgyud pa Rgyal tshab incarnation.

825 Shakabpa (1967), p. 119: "The young Pañ chen Lama was now old enough to take his dge tshul ordination from the Dalai Lama and he was brought to Lhasa for this purpose. Lengthy discussions took place among the Dalai Lama's officials as to the height of the respective thrones. It was finally decided that the Pañ chen Lama would occupy a throne at the same height as those accorded the Gampo Trulka [sic] and the Drukpa Trulku, two prominent lamas."

826 The Lo tsā ba of 'Dar is the Sanskritist responsible for the translation of the Anubhūti *Sarasvatīyākarana* and of the *Pañinīyākarana*. It would seem that he was the Sanskrit scholar who did not know versification and meters well enough and who has earned for the Fifth Dalai Lama the reputation of being a bogus Sanskritist. See Ucci (1957).

827 Another example is Bya tshang pa Padma sri gcod, who was probably responsible for the intellectual content of certain of the Sde srid's medical treatises, for example, the *Man ngag lhan thabs* (1691). Rarely a work might be initially attributed to the prince and then later become known under the name of the actual author. A good example is the biography of G.yu thog Yon tan mgon po, the Younger. Klong rdol Bla ma (reproduced in Chandra [1963], vol. 3, no. 16267) attributes this text as well as the biography of the Elder to Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, while A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho (Chandra [1963], vol. 3, no. 10973) assigns the work correctly to Dar mo Sman rams pa Blo bzang chos grags.

828 Bod mkhas pa, literally "learned scholar of Tibet," would appear to be a delightful spelling of a place name whose orthography had not been previously established. This form was the object of a good deal of jesting from his contemporaries. One of his literary opponents took to shortening the tail of the final *l* in the first syllable, an alteration that produced Bong mkhas pa, meaning "wise jackass."

829 This famed work on *kātyā* owes much to the blind Smon 'gro Pañdita and his son. According to Si tu Pañ chen, Smon 'gro Pañdita was to blame for the advice to eliminate the Jo nang pa monasteries. This work was begun in 1647, but is wasn't ready for the preparation of the blocks until 1656. Smon 'gro seems to have been the student of Sgang rgyad 'Od zer rgyal mtshan and Grangs can 'Jam pa'i rdo rje, who were the disciples of Zhwa lu Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po.

