A STUDY ON THE ORIGIN OF
LAM 'BRAS TRADITION IN INDIA
BETWEEN 630 - 940 A.D.

LAMA CHOEDAK THUBTEN YUTHOK

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Letters in the Faculty of Asian Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra October 1990.
This sub-Thesis is based on my own research undertaken between January 1989 to October 1990 at the Australian National University.

LAMA CHOEDEK THUBTEN YUTHOK
I

TRANSLITERATION, NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Tibetan words, title of works and names which are given according to the classical standard spelling of transliteration appear in bold. Tibetan names which occur more than once are given according to their pronunciation i.e. Drogtmi for 'brog mi and Lamdre for lam 'bras. No distinction between upper and lower case has been made to indicate silent prefixes and pronounced consonants in the transliteration of Tibetan words. The following syllabary represent the standard transliteration of the alphabet [thirty consonants and four vowels]:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ka} & \text{kha} & \text{ga} & \text{na} \\
\text{ca} & \text{cha} & \text{ja} & \text{na} \\
\text{ta} & \text{tha} & \text{da} & \text{na} \\
\text{pa} & \text{pha} & \text{ba} & \text{ma} \\
\text{tsha} & \text{tha} & \text{da} & \text{na} \\
\text{za} & \text{za} & \text{ya} & \\
\text{ra} & \text{la} & \text{sa} & \\
\text{ha} & \text{a} & \\
\text{i} & \text{u} & \text{e} & \text{o}
\end{array}
\]

2. The spelling of Sanskrit names and titles of works have been provided in \textit{italics} by means of the following standard syllabary:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Gutturals} ka kha ga gha na ha : ha a a e ai
\item \textbf{Palatals} ca cha ja jha na ya sa i i
\item \textbf{Retroflexes} ta tha da dha na la sa r r
\item \textbf{Dentals} ta tha da dha na la sa l
\item \textbf{Labials} pa pha ba bha ma va u u o au
\end{itemize}

3. Works from the \textit{bka' 'gyur} and \textit{bstan 'gyur} which are cited in the footnotes and appendices are according to either or both title numbers of Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue of \textit{sde dge} edition (1934) and the Catalogue of Suzuki Research Foundation of Peking edition (1962).

4. In case of Tibetan works, the author's name and the abbreviation of the English translation of the title is used in the notes. For example \textit{sa skya bka' bum} (The Collected Works of the Great Masters of Sa-
skyapa sect of Tibetan Buddhism) is abbreviated C. W. G. S. M., instead of SKKB as adopted by some Tibetologists.

5. When the notes refer to works which are found in other Collected Works, Series or Journals, the word 'in' is put between the initials of the work and the Collected Works, etc.

### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. A.</td>
<td>Blue Annals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. E. F. S.</td>
<td>Biography of Eighty Four Saints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. H. B.</td>
<td>Bu-ston's History of Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. L.</td>
<td>Buddha's Lions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. L. G.</td>
<td>Blossoming Lotus Grove: A Lamdre History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. S. P.</td>
<td>Caturśiti-siddha-pravṛtti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. W. G. M. S.</td>
<td>The Collected Works of the Great Masters of Sakya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. W. J. T.</td>
<td>The Collected Works of Jo-nañ Tāranātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. H. M.</td>
<td>The Dynastic History of Māgadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. F. S.</td>
<td>Eighty Four Siddhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. M. R. G. S.</td>
<td>The Essential Moon's Rays For Generation Stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. G. S. D.</td>
<td>The Flourish of the Great Secret Doctrine: A Lamdre History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. H. W. T.</td>
<td>Five Historical Works of Tāranātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. S.</td>
<td>The Feast For Scholars: A History of Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. B. G.</td>
<td>History of Buddhism In Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. I. G.</td>
<td>Hagiography of The Indian Guru [Virūpa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. M. S. I. L.</td>
<td>The History of Medieval School of Indian Logic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. R. P. D. B.</td>
<td>History of Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. S.</td>
<td>Hagiography of Saroruha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. S. T.</td>
<td>History of Sakya Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. T.</td>
<td>Hevajra Tantra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. B. E.</td>
<td>An Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. P. L. S.</td>
<td>Indian Paññīts in the Land of Snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. S. R. D.</td>
<td>Illuminating Sun's Rays of the Doctrine: A Lamdre History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. T. B.</td>
<td>Indo-Tibetan Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. L. M.</td>
<td>The Lives and the Legends of the Mahāsiddhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. M. T.</td>
<td>The Life of Marpa The Translator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. U.</td>
<td>The Nālandā University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. C. E. S.</td>
<td>The Ocean of Collected Elegant Sayings: A Lamdre history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. W. B.</td>
<td>The Ocean of Wondrous Biographies: A Lamdre History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. H. T.</td>
<td>Political History of Tibet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. P. C. T.</td>
<td>Power-Places of Central Tibet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. T. C.</td>
<td>Pad-ma dkar-po's Tibetan Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. I. L.</td>
<td>The Seven Instruction Lineages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. I. L. Tr.</td>
<td>The Seven Instruction Lineages Translated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. L. L. S.</td>
<td>Sakya Lam 'bras Literature Series (31 Vols.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. P. S.</td>
<td>Śātapiṭaka Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. C. T. C.</td>
<td>Tohoku Catalogue of Tibetan Canons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. E. D.</td>
<td>Tibetan English Dictionary (Das, Sarat Candra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. H. B.</td>
<td>Tāranātha's History of Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. I. T. S. R.</td>
<td>A Treasury of Instructions And Techniques For Spiritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Realizations [gdamshag mdzod]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. L. K.</td>
<td>Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. V.</td>
<td>The Wondrous Vision: A Lamdre History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y. C. T. I.</td>
<td>On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION i  
ABBREVIATIONS ii  
TABLE OF CONTENTS iv  
 PREFACE v  

**INTRODUCTION:**  
Historical Significance of Lam 'Bras Tradition 1  
Meaning of Lam 'Bras 2  
The Origin of Hevajra Tantra and its Commentarial Works 4  
Sources 9  
Typology of Lam 'Bras Hagiography 12  
History and its Role in the Study of Religious Traditions 13

**CHAPTER ONE:**  
The Life of Mahāsiddha Virūpa 15

**CHAPTER TWO:**  
Virūpa's Successors of the Lam 'Bras Lineage in India 33  
Life of Dombi Heruka According bstan 'gyur 33  
Dating of Dombi Heruka 41  
The Favoured Successor Kṛṣṇācārin 41  
Why did Virūpa have two successors? 46

**CHAPTER THREE:**  
Early Diffusion of Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet 50  
Life of Drogmi Lotsawa Shakya Yeshe 51  
Life of Paṇḍita Gayadhara 55  
Chronology of Drogmi 66

**APPENDICES:**  
A: The Origins and Founders of the Nine-fold Paths 70  
B: Praises to Virūpa (Tibetan Text and translation) 83  
C: Lists of Works in Tibetan Buddhist Canon by Lamdre Masters 91  
D: Complete Catalogue of Sakya Lamdre Literature Series 105

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** 139
PREFACE

The main theme of this work *Origin of Lamdre Tradition in India* was questioned by me when I was a young novice in Lumbini some twenty years ago. I first saw about a dozen of magnificent bronze statues of Lamdre lineage masters in my teacher’s meditation room in Lumbini, the birth-place of Lord Buddha. Those statues were casted some five hundred years ago and have been enshrined in the palace temple of the Mustang Räjäś [glo bo rgyal po]. The Mustang Räjä, who is the nephew of my teacher, gave all those statues to my teacher’s monastery when it was built in 1971. These statues had a very powerful effect on my mind as I sat in the shrine every morning and evening in prayer ceremonies with my fellow monks. What interested me most was the careful arrangement of those statues in the glass shelves, and the striking look of the statue of *Virüpa*. Being the first in the Lamdre lineage, *Virüpa’s* statue was placed at a prominent place and his praise was chanted first thing in the morning. Since then I endeavoured to study the life and teachings of Lamdre masters, and in 1976 I took part in an intensive monastic training on the subject for three and half years. In 1988, when His Holiness Sakya Trizin came to Australia and gave Lamdre transmission to some sixty students from all over the world, I had the honour to conduct some revision classes. This opportunity not only enhanced my interest in the study, but I decided to do some research for the benefit of non-Tibetan Lamdre students. While I was pondering on the suitability of undertaking research study on Lamdre tradition, I was convinced with myself that if any topic on Lamdre should ever be studied academically, then the lives of *Virüpa* and his successors has to be the first to begin with. In short, this study is intended to serve only as an introduction of its kind to the study of Lamdre tradition, and it has no pretensions to being exhaustive.

I am fortunate to have had His Eminence Chogay Trichen Rinpoche and His Holiness Sakya Trizin, as my spiritual masters, from whom I received the two Lamdre transmissions. Without their continuous guidance, it would have been impossible for me to have had the motivation and determination to undertake this study. As they represent compassion, wisdom and spiritual power of all the past masters, I offer them my gratitude and pray to bless my heart. I am indeed thankful to Dr. Tissa Rajapatirana, who has been a very patient and resourceful advisor to this work. His excellent knowledge of the Buddhist languages and meticulous corrections in my translation is evident throughout this work. I am also indebted to Dr. Ken Gardiner, who did the most arduous task of editing my manuscript and brushing up its language and kindly corrected the entire manuscript excepting only the Appendices. I also wish to thank my wife Mirabelle Guo for her support and understanding. May the study and practice of Lamdre teachings continue for the benefit of all living beings!

26 October, 1990.
Lama Choedak T. Yuthok,
Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University.
INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the origin of Lam ṇbras tradition in India. Lamdre consists of the secret esoteric teaching of Tantric Buddhism transmitted by the Mahāsiddha Virūpa 1 in India in the seventh century. Virūpa wrote the original work on Lamdre,2 based on the Hevajra Tantra, the highest of all classes of Tantra, and gave it to Đomđi Heruka and Kṛṣṇācarin. Its esoteric teachings largely remained secret and were passed down through oral tradition [sflan brgyud] to exceptionally faithful and intelligent disciples. Traditionally a future disciple capable of carrying on the transmission was predicted by the lineage holder's preceptor, and thus Lamdre was transmitted from teacher to disciple in what is better known as "the Sole lineage" [chig brgyud] in the Vajrayāna tradition. Ever since Lamdre was brought to Tibet in the mid-11th century by Pandita Gayadhara and 'brog mi lo tsā ba śa kya ye šes, it became the central teaching and practice of the Sakyapa School of Tibetan Buddhism. Its Tibetan followers, namely the Sakyapas, established the first legitimate priest rulership in Tibet and converted Kublai Khan to Buddhism. With its proud history of some 1400 years, even today Lamdre is the major practice of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism.

The purpose of this study is to examine the authenticity and traceability of the Lamdre tradition by identifying some of the leading lineage masters of the Nine-fold paths. The identification of these siddhas, whether we can date them correctly or not, and their monumental works, which make up a large section of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, will provide at least part of much needed historical evidence. Our main theme will be important biographical episodes of Virūpa and his successors which will provide a fresh exposure of less known Lamdre hagiography. The deliberate suppression of its early history, its tone of anti-history and its traditional secrecy, makes this study a challenging task. Therefore we cannot approach this study from the historical standpoint alone but from the point of view of understanding the origin of a tradition which made such a powerful impact on the religious history of Tibet.

1 Tib. Grub chen. This is the title of great accomplished Tantric masters who attained both the common [thun mo] and uncommon [mchog] attainments or "siddhis". Generally it is an honorific title of the eighty four Buddhist saints [siddhas] of India, but it is also used for later accomplished masters in Tibet. Virūpa is transliterated as bi rū pa in all the Tibetan bstan 'gyur editions of snar than, sde dge and Peking. Tibetan prayer books also render the word as bir va pa. The etymological rendering is lus dnan can and means 'deformed', 'ill-mannered' or 'one with ugly form.' See Dorje, ācārya Sempa, The Biography of Eighty Four Saints, Bibliotheca-Indo-Tibetica [4], Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Varanasi, 1979, p. 35 [zur bkol].

2 Lam ṇbras bu dañ bcas pa'i rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkna is the most important and original work by Virūpa said to have given to Kṛṣṇācarin. See Prof. Hakaju Ui and Co., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons [sde dge bka' 'gyur and bstan 'gyur], Published by Tohoku Imperial University, Japan 1934, Vol. Shi, Title No. 2284, p. 355. In the Peking Edition it is entitled "Mārga-phalāṇvīvavādacaka" [lam ṇbras bu dañ bcas pa'i gdam prim], See Suzuki, Dr. Daisetz T., The Tibetan Tripitaka, Catalogue And Index, Tokyo, 1962, Vol. 156, rgyud 'grel XLVII [Tsi], Title No. 3131, 134 - 3 - 8, [150a -155b].
There are three sections to this thesis. The introductory section will briefly examine the unique theory, role and emphasis of the hagiographical traditions in the continuation of the esoteric lineages and their relationship with history. The historical importance of Lamdre tradition, the massive influence of its early masters on the Later Diffusion of Buddhist faith [bstan pa phyi dar] and the establishment of Buddhist priest rulership in Tibet will be emphasized. The general survey and examination of the Lamdre hagiographical works should reveal the literary sources for this study. A close look at the cult of the Guru, its function and usefulness in the development of disciples and the continuation of the lineage will enable us to understand the meaning of Lamdre in its traditional religious model. In the first chapter we will carefully study, collate and analyze all the available data on the life of Virūpa, who is the first human teacher of Lamdre. In the second chapter, we will analyse what it means to be a disciple and how different disciples have become successors to Virūpa. The sharp distinction advocated by traditional Lamdre view between 'superior' and 'unintelligent' disciples has been critically examined and an attempt has been made to interpret the symbolic meaning of the occurrences at those encounters between Virūpa and Đombi Heruka in its deep religious context. The question of the correct identity of Đombi Heruka has been addressed but the identity of Kṛṣṇācārin could not receive exhaustive treatment in this work. The last chapter will focus on the life of Drogmi Lotsawa and Paṇḍita Gayadhara and explore how Lamdre was introduced to Tibet.

2. Historical Significance of Lam 'Bras Tradition

Lamdre became known in Tibet during the time of Drogmi [993-1074]. The fact that the lineage was kept in total secrecy until its firm establishment in Tibet perhaps had a greater significance for the historical developments that led to the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. The introduction of Lamdre teachings in Tibet not only re-established the Dharma firmly but it became a most powerful medium through which socio-political relations with neighbouring countries were strengthened. It came at a time when the old Tibetan kingdom had collapsed into warring principalities and in a religious climate of revivalism as a reaction after king Lang Darma's persecution. Various religious schools were gaining large numbers of followers, and Tibetan petty rulers sponsored young monks to go and study in India. Drogmi, like the Great Translator rin chen bzaṅ po [958-1055], was one of the young Tibetan monks who mastered his studies in India and became the foremost of contemporary Tibetan masters. In order to fully understand the historical significance of studying the origin of the tradition in India, we will briefly review some important political, diplomatic and religious changes which occurred in Tibet due to the influence of Lamdre:

A) The introduction of Lamdre and its propagation in Tibet marks the beginning of the Later Diffusion of the Buddhist faith in Tibet. Drogmi, who played a leading role, was one of the three outstanding Tibetan translators, who studied in India many years. He was also the teacher of Marpa and 'gos lo tṣā ba. All of Drogmi's translations (approximately sixty

works) found in the Tibetan Buddhist Canons prove the importance of his literary contribution to the spread of Dharma in Tibet.4

B) The Hevajra Tantra, the source of Lamdre teachings, together with its coloured-sand Manḍala5 initiation rites is so closely linked to the conversion of Emperor Kublai Khan [1216-1294 C.E.] to the Buddhist faith that its study is extremely important for research in the history of Buddhism in Mongolia, China, Tibet and countries in the Himalayan region.

C) One of the main disciples of Drogmi was 'khon dkon mchog rgyal po [1034-1102], of the blessed Khon clan, who founded the famous monastery of Sakya [dpal ldan sa skya]. Countless Tibetan scholars including the first Tibetan who received the most prestigious and envied title "Paṇḍita" came from this monastery. Due to the spiritual fame and honour of sa skya paṅ ḍī ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sapan) [1182-1251], in 1244 the Mongol prince Godan (K'uo-tan), became his devotee. The famous Priest and Patron relationship6 which began then, was continued between the Manchu Emperors and the Dalai Lamas until it ended in 1911 with the overthrow of the Ch'ing Dynasty.7 Sakya Paṇḍita's nephew, 'phags pa [Fa-ssu-pa], whose full name is 'gro mgon chos 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan[1235-1280] gave Kublai Khan, his queens and twenty five ministers the Hevajra initiation of the Lamdre tradition in 1253 at the palace of Hutu. Kublai offered the whole country of Tibet to 'phags pa in thanksgiving offering after being initiated in the Hevajra Manḍala. 'Phags pa became the first Lama to become the priest king of Tibet, and ever since Tibet has been ruled by Buddhist priests upto the rulership by the Dalai Lamas. Subsequently, whichever religious order exercised political power in Tibet, it was always an adherent of the Lamdre tradition and adopted the type of rule modelled by 'phags pa.

D) In spite of the weakening of the power of the Mongol rulers, which indirectly caused the shift of power from the Sakya hierarchs to the Tibetan aristocrat byaṅ chub rgyal mtshan [1302-1364], the religious order represented by phag gru bka' brgyud was also a practitioner of Lamdre tradition.8 The Great Fifth was the first Dalai Lama to become ruler of Tibet, and he was also one of the greatest Lamdre lineage masters.9 From this point of

---

4 See Appendix C, Section C, pp. 95-105.
5 Tib. Kye rdo rje'i rdul mtshan gyi dkyil 'khor.
6 Tib. Mchod yon bzūn 'brel.
8 This is indicated by the impressive collection of bka' brgyud gdams ņag mdzod in which most essential Lamdre works are also preserved. See 'jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas, gdams ņag mdzod, A Treasury on Instructions and Techniques For Spiritual Realization, Delhi, 1971, Vol. IV. Phag mo gru pa [1110-1170] studied under Sachen for 12 years and became founding father of phag gru bka' brgyud. He received lam 'bras and wrote a commentary known as "mdzod mar." See Chogy Trichen, History of the Sakya Tradition, Ganesha Press, Bristol, 1983, p. 25.
view, it is the early upholders of Lamdre tradition who gained and established genuine religious rulership and propagated the doctrine in Tibet.

E) After the teachings fall into the hands of the priest kings of Tibet, namely the Sakya Masters, Lamdre did not remain as exclusive and secret teachings as it used to be, but became accessible to the commoners. Consequently, the tradition was closely associated with religious power and dominance in the social and political affairs of the country and yet maintained its purity. Presently, there are two major Lamdre traditions, tshogs bsd and slob bsd. The three sub-sects of Sakya, namely Sa skya, Nor pa and Tshar pa are directly linked with the development of common and uncommon Lamdre traditions in Tibet. Most of the finest Tibetan scholars and masters have been Lamdre practitioners including the present Dalai Lama, who received the Lamdre transmission from His Eminence Chogyag Trichen Rinpoche.

3. The Meaning of Lam 'bras [märgaphala]

The term lam 'bras, "path and result" can be best discussed, approached and understood from the point of view of its secret philosophical meaning. Lam means "path" and 'bras means "result" in Tibetan. It directly deals with a path including its result, and its cause. This also implies the cause including its path, cause including its result, results including its cause and result including its path. This principle of wholeness nullifies duality. The notion of lam 'bras bu dañ bcas pa "Path Including its Result" points out the significance of neither disassociating the path from the result nor result from the cause. Central to the Tantric philosophy is the importance of the annihilation of the conceptual dichotomy between conventional opposites. Hence the term lam 'bras bears a philosophical and scientific explanation of reality in its operational level and ultimate level.

The cause includes its path [rgyu lam dañ bcas pa] since the cause has the potential to engage itself into the function of the path; the cause includes its result [rgyu 'bras bu dañ bcas pa] since the cause bears the spontaneous nature of its achieveable result. Just as a faultless seed could be made to sprout if provided with the right conditions, similarly a faithful disciple can achieve the result of enlightenment if he meets the circumstantial conditions of the pithy instructions [gdams ñag]. The path includes its cause [lam rgyu dañ bcas pa] since it is on the path where the actual purifiable stains of the cause are realistically determined, otherwise one will not know how to meditate and purify the supposed defilements. The path includes its result [lam 'bras bu dañ bcas pa] since the result is only

---

10 Tib. Sa skya goñ ma rnams lha.

11 Although essentially there appears to have been the common and the uncommon Lamdre traditions prior to Nor chen kun dga' bzañ po [1382-1456], there were no such well known concepts of their existence known outside the inner circle of the practitioners. It is said to have been a practice of mus chen [sems dpa' chen po] dkon mchog rgyal mtshan [1388-1468 C.E.], the most remarkable disciple of Ngorchen, but it was not known until bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan [1444-1495 C.E.], who first introduced and practised the tradition of giving the common tradition in public and the uncommon to selected disciples in private. One can clearly see the development of these two traditions if one examines the arrangement of the Lamdre literature. See Appendix D.
achieveable during the practice of the path, otherwise there will be no purpose of practising the path. The result includes the cause ['bras bu rgyu dan beas pa] since the result is no other than the transformed aspect of the cause. The realization of the result simply discovers the unseen side of the cause, and dispels the misconception that they were different. For instance, just as the alchemical or gold elixir [gser 'gyur gyi rtsi] transforms the blackish colour of the iron and all metals into gold yet it has not abandoned the base metal completely, similarly the negativities will gradually be transformed into their natural qualities without annihilation of the cause.

In short, since there is nothing inherently existing outside the mere perceptions of one's mind, all such concepts have manifested according to the mind itself, which is ultimately free of activities. In spite of the distinct, adventitious and conditional reflections of the mind, in reality the notion of good and bad, path and result do not exist as it appears to our conscious mind. What appears to our conceptual mind does not conform with what really is. For instance, objects such as a chamber pot, an ear-ring and an image of the Buddha, which are all made out of copper, can be seen as dirty, beautiful or venerable respectively due to their appearance and usages according to the designation we have conceptualized and imputed upon the objects. In spite of their different conventional appearances, functions and usages, the substance "copper" has not become better or worse whatever it is made into or used for. Similarly the true and basic nature of the mind of a beginner, an advanced practitioner and a Fully Enlightened One has no difference whatsoever. Nonetheless this does not mean that cause is path and path is result. The difference is only in the perception, conditioned by one's deluded mind. On account of purifying the alleged impurities on the path, the causal Buddha who has not been previously recognized due to the adventitious obscurcation, who has recognized the self, is labelled as "Resulant Buddha". Lam 'Bras, therefore is a name that is mainly associated with the Yogin's meditative view of the reality through the practice of esoteric Vajrayāna meditations. In order to develop such enlightened experiences one must recognize the correct path which has an expedient method of setting the aspirant on the correct path. The expedient method is called "upadeśa" [gdams nag] or "pithy instructions." In order to receive the instructions from a qualified Guru, one must be initiated into the Path by receiving abhiṣeka"[dbat].

4. The origin of Hevajra Tantra and its Commentarial Works

In order to fully understand the origin of Lamdre tradition in India, it will be important to take into consideration the origin of Hevajra Tantra and its commentarial works [gzur bsad]. It is believed that in the distant past, when the form realm and desire realm were respectively misruled by Brahmā and Maheśvara, all living beings were manipulated to indulge in the three defilements and were misguided into the wrong path. In order to subdue these mundane gods and to establish all living beings in the right path, the Sambhogakāya

Heruka assumed the appropriate manifestations and taught root and explanatory Tantras. After subduing them, the Fully Enlightened One assumed the Nirmāṇakāya form of Heruka and taught the 700,000 śloka Long Form Śri Hevajra Tantra,14 500,000 śloka of Realization Tantra,15 the Uncommon Explanatory Dākinī Vajrapaṇjhara Tantra,16 Śrīsamputa and the explanatory Tantras common to other classes of Tantra.17 Once again the historical Śākyamuni Buddha assumed the form of Heruka and taught the 750 śloka Two Part Short Hevajra Tantra which contains 23 chapters.18

Tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho [1502-1566 C.E.] cites twelve main Indian siddha masters who wrote commentaries: Vajragarbha,19 Nāropa,20 Kṛṣṇācārin,21 Bhavapa,22

---

14 Tib. Dpal kye rdo rje'i rgyud rgyas pa 'bum phrag bdun pa.
15 Tib. Rto gs pa'i rgyud 'bum phrag las pa.
16 Tib. Bṣad rgyud thun mo'n ma yin pa mkha' 'gro rdo rje gur gyi rgyud.
17 Tib. Thun mo'n ba'i bṣad rgyud dpal sam pu 'ta.
19 Hevajrapīḍāṭhā-tīkā [Kye'i rdo rje bsad pa'i don gi rgya cher 'grel pa], sde dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. rgyud Ka, Title No. 1180, ff. 1b - 126a. Peking ed., rgyud 'grel Ba, Vol. 53, Title No. 2310, 1 - 1 - 1 [1 - 139b].
20 Vajrapādasāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā [Rdo rje'i tshig gi sfiin po bsad pa'i dka' 'gral], Vol. rgyud Ga, Title No. 1186, 58b - 146b. In the Tohoku Catalogue this title is ascribed to sfiin grags bzaṅ po instead of Nāropa. Peking ed., rgyud 'grel Ta, Vol. 54, Title No. 2316, 1 - 1 - 3, [69a - 169b].
21 Yoga-ratnamālā-nāma-hevajra-pañjikā [Dgyes pa rdo rje'i dka' 'grel mail 'byor rin po che'i phreṅ ba žes bya ba], Vol. rgyud Kha, Title No. 1183, 1b - 61a. Peking ed., rgyud 'grel Ma, Vol. 53, Title No. 2313, 127 - 1., [1 - 72b].
22 Śrīhevajravyākhyāvivarana-nāma [Dpal dgyes pa rdo rje'i rnam bṣad rnam par 'grel pa žes bya ba], Vol. rgyud Ka, Title No. 1182, 173b - 275a. Peking ed., rgyud 'grel Ba, Vol 53, Title No. 2312, 78 - 3 - 2, [190b - 307a]. The name of the author appears in several different spellings: Bhavabhata żabs (Bhavabhāṭapāda) and Bhavabhātra.
There were six main essential traditions or schools of explanations of the Hevajra Tantra handed down from the Indian Mahāsiddhas which are directly connected with the origin of the Nine-fold Paths (lam skor dgu). They are:

1) Slob dpon pad ma ba dzra'i bṣad srol [Padmavajra's tradition],
2) grub chen mi thub zla ba'i bṣad srol [Durjayacandra's tradition],
3) šān ti pa'i bṣad srol [Northern Gate-Keeper Paṇḍita Šāntipa's tradition],
4) šān ta bha dra'i bṣad srol [Samayavajra's disciple Šāntabhadra's tradition],
5) kha che sstan grags bstan po'i bṣad srol [Kāśmīri Kirtibhadra's tradition] and
6) mā' bdag me tri pa'i bṣad srol [Maitripa's tradition].
In Tibet, there appeared numerous *Hevajra* traditions from Marpa to *rtogs chos sku rdo rje* and as well as traditions following *rta pa chos rab, dpal se lo tsas ba, gtum ston blo gros grags pa* and *ram sdi nas ma pa* following *na ro ta pa*'s lineage. The main *Hevajra* tradition concerned with Lamdre was transmitted by 'gos khug pa lhas btsas and 'brog mi, who both received it from Gayadhara, transmitter of Virupa's lineage. Drogtmi also received the same lineage transmitted through *Dombi Heruka* from *dge slo dpa’ bo rdo rje* in India. Although there were many other Tibetan commentaries on the *Hevajra Tantra*, the seven famous works in the Sakyapa tradition are: 1) A word by word explanation [*tshig 'grel*] by *bla ma ma ris pa gsal ba*’s stiin po. 2) 'khon sgyi chu ba's commentary of difficult points [*dka’ 'grel*]. 3) Commentary *dag ldan* by *rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan*. 4) General Explanation of all the Tantras by *slob dpon bsod nams rtse mo*. 5) *mton rtogs ljon stiin by rje bsun grags pa rgyal mtshan*. 6) Commentary *ti ma’i od zer* by *slob dpon bsod nams rtse mo*. 7) Commentary on difficult points by *sa chen kun dga’ stiin po*.39

There are many other scriptural commentaries [*gzu bsad*] on *Hevajra Tantra* written by Tibetan masters which we will not have space to list here. These do not include the whispered lineage's pithy instructions [*man tag*] passed down from one master to one disciple i.e. *Virupa* to *Dombi Heruka*. Until the late 11th century there were no instructional manuals or books on Lamdre since it was taught to no more than one disciple at a time. The idea of giving teachings to others or writing about the teachings was not permitted, unless a disciple received special permission from his teacher. However, fearing that people in a degenerate time might not be able to keep the whispered lineage correctly, *sa chen kun dga’ stiin po* [1092-1158 C.E.] wrote the pithy instructional works after fulfilling the requirement of eighteen years of dedicated practice imposed by his teacher.41 Sachen wrote approximately twenty instructions based on the Vajra verses which became the main instructional guidelines of Lamdre. Although there are different schools in identifying what the eleven commentaries [*nam ‘grel bcu geig*] were, the following list is according to *bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan* [1444-1495 C.E.]. They are all named after students for whose

---

34 Ibid.
40 See the Complete Catalogue of Lamdre literature in Appendix D.
41 His master *zhan ston chos bar* instructed: "Do not write anything about the instructions and do not even divulge the existence of the name of this teaching for eighteen years. After the passage of that time, you are the owner of the teaching, it is entirely up to you whether you wish to teach or write about it" F. G. S. D., Vol. XIV, 124.
sake they were written: 1. "don bs dus ma" [ or a sen ma] at the request of khams pa a sen. 2. "zu byas ma " at the request of zu byas dno grub. 3. "klog skya ma" written at the request of klog skya chos grags of sgyer bu region. 4. "yum don ma" written at the request of his senior consort. 5. "sras don ma" compilation of numerous difficult points of Vajra Verses for his two sons, grags pa rgyal mtshan and bsod nams rste mo. It was compiled and edited by his disciple, gtsug gtor rgyal po who is also known as bsod nams rdo rje. 6. "zla rgyal ma' written at the request of byaA chub sems dpa' zla ba rgyal mtshan. 7. "bzaA ri ma" written at the request of dge b$es bzaA ri phug pa. 8. "sga theN ma" was originally notes prepared by khams pa sga theN on the basis of sachen's teachings, which was later corrected and written by sa chen. 9. "maN mkhar ma" written for his female disciple, maN chuN. 10. "ha hu ma" written for a female disciple whose mediative realization of a dog made her say "Hahu Hahu". 11. "gflags ma" written for dge b$es gzi ra pa dban phyug rgyal mtshan. Except for a sen ma, which was specially written by sa chen, it is believed that all the rest of the works were revised and corrected versions of notes prepared by his disciples on the basis of Sachen's teachings. Since then many works were written and most of the transmissions are still preserved in scriptures and as well as in practice.

5. Sources

In the traditional monastic institutions, there have been several scholars and historians who have written a great quantities of biographies and autobiographies, known as "rnam thar". Although modern scholars believe that a large part of these autobiographies and biographies have no real historical significance they are in fact the most important sources for historical research in the Tibetan Buddhist historiography. Rnam thars were written in great praise of the charismatic qualities, religious glory, honour and spiritual achievements of a person in a systematic style of paying a last tribute to a deceased master. As the meaning of the word man thar suggests, one will gain "thorough liberation" about the master[s] by reading a well-written biography. The purpose of these works was to maintain

42 Ibid., f.127.
44 Ibid., ff. 191-395.
45 She is the mother of kun dga' 'bar, the elder step brother of grags pa rgyal mtshan and bsod nams rste mo. She is known as ma geig a tsad tsha. Ibid., Vol. XXIX [ha], ff. 1-159.
46 Ibid., Vol. XII [na], ff. 1-446.
47 Ibid., Vol. XXVII [sa], ff. 397-529.
48 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII [sa], ff. 149-491.
49 Ibid., Vol. XXIX [ha], ff. 161-295.
inspiration and encouragement amongst the followers so that good examples of past masters are not only revered as historical truth but also emulated by the disciples. Although Lamdre historical works belong to this category, our sources which deal with the hagiographies of great masters, their religious experiences and accomplishments are known as "lam 'bras khogs phub".

Our sources are divided into two groups. The primary sources are the traditional Lamdre hagiographies which deal with the exclusive history of Lamdre, the earliest of which was written in the 12th century. Our secondary sources are well known Tibetan historical works which directly refer to Lamdre and its early Indian masters. Although much of the Lamdre teachings remained as oral transmission until the 12th century, selections of biographical details of the early masters appeared soon after the writing of the commentaries on Lamdre began. Although sa chen kun dga' stiin po [1092-1158 C.E.] did not write a history of Lamdre, his son rje btsun grags pa rgyal mshan [1147-1216 C.E.] wrote the most important Lamdre hagiography, "Hagiography of Indian Gurus," [bla ma rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus].

Much of our story of Virupa is based on this text. Bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mshan's [1312-1375 C.E.] "Wondrous Vision," [bla ma bryug pa'i ram par thar pa no mtshar snan ba] is perhaps the most earliest and comprehensive historical work on Lamdre tradition. As a part of his "Black Annals" [pod nag], this work also discusses the general history of Buddhism in Tibet in some appreciative detail. 'Jam mgon a mes 'zabs kun dga' bsod nams [1537-1601] has written a lengthy Lamdre history "Ocean of Collected Elegant Sayings" [legs bsd 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho] and has also written a versified lam 'bras history chos 'byun gi yi ge tshigs su bcad pa don gfer dga' ba bsukyet pa. "Gratifier of the Readers" in 1556 [Fire Dragon] when he was twenty years old. The


52 S. L. S., Vol. XVI, ff. 1-122. He is also the author of the famous "The Clear Mirror of the Royal Genealogies" [rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me lo]. B.I. Kuznetsov, who translated the eighth chapter into Russian in 1961 and a few years later published the transliteration of the Tibetan text says that this work has two Chinese translations. See "The Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies", Leiden, 1966, p. XVIII.


54 Ibid., Vol. I ff.1-314. Hereafter this text is abbreviated O. C. E. S. He cites many sources of his work and some of them may not be extant. Rje btsun chen pos bla ma rgya bod kyi lo rgyus (Hagiography on the Indian and Tibetan Gurus by grags pa rgyal mshan, dmar gyi zib mo rdo rje [The Diamond Precision by dmar ston chos kyi blo gros], bar ston gyi zib mo rnam dag [Perfect Precision by bar ston], bla ma dam pa'i no mtshar snan ba [Wondrous Vision by bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mshan], de'i gsal byed mus srad pas mzdod pa [Its Elucidation by mus sras pa], rje nor pa'i chos 'byun bstan pa rgyas pa'i ti'od [Spreading Sun's Rays of the Doctrine, a Religious history by nor chen], de'i kha sko'n kun mkhyen go ram pas mzdod pa [Its supplementary by kun mkhyen go ram pa bsod nams se'n ge], za ma'i lo rgyas chen mo [The Great Chronicle of za ma], dpal rje'i chos 'byun [The religious history by dpal rje], 'brom lugs kyi chos 'byun [The religious history of 'brom tradition], cha rgyan gyi bla ma rgya bod kyi lo rgyus [The Hagiographies of Indian and Tibetan Gurus by cha rgyan], and rje klu sgrub rgya mtho'i chos 'byun khog phub zin bris [Historical notes by klu sgrub rgya mtho]. See S. L. S., Vol. III, ff. 555-589.
khog phub entitled "Flourish of the Great Secret Doctrine" [gdamgs ngo 'bo tu bshtul '
bris gsal chen bstang pa rgyas byed]55 by 'Jam dbyaṅ mkhyen brtse dbaṅ phyug (1524-
1568) is one we have used extensively in this study. It contains partial secret biographical
notes of early masters undisclosed in other works. In short, hagiographies related with the
history of Lamdre comprise one third of the entire Lamdre works. There are no major
discrepancies between these primary sources.

Our secondary sources include the biographies of the Eighty Four Siddhas found in the
bstan 'gyur56 as well as famous Tibetan historical works. 'Gos lo gzung nu dpal's [1392-
1481] monumental work "Blue Annals" [deb ther sdon po]57 includes an appreciative
chapter on the flourishing part of Lamdre in Tibet. Other prominent Tibetan historians who
have dealt with Lamdre history in their works include Dpa'bo gtsug lag phreng ba [1504-
1566]58 and the fourth rgyal dbaṅ 'brug chen nag dbaṅ nor bu [1527-1592]59. Tāranātha
's [1575-1634]60 impressive collection of rich and mixed data on the history of Buddhism in
India has been consulted where he attempts to discuss accounts of all the siddhas, Paññitas
and scholars of Buddhist India. It is an exceptional contribution for the medieval historical
study of Buddhist India. In spite of his silence about Lamdre, Tāranātha's brief and striking
comments on Virūpa, Dombi Heruka and Kṛṣṇacārin have provided views which to some
extent challenge the Lamdre version. "Seven Instruction Lineage" [bka' babs bdun Idan] is
also a work reputed to have been written by Tāranātha but I have some reservations
regarding its authorship. Nevertheless it is a valuable collection of materials useful for the
study of establishing the connection between different Tantric lineages and constructing their
succession lists of masters and disciples.61

55 See S. L. L. S., Vol. XIV, ff.1-225. Hereafter the text is abbreviated F. G. S. D.
56 Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti [grub thob bryad bcu rtsa bza'i lo rgyus] was written by Abhayadatta and
translated by mi riṅ lo tsha ba smon grub sde rabs. There is an English translation by J. R. Robinson [Buddha's
Lives and Legends of the Mahāsiddhas, Inner Traditions International, Vermont, 1988]. There is also a Hindi translation by
ācārya sena dpa' rdo rje [The Biography of Eighty Four Saints, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1979].
57 See Roerich, George, N., The Blue Annals, Part I, Published by Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1949,
pp. 204-240.
58 See chos 'byun mkhas pa'i dga' ston smad cha, The Feast of the Scholars, [F. S.] Part II, Published by
59 See Prof. Dr. Chandra, Lokesh, Pad ma dkar po's Tibetan Chronicle, [P.. T.] New Delhi 1968. ff.393-408.
60 It was first translated into Russian by V. P. Vasil'ev in 1866 and was subsequently translated into German by A.
Schiefner in 1869. See Chattopadhyaya, A., Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India, [T. H. B.] Indian Institute of
61 Tāranātha, Five Historical Works of Tāranātha, [F. H. W. T.], Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery, P.O. Tezu, Distt.
Lohit, Arunchal Pradesh, 1974. Tāranātha's bka' babs bdun Idan, The Seven Instruction Lineages was first
translated into German by Albert Grünwedel in 1914. Bhupendranātha Datta translated from German into English in 1944. David
Templeman provided its English translation from the Tibetan in 1983. See jo naṅ Tāranātha, bka' babs bdun Idan, The
Seven Instruction Lineages, Tr. by David Templeman, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1983.
6. Typology of Early Lam 'bras hagiography

A brief glance at the ten volumes of Lamdre hagiographical Literature is sufficient to demonstrate the important place this kind of literature must have taken in the spiritual life of the past masters. There is no space here to study the typology of all Lamdre hagiographies. We will limit ourselves to the hagiography of Virüpa alone. The geographical component of his biography discussed in this study are rather loose but owing to the sanctification of the places where he studied, taught and died, some precise data are given. For example, Nālandā, where Virüpa was an abbot; Sovanātha, where he transformed into a stone image after subduing the Tīrthikas, and the river Ganges, where he met Dombi Heruka are all mentioned. Disciples are advised to go on pilgrimage to those sacred places to cultivate a stronger and closer spiritual connection with the master. In spite of the vast difference in dating the birth of Buddha and his Nirvāṇa between different chronological schools in Tibet and in the Buddhist world, the time factor plays a significant role in the Buddhist hagiology. The Lamdre hagiographers have unanimously written that Virüpa made his first appearance in India around 1020 years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. Just as saints' feast days are observed for saints in Christainity, the anniversay of the Enlightenment of the master is celebrated by performing Gaṇacakra food offerings. Although an approximate age is also given when he left Nālandā monastery, there is no time reference as to when he passed away. A striking feature of Virüpa's hagiography, like that of all other siddhas, is that he is very strongly individualized as a person who makes his own way in spiritual development, despite the obstacles he faced. While glorifying and edifying his admirable spiritual power, his personal character, and forceful approach of subduing and subjugating Tīrthikas are discussed without any reservation. His impatience and disposal of his prayer beads in the latrine after waking from a disturbing dream suggests that the hagiograhers were not selective of the materials. Similarly his abbotship in Nālandā and his visits to brothels are equally treated as being part of his life. They collated all such available materials. The faith and trust of the reader is challenged by offering such a mixed bag of episodes. Nevertheless, as with all in hagiographies whether Buddhist or Christian, the biography became a repeated narration of miraculous happenings associated with the master to edify the readers. They have become recommended reading materials to recollect and honour the masters, to exalt their qualities, and to instil a vibrant spirit among the lethargic and discouraged practitioners. Transmissions of these biographies are given on special ceremonies and the anniversaries of the masters are commemorated each year. Statues and paintings of the masters are enshrined and their altars are constantly furnished with fresh offerings. Special commemoration halls are dedicated and monastic institutions are named after these masters. Contemporary masters or intelligent and disciplined monks are often selected as possible reincarnations of a celebrated and canonized master of its lineage or other

---

62 For instance on the 23rd of 4th Lunar month according to the Tibetan Calendar, all the Sakya monasteries perform special commemorative ceremonies for the anniversay of Virüpa's enlightenment.
The very existence and continuation of a tradition such as Lamdre is regarded as the unobstructed Enlightened Activities ['phrin las] and compassion of those great masters of the past. Hence the stories of the past masters in Tibetan Buddhist tradition had the important function and role of rekindling the spirit of the faith and its practices. The concept of Trikāya doctrine in Mahāyāna and the glorification of the institution of Tulku [sprul ku] in Tibetan Buddhism have doubly enhanced the prosperity of hagiography and the living spirit of Tibetan Buddhism.