- 830 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Snyan ngag*, p. 11.
- 831 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Snyan ngag*, p. 11.
- 832 Blo bzang rin chen, a disciple of 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648–1721), began as a Dge lugs pa and ended up a Rnying ma pa. So thoroughly have the oppressive tendencies of the tradition functioned that none of his important treatises, even those on secular subjects, have survived. He reminds one of another perplexing rebel, the later Dge 'dun chos 'phel (1903–51).
- 833 Mdo mkhar Tshe ring dbang rgyal had been a disciple of the ill-fated Smin gling Lo chen Dharma sri, one of the casualties of the Dzungar persecutions. Pho lha nas was often accused by his Dge lugs pa contemporaries of favoring the Rnying ma pa sect. His relations were very warm with Kañ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu; but can one really say that they were better than his cordial patronage of Phur bu lcoḡ Ngag dbang byams pa? It should be remembered that Leang skya and his biographer, Thu 'u bkwan, were evaluating the reign of Pho lha nas in the wake of the sad events of 1750–51. So when Thu 'u bkwan reports that Pho lha nas was conspiring with Rnying ma pa lamas to do harm to the Seventh Dalai Lama, we must see those statements in their proper perspective.
- 834 The Dge lugs pa influence in other parts of eastern Tibet, for example, Li thang, 'Ba' thang, and Chab mdo, was of considerable age. Sde dge and its dependencies, however, did not favor the Dge lugs pa over the other sects. The sister of the Seventh Dalai Lama had been given as a bride to a Sde dge prince in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century was marked by an expansion of the Dge lugs pa establishment and the Lhasa government into a weakened Sde dge.
- 835 The best examples of the *mchan 'grel* are the works of Gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba (1871–1927). Gzhan dga' Rin po che produced a set of annotated commentaries on thirteen of the most important treatises in the *Bstan 'gyur* that expound Buddhist thought. These achieved great popularity and were adopted as the *yig cha* of the Rdzong sar Bshad grwa, the seat of 'jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse Chos kyi blo gros, as well as in all the *bshad grwa* seminaries following in Gzhan dga's tradition. They were collectively known as "Gzhan dga's thirteen-gloss commentaries."
- 836 Rdza Dpal sprul O rgyan 'jigs med chos skyi dbang po (b. 1808) is one of the most important lamas of the Rnying ma pa as well as the nonsectarian movement. He is better known to Tibetan scholars as A bu Rin po che and he often signs his works as A bu Hral po, "the ragged old one." Rdza Dpal sprul is the author of some of the best-loved works in Tibetan literature: the *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*, a superb introduction to Vajrayāna Buddhism and specifically to the *Rdzogs chen snying thig* teachings of the Rnying ma pa, the *Gaam padma tshul gyi zlos gar*, a moving poetical work on the impermanence of happiness written to console a noble of Sde dge who had lost his spouse and the *Drang srong gdol ba'i gran*.
- 837 This account of the life of 'jam nigon Kong sprul is based on Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, as well as 'jigs bral, *Gangs ljongs*, pp. 656–71.
- 838 He was born on the tenth day of the tenth Tibetan month of the Water Bird year of the fourteenth cycle.
- 839 'Bri zla Zal mo sgang is the ridge between the 'Bri (Yangtse) and Shar zla Rivers.
- 840 The Khyung po lineage (*ris*) traced its origins to a legendary ancestor, the Great Eagle (Khyung chen), an emanation of a mythical buddha of the upper realm. Kun bzang rig snang, This gigantic eagle descended from the heavens at the six-peaked mountain of Gyim shod.

When that great bird flew back into the heavens, he left behind four eggs, white, black, yellow, and green. When these eggs opened, four youths emerged. From the first three originated the Khyung po tribes of Dkar ru, Nag ru, and Gser tsha. The fourth youth, Khyung 'phags khra mo, mounted a turquoise dragon and rode off to the Rgyal rong. There sub-clans of Lha khyung, Mu khyung, and Khyung rгод tshog gradually appeared.

The Khyung lineages produced a host of famous contemplative minds from both Buddhist and Bon po traditions. From the line of Khyung 'phags khra mo we find such names as Mi la ras pa and Khyung po Rnal 'byor, the founder of the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa, among the Buddhists, and the famed *ger ston* Blo ldan snying po and Rtogs ldan Bkra shis rgyal mtshan among the Bon po. The great Bon po lama of Nang chen, Grags pa 'rgyal mtshan, came from the Khyung po lineage of Rgyal rong. In his nephew-lineage such famous figures as Khyung po Bla ma Nam mkha' 'od zer, Rin chen lhun grub, Bstan pa nam rgyal, Bstan pa lhun grub, Tshul khrims mchog legs, and Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, the Zhang zhung linguist, appeared. Kong sprul's father, G.yung drung bstan 'dzin, was the last of the eminent line.

841 In his autobiography (Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, ff. 17–18), Kong sprul writes: *ngos nas zhe chen sdod skabs sdom pa thob tshul bshad kyang sma 'bebs tshig ngan bcas sdom pa rgyal bu yab stas la zhu dgos rgyu red gsungs / ... dbon ryan tshang nas nged la 'ang da nas bsnyen rdzogs sgrub dgos gsungs pa / snigar zhe chen dbon sprul mdun nas zhus lugs dang gsung tshul ruams zhus kyang / sdom pa 'di na ma zhus thabs med /* It is obvious that he felt rather strongly about taking the vinaya vows twice.

842 *Mos gus kyi rabs las skyes pa'i tshugs rje nigon par bikul ba'i rbig phreng skal ldan 'dod pa jo ba'i bum bzang*, 19 ff. in vol. *Ka of the Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*.

843 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, fol. 19. The picture sketched by him of the factors that go into the recognition of an incarnation is not very appealing.