7. History and Its Role in the study of religious traditions

Due to the paucity of written history on the actual origin of Buddhist Tantric traditions, there has been considerable doubt and controversy on the subject. In this connection we should remember that the difficulty of determining the difference between legend and history is a common problem with the study of religious history and hagiography, and not a problem unique to Tantric traditions alone. It is of obvious importance that any valid Buddhist teachings or traditions of this nature must have a traceable background in India, the birthplace of Buddha-dharma. Vajrayāna lineages originated from the Indian Mahāsiddhas and Paṇḍitas, whose influence and inspiration established and propagated the Dharma far and wide. The Indian siddhas and great Tibetan masters, who were canonized by way of being included in the official list of lineage Gurus, were not only very important historical figures in their own right, but they also played very important roles in exemplifying the teachings and practices. Although canonization appears to make a man or a woman into a siddha or great master, it does not mean that there were no great masters other than those formally listed. Siddhahood or lineage masterhood in Tantric Buddhism is not achieved because of some kind of heroic circumstances resulting in death as is martyrdom in Christianity. But it is achieved through total devotion to the Guru and relentless effort in the prescribed practices as given by the teacher. The lives of these teachers present an extraordinary variety of human characters and dispositions. Unlike biographies written by contemporaries and near-contemporaries, the hagiographies of Tantric masters were kept as oral history for long period of time within the tradition until someone wrote them down.

All the written materials dealing with lives of the masters which may have some historical value have to be studied, analysed and critically examined in an objective way, with the application of some scientific and logical methodology. The tradition of writing man thar honours the virtues of the teacher, and this became an instrument to evoke enthusiastic feelings and to kindle a vital living spirit among the lethargic and discouraged aspirants of the path. Since it is considered to be a meritorious deed, the names of past masters were constantly memorized and recited in the daily prayers of a practitioner, being invoked to bestow blessings on the mind. Their name Mantras [mtshan sngags] were inscribed on rocks, calligraphed on clothes and given as apostropic amulet. Lama Dampa explains and emphasizes the study of hagiography for the purpose of instilling trust and faith in the

For instance, Marpa is regarded as the reincarnation of Dombi Heruka. See gtsan smyon he ru ka, The Life of Marpa The Translator, Prajñā Press, Boulder, 1982, p. 4.
originality of the tradition of the lineage Gurus when he says: "The history of the lineage Gurus (should be studied) for the purpose of knowing the traceability of its origin and to cultivate faith." [yid ches śiṅ khuṅs btsun par śes pa'i phyir bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus.]

On the other hand, the narrative histories are witness to beliefs and are the evidence for what people thought about the past, constituting a history of beliefs with its own functional model. The selected incidents in a religious person's life are not written about in order to gloss over the miracles or ignore the less attractive side of his or her character. Writing the life of a siddha is not making a distinction between a 'the man' and 'the siddha' but to show the true value of a man or woman's life when it is lived fully. It is thus important to see what spiritual value is better realized by letting the siddhas' life and his teachings speak for themselves. That these stories are constantly told and that the events are believed to have occurred sometime in the past amongst followers are the most significant factors in maintaining such ancient traditions. The "historical evidence" of these traditions is the "living spirit" that illuminates the heart of the practitioners in the present day. One can neither change the events the way they occurred, nor assume that they did not happen the way they are explained unless we can prove the contrary.

The fact that special attention has been paid to the founders of Lamdre tradition requires no explanation or apology. The study of hagiography is a revelation of inner faith, conflicts, changes, and realization that goes on in the mind of a spiritual person. Outer crises and changes of a person depicted in the biographies are no other than perceived interpretations of the inner, subtle mental changes of experiences whether religious or otherwise. There is great emphasis in historical knowledge of the lineage masters of the Vajrayāna traditions in order to evoke inspiration and encouragement [yid ches śiṅ khuṅs btsun pa'i slad du] and to develop a deep connection with their teachings and instructions. A faithful disciple must feel a strong connection with the master and his or her teachings so that he or she can devote much needed time to develop truthful experiences. A close look at the lives of the masters is a simple and direct technique to lead to the development of inner transformation and experience. Those who have understood the lives of these masters will not only have deep respect for them but will emulate those noble examples in their lives.

In summary, Lamdre represents a Tantric Buddhist tradition, which has consistently emphasized the role of practice through faith, loyalty, enthusiasm, patience and dedication. The very existence of Tibetan Buddhism and its flourishing in recent years can be traced back to the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet in the 10th century when the Lamdre masters of Tibet truly established Dharma rule in the Land of Snows. There were very few Tibetan Buddhist masters who have not been blessed by the Sakya Lamdre masters since their unbiased activities demonstrated that anyone could make his life meaningful and beneficial if one faithfully practised the teachings.

64 See gzun bṣad man ṅag gter mdzod, in S. L. L. S., Vol. XVI, ff. 125-126. This is the main lam 'bras pod nag teaching manual.
CHAPTER ONE

The Life of Mahāsiddha Virūpa

Virūpa was the crown prince of the king Suvarṇacakra [gser gyi khor lo] from the city of Veṣasa [sman gyi dbang po] in eastern India. When he was born, the court astrologers predicted that he would illuminate the teachings through his spiritual power. He was given the name [dul gyi khor lo] as a young child, he entered the famous monastery of Somapura in North Bengal and received the ordination of Śrāmañjera from the abbot Vinītadeva [dul ba'i lha] and the Ācārya Jayaśīra [rgyal ba grags pa]. He studied and mastered all the five major sciences and became a great scholar in Buddhist and non-Buddhist doctrines. In Somapura, he also built a moderate sized stone temple, installed Holy images of the Buddha and established a tradition of making regular offerings to cleanse away the misdeeds of his deceased parents. He offered a big feast to the whole monastic community to celebrate the completion of the temple and the dedication of its merits. Having concluded his studies there, he left for Nālandā where the Dharma was firmly established. There he received the Bhikṣu ordination from the abbot Dharmamitra [chos kyi bzes gten], alias Jayadeva [rgyal ba'i lha] of Nālandā University. He was given the name Śrīdharmapāla [dpal ldan chos skyon]. He continued his study under the tutorship of his abbot who was very pleased with him and gave him many private teachings on Vajrayāna practices in general and Cakrasamvara Tantra [khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud] in particular. The abbot had left instructions in his will that Śrīdharmapāla should be appointed as his successor, and had told the monastic officials to show equal respect and honour to Śrīdharmapāla as to himself. Since Śrīdharmapāla was highly praised for possessing equal knowledge to the abbot, he was appointed the abbot of Nālandā Monastic University after the Parinirvāṇa of his abbot. He supervised the grand cremation ceremony.

---

1 See F. G. S. D., f. 10. But in the biography of the eighty four siddhas known to be written by Ācārya Abhayadatta [slob dpon mi 'jigs sbyin], he is said to have been born in Tripura, the kingdom of king Devapāla in east India. See B. L., p. 27.
2 Skt. Rūpyacakra.
3 He is famous for his six commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works on Buddhist logic.
4 His Eminence Chogy Trichen says Ācārya Dharmakīrti, the logician. See H. S. T., p. 8.
5 Tāranātha says that it is worse than a grave mistake to say that this Dharmamitra, the direct disciple of Guṇaprabha, was the same as the Dharmamitra who composed the commentary called the Prasphutapadā. T. H. B. p. 254.
6 He also ordained Śaṅdideva in Nālandā monastery.
7 Abhayadatta does not seem to know of Virūpa studying in Nālandā or even going there. He speaks as if Virūpa took the Bhikṣu ordination and did his study in Somapura.
8 It is a name which is identified with many teachers and with the fourth Pāla Dynasty king Dharmapāla [765-879] who is referred either as the founder or a restorer of Vikramaśīla. According to Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa [dpa' bo gtsug lag phren ba], King Dharmapāla was contemporary with the Tibetan King Senalek [sed na legs]. Drogmi and Lamdre masters have repeatedly claimed that Dharmapāla is not only Virūpa’s pre-siddha name but was also predicted in Mañjuśrīmūlakātantra: yi ge dha 'zes sdom brtson 'gyur / lho yi phyogs su nam par grags / sdom brtson de bzin stags kyi 'grub //The letter 'Dha' [indicate that he] will apply himself to his vows and will become very famous in the South. The one who has applied himself to his vows will also accomplish Mantra. This is cited in F. G. S., D. in S. L. L. S., Vol. XIV, F. 28.
of his abbot, and the entire remains of the abbot was transformed into relics which he carefully distributed among the kings, patrons and monks.

Since he had received all the secret instructions on Cakrasamvara practices, he practised these diligently in the night time while he attended to his teaching and composing duties during the day. He taught both on Theravada and Mahāyāna literatures to the students and devoted much of his own time in the Vajrayāna practices. Since he had wholeheartedly practised Cakrasamvara so many years until the age of seventy, he was expecting some good signs of attainment to come about. On the contrary, all his old diseases plagued his body and his mind was saddened and frightened by constant harm caused by Yakṣas and evil-spirits. Furthermore he had the most frightful dreams disturbing his already frustrated mind. In some of his dreams, he saw huge fire burning in the lower end of the valley and a flood from the upper end; he saw hail-storms, and the falling of glaciers, icicles and icebergs from the sky; he saw his Guru, Yidam and spiritual friends hanging upside down, or with their faces torn apart, noses cut-off, eyes gouged and blood dripping.

Failing to recognize the elementary signs from his Tantric practices coupled with unfavourable omens and dreams, he thought that perhaps he had no karmic connection to attain realization with Vajrayāna in this lifetime. So on the night of the 22nd day of the fourth lunar month, he threw his prayer beads into the latrine and gave up Deity Yoga practices. The abbot Śrīdharmapāla had in fact already perfected the Path of Accumulation, and the Path of Preparation and was about to attain the Path of Seeing when the vital energy and his mind merged in the kṣa [ ] and ma [ ] syllables below the Navel Cakra. His abbot had failed to give him complete pithy teachings so that he could recognize such dreams as the indication of drastic changes in the subtle energy flow in his psychic body.

Virūpa decided to devote much of his time to teaching, writing and other duties for the Sangha (monastic community) instead of spending many hours of Deity Yoga meditation practice. Nonetheless on the same night he dreamt that the Goddess Nairātmyā appeared in

---

9 See Appendix B, Section C, p. 82.
10 See H. S. T., p. 8.
11 Tib. Gnod sbyin, Skt. Yakṣa. It literally means that which provokes harm in Tibetan. It is identified with a harmful spirit which nevertheless can be very generous if not disturbed. For instance, there was a famous Yakṣi with five hundred offsprings [gnod sbyin 'phrog ma ma bu lha brgya] said to have been bound by oath by the Buddha that she and her children will not harm Dharma practitioners if they dedicate part of their food during meal time. Jambhala is a kind of a Yakṣa too.
12 See F. G. S. D. in S. L. L.S., Vol. XIV, f. 12. This dream is not mentioned and explained in other lam 'bras texts.
13 Tib. Tshogs lam [Skt. sambhāra mārga].
14 Tib. Sbyor lam [Skt. prayoga mārga].
15 Tib. Mтоn lam [Skt. darśana mārga].
16 Tib. Lte ba'i 'khor [dkyil] lo [Skt. nābhimanoḍala].
the form of a beautiful and attractive blue woman who was wearing heavenly silk garments and spoke to him thus: "O noble son, it is not good that you should behave in this manner when you are about to attain the Siddhis. Although all the Buddhas have non-discriminatory compassion, I am the deity with whom you have strong Karmic affinity and I shall bless you to quickly attain Siddhi. Go and retrieve your prayer beads and wash them with scented water and confess your misdeeds and resume your practice properly."\(^{17}\)

Having said this she disappeared. Virupa woke up with a sense of regret and joyfulness and followed her instructions and resumed his practice early in the morning. Subsequently the Manḍala of the Nirmāṇakāya aspect of the Fifteen Goddesses of Nairātmyā appeared before him and gave him the four complete empowerments and he attained the Path of Seeing of the First Bhūmi.\(^{18}\) Finally he had the following realizations from his dreams: The rough dreams and visions of Yakṣas were the interdependent manifestations of his mind and vital energies merging into the kṣa and ma syllables below the Navel Cakra. Those occurrences were caused by the untying of the vein knots which brought about the First merging of Elements\(^{19}\) and indicative signs of the vital energies of Psychic Heat.\(^{20}\) The unconventional experiences in the conceptual mind were the results of the re-adaptation process of the veins and the mind. As the sign of the intermediate Merging of Elements\(^{21}\) the gum mo psychic fire blazes upward and causes the Bodhicitta nectar to flow upward. Such an interdependent manifestation of internal occurrences would be experienced conceptually by the Yogi as a blazing fire from the bottom of the valley and a flood coming from the upper valley. The forceful circulation of subtle droplets in many minor veins were reflected in the dreams of hail-storms, and the fall of icebergs etc. from the sky. The Third and final Merging of the Elements\(^{22}\) encountered the bare face of the flawless transcendental wisdom which has the effect of dissolving all attachment to ordinary appearances. The interdependent manifestations of these occurrences were reflected in the dreams of seeing the torn faces of his Guru, Yidams etc. He eventually realized that in fact all those signs were direct meditative experiences related to the three sequential mergings of the subtle elements within his body. Due to incomplete instructions from his master, he had misinterpreted them at the time of the experiences. Nevertheless due to the timely appearance and guidance of Vajranairātmyā he was able to attain realization. Hence, after each subsequent day he attained higher Bhūmis and in the early morning of the 29th he attained the sixth Bhūmi. He became a great Bodhisattva dwelling on the sixth Bhūmi. The receiving of the four

---


\(^{18}\) Tib. Sa dañ po mthoñ lam.

\(^{19}\) Tib. Khams 'dus pa dañ po.

\(^{20}\) Tib. Gtum mo. Tāranātha honours Virupa as the transmitter of the Candali practices, the second Instruction Lineage [bka’ bab gyis pa gtum mo] in his bka’ babs bdun ldan. He assumes the existence of the Candali practices prior to Virupa but does not point out from which Guru Virupa heard them.

\(^{21}\) Tib. Khams 'dus pa bar pa.

\(^{22}\) Tib. Khams 'dus pa mtha' ma.
complete empowerments\textsuperscript{23} established that the continuous flow of the empowerment has not ceased [dbaṅ gi chu bo ma nub pa]. The attainment of the six Bhūmis\textsuperscript{24} confirmed that the lineage of the blessings was unbroken [byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa ma flams pa]. His failure to recognize previous signs of attainment and their misinterpretation as bad omens confirmed the lack of certain pith instructions, which enabled him to realize that the order of the instructions were not wrong [gdam gi sar ga ma log pa]. Hence Virūpa gained the confidence of devotion [mos gus kyi bsam pa tshim pa] in the teachings that he would definitely attain realization equal to that of the Fully Enlightened One, the Buddha. In this way he was blessed with the Four Whispered Lineages [sflan rgyud bzi] and this came to be known as the Instruction of the Four Whispered Lineages [sflan rgyud kyi gdam pa].

Then, in order to perform a thanks-giving offerings to the Guru and Yidams and in order to enhance his realizations, Virūpa asked his companions to make appropriate preparations to make Gaṇacakra offerings. The substances required for such a feast included meat and wine and this caused the monks in the monastery to be apprehensive as they saw people taking meat and alcohol into the abbot's room. They eavesdropped through the door at night time. Depending on the purity and impurity of their minds, some saw that the abbot was surrounded by fifteen women, others saw eight, others saw he was surrounded by fifteen lamps and others saw eight lamps. This aroused considerable suspicion amongst the monks but yet they dared not to speak about it for he was their abbot, whose reputation seemed as brilliant as the sun.

In the meantime, having felt that he should admit his wickedness without delay, and in order to prevent disparagement of the doctrine, Śrīdharmapāla left his room and placed his Dharma robes and begging bowl in front of the Buddha image. Declaring "Ame Virūpa," which means "I am a wicked fellow," he adorned his head with flowers and leaves which he took from florists and stuffed his mouth with radishes and carried some under his armpits which he snatched from the vegetable shops. He went into wine bars and brothels which shocked everyone. Immediately he was dismissed from the monastery by beating of the monastic gong for breaking the monastic code of conduct. Virūpa sang joyously in response to his dismissal.\textsuperscript{25}

In order to bring greater benefit to the Buddhadharma and also to recapture the faith of those people who lost their faith in him, he accepted himself as being wicked. Since the name "Virūpa" was adopted after his dismissal, he became very famous under this new name and his ordination name "Dharmapāla" was almost forgotten. Hence very few scholars and historians seem to realize that the famous abbot Dharmapāla became Virūpa except the


\textsuperscript{24} There are ten stages of enlightenment on the Bodhisattva path and thirteen in the Vajrayāna path. Bhūmi literally means ground, earth or stage of enlightenment. The sixth Bhūmi is called "sa drug pa mnon du phyogs pa" [abhimukha].

\textsuperscript{25} See F. G. S. D. in S. L. L. S., ff. 15 - 16.
Lamdre historians of the sa skya pa tradition. In order to prove his wickedness incidentally on his way to Vārāņasī, he said to the River Ganges: "I am wicked, so let me go pass without touching you as you are believed to be pure. I do not want to pollute you." As he spoke thus the flow of the river parted and there appeared a white dry path for him to cross. He walked through the dry path singing joyously. Seeing this amazing feat of their dismissed abbot, the monks realized that he had already attained the siddhis and asked for his forgiveness and requested him to return. Virūpa forgave the monks but declined to return to the monastery.

He wandered in the forests of Vārāņasī for a long time [some say six years, others say six months]. Since he was naked, his complexion turned bluish and he became frightful to look at. The peasants who saw him reported to the king. Some thought he was a Hindu Yogi while others suspected he was a Buddhist Yogi. The king of Vārāņasī, Govindacandala[27] [ba glaṅ rdzi gtum po] who was a staunch devotee of Hindu Yogis wished to offer some comfort if the wanderer turned out to be a Hindu, but he feared that the man will bring harm to his citizens if he was a Buddhist. He ordered his ministers to identify the Yogi but the ministers could not find any clue to recognize his identity. The king then ordered that he must be brought to the palace so that he could examine him himself. On the way, Virūpa indiscriminately devoured many worms, pigeons and butterflies and then vomited and resurrected them, and the king's men labelled him "wicked". He told them that he had no idea as how he should behave since they labelled him "wicked" whether he devoured worms or resurrected them. Virūpa was finally brought to the king. The king asked him many questions, but not a single word came from his mouth. Seeing this, the king said: "Since this Yogi neither has any qualities of Viśnu nor any noticeable signs of a Hindu Yogi, chain his limbs and throw him into the river. He must be a Buddhist Yogi."

The ministers threw him into the river exactly as the king ordered but the magical Virūpa returned in front of the king before the king's men arrived. This process was repeated many times till finally the king was convinced that the Yogi knew a magical spell to control the water element. The king then ordered all the butchers of the city to stab the Yogi but whatever knife and axe the butchers used became blunt as if they were striking upon rocks and failed to cause any injury. Failing to cause any harm, now the king's men dug a deep ditch and buried him and poured molten iron and bronze over his body. Then they dumped soil on top of this and let many elephants trample over it. Even after all this, he appeared before the king unharmed. Seeing this, the king confessed his misdeeds and developed great

---

26 Tāranātha seems to know that Virūpa was known by that name but he raises the doubts by saying: "Although this ācārya is known as Śrīdharmapāla, but he is not the same person, Sthāvira Dharmapāla who was an abbot of Nālandā."


27 Tāranātha's History devotes a whole chapter to the period of a king named Gobicandra, one of the ten famous Candra Kings. However there is no reference of his being king of Vārāņasī. He is said to have ascended the throne around the time of Dharmakirti's passing away. Govindacandala [ba głaṅ rdzi gtum po] is perhaps a different king from Gobicandra. See T. H. B. p. 249.
faith in Virūpa's spiritual power. Subsequently Virūpa made all the citizens of Vārānasi follow the path of Vajrayāna.

After that he left for the south to subdue Bhimesara. On his way he asked a boatman to ferry him across the Ganges, but the boatman declined unless he would pay him a fee. Virūpa told the boatman that he would offer him whatever would make him happy. Furthermore he asked the boatman: "Do you want this river to remain big or small?" "Sometimes I like this river to remain big, at other times I like it to be small," the boatman replied. While saying that he would give him the river itself, Virūpa reversed the flow of the Ganges by pointing to the river with a threatening gesture. The parted river nearly flooded the nearby houses and property and the inhabitants became afraid that they would suffer from the loss of their property. Knowing that this was due to the power of the Yogi, the king Calabhadra question mark and the villagers requested Virūpa to let the water run in its normal channel by making him offerings of gold, silver, cattle, grain and flowers. Seeing this Virūpa sang and let the river flow back in its normal channel with a snap of his fingers. He gave all the offerings he received to the boatman who, instead of accepting the gifts, requested the sage to accept him as a disciple by touching Virūpa's feet. The boatman, who later became known as Dombi Heruka was a fortunate disciple with ripened Karma suited to be liberated on the "sudden path." Virūpa accepted the boatman as his pupil and the two left for the south. The villagers collected the abandoned offerings.

The pair reached Daksinipāta near Bhimesara and entered the house of a wine-seller, named Kāmarūpasiddhi. They asked for some wine but the wine-seller asked if they had anything to pay with if she served them wine. Virūpa replied: "Serve me until I am satisfied, then I will pay whatever you want." With a sense of mistrust, the wine-seller asked: "When will you pay?" Virūpa drew a line on the floor with his dagger and said: "I will settle you the bill when the shadow of this house reaches this line." Having stopped the course of the day star from moving further by his magical
power, he demanded more and more wine and drank until the tavern became dry. Since the shadow of the house was too far from getting any closer to the line, the tavern-keeper had to import wine from the taverns of eighteen great cities.\(^{34}\) Virūpa, having drank more than five hundred elephant loads of wine still showed no sign of quenching his thirst, to the amazement of all the tavern-keepers.

In the meantime, the town of Daksinipāta was plagued with continual daylight and lost the track of time. Everyone was feeling exhausted, crops withered in the fields, lakes and rivers began to shrink and no one had any idea of when was when. Unaware of the magical power of Virūpa, the king ordered his ministers to investigate the causes of the stoppage of the sun's course. Having found that it was due to the power of the Yogi, the king requested him to let the sun move. Finally Virūpa forced the king to settle his bill and let the sun go. By that time it was mid-night of the third day since the time he had held up the sun.

Having parted the Ganges twice and stopped the course of the sun, Virūpa's fame reached far and wide. He himself continued his journey to subdue Bhimesara in the south so as to find Kṛṣṇācārī [Nag po pa], a future disciple of his, who was a suitable candidate for the "gradual path". Bhimesara was ruled by a Hindu king named Narapati [mi'i bdag po]\(^{35}\) who was a devotee of five hundred hair-platted Yogis.\(^{36}\) There they worshipped a massive Śivaliṅga and an image of Mahādeva installed by a previous king, Bhayasena [jigs sde]\(^{37}\) and sacrificed tens of thousands of buffalos and goats every year. Virūpa wrote many eulogies to the Śivaliṅga in Sanskrit which made the king very pleased with his great scholarship. The king asked him to become the leader of the five hundred Yogis, an offer which Virūpa found difficult to refuse.

During the regular worshipping ceremonies when the Yogis bowed down to the image of Mahādeva and made flower offerings, he would pull out a volume of the Prajñāpāramitā text tuck in his hair and pay his homage to the text. He never bowed down to the image of Mahādeva. The suspicious Yogis reported this to the king, who instead of believing what they said, accused them of being jealous of Virūpa's knowledge. "He is such a great scholar and master in the Vedas. It is impossible for him not to pay homage to Mahādeva, the king of the gods. You must be jealous of him," the king said. However the Yogis reported him again and again and one day the king decided that he must observe the truth himself by attending a ceremony. Virūpa paid his homage to the Prajñāpāramitā text as usual, to the amazement of the king. "Why are you not bowing down to the image of Mahādeva?" the

---

\(^{34}\) See Appendix B, Section A, p. 83.

\(^{35}\) Tāranātha says it was in the land of Trilihga. See S. I. L. in C. W. J. T., Vol. XVI, f. 569.

\(^{36}\) Tib. Rab pa can na brgya.

\(^{37}\) Templeman misreads the passage: lha'i gts'o bo ni vi śva na tha bya ba 'jigs sdes bzcen pa'i līh ga gdon bzs mtshan pa gcig yod pa de bī tshal du gas yod gsuv / and translates as "The principal god Viśvanātha had an effigy (Liṅga) which had been erected by the workers' guild in the form of a phallus with four faces, and it is said that it too broke into four pieces" which I would translate as: "The main god, a Liṅga with four faces named Viśvanātha which had been erected by Bhayasena is said to have broken into four pieces".

king asked. "Why should I? He can not bear my homage." replied *Virūpa*. "There is no one more powerful than him in the whole Desire Realm." Why can he not bear your homage? You must show your respect," the king demanded. "Since I have no choice but to do what the sinful king demands me to do, you must forgive me," *Virūpa* spoke to the image. As soon as he placed his clasped-palms to pay homage and said: "*Namo Buddhāya*" [I pay homage to the Buddha], one third of the gigantic image cracked into pieces. When he said, "*Namo Dharmāya*" [I pay homage to the Dharma], two third of the image cracked and when he said, "*Namo Saṅghāya"* [I pay homage to the Saṅgha], the whole image crumbled into pieces and fell on the ground.  

Seeing this, the king was shocked, and with a mixture of fear and faith, requested *Virūpa* to restore the image. He instantly restored the image and placed a black stone image of the Great Compassionate One, *Avalokiteśvara* on its top saying to the king: "The image will remain intact if no one removes the image of *Mahākārūṇīka*. Should anyone remove this, the image will be ruined instantly." Having said this, *Virūpa* left. There was one Yogi amongst the five hundred, who was dissatisfied with the behaviour of the *Tirthikas* [mu stegs pa] and having seen the wondrous qualities of *Virūpa*, he became very devoted to *Virūpa* and followed him. This is *śar phyogs nag po pa*, *Kṛṣṇācārin* of the East, who, although he had never previously followed *Buddhadharma* became interested to enter the path.  

Now the trio [*Virūpa*, *Dombi Heruka* and *Kṛṣṇācārin*] wandered into the further south which was ruled by devout *Brahmins*, and reached a place where there was a huge image of *Śiva*, which stood one hundred and twenty feet high, built by the king Jomgi. It was known as "*Tāmbrapratima*," which had three faces and six hands and was made out of bronze. This shrine attracted hundreds of devotees who sacrificed thousands of animals and worshipped with meat and blood. As the trio pushed to enter the crowded gathering of the worshipping ceremony, someone said: "There is no more room for you to come inside. Wait outside, we will give you your share of the feast." Ignoring this, *Virūpa* forcibly entered and commanded: "If there is no room, it is you who should get out of this place." Saying this he kicked the image with his leg which followed him by wobbling about seven steps outside of the shrine and fell down on its face. The terrified devotees now requested him not to take away the image but to leave it behind. *Virūpa* threatened them that he would take it away with him unless they gave up worshipping it with meat and blood. He said that he would leave it behind only if they would agree to worship it with vegetarian offerings and vow not to sacrifice any animals. The devotees vowed as *Virūpa* commanded.
In this way everyone who had heard the name of Virūpa placed a Buddhist image on top of the Hindu image, fearing that Virūpa would come and destroy them. The very name of Virūpa, Baleśvara [myg stobs kyi dbaṅ phyug], the Lord of Power or Yogesvara [mthu 'byor gyi dbaṅ phyug], the Lord of the Yogis, brought great benefit to limitless living beings. When Virūpa saw an image of Goddess Tārā placed on top of a Hindu image, he circumambulated the image and the Tārā image turned her face towards whatever direction Virūpa was walking. This became known as the "Turning Face [Image of] Tārā" [žal bsgyur sgrol ma].

Then Virūpa and his companions travelled further south, to where there was a self-arisen image of Goddess Caṇḍika, named Sahajādevi which was worshipped by many Hindu Yoginis. This shrine had an automatic Triśūla [a three pointed ritual knife] which would pierce through the neck of pilgrims as soon as they entered the shrine, and kill them. The Yoginis would then make offerings of flesh and blood to the image. Now, Virūpa having purposely come there to subdue it, instructed his two companions to remain outside while doing special breathing exercise meditation. The Yoginis were delighted to see Virūpa come in and asked him to bring his two companions in. Virūpa told that they could invite them themselves. The Yoginis asked the pair to come in but neither of them replied. When the Yoginis touched the stomach of the two meditating disciples, excrement protuded wherever they touched and the Yoginis thinking that they were already dead and rotten, left them undisturbed. Virūpa saw the Triśūla knives in readiness for slaughter and moved very fast as he entered the shrine. He clapped his hands and the knives were pulverized. Immediately the image started jumping towards him and Virūpa smacked the head which slumped down onto its shoulders. All the Yoginis vomited blood and fainted as they saw this unexpected tragedy befall their god. "Aren't you Buddhists meant to be kind and compassionate to other living beings? Please do not do this to us." said the Yoginis after recovering from their faint. "It is due to compassion that I am doing this," replied Virūpa.

He placed a small votive stupa on top of the image and admitted all the Yoginis to the practice of Buddhadharma. At this time, the boatman who have been following him since the second parting of the Ganges was blessed to the equal stage of his realization of a Bodhisattva of six Bhūmi level. Dombi Heruka was then sent to Rađa province in eastern India to subdue an evil Hindu king named Dehara who had a palace named Kaṅkana. Mahāsiddha Dombi Heruka mounted on a pregnant tiger, brandishing deadly snake bridle and whip, subdued both the king and his subjects. They were all admitted into the path of Vajrayāna practices.42

In the meantime, Virūpa and Kṛṣṇācārin went to Devikotta in south eastern India where an Upāsaka named lcags kyi byin pa can (Iron-legged) who is sometimes also identified as the teacher of Ācārya Maitreyagupta, had imported an image of Khasarpāṇi from the Potala realm. Virūpa paid homage to Khasarpāṇi and made offering of all the

---

42 See Chapter Two for details.
activities in which he had been involved since he took ordination, up to the defeat of Sahajādevi. The Great Compassionate One said: "O! Noble son! You have the magical power to pulverize even Mount Sumeru. Nevertheless there are varieties of sentient beings whose karmic propensities are inconceivable, so you should cultivate great compassion to the Tirthikas instead of frightening them."\(^43\)

"There is a place called Sovanātha in the west where thousands of animals are sacrificed. I have to first go there to subdue it. After that I shall do as the Great Compassionate One has ordered," replied Virūpa. The Great Compassionate One advised Virūpa to subdue them with skilful means without using force. Now, as Virūpa and Kṛṣṇācārin journeyed towards the west to subdue Sovanātha, the latter knew Virūpa's intention with his contaminated clairvoyance.\(^44\) Hence, Sovanātha disguised himself in the attire of a pure Brahmin and when he met them on the road, he asked them knowingly: "Where are you two Yogis going?" "I am going to subdue Sovanātha," Virūpa replied knowingly. "If you are a kind and compassionate Buddhist, why do you have to subdue him?" he asked. "That is the very reason to subdue him," Virūpa replied. "He is not there now. He has gone to Pūrvavideha,\(^45\) the eastern continent" he said. "I can also go there as I must subdue him at any rate. Even if he has gone to any of the four continents or to the realm of the Brahmās, I must go there and subdue him," said Virūpa. Hearing this Sovanātha became very frightened and admitted: "I am Sovanātha," and he revealed his ordinary manifestation and requested Virūpa not to subdue him forcefully. Virūpa replied: "In that case you must establish Saṅgha communities and build Buddhist monasteries. On top of their doors, draw my image and make regular offerings. You can first make rice flour and vegetarian food offerings to the Triple Gem, then to me and finally to yourself if there is any left over. If you abandon the sacrifice of animals and replace the offerings with these, then I will let you remain there. If you fail to, I will reduce everything to dust."\(^46\)

Sovanātha happily vowed to do all this and requested Virūpa to remain in the world until the sun and moon ceased to exist, which the latter accepted. Sovanātha revealed in a dream to king Candradeva of Tīśala in western India that he must see to the accomplishment of all the promises he had made to Virūpa. If he should fail to complete all Sovanātha's vows within three months, his kingdom would be conquered. Seeing this in the dream, the frightened king hurriedly arranged to fulfil all the promises. About a half day's journey from

---


\(^{44}\) Tib. zag bcas kyi mchön sles.

\(^{45}\) Tib. Šar lus 'phags po.

\(^{46}\) See F. G. S. D. in S. L. L. S., XIV, ff. 24-25.
Sovanätha in the region of Gujarat, which had beautiful bushes, waterfalls and perfect surroundings of flower filled meadows, he built a monastery. About hundred monks were settled there. Moreover goats and buffalos could no longer be slaughtered, and it became illegal to harm and kill animals. With mixed feelings of excitement and curiosity, the king offered a grand reception to Virūpa whose power could frighten even Mahādeva.

By this time, Virūpa had given the Vajra Verses to his disciple Kṛṣṇācārin, who had not yet gained equal realization as himself, and blessed him with equal realization. Kṛṣṇācārin was then asked to go and fulfil three main tasks: A) To subdue an evil Hindu king in eastern India. B) To accept Ācārya Damarupa as disciple and to pass on the whispered lineage knowledge to him. C) To bring out five relevant scriptures of Vajra Verses from Uḍḍiyana in the west.

There are two versions of Virūpa's passing away. Some say that he dissolved into a stone image, others say he became a stone image. The image's right hand is in the gesture of holding the sun while the left, in the gesture of granting supreme realization, is holding an alchemic stone, capable of transmuting all base metals into gold. The alchemic stone is said to be as big as a medium sized arara fruit. The mysterious qualities of the stone image are: A) If anyone approaches the image with respectfulness, even a child could place flower garlands around its neck. B) If anyone approaches disrespectfully, even the tallest person cannot reach to place anything on the image. C) In front of the image is a stone skull-cup which never overfills even if one pours hundreds and thousands of jars of wine. D) There is also a dumb boy believed to be an emanation of Vajrapāni in front of the image. 5) There is a manifestation of Vajra Varahi in front of the image which appears as a lepress and a dumb girl alternatively.

It is said that at the request of a Brahmin, Virūpa (who has now transformed into a stone image) gave the stone to a Brahmin, who subsequently made a lot of gold. When the local king, having heard this news, started to rob the Brahmin, the latter hurriedly returned the stone to the hand of the image and said to the king: "Since it is not mine, I cannot give it to

---

47 Although Lamdre historical texts have variant spellings i.e. dgu ca ra, ghu ca ra and gu ca ra, it is the modern state of Gujarat in West India where Buddhapālita is said to have been born. There is a district named Saurastra in the state. The Chinese pilgrim Hsian Tsang calls ku-che-lo country in his travel records which shows the Chinese attempt to transcribe a name like Gujar or Guchara. See Watters, Thomas, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India [Y. C. T. I.] Edited by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell, Peking 1941 p. 250.


49 Tib. Gser bsgyur gyi rtsi.

50 Skt. Haritaki [myrobalan, universal medicine].


52 Some time later, a king of Jonaghata begged and received 20,000 [srati] ounces of gold from the statue. When he thought "I will ask for more," the stone image clenched its fist. See S. I. L. in C. W. J. T. Vol. XVI, f. 570.
you. I have returned it to the hand of the owner. You can go and get it from his hand." Since the stone image closed its fist and did not give the stone to the greedy king, the king was frustrated and ordered his men to cut off the hand of the image, but the man who attempted to do so vomited blood and died immediately. Seeing this incident and fearing that the stone image would bring some harm, the local people enshrined it in gold which they obtained by pushing wires through the fingers. In the meantime, it became a most sacred shrine where both the non-Buddhists and Buddhists would come to worship and was known as Punyahara, the robber of merits and Śribalanātha, the glorious master of Power respectively. Kumara Kārttika is bound by oath to maintain the offerings to that sacred image. This shrine of Sovanātha is said to be situated in Saurāstra district of the modern Gujarat state in western India.

In the later part of Nāgārjuna's life his main disciple was Āryadeva, and Virūpa is said to have been a disciple of Āryadeva. It is an oral tradition amongst the Lamas that prior to his expulsion from Nālandā, Virūpa also wrote a commentary on Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka. It is also said in numerous Lamdre historical texts that Virūpa was a disciple of Asaṅga who came 900 years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa and lived one hundred and fifty years. Śāntarakṣita, who came in the 8th century is said to have been a disciple of Virūpa. According to the Lamdre sources Virūpa came to the world approximately 1020 years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa, which is about 476 C.E. This will be 80 to 100 years too early to be accurate since he was in his late seventies when he left Nālandā and met Dombi Heruka. Notwithstanding the difficulty in determining the exact lifespan of Virūpa since he made at least three appearances in the world, it is important to attempt to date his first coming to the world with the relatively limited data we have in hand. The meeting between Virūpa and Dombi Heruka is approximately fixed around 630 - 635 C.E. which occurred soon after he left Nālandā when he was in his late seventies. This means he would have been born around 565/70 C.E. Approximately he would have lived until early in the 8th century as he was also a teacher of Śāntarakṣita. He is said to have appeared at least three times and his first appearance is the one whose life we have just discussed. He came for the second time

---

54 Tāranātha says that the king became mad and also died. See S. I. L. in C. W. J. T., Vol. XVI, f. 570.
55 Tib. Bdod nams 'phrog byed.
56 Tib. Dpal stobs kyi mgon po.
57 Tib. Gzon nu kār tī ka. It is not clear whether Kumāra Kārttika is a divine being or a historical ruler since Kathka era is also mentioned as contemporary to Rudrasena III [348-378]. See Moray, M. S., History of Buddhism in Gujarat, [H. B. G.] Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1985, p. 65.
58 Templeman identifies this with Somanātha temple in Saurāstra which was destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1025 C.E. S. I. L. Tr. p. 108.
59 Unfortunately it is not found in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon but his commentary on chapters nine to sixteen is extant in the Chinese Buddhist Canon: Taisho ed. Vol. 30, No. 1571, pp. 187-250.
by the name of a Yogi, Siropa and subdued nima 'char ka, a wild elephant which destroyed trees, villages and cities in central India. According to Taranatha his third appearance came in an Iranian king's bed-room:

At a later time, in the eastern land of Gora, as a king of Iran woke up he found a Yogi beside his bed-head. He (the Yogi) was thrown into the river time after time but came back every time. He was thrown into fire but he did not burn. As he was struck by various weapons they were shattered into pieces instead of hurting him. He was forced to drink six khal61 of poison and was guarded by many people a whole day and night. Having witnessed that the Acarya's health and complexion became more splendid, they knew he had attained the siddhi, and they asked him who he was. "I am Virupa," he said. There also he gave instructions to some fortunate people, whose mere utterance of the oath from their reverence to him, many of them attained the ordinary siddhis. During his approximate four months stay in Bhahgala,62 he made himself approachable to all to see him in person. Thereafter (I) do not know where he disappeared. It is about this time he went to China in person. Virupa is renowned to have appeared on earth on three occasions and all three have been discussed.63

The Lamdre sources are not clear with regard to his third appearance. Some say he specially came to re-subdue Bhimesara in the south while others believe that it is yet to come. In short, Acarya Dharmakirti, King Asoka and Yogisvara Virupa are the three most remarkable beings who propagated the teachings through debate, military power and magical power respectively as His Eminence Chogay Rinpoche sums up in his book:

In summary, just as no-one is parallel to the logician Dharmakirti's ability to uphold the teaching through skill in debate, nor King Asoka's ability to uphold the teachings through power, Virupa's ability to uphold the Dharma through magical power is unequalled.64

As we have seen, a large part of the story we have covered concentrates on Virupa's demonstration of magical powers after his attaining siddhi. The Lamdre hagiography has furnished all the names of Virupa but other texts such as Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti 65 do not indicate his other names. The problem of the historical identity of Dharmapāla has resulted from this. Since he had more than two or three names, it will be confusing if we do not

---

60 Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Paljor [sum pa mkhan po ye sê dpal 'byor] makes an interesting comment in his dpag baum [Jon bza] about the elephant and its mysterious relationship with the Yogi Sira's [second manifestation of Virupa] dirty water of his leg and the elephant, who was known as "Bhanâda" during the reign of the king Râmapâla. If the elephant drinks the dirty water of Sira's leg, it could conquer the troop of one hundred barbarian kings. See Das, Sarat Chandra, History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India, Edited with a list of comments and an Analytical Index in English, Calcutta, 1908, p. 104.