844 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, fol. 54v.

845 The autobiography is filled with episodes detailing the troubled times. One 'Cu log incarnation, Su mi dhur Kun sprul, was in open rebellion against the Si tu, the acknowledged superior for all the Karma Bka' brgyud pa monasteries of Khams. Kong sprul's diplomacy persuaded the Kun sprul to apologize and make his peace with Dpal sungs.

846 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, fol. 60.

847 One is tempted to identify this *skiyabs dbyings* with the ill-fated Seng chen Blo bzang bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, the patron of Sarat Chandra Das. An emanation of the 'Brong rtsé or Seng chen line that included Blo bzang tshul khrims (b. 1745), a tutor (*nyongs 'dzin*) of the Fourth Pan chen Lama, this *sprul sku* seems to have already been administrator of Bkra shis lhun po in 1873 when Blo gsal bstan skyon completed his survey (*dkar chag*) of the sealed blocks. Granting such a permission would have been entirely in keeping with the character that emerges from the writings of Sarat Chandra. Through the Pha lha family, this remarkable intellectual came into contact with Sarat Chandra, with whom he formed a curious relationship until Seng chen's untimely demise. Their acquaintance was to have great consequences for Tibetan studies outside Tibet. The Bkra shis lhun po edition of this lama's *gsung 'bum* (three volumes) sadly contains none of the technical writings that Sarat Chandra mentions occasionally in passing.

A comprehensive study of the personalities involved in the establishment of contacts between Tibet and the rest of the world has yet to appear. A fascinating document illustrating an encounter cum confrontation of a traditional yet broad-minded lama with a sympathetic and sensitive European is the *'Khor 'das kun gyi grus tshul gdol bar bstan pa dris lan nyi*

ma'i nyung po. In about a hundred folia, Kun dga' chos legs rdo rje attempts to set forth the essentials of Buddhist thought and practice for someone who is assumed to be ignorant of even the most basic concepts. The author demonstrates a significant awareness of non-Buddhist views. This work was written about 1825 at Rdzong khul Nā ro phug po che for the edification of one "Skendha," who is described as "Rgya gar Rum yul pa." This can only be Alexander Csoma de Körös. It would be fruitful to compare this with several examples of Buddhist missionary tracts written for Mongol converts during the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries.

848 See Chandra (1963), vol. 1, pp. 18–30, for the results of this survey.

849 Yongs' dzin Lhag bsam rgyal mtshan of Ku se (called *yongs' dzin* because he was the tutor of the Fifteenth Rgyal dbang Karma pa) is remembered not simply for his works on Tibetan grammar. His complicity, along with Nyag rong Gter ston Bsod rgyal in saving the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in De mo Regent's plot c. 1895 has assured him at least a footnote in Tibetan history.

850 *Yāna sarvamukhebhyaḥ samuccāya pravācānam ratnakōśā trīśikṣā sudetikāśāstram sarvā-jñeyaspharajā*. While Kong sprul's Sanskrit is better than that of many other lamas who have constructed titles for their treatises, it nevertheless leaves much to be desired. One notes the usual carelessness with case endings and modifier agreement, the loose construction that immediately identifies Sanskrit translated from Tibetan, and the occasional unusual lexical item. Kong sprul has found in the *Mahāvīryapūri* the word *spharajā*, a rare alternative form for *spharajā* "penetration," and has used it to translate *khyab pa*; "penetrating, encompassing."

851 Blo gros mtha' yas, *Shes bya*, vol. 1, p. 36: *ri mo bal ris rgyun las sman mkhyen gnyis // byi'i lugs gum bkra shis nam gum nas // sgar bris strol dod 'bur bzo ang rim mkhas gyur /*

852 Blo gros mtha' yas, *Shes bya*, v. 1, pp. 570–72: *ri mo ni thog mar bal ris kbro na dar srol che ba las / ji zbig na 'jam pa'i dbyangs ni yi tshul can sman bla don grub zhabs lho brag sman thang du sku 'khrungs pa dang / yul de'i mshal kha yang bye / chung ma'i rbyen gnyis yul 'khyar te gsang du byon nas rdo pa bkra shis rgyal po las ri mo gsan / sku sbye ba nga ma rgya nag tu 'khrungs das kyi ri mo si thang gags pas ngon guas dran te sman thang chen mor grags pa sogs phul du byung ba'i ri mo'i rgyun mdzad cing sras bryud dang slob bryud gnyis kyi rgyun byung / yang mkhyen brise chen mo zhes gong dkar 'gsang stod du byung ba des kyang nga ma las zur du bzo rgyun mdzad de sman mkhyen gnyis zhes gags can du nyi zla luar grags pa'i shing rta'i strol so bar gyur / gzhon yang bzo guas 'di i chod du ngal ba med par nyul bas sprul sku byi'ur grags pa rig tsal bla na med pas bzo rgyun nga ma gnyis ka dang ni geig pa zshon mdangs ni gzhon las kyang khyad par 'phags pa zbig byang / phyis su gsang pa chos dbyings rgya mshos sman gar gyi strol bod / de sogs bzo rgyun gzhon du ma byung yang gso cher nga ma de dag gi khongs su gags / yang yar stod du sprul sku nam mkha' bkra shis zhes grags pa byung / rje mi bskyod zhabs kyi nyid kyi sprul pa sku gzugs kyi 'phrin las spel ba por lung bstan / zhuwa dmar dkon mchog yan lag dang rgyal tshab grags pa don grub kyi zhal bkod mdzad de / e nas skal ldan shar phyogs pa akon mchog phan bde bya ba rgya mo bza' kong jo'i sprul par grags pa de las sman ris kyi rgyun blabs / nus tshugs rgya gar li ma dang sman thang lugs gzhir bzahag pa la ta ming das kyi si thang bezhin yul bongs bkod pa sogs dang zshon mdangs mdzad pa la sgar bris su gzugs pa'i bri rgyun 'di byung / de rjes chos bkra shis bya ba zbig byung bar grags shing / phyis su kar shod karma bkra shis zhes ri mo'i lam srol la gran zla bral ba'i rgyun da ta'ang guas pa bcas mdor na bkra shis nam pa gum gyi sgar bris srol rgya chen btod / de bezhin tu 'bur la phul du byung ba ni / sprul sku sle u chung pa dang / padma mkhar pa gnyis yin la / phyis su sgar lugs la mkhas pa daws po sgo pa'i zhal ngo sku mdun karma srid bral lam sgo smyon zhes mshungs*

pa med pa'i blo gros can rje bryud pa'i sku'i sprul par grags pa de dang / karma rin chen sogs du ma byung ba'i rgyun de dag ni da ta mi snang la / gong sa lugs pa chen po'i das su byung ba'i e pa lugs pa'am hor dar ces pa dang / sprul sku bab phro zhes sprul pa'i bzo bor grags pa de dag gi rgyun las phyis su 'bur la khyad par 'phags pa 'dod dpal gyi bzo rgyun sogs byung bar guas so //.

853 The statement "yul de'i mtshal kha yang bye" means (as an auspicious coincidence of omen) that a deposit of the pigment cinnabar or native vermilion was discovered in his part of Lho brag.

854 See vol. 1, p. 572–73: *khyad par bzo sbyong 'jig rien dbang phyug mchog // gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba'i nam dpyod ni // tshur mthong blo 'das mig gi bdud risir 'gyur // de dag thams cad las khyad par du 'phags pa bzo sbyong 'jig rien dbang phyug dpal karma pa chos dbyings rdo rje'i zhal nga nas sman lugs pa lho brag chus khyer sprul sku tshie ring las ri mo gsan te sku tshie'i stod du sman lugs sor bzahag dang / smad nas si thang dang kha che'i bzo rgyun bezhin mdzad de bris 'bur gnyis / si thang phyug drubs dang bcas pa da ta nngon du njal ba 'di niams dang / phyis su thams cad mkhyen pa gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba'i nam dpyod las 'khrungs pa'i bris 'bur niams ni tshur mthong gi blo yi ra ba las 'das shing rdzau 'phrul chen po'i bkod pa da ta tha mul pa niams kyi ang mig gi bdud risir mngon sum gyur pa dang / de liar khyad pa du 'phags pa'i tshul syes rabs dpag bsam 'kbr'i shing gi zhal thang rogs brjod kun mkhyen bla ma nyid kyi gtsung las gsol lo //.*