61 A khal is a set of weight or measurement equal to 30 pounds or about 28 rgya mas. One rgya ma is slightly over one pound. The difference between a 'degs khal [an average weight of a load] and a ru'u khal [an average measurement] is that the latter is 10 rgya ma more than the former. See Das, S.C., Tibetan English Dictionary, Kyoto, 1983, p.143. Also see bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo stod ch'a, mi rigs dpe skrun khaD, 1981 p. 227.

62 Since the British rule, it became known as "Bengal", but Bhaigala was the original name.

63 see S. I. L. in C. W. J. T., Vol. XVI, f. 571.

64 see H. S. T., p. 12.

know when and where his childhood or ordination name ceased to be used when he became a siddha, and subsequently adopted different names. Merely counting him as one of eighty four Mahāsiddhas and narrating a few magical and legendary accounts is unsufficient to understand him fully in the historical sense. One must remember that he was not known as Virūpa until in his early seventies when he was expelled from the Nālandā monastery. One must question who expelled him and who succeeded him in Nālandā.

As a Paṇḍita of Yogācāra Cittamātrin School and since writing the commentary on Aryadeva's Caturśataka, Virūpa attained the Path of Seeing of first Bhūmi he had already realized the Prasaṅghika mādhyāmika view of emptiness. The philosophical view that he preached after attaining siddhahood do not reflect Cittamātrin view he held during his abbotship. Virūpa himself has sung in his Dohā expressing his realization:

Having uprooted from self-grasping, one is victorious from the troops of the evil; Owing to the self-disintegration of the grasping on to objects, one is entirely liberated from Samsara and Nirvāṇa.66

Unaware of Śrīdhamapāla's becoming of a siddha known as Virūpa at the later part of his life, scholars have failed to identify him with the Mahāsiddha Virūpa. There is interesting information about Dharmapāla's family background in the records of Chinese travellers as opposed to the Lamdre version. However he also appears as the abbot of Nālandā in Vidyabhusana's work, who claims to have based his version of the story according to the Chinese traveller's records, which in fact contradicts the reason why Dharmapāla chose to become a Buddhist monk to the reports in Hsüan Tsang's Travels in India. What is important to note is that Hsüan Tsang tells us about "a mountain monastery" where Dharmapāla was admitted after he left his home. The Lamdre sources confirm that it was the Somapurā monastery in the south where Dharmapāla was first admitted before going to Nālandā for further studies. Despite providing some contradictory details, scholars who rely entirely on the Chinese sources do not seem to know as to who ordained Dharmapāla and who gave him that name. This is an instance where we should not undervalue the traditional oral histories of Lamdre which were passed down from generation to generation. According to Tāranātha the Ācārya Dharmapāla took ordination from Ācārya Dharmadāsa, a name which might be a mistranslation of Dharmamitra, from whom Dharmapāla took ordination according to the Lamdre sources. Since Tāranātha has very little to say about Dharmadāsa as to whether he was a Paṇḍita of Nālandā or not this raises the doubt of his identity. It is plausible that there could have been more than one Paṇḍita of Nālandā with the same name Dharmapāla, but the much talked about

69 Born in Bhaṅgala in the east, he was a disciple of of Asāṅga and his brother. He went around the countries all around and built in each direction a temple of Ārya Mañjuśrī. He is said to have written a commentary on the entire Yogācāryā-bhūmi. See T. H. B. p.186.
Dharmapäla of the Chinese travellers and Tāranātha was in fact Śridharmapäla, who later became known as Virūpa. What happened to abbot Dharmapäla if he did not become siddha Virūpa? The reason why Virūpa has not generally been identified as Dharmapäla is the fact that people who held Dharmapäla as one of the great luminaries of Nālandā and their abbot would not have possibly told their students as to what happened to Dharmapäla. Nālandā monks disapproved of his Caryā practices of Tantric realization and expelled him when he adopted the name "Virūpa". Dharmapäla's refusal to return to the monastery at the request of the monks may have prompted their unwillingness to know of his eventual whereabouts. We neither find any record in the Lamdre histories as to who assumed the abbotship of Nālandā after him nor are we informed of his main disciples in Nālandā after he had taught there until the age of seventy. It is impossible that such a renowned scholar and abbot of the prestigious Nālandā would not have had successors. Sachen and Sakya Paṇḍita's praise to Virūpa indicate that Virūpa had hundreds and thousands of Sthavira disciples. Historically the vast difference in the activities and behavioural change between the period of his abbothood and siddhahood may have created two factions of followers which widened the gap of misunderstanding.

Virūpa's two main Tantric disciples namely Dombi Heruka and Kṛṣṇācārya do not appear to have known who were their teacher's successor in Nālandā. Neither Dombi Heruka nor Kṛṣṇācārya became Paṇḍita of Nālandā. Since Lamdre histories lack details of Virūpa's earlier part of life and his Sūtra and philosophical disciples, Śilabhadra [tsaṅ tshul bzaṅ po] who is dated 635 A.D. by Vidyabhusana appears to have been Dharmapāla's successor and Hsüan Tsang's preceptor. But Sarat Candra Das, who gives the names of several teachers of Hsüan Tsang, does not mention Śilabhadra.

Vinitadeva and Dharmamitra are mentioned as Dharmapāla's teachers in Nālandā according to the Lamdre histories. Jayadeva is said to be another name of Dharmamitra, a name he may have possibly received after defeating the Tirthikas. It is likely that it was Dharmamitra who gave Virūpa the name "Dharmapāla" since the abbot traditionally gives part of his name to the disciple during the Bhikṣu ordination. Tāranātha stresses that although Virūpa is also known as Śridharmapāla, he is not to be confused with the Sthavira Dharmapāla, who was abbot of Nālandā. Hence he identifies them not only as individuals but also contemporaries. Tāranātha also shows no indication of having any knowledge of the Lamdre records on Virūpa and does not seem to remember that he had elsewhere said that the Nālandā monks expelled Virūpa when he says: "While studying in the monastery of Nālandā, he once went to Devikoṭṭa." Tāranātha's assumption of

---

70 See Appendix B, pp. 82-89.
71 See H. M. S. I. L., p. 102.
74 T. H. B., p.197.
Virūpa going back and forth between Devīkottā and Nālandā proves that he was unaware of Ācārya Dharmapāla's dismissal from Nālandā. Since there is no record to prove that he returned to Nālandā after the dismissal, Virūpa's going back and forth between Devīkottā and Nālandā could not have happened after the dismissal. If the Seven Instruction Lineage, which is said to have been written by Tārānātha ten years before he wrote the History of Buddhism, then he should not be contradicting what he has already said in his earlier work. This means that the author of Seven Instruction Lineage may have been a work of a later Jo nat pa scholar who forged Tārānātha's name.76

The absence of any reference to Dharmapāla's dismissal in either the Chinese sources or Tārānātha's History of Buddhism are the key factors which disassociated the identity of Dharmapāla from Virūpa. The author of Seven Instruction Lineage must have picked up the truth of Dharmapāla's dismissal from the Lamdre sources. To my mind this work is much later than Tārānātha's History of Buddhism whoever wrote it. In his History of Buddhism, Tārānātha does not seem to have even heard of Virūpa's ordination name Dharmapāla. Of course there is no deliberate attempt from Tārānātha to keep the dismissal secret even if he knew about it as the case might be with Śīlabhadra and followers; he simply did not know about it. Tārānātha does not fail to mention Śīlabhadra as a scholar of Nālandā, but he is not shown as the successor to Ācārya Dharmapāla. Interestingly Tārānātha too mentions the shortness of Dharmapāla's abbotship in Nālandā without giving any reason. According to him, Jayadeva became the upādhyāya of Nālandā after Dharmapāla.77 If we are going to accept this as a reliable source since he mentions Jayadeva as Śāntideva and Virūpa's teacher, then this means that Tārānātha's Dharmapāla is definitely different from Śīlabhadra's teacher. Although Tārānātha is to be credited for at least mentioning Jayadeva's name, I personally think it is a mistake to say that "Jayadeva became the upādhyāya of Nālandā after Dharmapāla." We can tell that the name "Dharmapāla" was much more popular than the name "Virūpa" in the history of non-Tantric Buddhist masters.

The uncertainty of as to whether Dharmapāla was dead or retired when Hsüan Tsang arrived indicates the non-disclosure of his dismissal by the orthodox disciple, namely Śīlabhadra. Why did Śīlabhadra not tell to Hsüan Tsang as to what happened to his teacher, Dharmapāla, if he succeeded him? It is unusual and impossible for Hsüan Tsang not to mention how his teacher's teacher passed away when he went to great pains to explain almost about every single monuments and number of families he saw in a town as he travelled. What was the reason for Śīlabhadra to keep his teacher's death or retirement secret? As the Nālandā monks [including Śīlabhadra] failed to persuade Dharmapāla from

76 The Seven Instruction Lineages listed in the work which covers about some fifty Indian Mahāsiddhas by the author does not confirm all the traditions and lineages which have become the mainstream of Tibetan Buddhist traditions. The names of the Lineages neither distinguish between different classes of Tantra and their lineages nor does it explain why and how such lineages came into existence. It requires careful investigation.

77 See T. H. B., p. 214.

returning to the monastery even at his request, as an elderly Pandita when he met Hsüan Tsang, ambitious Śīlabhadra must have deliberately kept secret about the later part of his teacher's life in fear of generating controversy and doubts in the minds of the foreign students. As a man of good moral-conduct as his name suggests, Śīlabhadra may have been one of the leading monks, who, unable to realize Dharmapāla's attaining of siddhi, expelled him, being unable to understand the unorthodox behaviour of his abbot. The word "retired" has a better connotation than "expelled" for the obvious reason of skilfulness in word choice but it does not prove the existence of the concept of retirement in those days.

Since the Chinese travellers have failed to report anything about Jayadeva in their travel records, Sankalia seems puzzled by Tāranātha's reference to Jayadeva. Tāranātha is correct in shedding light on the existence of a teacher named Jayadeva as it is confirmed in the Lamdre sources. However Jayadeva could not have been Dharmapāla's successor because he was one of his teachers as discussed above although this does not prove the implausibility of Jayadeva succeeding Dharmapāla in certain teaching capacities. But if Jayadeva was still alive when Dharmapāla was expelled, Tāranātha may be right in pointing out Jayadeva succeeding Dharmapāla which would suggest that Jayadeva was not another name of Dharmamitra as suggested in the Lamdre sources, but they were two different teachers of Dharmapāla. Tāranātha adds further confusion when he says: "He preached doctrine at Vajrāsana for over forty years and succeeded Śrī Candrakīrti as the upādhyāya of Śrī Nālandā."80

In conclusion, it is clear that Dharmapāla was one of the most influential abbot of Nālandā in spite of the different views as to who succeeded him in Nālandā. The disagreement as to who succeeded him may have derived from a narrow assumption that there was only one abbot or upādhyāya in a great monastic institution like Nālandā. Judging at the number of Paṇḍitas responsible for teaching in other institutions like Vikramāśīla, Nālandā must have had many assistant abbots or Paṇḍitas to one main abbot and all of the suggested successors may have held similar positions. There are several reasons why the Lamdre sources have remained silent regarding Dharmapāla's successor in Nālandā. Firstly Lamdre, being an exclusive esoteric lineage of Vajrayāna Buddhism, it had no space to discuss non-esoteric matters, and also symbolically the enlightened Dharmapāla would not have found it amusing to tell his story prior to his siddhahood to his Tantric successors. Secondly, Dharmapāla never returned to Nālandā since his eviction and had very little to do with the place, and so the assistant abbots must have tried to make their own presence seem more important after the expulsion of their abbot. Thirdly, the successors in Nālandā had to make deliberate attempt to keep the matter secret as to what happened to their abbot, since they did not know of his enlightenment until after the eviction and failed to persuade his return. They kept this secret with a motive to avoid misunderstanding amongst the young and foreign student including Hsüan Tsang without any consideration of historical confusion it was likely to leave behind them. Just as all the

79 He is not to be confused with Rahulabhadra's sponsor Jayadeva mentioned by chag lo tsäl ba chos rje dpal.
80 See T. H. B. p. 213.
Lamdre hagiographers have told us exactly what was historically seived throughout the time Ngorchen sums up in these words:

Formerly when he was the abbot of Nālandā, he had countless disciples who were mainly ripened though the Pāramitāyāna Vehicle. After his attainment of siddhi he only had two disciples who were ripened through Mantrayāna: 1) The boatman who followed him, Mahāsiddha Dombi Heruka and 2) One Yogin, from Bimehasa [Bhimesara] country, who, out of the five hundred hair-platted [Yogins] followed is ācārya Kṛṣṇapa. (This is thus said since there was no one else who held the lineage of teaching and meditation beside these two. Otherwise there have been inconceivable number of people within the Buddhist and non-Buddhist circles who had made spiritual contact [with him] due to his immense spiritual power.)

CHAPTER TWO

Virūpa's Successors of the Lam 'Bras Lineage in India

Here we will note that the traditions of Lamdre transmission clearly distinguishes between two types of disciple.1  Doctrine Heruka and Kṣṇācārin were two of most outstanding disciples of Virūpa. They are described as the two model disciples with different predispositions and intelligence, and since the way the teachings were given to them varied due to their different predispositions and intelligences and intellectual backgrounds, the spiritual impacts that these two men have left on the Lamdre lineage are also interpreted on different levels. In this chapter we will investigate the identity and lives of these two siddhas and analyze the theory of two types of successors.

2.1. Life of Ḍombi Heruka According to Bstan 'Gyur

We have learnt that Ḍombi Heruka 2 was a boatman when he met Virūpa but Abhayadatta states that he was a king of Magadha and has entirely a different story altogether. Here I have provided the translation of his version of Ḍombipa's biography as the basis for this investigation:

This is the story of Guru Ḍombipa: In the kingdom of Magadha, there was a king who attained siddhi from Hevajra. Since he had been initiated by the Guru Virūpa 3 and having been granted the instructions, he practised their meaning. Although he regarded his subjects as a father thinks of his only son, the people did not know that their king had entered the door of the Dharma. However, on account of his natural loving-kindness to them, all the people unanimously declared: "This king is indeed a religious man."

---

1 However generally there are several types of disciples: An individual of highest of highest intelligence [dbang po yan rab], like King Indrabhūti, who can be liberated at the time of initiation, does not require to train in the gradual stages of path. On account of receiving the valid ripening initiation [smin byed kyi dbang] from a Guru, such a disciple, free of doubts with great confidence takes the Guru as the embodiment of Four Kāyas and Five Transcendental Wisdoms, and prays day and night without discrimination, being classed as a person of highest intelligence [dbang po rab]. It is said that such a disciple will be self-liberated by the Profound Guru Yoga practice [lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor]. Since he will guard the Root and Branch pledges [rtse ba dbang yan lag gi dam tshig] voluntarily, he or she will gain final enlightenment effortlessly on the Generation and Completion stage practices. On the other hand, the path of the mediocre [dbang po 'brin] is known as liberation through the means of guarding the Samayas. Unable to avoid the transgression of minor Samayas, the practitioner has to practice the Yogas of Generation and Completion stage accordingly through the path of Five Interdependent Originalizations [rten 'brel lha] to attain enlightenment, what is known as the "inferior" [dbang po mtha' ma]. Either within one or at least in sixteen lifetimes a practitioner in the Vajrayāna path is said to attain the ultimate result of perfect Enlightenment.

2 See Chapter I, p. 20.

3 Even though the Tibetan text provided by Robinson gives the name of the teacher "nag po spyod pa" (see B. L. Tibetan Text p. 316 and f. 19) his translation based on the Peking edition of the bstan 'gyur gives the name of the guru "Virūpa" as it also agrees with sde dge edition. As will be discussed later, Ḍombi Heruka appears to have had another teacher other than Virūpa before he met Virūpa, and it is unlikely that Kṣṇācārin was one of his teacher. There is no doubt about Virūpa and Ḍombi Heruka's Guru disciple relationship.
One day, the king said to his minister: "In our country the thieves and robbers are plundering people's property, and because of the people's insignificant merit, there are increasing number of people who are ravaged by fear and poverty. In order to protect the land from fear and poverty, cast a big bell and hang it on the trunk of a big tree. Whoever experience a harm or suffer from poverty, let them strike the bell. But do not let those who do not witness these sufferings to strike the bell." The minister did as he was commanded, and consequently fear and poverty in Magadha was brought to an end. After some time later, a group of low-caste singers came to the capital, who made offering of songs and dance to the king, and remained there. One of the singers had a twelve-year-old daughter who, untainted by worldly impurity was very pretty and attractive to look at. She had a lovely face and a good complexion; and she was endowed with all the qualities of a padmavati. So the king said to the low-caste singer, "Will you give this daughter of yours to me?" He (the singer) replied, "Your majesty is the great king, ruling the kingdom of Magadha which has 800,000 cities. Because of your royal wealth, you have nothing to worry about. We are of low caste, disparaged and shunned by all other classes of people. It is improper for you to make such a request." In response to this request, the king forcefully took away the girl and gave her father an equal weight of gold of her body. Although she was the king's consort for twelve years, the people did not know this but after the passage of twelve years they eventually discovered. Soon it became known to everyone throughout Magadha that "the king consorts with a low-caste woman." So the king gave up his kingdom and gave to his son (by his queen, not by the low-caste woman) and (at the regency of) others. Having done this, he went into the forest with his low-caste mistress, and he practised there for twelve years.

In the mean time, since the fortune of the land was diminishing by degrees, the prince and his subjects, who were unable to hold the country together, held an urgent meeting. There they passed a resolution to search for the former king and request him to rule kingdom once again. A group of people went to seek the king in the forest where he was residing. There they saw him sitting at the base of a tree, while the girl had gone to bring some water. She stepped out on lotus leaf on the surface of the lake and, without sinking, drew water from the depth of fifteen fathoms; she then served it to the king. Seeing this, the amazed men returned home and reported what they had seen to the populace, who then sent an invitation to the king to call him back to the throne.

The king and his consort came riding out from the forest on a pregnant tigress, using a poisonous snake as a whip. The people were astonished and said, "Surely if you rule the country everything will prosper. Please take the kingdom?" But the king replied, "Since I am of low-caste, it is improper for me to rule the kingdom. However, since it does not matter whether caste is good or bad after death; burn us in the fire, and when we are born again from it, I will do as you have asked." So the people burned the two, the king and consort, in a fire of Gosirsa sandal-wood. Due to excessive wood, the fire did not extinguish even after a week and they caught a glimpse of the couple transformed into Hevajra and his consort, in a self-produced body, shining like dew on top of a fully blossomed lotus. Seeing this, the people of Magadha arouse great faith, and the king became known as the Master Dombipa, 'He of the Low-caste Dombis.'

The king then spoke to his ministers and all his subjects: "If you are able to do as I have done, I will rule the kingdom. If you are unable to do this, I will not rule." All of the people were taken completely by surprise, and replied, "How could we do what you have done?" At this the king declared, "In ruling this kingdom, there is little benefit and much that is of fault; rather, I will rule a kingdom of Dharma." Having said thus, from there he went to the realm of the Dakas for the sake of sentient beings. Here ends the story of Guru Dombipa.

---

4 There are four classes of women according to the Buddhist Tantra. Padmavati [pad ma can], the "lotus race" is considered to be the most suitable class of women for Tantric consort.

2.2. Was He a King or a Boatman?

There are number of problems with the above story. Firstly it fails to give the king's name even if he was one, and raises the question of his correct identity since no Magadha king named Dombi appear in the geneology of Magadha. However, if we accept for the moment the possibility of Dombi Heruka being a king at some stage, this does not have to contradict his being a boatman, as he may have become one after leaving his kingdom with his consort. Secondly if Dombi Heruka was already a Tantric practitioner when he was a king and had special miraculous power to alleviate his people's fear and poverty, his subjects would not have denounced his taking of the low-caste girl as his consort. Even if he had a teacher other than Virüpa, this story does not indicate how and when did the meeting between him and his teacher took place. It would be most unlikely for Kṛṣṇācārīn to have been his teacher before he met Virüpa since Kṛṣṇācārīn became Virüpa's disciple after Dombi Heruka became Virüpa's disciple according to the Lamdre sources. Despite the lack of evidence, this does not however rule out the possibility of him having a teacher other than Kṛṣṇācārīn before he met Virüpa, although this view is not supported by Lamdre histories.

Another problem with the above story and also what is reported by Tāranātha is that they have nothing about Dombi becoming a boatman when he met Virüpa, an event which in the Lamdres records is held to be most crucial in the development of Guru and disciple relationship between the two. The failure to explain where and how Dombi met Virüpa is one of major problems and drawbacks of the above story. This confusion is independent of whether Dombi was a king or a boatman when he met Virüpa; how and why did he become a boatman or Virüpa's disciple if he was a king? This demands closer examination. If he was denounced by his subjects on account of his taking a low-caste girl as his consort, it is hard to believe that he had any miraculous power to alleviate the poverty of his people even if he had another teacher before meeting Virüpa. Furthermore, the taking of a girl of padmivati class as his Tantric consort is a practice of a highly realized master in the Tantric tradition, and he would not have had the need to seek any other teacher even if he disguised as a boatman after his attaining of the state of siddhi. If Virüpa met Dombi Heruka as a ruler of Magadha before the latter demonstrated his miracle powers and taking of the consort, there is no historical basis or reason that he could have appeared as a boatman to Virüpa at other times. While Dombi is well known as the boatman in Tibetan religious histories Tāranātha rejects this and has said that he was a king instead.

Although the Ācārya is known as a boatman in Tibet, he in fact was a king of Tripura in the East.

---

6 See F. H. W. T., f. 385. David Templeman translates the word "ko mkhan" as "leather worker" without knowing what Tāranātha was referring to. Another reason for this confusion may have been caused by the fact that in Tibetan, both leather and boat are called "ko ba". Furthermore most of the boats in Tibet are made out of Yak [gyag] hide or some other animal skin. In India, the boats were mainly made of wood. However the preferred Tibetan word for a leather worker or a tanner would be "mfled mkhan". In the Indian caste system, a leather worker or a shoe maker is closely associated with "Camaripa", which is the name of the 14th siddha of the eighty four Mahāsiddhas. A shoe maker is termed "lham mkhan" in Tibetan but not "ko mkhan". The Tibetan word "ko ba", for a boat, when compounded with the agent suffix mkhan (equivalent to er in English), it becomes "ko mkhan" and drops its nominal suffix 'ba' in the process.
His acknowledgement of Dombi Heruka at least being known as a boatman in Tibet is significant enough to question the validity of his supposed rulership of him as a king either in Tripura or in Magadha. Since there was neither indication of any surviving lineage of Dombi Heruka in India around Tāranātha's time in 17th century, nor around Abhayadatta's period in 12th century, the traditionally respected oral history of Dombi Heruka as a boatman in the Lamdre tradition has better credibility since it has kept the transmission of his teachings unbroken to this day.

Furthermore, the subjects would not have denounced Dombi Heruka if he had already displayed his magical power to alleviate poverty of Magadha by striking the bell. A king, who not only loved his people as his own son, but who is believed to have had the magical power to alleviate poverty and famine of his people would not have been denounced even if he married a low-caste girl. Logically this gives no sound reason for his becoming of a boatman even though a Yogin would not hesitate to manifest as a boatman or whatever form if it was to prove to be beneficial to others. However this argument cannot refute his becoming of a boatman whatever other occupation he may have held previously. But it poses a serious problem to the suggestion of his rulership of either Magadha or Tripura.

According to Tāranātha, Dombi Heruka attained siddhi ten years after Virūpa which confirms that Dombi Heruka could not have attained siddhi before he met Virūpa even if he may have been a Tantric practitioner under another teacher. Virūpa left Nālandā monastery soon after his attainment of siddhi and their meeting appears to have taken therefater. Lamdre sources clearly show that when Virūpa met Dombi Heruka, the latter was a boatman, but this is not confirmed in the other stories as we have seen above. Unfortunately in the History of Buddhism in India, Tāranātha does not give any details whether Dombi was a boatman or a king when he met Virūpa. The eminent historian, gtsug lag phreñ ba, although says very little about Dombi Hemka, he supports the Lamdre view that Dombi Heruka was a boatman who followed Virūpa and became his disciple.

The sources say that after having blessed Dombi Heruka to the equal stage of his realization, Virūpa sent him on a mission to subdue a king, and this was said to have been carried out by riding a pregnant tigress and brandishing a snake in his right hand as a whip. Interestingly, this description of Dombi Heruka is also confirmed by the characters in which he is drawn and painted in the traditional Tibetan Buddhist iconography of the eighty four

Although Tāranātha (or whoever is the author) does not specify the exact Tibetan sources of his reference, this indicates that he was aware of the lam 'bras version of the story that Dombi Heruka was a boatman. Also see S. I. L. p. 19.

7 See T. H. B. p. 222.
8 See Introduction, f. no 56.
10 But in O. C. E. S. it does not say that it was a pregnant tigress but a tiger who eat humans [stag mi zan]. See S. L. L. S., Vol. I, f. 99.
Mahāsiddhas. The author of S. I. L.\textsuperscript{11} also shares the same view and agree with Lamdre sources that Dombi was sent by Virūpa to subdue an evil king but the previous story says he as a deposed king was invited to be reinstalled by his previous subjects. The confusion seems to be about the identity of the king who is associated with Dombipa's task of subduing. Dombi Heruka, who was sent by Virūpa to subdue an evil king, as explained both in the Lamdre and S. I. L. work seems to have been misinterpreted as himself being invited to be reinstalled as a king in the earlier story. If the purpose of the invitation by the subjects was for his reinstallation as the king, he would not have accepted the invitation since he did not wish to become king as the story has depicted. Thus the story from the lives of the 84 siddhas seems to embody a confusion.

According to Abhayadatta for twelve years the people did not know that Dombi Heruka had taken a low-caste girl as his Tantric consort.\textsuperscript{12} He is said to have been succeeded by his son and lived for another twelve years in the forest with his consort after the two had been banished from the palace as his subjects refused to tolerate his mishavour. None of these stories are found in Lamdre and S. I. L. If he met Virūpa after all these incidents, he has to be at least in his late forties or early fifties, and could not have been a young man when he met Virūpa. The story suggests that he was not known as "Dombi Heruka" until he asked his subjects to throw himself and his consort into the fire which action proves that he had already attained siddhi before the incident. This means that he would have met Virūpa at least ten years before this event as Tārānātha informs us that Dombi attained siddhi ten years after Virūpa. The silence in the Lamdre and S. I. L. regarding Dombi Heruka being thrown into the fire at his own request dismisses the idea of his attaining siddhi in the fire pit. Virūpa would not have sent Dombi Heruka to subdue the king if the latter had not yet attained siddhi.

The contradiction as to when and how the two met and developed the Guru and disciple relationship can neither be resolved by acceptance of one version of the story nor rejection of the other. Let us see if we could accomodate both possibilities. Dombi Heruka may have met another less known teacher while he was a king of Magadha and practised Tantra before he met Virūpa. There is nothing to support the idea of his meeting Virūpa when he was a king since none of the sources give the pre-siddha name of Dombi Heruka to support the idea that he was a king prior to his becoming of a boatman. He must have attained siddhi to obtain the name "Dombi" since the use of the name seem to have become effective as soon as he took a young low-caste girl and after his subjects scandalized the relationship between the two as unacceptable. The problem with accepting the story according to Abhayadatta is that it does not give even the name of the king prior to all these incidents. What was his name when he was a king, if he was a king?

\textsuperscript{11} Bka' babs bdun ldan gyi rnam thar, ff. 576-577.
\textsuperscript{12} See E. F. S., p.136, and also B. L., p. 34.
Let us enquire whether we can make any possible connection with the political scene in *Magadha* during that period. The *Magadha* king about that time was *Harsa*, who established diplomatic relations with China in 641 C.E. but he died in 646-7 C.E. Although there were other subordinate kings under his domination such as *Pūrnavarman*, *Harsa*’s death brought political disorder around *Magadha* which involved the Tibetan intervention and invasion of *Magadha*. After *Harsa*, the two kingdoms were ruled by *Arjuna* in *Tirabhukti*, and *Mādhavagupta* in *Magadha*. Unlike *Arjuna* who suffered the defeat from the Tibetan troops at the instigation of the threatened Chinese mission, B.N. Sinha says that *Mādhavagupta* needed peace of time to rejuvenate the emaciated, sick and old country of *Magadha*. It is indeed, very interesting to see why Sinha should use the passage "needed peace of time to rejuvenate the emaciated, sick and old country of *Magadha*” when we think of the subjects inviting *Dombi Heruka* when the country was in great trouble. If there is any truth in assuming *Dombi Heruka* to have been a *Magadha* king, is he perhaps to be identified with *Mādhavagupta*, who was succeeded by his son *Ādityasena* around 650s C.E.

Although the author of S. I. L. agrees that *Dombi Heruka* was a king, he disagrees with the above story as to the place of his kingship and also provides no name of the king. If he was known *Dombi* because he took a low-caste girl as his consort, he would have been known with that name before they were placed in a burning fire, which took place at least after twenty four years out of which they spent twelve years in the forest. If the reason why he became known as *Dombi* because he took a low-caste girl as his consort, then he must have had another name whether or not he was a king prior to meeting the girl.

Another problem with the story is that it does not explain how *Dombi* spent his twelve years in the forest. If he was a king according to the story, it is plausible and seems fitting (at least to me) to assume that *Dombi Heruka* must have lived as a boatman for those years before he met *Virūpa*. If he was accompanied by his consort, he could not have lived without making a living in the forest. In those circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine him working as a boatman for some period of his time. But there is no sign of him having a consort when he met *Virūpa* at the bank of Ganges. So the problem remains unresolved if we try to harmonize the two version of the stories. The notion of him spending twelve years in the forest is a calculation that might help to support *Tārānāṭha’s* idea of *Dombi Heruka* attaining *siddhi* ten years after *Virūpa*, and also his subjects inviting him after the passage of twelve years. This means that the meeting between the two would have taken soon after *Virūpa* left *Nālandā*.

---


14 Thereupon the king gave his kingdom to his son and he, with his low-caste mistress, went into the forest to practice for twelve years. See E. F. S., p. 136.

15 Ibid., p.137.
On the other hand, there is one problem as to how could he have received that name "Dombi" if we were to agree with the Lamdre sources that he was not a king before he became a boatman. Though Lamdre sources do not mention of Dombi Heruka's background as a king of Magadha, it may have simply been excluded due to the brevity of their treatment of his story. It would be far more charismatic, enigmatic and realistic to give the name "Dombi" to a king, who became a boatman and finally attained siddhahood than to a boatman becoming a siddha. Furthermore, a boatman marrying a low-caste girl could not be called "the act of an outcaste" since a boatman's caste is not considered high enough to be affected. The story of Dombi Heruka's taking a low-caste girl as his consort appears crucial unless there is an alternative explanation as to why he received the name Dombi. This certainly poses a problem with reference to the Lamdre historical version. If he did not hold any higher position in the society prior to his being a boatman, if he always was a boatman and did not take a low-caste girl as his consort when he met Virüpa, then what could have been the reason associated with this name? Despite the seeming confusion and incompleteness of both versions of the story about Dombi Heruka, it is crucial that they are compared, analysed, compiled and collated. Nor chen kun dga' bzaṅ po, although must be aware of the traditional Lamdre version of the story, gives a very interesting story about Dombi Heruka.

Born in Bhaṭṭgala in Eastern India, this ācārya was meditating in the forest in that region. In that country there was a big merchant town called "Raṭha." Its king named "Dehara", who had become the ācārya's sponsor, invited the ācārya on the roof of the palace. Revering him as his Guru, the king prostrated every day and received instructions. Having convened a discussion, the king's ministers passed a motion to agree that: "Since the ācārya's consort is an outcaste, the king who touches the feet of the ācārya on his head has become an outcaste. Hence his (the king's) subjects have also become outcastes. It is necessary to discover a method to purification. Since there is no alternative methods that can purify, we must burn the Ācārya in the fire." Having said thus they requested the king to burn the Ācārya in the fire. Although no consent was given, the ministers forcibly flung (the ācārya) into fire. In the meantime, as he (the king) wished he (the ācārya) would demonstrate skillful means of reversing their attitude of disrespectfulness, the ācārya, who was able to read the mind of the king, rode on a man eating tiger with the she outcaste (Dombini) on his back and adorning (his) body with many snakes, passed through the town. Seeing this everyone became faithful. Thereupon the ācārya flew in the sky and the king requested: "Please accept me." While reciting Amṛtprabhā, the Nairātmyā Sādhana, he went higher and higher amidst the sky and as soon as the Sādhana was completed he vanished. It is known that the king wrote down Amṛtprabhā at that time.

According to another version, as he rode a tiger and went to the forest, the local inhabitants burnt him into fire prepared from acacia and other woods. The ācārya said to the king: "Guard the ashes for seven days." After having said this he was burnt to death by the fire. Early in the morning when the king saw the burning heap of fire, he cried and circumambulated the pyre. After the fire died out, he circumambulated the ashes for seven days and early next morning the ācārya arose in the form of Nine-Deity Hevajra and went into the sky. There when the king requested him to accept him as aforementioned it is said that Amṛtprabhā was given.16

---

16 See C. W. G. M. S., Vol. IX, 281 - 4 - 6, ff. 219b - 220b.
From this we can tell that Dombi Heruka was burnt to death by fire but reappeared in the form of Hevajra and gave to Dehara, the king, the Sadhana of Nairatmya. But this version does not indicate that he was a king himself as asserted in the other stories. While it does not explain the reason of his presence, it does give ample reasons as how the king venerated him as his teacher. Hence the reason why Dombi Heruka appeared on a tiger was not to frighten the king as explained in other versions. Instead we have a deliberate manifestation at the king’s wish in order to subdue the ministers and subjects who threw the Acarya into the fire. This extract seems to have bridged the gap that has been left open between the Lamdre version and other versions as discussed. Judging from his silence, there appears to have been no doubt as to whether Dombi Heruka was a boatman or not during Ngorchen’s time. This was a doubt raised by Taranatha later.

However, since we are discussing the hagiography of a seventh century Buddhist siddha in a purely religious context, a favourable thing to support the Lamdre version would be this: If a boatman can become an important lineage holder of an esoteric teachings of Tantra then there would be no difficulty in giving the name “Dombi” with its reversed meaning. The names of the siddhas are generally very gross and down to earth level and they do not have to be dignified in the relative world. To the siddhas, this world of ours is a crazy world, but to us in the world, who fail to know the nature of a siddha’s enlightenment, they appear insane. If there were any siddhas, who were to behave now-a-days the way they did in those days, they would be considered outcasts and would probably be imprisoned. Becoming a siddha or an enlightened being is becoming an outcaste or abnormal in this conventional world. Since the meaning of conventional terms are irrelevant to a Tantric realized master, the name we try to agree or disagree and analyse is void and has no limitation whatsoever. A name is mere label.

The silence about his having a consort and the two being thrown into a burning fire at Dombi’s request in the Lamdre sources raises the question as to why these aspects of the story were suppressed or excluded in the traditional hagiography. It must have been inappropriate to tell the new students. Perhaps these aspects of the story would not have got lost in the process of passing down the faithful oral tradition if ever told in the lineage. I suspect that the prevalence of an element of lack of confidence in the authenticity of Dombi Heruka’s lineage caused by others’ criticism, and the sharp discrimination by Lamdrepa themselves between the two lineages may have led to this suppression.

3.3. Dating of Dombi Heruka

The dating of Dombi Heruka can be determined from the fact that he met Virupa when the latter was in his late seventies or early eighties. It is implausible for a king so young to seek a spiritual path when he left the palace. Moreover he could not have been very young as it is confirmed that he was already a father when he left his palace. If we agree that the meeting of the two took around 620 C.E., then Dombi Heruka’s birth can be approximately

---

17 See Chapter I.
fixed to a period between 550 and 570 C.E., despite not knowing how long he lived. Nagärjuna's disciple, in the latter part of his life was Asanga, whose date is fixed at 480-630 C.E. and he is said to have been Virūpa's teacher. Hsüan Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller is said to have reached Nālandā in 635 C.E. gives no report on the existence of Virūpa and Dombi Heruka although they would have been somewhere in India around that time. Hsüan Tsang may have been a well travelled man, but his reports appear rather incomplete and perhaps biased since he says very little about Vajrayāna practitioners in India considering that it was then the period of great diffusion of Vajrayāna Buddhism in India. While it is essential to know the exact or approximate dates of the masters, it will be wrong to assume that the disciples were necessarily younger than the teachers when one attempts to date the Tantric Buddhist masters. This is exactly what Bhattacharyaya does by allowing twelve years of gap between each master and disciple. According to his chronological calculation someone by the same name of Nagärjuna, the philosopher, lived around the time when Hsüan Tsang was travelling in India. Yet he does not question why did Hsüan Tsang not meet Nagärjuna if the latter lived at that period.

3.4. The favoured Successor Kṛṣṇācārīn

Kṛṣṇācārin is said to have been born in Karna and according to 'jam dbyan mkyen brtse bda phyugs[1524-1568], he was also known as Kṛṣṇapa, and mainly practised near mount Utsayana. The author of S. I. L does not mention Virūpa being his main teacher which also creates the problem of his true identity. Although he points out that Kṛṣṇācārin's main teachers were Princess Lakṣmikarā and Jālandhara, the completeness of his account appears questionable when he says:

From the time of his youth he was sharp minded and became learned in linguistics, medical studies, and skilled in all kinds of creative arts. Since his previous residual karma had come to fruition, many wisdom-holding dākinīs manifested themselves to him. Gradually he reached a part of Magadha, Glorious Nālandā, where five hundred Paṇḍitas lived, and where monastic colleges have been flourishing. Having reached there, he took Bhikṣu ordination and stayed for many years. Through studying and contemplating on the Tripitaka and the Four Classes of Tantras, he mastered them fully in his mental continuum. Accordingly he became accomplished in Mantra and meditation at various levels.

Once when he was meditating in a secluded place, the fully perfected Mahāyogini Princess Lakṣmīnārāṇī directly showed her face to him and with her blessings he was able to attain extraordinary stages of meditative absorption. In that same place Vajra Dākinīs gave him

18 See I. B. E., p. 64.
19 It is not certain whether there were any places in Bengal with this name. Sachen confirms to identify Karna with the modern state of Karnataka in the south, which is associated with his birth-place, name and eventually where he met Virūpa.
21 David Templeman, who translated the Seven Instruction Lineage has also translated his biography into English. See Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya [T. L. K.], Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, India. 1987.
permission from the sky saying, "In the northern kingdom of Jālandhara is the Guru known as Jālandharipa. If you adhere to him, then you will accomplish the siddhis you desire."22

In order to consider the validity of the above passage, one must question what would prompt an intelligent Brāhmin become a Buddhist monk without giving up his Hindu faith. The Lamdre sources confirm that he was a Brāhmin, and that he was one out of the five hundred non-Buddhist Brāhmin Yogis23 who begged Virūpa to accept him to be his disciple. The reason why he abandoned his faith is also mentioned. Unlike the above passage, there is nothing in the Lamdre of him taking fully ordained monk's vows from anyone and studying in Nālandā or Magadha.24 By the time when he met Virūpa, he could not have been ordained by Virūpa, who had already given up his ordination vows before he left Nālandā. If he did become a monk, who was his ordination master, and who taught him how to meditate and practice Mantra? Apart from not knowing his ordination master, the above passage indicates that he had a Tantric Guru other than Princess Lakṣmikarā and Jalandharipa, since he is said to have been practising Mantra before he met Princess Lakṣmikarā. To my mind the implied Tantric master of Kṛṣṇācārin can be no other than Virūpa, and it is groundless even to imagine of agreeing with Tāranātha that Kṛṣṇācārin became a Bhikṣu in Nālandā.