855 In India there are several fragmentary accounts of the development of Tibetan art. Unfortunately, at the time of writing I have access to only one besides Kong sprul's brief account: the verse *Dpyad don tho chung* written for the Tshong dpon Bsam 'grub tshie ring by the Thirteenth Rgyal dbang Karma pa, Bbdud 'dul rdo rje (1733–97). Bbdud 'dul rdo rje agrees with Kong sprul that the first Tibetan thangka paintings followed the Nepalese style (fol. 23r): *thang sku bod 'dir thog mar bal ris te // dkeyil 'khor dang ni rgyud se'i lha tshogs legs //*

856 Bbdud 'dul rdo rje postulates that the Sman ris was later than the Mkhyen ris: *mkhyen brises bod ris legs pa'i vrol bod cing // lbag tu rgyal se'i sku ni chos cher 'phags // de rjes sman thang yab sras sman nying zhes // cung zad tshon srab nyams gyur de bas che /* Other histories state (more correctly) that Sman bla don grub and Mkhyen brise were contemporaries and even co-disciples of the same master. Dhongthog Rinpoche (1968), p. 123, gives 1409 as the date for the establishment of the Sman ris: *Lho brag sman thang du 'khrungs pa'i lha bris mkhas pa sman bla don grub kyi rgya bal gyi ri mo gzhir bzahag thog rig tsal gyi legs cha du mas bryun te ri mo'i bris rgyun gzar du dar ba lho brag sman bris zhes pa bya / (VII) 373 sa glang 1400*. This is about a half century too early, and the source is unknown. Probably the next sixty-year cycle was meant. Bbdud 'dul rdo rje observes that a distinguishing feature of the classical Sman ris is the usage of somewhat thinner colors than one finds in the paintings done in Mkhyen brise's style.

857 Mkhyen brise chen mo should not be confused with Gnas gzar Mkhyen brise'i dbang phyug (b. 1524), the chief disciple of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–66/67), and a student of Sgo rum pa Kun dga' legs pa. Gnas gzar 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brise'i dbang phyug belonged to the lineage of 'A zha. Kong sprul asserts here that the great artist Mkhyen brise chen mo was born at Gong dkar Sganz stod (i.e., in Dbus), while in the *Gter ston bryga rtsa'i nam thar* he gives the birthplace of the Gnas gzar bla ma Bo dong in western Gtsang. Thus we are dealing with two different personages from different regions. Klong rdo! Bla ma similarly calls the founder of the Mkhyen ris "Sprul sku Mkhyen brise ba" who was born at Gong dkar stod. The observation of Bbdud 'dul rdo rje and others that the archetypal thangk

of the Mkhyen ris school more frequently depict *maṅḍalas* and figures from tantric cycles is intriguing.

858 The classical Sgar bris painting is normally what one visualizes when one thinks about Tibetan thangkas that demonstrate a strong Chinese influence. Bdad 'dul rdo rje defines the classical Sgar bris: *rim gyis tshon srab nyams gyur khyad par can // de bas tshon srab yul ljongs rgya ris lags // nam bkris phyang bris sgar ris zhes su grags //*.

859 Sprul sku Nam mkha' bkra shis is mentioned as a student of the Eighth Rgyal dbang Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje, in the collected brief biographies of the Karma pa hierarchs. The accuracy of this statement by Nges don bstan rgyas is brought into question by this passage of the *Shes bya kun khyab*. However, because of Nam mkha' bkra shis's relationship with the Fifth Zhwa dmar, Dkon mchog yan lag (1525–83), and the Fourth Rgyal tshab, Grags pa don grub (c. 1550–c. 1617), there is little danger of error if we set the date for the origin of the Sgar bris to the second half of the sixteenth century.