In Abhayadatta's story of the Eighty four Mahāsiddhas, he is also said to have been a monk and lived in Somapuri25. This confusion perhaps has been developed due to the existence of many teachers with the same name as Tāranātha has pointed out. It also speaks of him going in search of another teacher who was a weaver,26 but this happened after he had met Jalandharipa. If he had a Tantric teacher prior to his meeting with Princess Lakṣmikarā and Jalandharipa, who was this teacher if not Virūpa? Since we have already seen Kṛṣṇācārin succeeding both Princess Lakṣmikarā and Jalandharipa in two of the succession lineages of the Nine-fold paths,27 there is no doubt about his discipleship under Princess Lakṣmikarā and Jalandharipa.28 These appear to have developed only after he left Virūpa and at a later stage of his life.

While it is clear from his History of Buddhism in India, that Tāranātha did not know or even if he did know, he did not mention of Virūpa being a teacher of Kṛṣṇācārin, yet he writes about Kṛṣṇācārin being a practitioner of Mantra before he met the two other

---

23 Other sources say that he was of the scriber's caste [rigs yi ge pa]. See B. L., pp. 81 and also 333.
24 In the story of the Eighty four Mahāsiddhas, he is said to have been a monk of the Vihāra of Somapuri, which was built by King Devapāla [rgyal po lha skyod]. Ibid., p. 81.
26 Ibid., p.176.
27 See the lineage Tree of the Nine-fold paths in Appendix A, pp. 80-81.
28 Ibid.
teachers. The reason why Tāranātha had nothing to say about who Kṛṣṇācārīn’s first Buddhist teacher was, but yet describes him as already a practitioner of Mantra before meeting Princess Lakṣmikārā and Jalandharā, strongly suggests that the eminent historian was unaware of certain details. In fact, Kṛṣṇācārīn is said to have had the vision of Vajradākinīs before he met Princess Lakṣmikārā and Jalandharāpa, and such experiences do not arise easily until one has been a realized practitioner in the path of Tantrayāna. Since it is confirmed that he had a Tantric Guru before these incidents, there should be no doubt regarding his discipleship with Virūpa. We do not know why Tāranātha does not mention Virūpa as a teacher of Kṛṣṇācārīn.

In the Seven Instruction Lineage, which is believed to have been written by him some eight years before writing "History of Buddhism in India" at the age of 26, Tāranātha however talks about someone whose name is composed of the partial name of both Kṛṣṇācārīn and Virūpa. He calls Kṛṣṇāvirūpa,29 who, after committing four Brāhmanic sins, became a disciple of Jalandharā, and later becomes a disciple of Virūpa at the guidance of Vajrayoginī. Although no Lamdre sources mention about such Brāhmanic offences being committed by Kṛṣṇācārīn, we could perhaps suggest that this was invented as a reason for his abandonment of his faith and following of Virūpa, which may have been denounced by his friends and teachers. In the following story, Tāranātha talks as if the so-called "Kṛṣṇāvirūpa " was the second most important successor of Virūpa, the other one being Dombi Heruka. But he seems to identify Kṛṣṇāvirūpa as a different person from Kṛṣṇācārīn, who the Lamdre sources regard as the foremost disciple of Virūpa. On one hand, Tāranātha agrees with the Lamdre histories by saying that Kṛṣṇāvirūpa was Virūpa’s second most important disciple, but on the other hand he does not even mention any relationship between Kṛṣṇācārīn and Dombi Heruka. Since Tāranātha could not have made such a grave mistake, this has aroused suspicion in my mind as to the authorship of the work, Seven Instruction Lineage. Since there was no other disciple of Virūpa with similar name or anyone else who held the Lamdre lineage, I suspect that Kṛṣṇāvirūpa was Kṛṣṇācārīn:

His disciple is Kṛṣṇāvirūpa [nag po vi ru pa], who appeared in Uḍḍiyāna. It was said that when he was born in the Brahmin caste, the sooth-sayers prophesied that he would commit four sins. He was thus named Kṛṣṇa, the black. Around the age of seven, he was then sent to wander in other lands so that he might not commit the four sins. After a long time has elapsed, his mother, Brahmini Lakṣmi, whose husband and parent-in-laws since died, also wandered into other lands. Having abandoned her caste, she became a wine seller in the Eastern land of Odivīsa. After some time, her son also reached Odivīsa, and went into his mother’s tavern. Since they did not recognize each other, they lived together. On account of being very thirsty, he wanted some water, and gulped down a herder’s drink which happened to be alcoholic. Being intoxicated he became very angry and flung the pot at the herder but it missed and killed a cow. Having thought the ways of keeping these secret, in the night he flung the corpse of the cow from the roof top for the jackles to eat. But it hit on the head of a wandering Brahmin, who also died. Being doubtful of the incidents, he enquired and realised that the wine seller was in fact his mother. The previously

29 Tib. Nag po vi ru pa. There is no one with this name associated with Virūpa mentioned in the Lamdre texts as his disciple. It is quite likely that outstanding disciples of famous masters could have given the name of the master and respected as "Junior so and so". But I haven't seen this name elsewhere.
predicted four sins i.e. murdering of a Brahmin, cow murder, co-habitation with one's mother and consumption of alcohol are the four sins out of the sixteen sins which violate a Brahmin's ability to expound the Vedas. Having realised that he had committed all four sins at one time, he went to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist pilgrimage places and inquired ways of purifying his misdeeds. He could not trust anybody, but he met Jalandhara who gave him the instruction of Vajravārāhī and said that it would purify his sins.

"....Over many lifetimes you have karmic affinity with Virūpa. Go to him, he now lives in Marahaṭa...."30

Since this story states that Kṛṣṇāvirūpa met Virūpa after he was recommeneded by Jalandhara, it suggests that Kṛṣṇācārin, who becomes Jalandhara's disciple is different from Kṛṣṇāvirūpa. But according to his biography of Kṛṣṇācārin, Tāranātha does not mention Virūpa becoming the former's teacher. It is also difficult to accept why Tāranātha would not know the details of Kṛṣṇācārin's earlier life if he himself remembered Kṛṣṇācārin as being one of his own many previous incarnations.31 There seems to be a parallel between Tāranātha's unconvincing approach of compiling the accounts on Virūpa and Kṛṣṇācārin.

Based on our observation and discussion on the dating of Dombi Heruka, we can now roughly suggest a time 630-35 C.E. when Kṛṣṇācārin met Virūpa. The latter would then have to be in his late seventies or early eighties. In another words the meeting took place after Dombi Heruka became Virūpa's disciple and the three would have met for the first time when Kṛṣṇācārin was a Hindu Yogi in Bhimesara. Strangely the Lamdre sources not only fail to state how long Virūpa stayed with the five hundred Hindu Yogis but also say nothing about how Dombi Heruka spent his time during that period. However, it is clear that Kṛṣṇācārin's foremost Buddhist Tantric teacher was Virūpa and his encounter with the Princess Lakṣmīkarā and Jalandharipa, though important in other practices, was perhaps not so significant for the development of the Lamdre tradition.

The Lamdre sources say that even though Kṛṣṇācārin met Virūpa in the south, he himself was from the East (presumably East Bengal, modern Bangladesh) and he is known as the Kṛṣṇācārin, the Easterner [śar phyogs nag po pa].32 He is said to have been given the name Karna, not only because of his very long ear lobes [sflan sal rin ba] but also because he is named after his birth-place, Karna. According to the Mahākāla lineage [mgon po mthon byun gi rgyud pa], his name is spelled Kāṅhapa. I have no doubt that his birth-place is called Karna in Karnata State in the South India.33 But we may discuss

31 He has written an invocation in which he lists all the names of his previous incarnations which includes Kṛṣṇācārin as the first one in the list. See C. W. T., Vol. 16, ff. 1011-1012. Also koṇ sprul blo gros mtha' yas [1813-1899 C.E.] is said to have described himself as an incarnation of the lineage that passed from Kṛṣṇācārin through to Tāranātha in his autobiography compiled and edited by gnas gsar bkra' phel.
32 See O. C. L. S., f. 100.
33 Tāranātha says that acārya Kṛṣṇācārin is said to have born in Kamboja, and Templeman assumes this is somewhere in North Western frontier of Pakistan. See T. L. K., p. 83 and footnote 182. Also see O. C. L. S., f. 100.
something about the name "šar phyogs nag po pa" being associated with his "native town or birth-place." The word "from the East," [šar phyogs] appears to be associated with his hermitage in Mount Utsayana in East Bengal, where he practised after having travelled and studied with Virūpa for some time.34 Hypothetically speaking, if Kṛṣṇācārin ever took Bhikṣu ordination and studied in Nālandā as asserted in the above passage, this would have happened on his way to or from Mount Utsayana after he left Virūpa. Mount Utsayana is regarded as his hermitage rather than his birth-place. Nālandā lies on the route from Gujarat to Mount Utsayana assuming it is somewhere in East Bengal. Kṛṣṇācārin's reputation as the siddha Kṛṣṇācārin, the Easterner would not have spread before he left Virūpa and until he perfected various Mantras and meditations. If the name "From the East" [šar phyogs] was associated with him while he was still as a practitioner in Utsayana, this would mean that he came from further east than Utsayana. This is not plausible. Therefore the name šar phyogs nag po pa would have become known after he met Guru Jalandharipa of Jalandhara,35 from where Mount Utsayana would be geographically in the distant East. I would say that by then he was already a siddha, but would have gone to see Jalandharipa as the Vajradakinis encouraged him to meet him. Although Tāranātha says that Jalandharipa knew that Kṛṣṇācārin was a fortunate being and gave him full and complete empowerments, teachings and follow-up teachings in their entirety, he does not specify on which deity he was initiated. Even though Jalandharipa may have given him the empowerment of Hevajra along with other initiations, since Jalandharipa is not considered to be as a recipient of the Vajra Verses from Virūpa, he is not canonized within the lists of Lamdre lineage masters.

As a learned Yogi of the Hindu tradition, Kṛṣṇācārin met Virūpa in the south and since accompanied him to Sovanātha, staying with Virūpa until he was ordered to achieve those three tasks. Dpa' bo gtsug lag phren ba also supports the Lamdre historical view of Kṛṣṇācārin when he says:

To the less intelligent Yogi, who with his hair-platted had followed him, he (Virūpa) gave the Mārgaphala Vajragatha, and was sent to the East.36

As one of his three main tasks, he is also said to have subdued a king who was attached to his seventy two queens. When Kaṃapa or Kṛṣṇācārin socialized amongst the queens, they instigated the king who, being disturbed, ordered his men to punish the Yogin. As the king's army chased him outside the palace compound he would go inside the palace; when the army came inside, he would go outside. Meanwhile the king's chief army officer deployed many soldiers both inside and outside the palace compounds, subsequently

34 In one of the famous lam 'bras Lineage Guru Prayers, "gnas sbyar ma" by brag phug pa, the prayer to Kṛṣṇācārin reads as follows: gnas ri bo u tsa ya na'i dur khroḍ du / bṛtun bzung nag po sbyod pa la gsol ba 'debs / I pray to Caryāpa Kṛṣṇācārin, who dwells at the cemetery of Mount Ucayana, in the East. See

35 The modern city of Jullunder in Haryana State. It is also recognized as one of the twenty four sacred shrines of Cakrasaṃvara practice.

Kṛṣṇācārin multiplied himself from one to ten, ten to one hundred, and one hundred to one thousand manifestations of troops. Seeing this, the king realized that the Yogi had attained siddhi and begged to forgive him. Subsequently the siddha converted the king and his subjects into the Vajrayāna path. His secret name is Padmavajra. As we have already discussed, he was one out of the five hundred hair-platted Yogis, who voluntarily gave up his faith and followed Virūpa and became the main expounder of Lamdre teachings. Virūpa gave the Vajra Verses to Kṛṣṇācārin and according to the prophecy of Virūpa, he went to western Uḍḍiyana and brought five partial texts of the 500,000 ślokas of Hevajra Tantra on basis of which the Vajra Verses were taught. But these do not appear to have translated into Tibetan.

2.5. Why Did Virūpa Have Two Successors?

The Lamdre masters in Tibet have held a tradition of making a sharp discrimination between the two successors of Virūpa. In the context of what we already know of Ďombi Heruka and Kṛṣṇācārin, we can briefly analyze what may have been the reasons for creating this concept. It is not surprising to imagine differences in their intelligence and aptitude, but how do we explain Ďombi Heruka's superiority over Kṛṣṇācārin. The concept and distinction between 'sudden' and 'gradual' school became well known in Tibet since the Samye debate37 and presumably the Lamdre masters may have adopted this idea to explain the theory of two types of disciples. 1) Skal ldan cig car du 'jug pa (Fortunate disciple entering the sudden path): This approach is explained as being relevant to those disciples who are not required to train in the common teachings and are suitable to enter the path by receiving ripening empowerment.38 They are eligible to train in the main practices of the path, including the Completion Stage.39 Traditionally Ďombi Heruka is regarded as a highly intelligent and a sharp minded disciple who fit in this category. We find number of difficulties to regard Ďombi Heruka as "fortunate one suited to enter the sudden path" [skal ldan cig car ba] in relation to his story. An intelligent disciple suited to attain siddhi on the sudden path, would neither require to adhere to more than one Guru nor would it take long to attain siddhi, but his biographies have suggested its contrary. But if we accept that he was a king who abandoned his kingdom, ran away with a low-caste girl, worked as boatman and became a siddha, he was indeed courageous and flexible person who was able to live a spontaneous life. Furthermore, he refused to accept the ferry-fare which he previously demanded but instead became a disciple of his unfriendly customer Virūpa after he had witnessed the magical power of reversing of the Ganges.40 His instantaneous change of perception and ability to exchange the opposites appears to have demonstrated his rather unique character of superiority and spontaneity. The incident at the bank of river Ganges

38 Tib. Smin byed kyi dbaṅ.
39 Skt. Sampānakrāma (?) Tib. rdzogs rim.
40 See Chapter II p. 20.
must have been a premeditated plan by Virûpa to find his suitable successor, Dombi Heruka. Therefore it was not necessary for Dombi Heruka to receive preliminary teachings on renunciation and the enlightenment thought. That incident was sufficient for the two parties to develop the spiritual affinity. This however does not explain suddeness of his attaining enlightenment, although he may have been directly admitted into the Vajrayāna path.

2) Skal dman rim gyis 'jug pa (Less fortunate disciple entering the gradual path): This approach is said to have been for those disciples who are initially not interested in the secret Mantrayāna path and whose ordinary mental approach needs to be made more serious by hearing the teachings on the difficulties of obtaining the precious human rebirth, the infallibility of law of Karma, shortcomings of the worldly existence and the law of death and impermanence. It is important that firstly they are trained in the above four teachings of the common path41 including taking Refuge, and gradually introduced and trained in the secret Mantrayāna teachings. Kṛṣṇācārin is regarded less intelligent than Dombi Heruka to fit in this category; hence he was said to have been given the basic teachings in detail. However, one would not hesitate to admire his confidence and sharpness of mind since he had to courageously abandon his own faith without attachment and follow Virûpa. He appears rather equally intelligent to be able to see the truthfulness of other teachings. Furthermore, the fact that Virûpa gave a longer version of Lamdre to him does not prove that he was less intelligent than Dombi Heruka.

While we know the relative difference and similarity of intelligence of the two successors of Virûpa, the striking question which will remain to be answered is: Did Virûpa give them the same or different transmission together or separately? According to the Lamdre sources Virûpa gave a shorter teachings to Dombi Heruka and an elaborate to Kṛṣṇācārin respectively. In fact the teaching was same in content, varied in length and was taught individually. It is commonly understood that the detailed teaching comprises the brief teachings and brief teachings can be elaborated to give detailed explanations. Some intelligent people may not necessarily believe that they can understand brief teachings more easily than elaborate teachings. Similarly less intelligent people may not believe that elaborate teachings are easier to understand than brief teachings. Since the difference in their sharpness of mentality does not seem easy to analyse from the historical point of view, this concept was probably a convention by the later Lamdre commentators to legitimize the branching of common and uncommon Lamdre traditions in Tibet. This system of discrimination between the two by later Lamdrepas may have provoked the accusation from other traditions that there was the so-called Lamdre without script in the Sakyapa tradition. This notion of "Lamdre without a script" [rtsa ba med pa'i lam 'bras] has been misinterpreted by others as if the teachings lacked textual root. On the contrary, Virûpa wrote down the Vajra Verses as notes [brjed tho] from his teachings for the sake of Kṛṣṇācārin whose comprehension may have been slower than Dombi Heruka. The

41 Tib. Thun mon ba'i snyon 'gro bzi ni 'khor ba'i fes dmigs, dal 'byor rNed dka', 'chi ba mi rtag pa. las rgyu 'bras.
argument that Virūpa prepared a note [brjed tho] for Kṛṣṇācārīn from the lectures he delivered previously does not prove the difference of high and low intelligence between the two. If this was considered to be true, it contradicts the idea of the Lamdre teaching being a whispered lineage [săn brgyud], which has to be transmitted orally from the teacher to one disciple only. This argument does not pose any threat to the authenticity of the Vajra Verses teaching since it would have been transmitted orally and remembered by the disciple. However there must have been a time before the time of Drogmi and Gayadhara 42 that it was handed down in a written form of the original writing on Lamdre since they have actually translated it into Tibetan.

However from the textual study point of view, there is a fundamental difference between the two traditions. The 'grel pa lugs, "Commentarial Tradition" or the Dombi Heruka lineage is rather brief in the path of ripening [smin] and liberating [groll] but has detailed explanation of the Tantric expositions. The teachings for intelligent disciples are usually said to be detailed and it would be fair to say that it is a scholastic tradition within the Lamdre lineage. The Kṛṣṇācārīn tradition, otherwise known as man nag lugs, "Instructional Tradition" is mainly a path of practising the pithy instructions rather than relying excessively upon commentarial works. It is a contemplative order with greater emphasis on the practice rather than scriptural study. The honorific title of Lamdre teachings has thus become [gsun nag rin po che lam 'bras bu dañ bcas pa'i gdams nag], "The precious words of the pithy instructions on the Path, including its Result." Subsequently most of the Lamdre teachings are said to have remained in a whispered lineage until Sachen wrote them down for the first time. 43 There were no Indian Lamdre classics other than the Vajra Verses. All the 31 volumes 44 on Lamdre teachings currently preserved in Tibetan are mainly the works written after the twelfth century.

Dombi Heruka45 and Kṛṣṇācārīn have strictly followed the predictions by Virūpa, keeping the teachings secret and transmitting the Lamdre instructions to their chosen disciples only. Kṛṣṇācārīn was succeeded by Mahāsiddha Damarupa or Dharmapa. There are two Dharmapas listed [#36 and #48] amongst the eighty four Mahāsiddhas in their biographical dictionary by Abhayadatta. 46 I would assume that they are in fact one person. In the Lamdre sources it is said that he constantly rattled his Damaru wherever he went and became known as "Damarupa", "the Drummer." He demonstrated his Čārya practices by wandering in all the twenty four cities and thirty two sacred shrines. 47 He subdued a Tīrthika

---

42 See Early Diffusion of Lamdre Tradition in Tibetin Chapter III, p. 50.
44 See Appendix D.
45 See APPENDIX A, p. 72.
46 See B. L., pp. 134-135 and also pp. 166-167.
47 Tib. gnas fi śu rtse bže yul sum bcu so gnis.
king sen ge rnam par rten pa, who abandoned the heretical doctrine of sacrificing animals to the gods. The king eventually renounced his kingdom as one throws spit on the ground and engaged most of the time playing with the city's children in the streets by adopting the behaviour of gnis spaus kyi spyod pa. Hence he became known as Avadhūtīpa who transmits Lamdre to Gayadhara.