860 The second Bkra shis flourished in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. I know little else about him.

861 The brief accounts of art that are accessible belong to the Sgar bris or Sman ris sgar ma of Kham, and usually treat this school together with the Byang lugs. Klong rdol Bla ma mentions that Byi'u Lha bzo was born in Yar klungs.

862 There is considerable material about Chos dbyings rgya mtsho in the autobiographies of the First Panchen and Fifth Dalai Lama.

863 Variant: Zhun thing ba.

864 It is associated with the name of Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags brang, the brilliant prince and disciple of Bo dong Pañ chen Phyogs las mam rgyal (1376–1451).

865 The Byang lugs cannot have flourished beyond the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bronzes that clearly belong to this style exist. These are strikingly realistic.

866 Other great Northern 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa masters painting in the Sman ris, "Old" or "New," include the Third Khams sprul, Kun dga' bstan 'dzin (1680–1728), and the Eighth Rgyal dbang 'Brug chen Kun gzugs chos kyi snang ba (1768–1822).

867 Also known as Sangs rgyas grags pa, he was the most talented Bhutanese pupil of the great refugee scholar Gsang Mkhan chen Dpal ldan rgya mtsho (1610–84).

868 The brief biographical sketch that appears in the *Chos rje karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi nam thar mdar bidus dpag bsam khri shing* of Sman gdong Mtshams pa Nges don bstan rgyas gives some indication of Chos dbyings rdo rje's obsession with art. It would seem that one Sprul sku Phan bde (probably Dkon mchog phan bde of E) teased the Ninth Karma pa about his mediocrity as a painter. On that occasion, the Karma pa prophesied that he would soon put all painters to shame in a coming rebirth. The Ninth Karma pa Dbang phyang rdo rje (1556–1603) planned a few highly regarded mural paintings, but it was the next of the line to whom the prophecy referred.

869 See Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Ta'i si tur*. One can discover something of Si tu's activities as a painter from this volume. The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology has published the color photos of a set of five thangkas based on a set designed by Si tu Pañ chen (the *Rgyan drug mchog gnyis*). These icons seem to represent a modified Karma Sgar bris style. One can only wish that the color reproduction of these extraordinary pieces of art had turned out better.

870 Kong sprul notes that Chos dbyings rdo rje followed the Sman ris in his earlier paintings but later based his paintings on Chinese scroll paintings and "Kashmiri" art in his sculpture.

How did these influences penetrate Tibet? What Kong sprul means by "Kashmiri art traditions" (*kha che'i bzo rgyen*) in this context is old statues from Kashmir or lands adjoining Tibet to the west. This is referred to by Bdad 'dul rdo rje when he writes: *rje bstan bu pa'i phyang bris kha che li'i // nyams gyur ngo mshar zla bral chen po'o //*. Even at an earlier period the biographical sketch (fol. 172v) cites his love for "Kashmiri bronzes": *rtan gum gyi sku rgyu dang chag tshud sogs la mkhyen pa zla med / kha che'i li ma la lhtag par miyes //*.

871 The Tibetan term 'bur can be applied to any technique in which there is a use of relief, such as engraving, sculpting, carving, and even certain types of textile work. It comes from the verb 'bur ba, "to swell, to protrude outward."

872 Little is known at present about Sprul sku Sle'u chung pa, though he flourished in the fifteenth century. He is mentioned in passing by the First Panchen in his autobiography.

873 Karma srid bral or Sgo smyon, the attendant of Dwaags po Sgo pa, was regarded by some to be a rebirth of Mi bskyod rdo rje, the Eighth Karma pa (1507–54).

874 Lkugs pa Hor dar of E is briefly mentioned on a number of occasions in the official biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

875 Bsod nams blo gros occupied the abbatial throne of Sman ri from 1810 to 1835. He is perhaps better known by the name Shes rab dgonags rgyal.

876 The *Stod lugs* of the vinaya transmission was introduced into Tibet by Kha chen Pañ chen Śākyasribhadra in the early thirteenth century. This tradition is shared by the Sa skya pa, Bka' brgyud pa, and Dge lugs pa schools.

877 The *Smad lugs* goes back to the rekindling of the vinaya tradition after Glang dar ma's persecution had all but snuffed it out. The three monks who fled from Central Tibet to A mdo found a Chinese monk to stand in, enabling them to ordain Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal as a Buddhist monk. The followers of Bon claim that since Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal was already a Bon po monk, he passed on the Bon po as well as the Buddhist vinaya.

878 Nineteenth-century Khams pa tradition also proclaimed Kong sprul to be an emanation of Vaicoca, Mkhyen brtse to be that of Khri strong lde bisan, and Mchog gling to be that of Prince Mu rug bstan po. Mkhyen brtse and Mi pham rgya mtsho were also regarded as Manjuśrī incarnations. Mkhyen brtse's name is usually prefixed by "Jam dbyangs," whereas Mi pham rgya mtsho is generally styled "Jam mgon." Guṇa is used in the edition of Kong sprul's collected works as a marginal marking.

879 Kong sprul seems to have been proclaimed an emanation of Vaicoca first by the great teacher Zhe chen 'Gyur med mthu stobs nam rgyal. This teacher was also the master of Rdzza Dpal sprul and Mkhyen brtse.

880 There is a Mtshur phu (Central Tibet) edition of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* in sixty-three volumes. This edition was prepared under the patronage of the Fifteenth Rgyal dbang Karma pa. The three extra volumes (*Omī, Ab, and Hum*) include the biographical materials on Kong sprul, the *Lam rim ye shes snying po*, and the introduction to the new *gter ma, Bla ma'i thugs sgrub rdo rje drag rtsal*. There may have been an edition of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* from A 'dzom chos sgar. I have not yet ascertained the veracity of this report. The other four treatises appear to have been printed only at Dpal spuings. The *Gter ston brgya rva'i rnam thar* was written in 1886, and the *dkar chag* and *brgyud yig* were completed in 1889. The edition as such must date from about that time.

881 According to some sources, the *Sagags mdzod* should include Kong sprul's esoteric commentaries. Another tradition treats these commentaries as texts that should be appended to the fifth *Mdzod*, the *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*. This tradition would consider the *Thun*

mong ma yin pa'i mdzod to contain thirteen volumes. Only the Dpal spung edition seems ever to have existed, and this included the esoteric commentaries.

882 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, ff. 196r et seq., where Gnas gsar Bkra shis 'phel describes the contents of the *Bka' bryud ngags mdzod*.

883 As noted above, the Dpal spung edition (sixty volumes) and Mtshur phu (sixty-three volumes) editions of the *Gter mdzod* differ somewhat. The Mtshur phu is considerably later than the Dpal spung edition and is certainly not as reliable. Some examples of the Mtshur phu redactions contain Kong sprul's biography of his old friend, Mkhyen brtse.

There exist later supplements to the Dpal spung edition as well. See Jigs bral, *Gsang ngags sga' gyur na*, commonly known as the *Gter mdzod thob yig*. Budu 'joms Rin po che bestowed the initiation of the whole of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* in 1968 at Rawalsar. The book cited here is a product of that initiation.

884 Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel describes quite well what must have been Kong sprul's intention in Blo gros mtha' yas. *Phyogs med*, ff. 197v–198r: *de laar sa gter agongs gter dag suang snyan bryud ky'i chos skor nya che ba nams ky'i dbang gi snying po dang / khrid rgyun yod rigs rtsa bar bzung / sgrub thabs phrin las dbang chog bsnyen yig dang khrid yig sogs gang agos gsar du sbyar / chos tshan nyung ngu dang rgyun akon pa'i rigs / gter phran nams ky'i gzhung dang yig rnying nams phyogs geig tu bodus / de dag la'ang gsal byed agos pa la zur 'debs sogs zhib par bkod pa'i pa sti 'bring tshad drug cur long pa bzhangs / gter gsar lam rim ye shes snying po'i 'grel pa sogs kyang 'di'i khongs su sduu agos pa yin no li.*

885 An acquaintance once told me the story of two European Tibetologists who went to visit a revered lama in Kalimpong. One of the two asked the lama for instruction in Mahāyāna Buddhism. The guru obliged him, but the researcher came away unimpressed, noting that the lama's instruction had been largely mumbo jumbo about empty skies and mirrors.

886 See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyogs med*, ff. 198v–210r, where Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel gives a detailed analysis of the contents of this collection.

887 At the time of writing there seem to be two sets of prints from the Dpal spung blocks of the fifth and last *Treasury* in India: the first is in the library of Tibet House, New Delhi; the other belongs to Nenang Pawo Rinpoche in Darjeeling. Both sets contain ten volumes with designations from *Ka* through *A*. The *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*, according to Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel, should contain seven volumes. Another tradition considers the *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* and an auxiliary *Rgya chen bka' mdzod* to constitute twelve volumes. The Dpal spung print preserved in Tibet House contains ten volumes and appears to be incomplete.

Kong sprul writes of the *Gzhan stong* (Blo gros mtha' yas, *Ris med*, fol. 15): *de ltar chos lugs de nams ky'i grub mtha'i dbang du byas na / bod 'dir lta ba dbu ma sphyod pa yod smra kho na las mi 'dra ba mang po sphyod dbang med pa chos rgyal chen po'i bkas boad pas bye mdo dang sems tsam gyi grub mtha' 'dzan pa bod du ma byung zhang / o rgyan chen po'i rjes 'brang kun mkhyen dri med 'od zer sogs gnan ngags rnying ma'i mkhas grub nams dang / mar mi dawgs gsum nus bzang / phyis yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i bshes gnyen kun geigs chos ky'i byung gnas ky'i bar du byon pa'i bka' bryud che bzhi chung bryud ky'i mkhas grub nams dang / sa chen kbu dbon nams dang / zi lung pan chen / bo dang pa / khyad par kun mkhyen dus gsum sangs rgyas dol po pa chen po de'i dgeons pa gsal byed rje bsun chen po ta ra ná tha sogs jo nang bka' bryud ky'i skyes chen rim byon thams cad ky'i lta grub ni gzhan stong dbu ma kho na yin la / nang ges bzahed tshul gyi khyad par mi 'dra ba cung zaid yod de /* This quotation is an excellent example of why Tibetologists should develop historical and comparative approaches to Tibetan Buddhism. It is not enough merely to attempt to interpret what the Sanskrit originals were supposed to mean.

One must further try to understand what any particular text or commentary meant at a specific time in the development of Tibetan speculative thought.

889 An example of this rare work in a Dpal spung print has recently turned up. The blocks are identical in style and size to those for printing the collected works: there is, however, no marginal volume notation. It is, therefore, difficult to relate it to the rest of Kong sprul's works: *Msho ldam ma'i brda sprod pa'i rab byed ky'i 'grel mchan zla ba balud rtsi'i thig le* (Mar-gins: (r) *Dbyangs can sgra gzhung*: (v) *Rab byed gsar gyur 'grel mchan*, 267 ff. It is interesting to note the form Msho ldam ma in place of Dbyangs can ma.

890 Petech erroneously attributes this farewell tribute to Mkhyen brtse to Gnas gsar Bkra 'phel, Kong sprul's secretary (Ferrari [1958], pp. xix–xx). Besides the Sde dge edition of this biography (n8 ff.), there is a Dpal spung edition (151 ff.) included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Another smaller biography of Mkhyen brtse exists, written by the Third Rdo Grub chen, 'jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma.

891 The list of the previous incarnations of Mkhyen brtse has been taken from Kong sprul's biography of that teacher, cited above. This has been checked with the *Gter ston brya rtsa'i nam thur* in which the Rgyal sras Lha rje rebirths have been numbered. Only the great 'jigs med gling pa lacks such a number.

892 See 'jigs bral, *Gangs ljongs*, p. 656:

l de yi 'og tu byas dus la /
l 'dren pa blo gros zhes bya ba /
l shes bya lnga nams ston pa po /
l dpa' bo chen po 'byung bar gyur /