Dombi Heruka

48 Skt. Vikramādītta.

49 See Chapter III, p. 56. His secret name is: Tib. mi rnam rdo rje, Skt. Atulyavajra.
CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Early Diffusion of Lam 'Bras Tradition in Tibet

In terms of Buddhism the history of Tibet can be divided into three main periods. During the pre-Buddhist period Tibetans practised an indigenous religion called "Bon." The period from the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet in the early seventh century until the persecution by king Lang Darma [glaA dar ma] in the mid-nineth century is called "The Early Diffusion of Buddhism" [btsan pa sAa dar gyi dus]. The period after the revival of Buddhism in tenth century until recent times is called "The Later Diffusion of Buddhism" [bstan pa phyi dar gyi dus]. The Lamdre tradition was introduced to Tibet by Panďita Gayadhara and Drogmi during this latter period. Drogmi, Marpa and Goe are regarded as the three prominent founding fathers of "bstan pa phyi dar." Traditionally the history of Lamdre in Tibet is divided into three stages of development: A) The Preliminary introduction of Lamdre tradition in Tibet by Master Gayadhara, B) The Early diffusion of Lamdre in Tibet by Drogmi and his successors and C) The flourishing of Lamdre in Tibet and beyond by rje btsun sa skya pas.1

In this chapter, we will briefly look how Drogmi, who studied in India approximately 18 or 22 years during his two trips2 established appropriate conditions in Tibet, while waiting for his future Guru to come to his door. Gayadhara, who outlived Drogmi, gave Lamdre during his second trip to Tibet, leading to its preliminary introduction in Tibet. Owing to the persecution of Buddhism by Lang Darma, there were considerable doubts and controversies regarding the authenticity of the Buddhism practised in Tibet. This inspired the despatch and selected young monks to India, who brought back many new translations and carried out special revisions of earlier translations. Lo tsä ba rin chen bzaA po [958-1055 AD] and some 20 qualified monks were sent to India for higher studies in Buddhist teachings by the then king of Western Tibet, Lha bla ma ye sê 'od. Special Tibetan embassies were sent to invite prominent Indian Panďitas and some uninvited Indian Buddhist missionaries also found their way to Tibet. This was the period when the three royal brothers of Lhatse3 were seeking a spiritual preceptor. Having heard about Loton Dorje Wangchuk [lo ston rdo rje dbaA phyugs]4 and Chetsun Sherab Senge [Ice btsun ses rab seA ge] of Shalu [ža lu], whose activities greatly contributed to the renewal of the doctrine, they requested to assist in their spiritual matters. Loton sent rgya šä kya gžon nu, se ye sês brtson 'grus and samad kyi lde gsum, the three Ides of lower region in gtsaA province.

2 See Chronology of Drogmi in this chapter.
3 Dpal lde, 'od lde, skyid lde were known as "lha rtse'i mechd gsum," the three royal brothers as they were the princes of Tri Tashi Tsepta pal [khri bkra šis brtsegs pa dpal], who was the prince of King Palkhor Tsan [dpal 'khor btsan]. They were descendants of king glaA dar ma's son, 'od srûnis. The three royal brothers are also known as smad kyi lde gsum, the three Ides of lower region in gtsaA province.
4 As he was said to be in his 37th year when Marpa was born in 1012, he must have been born in 975 A.D. See B. A., p. 405.
3.2. Life of Drogmi Lotsāwa Shakya Yeshe (993-1074 C.E.)

Drogmi was bom in the Water Female Snake year (993 A.D.) in a wealthy nomadic family (as indicated by his family name "brog") in the region of Mangkhar Chude (man mkhar chu sde). He was first ordained in the aforementioned temple, grom pa rgyan and received the name "śā kya ye śes," derived from the names of the two abbots from whom he took his ordination. Although the temple was firmly established in the practices of Vinaya, both the patrons and the preceptors felt the importance of sending some young and intelligent monks to India in order to bring the complete teachings of the Dharma to Tibet. One day they offered a special feast to the entire monastic community and announced their plan to send some monks to India. They asked if anyone would volunteer to go on this important project. Drogmi Śākya Yeshe, Leng Śākya Tsondru (let sā kya brtson 'grus) and Tak Yeshe Shonu (stag ye śes gzon nu) promised to go to India. Everyone praised them for their courage and promised to give all the financial support that was necessary. They were instructed to study Vinaya, the root of the doctrine, Prajñāpāramita, the essence of the doctrine, and Vajrayāna, the quintessence of the doctrine. Although they planned to travel together by sharing all the gifts they had received, the abbot had secretly given some ten gold ounces, ten musks (of ten musk deers) and a donkey load of salt to Leng and had sent him ahead. Drogmi and Tak could not leave on schedule since they didn't have enough provisions but Drogmi learnt some basic conversation from a wandering Atsara. He became well versed in the ordinary spoken languages of India so that he does not have to depend upon interpreters.

---

6 The Mangkhar valley is situated south of Lhatse and is famous for its caves where the pioneers of Tibetan translators and Indian Pāññītas did their first translation works. In many of the caves i.e. Dragyur Løtsaphuk (sgra bsgyur lo tshug) and Sungak Lamdre Phuk (gsug lha ng lam 'brad phug) have been used as meditation caves by many great masters including Sakya Pāññīta, Jetsun Drakpa Gyaltshen etc. according to Khientse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet. See Dowman, K., Power-Places of Central Tibet, Routledge And Kegan Paul, London, 1988, p. 279.
7 The author of the Blue Annals does not mention Leng Śākya Tsondru and has thus misconstrued the name of stag ye śes gzon nu as "stag lo gzon nu brtson 'grus," a clear indication of his limited knowledge of Leng's involvement. See B. A., p. 205.
9 As a possible protest to the abbott for nepotism, not many scholars include the name of Leng in the group including 'dag dba'i chos grags. See Blossoming of Lotus Grove, [B. L. G.] in S. L. L. S., Vol. XXV, p. 163.
10 The word Atsara is corrupted form of the Sanskrit word 'ācārya'. Tibetans who do not know that an Atsara actually means "slob dpon" in Tibetan call all Indian Yogins 'Atsara,' and paint an image of an old man with long beards, who knows some evil spell. Mothers tell white lies to children of an Atsara's presence at the door if they cannot put their children to bed.
In the meantime, Se Yeshe Tsondru, the deputy abbot had organized and collected necessary provisions for their departure and gave them 100 ounces of gold, 1,000 musks as well as Yak [gyag] tails and many material possessions. Drogmi and Tak, with two attendents were also accompanied by the Atsara and set out for India via Mangyul Gungthang [maṅ yul guṅ that], a convenient border town and route where all the Lotsawas acclimatize to the weather and food of a lower altitude. They set out for India when Lotsawa Rinchen Sangpo was fifty years old. On their way in Mangyul, they met Leng and the trio stayed there for two months and journeyed together to Nepal. In Nepal they met Balpo Dzahum [bal po dzah huth] or better known as "Śāntibhadra," one of the four Phamthingpa brothers and studied Sanskrit, logic and many Secret Mantrayāna teachings. By the time when Drogmi was able to understand lectures in Sanskrit language, he asked: "Who is the most famous teacher in India that I should go to study with?" Śāntibhadra replied: "For the sake of auspiciousness, first go to Vajrāsana and make offering to the Mahābodhi Temple. After that you should go to the monastery of Vikrāmaśīla, where there are Six Great Scholars. Go and study with Śāntipa, the Second Omniscient Being, who is the Paṇḍita of the Eastern Gate and is also my own teacher." Having said thus, he send his younger brother, Balpo Adepa as a guide for them to go to India. The party reached Vajrāsana, where they made their offerings and everything went very smoothly. Drogmi studied mainly under Śāntipa and other dvāra Paṇḍitas for eight years in Vikrāmaśīla.

Before returning to Tibet, Drogmi visited Khasarpani, a sacred shrine in the southern mountains of Devikotta. There, if a faithful person fasts for one week and prays in front of the shrine wholeheartedly by kneeling down on the floor and fold hands on one's head, all the wishes were said to be granted. Drogmi performed this practice known as "Kneeling on the ground" [sa sde pus btsugs] and Khasarpani predicted thus: "On the way back you will be received by a siddha, who is a lineage holder of Virūpa. Also in Tibet, a certain Guru, who possess the entire pithy instructions of Virūpa will deliver them to you at your door step. At that time you should one-pointedly devote yourself to practising the instructions without wasting time in searching for another Guru and more instructions."

Subsequently one day, when Drogmi was passing through Kuba Grove in South India, he heard a noise of monk's staff ['khar bsil]. Thinking that there must be a town nearby he looked carefully in the forest, and he saw an attractive Bhikṣu, who was wearing the three

---

11 See B. A., p. 205.
12 The Six Great Scholars [mkhas pa sgo drug] are: 1) Śāntipa, the Paṇḍita of the Eastern Gate, who specialized in Linguistics and Logic, 2) Vagendrakirti [pañ grub sāṅ dbaṅ grags pa], the Paṇḍita of Southern Gate, who received direct guidance from Tārā, 3) Ses rab byub gnas, the Paṇḍita of the Western Gate, who specialized in the Doctrines of Tirthikas, 4) Nāropa, the Paṇḍita of Northern Gate, who specialized mainly in Vajrayāna, 5) Ratnavajra [rin chen rdo rje] and 6) Iñanaśīrti, were known as the two pillars of center. Ratnavajra collaborated with Drogmi on number of translations as cited in Appendix C, Section C. Also see F. G. S. D. in S. L. L. S., Vol. 14 f. 53.
Dharma robes, carrying his begging bowl and a monk’s staff. As Drogmi looked carefully he saw this: The Bhikṣu touched his staff to a tree trunk and suddenly a woman’s hand adorned by many jewelleries stretched out from the tree and poured nectar in the begging bowl of the Bhikṣu. After seeing this wondrous vision, he developed an uncontrived faith in the Bhikṣu. While remembering the prediction, he developed the confidence that the Bhikṣu was the Siddha mentioned. Drogmi prostrated himself, touched the Bhikṣu’s feet on his head, circumambulated and requested to be accepted as his disciple. Immediately the Bhikṣu accepted his request and gave him some nectar to taste. Drogmi experienced one hundred flavours from the nectar and his mind was filled with meditative realizations. Just before the Bhikṣu was about to go, all the leaves of the trees came together and sprinkled dew drops to rinse the Bhikṣu’s mouth. By witnessing this yet another wondrous vision, Drogmi established unshakable confidence in him. “In order to give instructions, you must receive initiation,” said the Bhikṣu. “I have already received initiation from Śāntipa and Nepalese Dzah huṅ,” replied Drogmi. "In order to receive my instructions, you must receive the initiation from me.” Having said thus, he gave him a three day Hevajra initiation at a town nearby Kuba Grove. He also gave instructions on numerous Tantras. In reply to Drogmi’s request for more teachings, he said: “All of my food and necessities are provided by higher, medium and lesser mi ma yin, I do not have the need of any wealth. However, since interdependent conditions are extremely important in the Vajrayāna path, you must go to your country and bring wealth if you wish to receive some more instructions.” "Where will I find you," asked Drogmi. "I had originally planned to go to Śrīparvata [dpal gyi ri], but the king Tsanaka invited me to stay at his court at least three years, so I will be there for seven years. You should come directly to me there." This Bhikṣu Mahāsiddha is identified with Prajñendrauci, the disciple of Ācārya Durjayacandra. His secret name is known as "Viravajra" [dpā bo rdo rje].

As they were making preparation to return to Tibet, Taklo said, "I will stay back in Vajräsana [rdo rje gdan] so that I can do more circumambulation. However he returned at the persuasion of Drogmi and Leng and accompanied them home. When they reached grom pa lha rtse, the abbots, monks and devotees gave them a warm welcome. Drogmi had become an ultimate scholar, Leng had become a mediocre scholar but Taklo was just able to read Heart Sūtra in Sanskrit. Someone asked: "How is it that he has learnt so much yet you do not know much ?" "He goes elsewhere by carrying a Kapāla. Since I had great devotion to the Mahābodhi Temple, I spent my time circumambulating there," replied Taklo.
However it is said that since Taklo was sanctified by the blessings of Mahābodhi Temple, he was pure with his Vinaya vows and was able to establish a great monastery known as "stag loi sde pa." Leng returned to India by saying: "Since the Tibetans are stupid like oxen, and make no distinction between learned and fools, I must return to India." Though he became very learned later, it appears that he did not become very influential in spreading the Dharma. Drogmi, who had become an incomparable scholar and master, was honoured by everyone including the three brothers of Lhatse. King dpal lde offered his princess lha gcig mdzes Idan to Drogmi, who married her and received her as his consort.19

In the meantime Drogmi encouraged his patrons and disciples to collect more gold to enable him to return to see Viravajra in India in order to receive further teachings to bring to Tibet. They offered him the much needed gold and this time Drogmi went to India together with his wife. He met his Guru at King Tsanaka's court, and Drogmi offered him gold, musk and unimaginable offerings. He received Hevajra and thirteen major initiations and instructions on Mahānuttara-yoga-tantra Maṇḍalas. Furthermore he received the entire lineage instructions transmitted by Dombi Heruka, 80 major Tantras, 160 minor Tantras and as well as 50 Anujñā [rjes gnañ] during four years.20 As Drogmi was planning to return to Tibet, his Guru said: "It has been quite a long time since you have been here. You two should practice Caryā for three months and then go around and have a holiday for three months." During this suggested holiday, Drogmi witnessed three important spectacles:

A) At one time, there was a big crowd at a market place. All of a sudden the crowd dispersed due to a panic fear. Drogmi asked the reason, and he was told: "Since king Tsanaka is famous for having conquered many countries, a war has been declared by king Bhojantahara and fifteen other kings of western countries, whose powerful troops have now reached as near as five days journey from the palace. It is all due to our king's deceitfulness. Now we will all be killed and our city will be destroyed and emptied. What shall we do?" Having heard this, Drogmi found that everyone in the city were distressed and frightened. When Drogmi asked about this to his Guru, the latter said: "King Tsanaka is faithful to the Triple Gem and is a fortunate man. He will not be defeated at any time." In spite of the Guru's omniscient prediction, Tsanaka was saddened since everybody else predicted that he would be defeated in the war. In the meantime, King Tsanaka mounted on a huge and strong elephant to go to battle. On top of the elephant there was a Buddhist shrine of the Triple Gem with beautiful and extensive arrangement of offerings, managed by ten Bhikṣus and

---

19 The sources do not point out the exact conditions under which the transition of Drogmi's monkhood into a married life occurred or was allowed. It appears that king Palde married his princess to Drogmi as a reward for the latter's achievement in his studies in India. However the above remark on how Taklo became successful in keeping his Vinaya vows pure implies a comparison with either Drogmi or Leng's monastic life. We know that all of the three were ordained at least as Śramaneras before their departure to India in 1008. In Drogmi's case, he could not have been a Bhikṣu when he left for India as he was only sixteen years old. Leng returned to India and there is no mention of his disrobing. We do not know whether they took Bhikṣu ordination or not in India.

20 'Gos lo tshab ba gzhon nu blo gros does not seem to know of Drogmi's second visit to India and thus asserts that Drogmi spent three years with Bhikṣu Viravajra after he spent eight years with Śāntibhadra. This is incorrect, as shown above, according to the Lamdre sources. The same miscalculation is also shared by modern scholars such as Snellgrove and others who have used Blue Annals. See B. A., p. 206, I. T. B., p. 491 and also chronology of Drogmi in this chapter.
ten Brahmins. In front of the shrine, the king sat on his throne with many attendants around him. On top of the elephant's head sat a big fighter [gyad chen po] who was holding a big hammer made out of molten thunder-bolt weighing 20 khals of Magadha. On the elephant's neck were ten fighters armed with iron hooks and other reinforcements behind them. The main fighter elephant was surrounded by 25 fighter elephants who were also surrounded by 50 ordinary elephants. Each of these elephants were mounted by 50 armies. Outside the elephant troops were horse-carts, horse-cavalries and foot soldiers. These are known as "the four contingents of force" [dpun tshogs yan lag btsi] in ancient military warfare. There was a tradition in those days that first of all, two kings would fight until one of them was defeated, and until then all the others would not engage in battle. Even after fighting for half a day, King Tsanaka and his wrathful opponent could not reach any conclusion. As the fighting continued, when his exhausted elephant nearly fell over, Tsanaka invoked the name of Mahäsiddha Viravajra three times and commanded the big fighter: "Now is the time that you should display your strength and power. If you are able to win this battle, I shall let you marry my princess and will give you whatever property you desire." Having heard this, the big fighter hit on the forehead of the opponent's elephant with his big thunder-bolt hammer and killed it instantly. Thereafter the Tsanaka's soldiers conquered the fifteen kingdoms. However soon after the fighting ended, the king gave his kingdom to his elder prince and renounced his kingdom. He sailed and migrated to an island accompanied by five queens, seven ministers, two hundred and fifty retinues. He took provisions that would last for fifty years. There he and his retinue lived and practised the instructions received from Viravajra.

B) An eight year old Jñanadakini [ye es kyi mkha’ gro ma], who had lost the sense of shamefulness appeared naked, and acted as if she had gone mad. She talked nonsense, flew up into the sky and danced on the floor.

C) A wild elephant ran into the forest and destroyed all the trees, picking up creatures with his trunk and killing them by throwing them far away. As the elephant was about to enter a town to cause destruction, the aforementioned girl appeared and the elephant suddenly picked her with its trunk and, circumambulating the town three times, placed her on top of a stupa. By the blessings of the girl the elephant's madness was cured and it returned to the forest. The girl vanished into space thereafter.

These so-called "three spectacles" had special reason for instilling strong faith in Drogmi towards his Guru Viravajra. Demonstration of miracles by teachers to disciples at the conclusion of Lamdre transmission seems to have been practised all along. After Drogmi returned to Tibet, he built the monastery of Mugulung [mu gu lurt] in Mangkhar [man

---

21 See Chapter I, Footnote No. 56.

22 It would not be wrong to assume that king Tsanaka and his ministers sailed to some island in the east of India and propagated the lineage there. Perhaps in Indonesia. No question has been raised by early Lamdre historians as to the possible survival of the lineage through king Tsanaka and his followers. Was it because it was a lineage transmitted from Dombi Heruka?
56

mkhar] but mainly lived in Lhatse Rocks, where he later met Gayadhara. Marpa, like Goe and many others came to Mugulung to study with Drogmi and stayed with him three years.23

3.3. Life of Pandita Gayadhara (970-1090)24

Gayadhara was the last Indian Lamdre lineage master but was the first to come to Tibet. He brought the Lamdre lineage known as "man nag lugs," which came down through Kṛṣṇācārin and was transmitted to Drogmi. The Lamdre lineage known as "grel pa lugs," which came down through Dombi Heruka was brought to Tibet by Drogmi Lotsāwa himself and here we will examine how he received the Kṛṣṇācārin lineage from Gayadhara. Gayadhara is also known as "pan <Ji ta dmar po" Red Pandita or "atsa ra dmar po'i žabs", The Venerable Red Ācārya in Tibet, and is well known for his repeated visits to that country. He is not to be confused with the other A tsa ra dmar po in the lineage of dmag zor ma. It is during his third visit to Tibet that Gayadhara became known as Gyalbu Tringyi Shukchen [rgyal bu sprin gyi sugs can].25

Avadhūtipa, who was Gayadhara’s teacher lived and practised near the bank of river Lohita in central India. Avadhūtipa was guided by Ārya Avalokiteśvara and his Guru Ćamarupa, who prophesied that he should one day give the instructions to a Bhikṣū Vajra Holder,26 who was a royal preceptor. This person is identified with Gayadhara, who was born in Bengal27 then ruled by king Candarupākṣi. He was known as Kayastha since he was the king’s scribe but his actual name is Gayadhara. The meaning of his name is Cloud Holder [sprin 'dzin] or Serpent Holder [klu 'dzin] as interpreted by Drogmi and other early

23 See Chronology of Drogmi in this chapter.
24 Tib. Grub chen ga ya dha ra. His name is not enlisted in the names of the eighty four Mahāsiddhas according to Abhayadatta’s biographical dictionary of the Mahāsiddhas. The Sakyapa tradition has canonized him as the prominent Indian master to bring Lamdre to the door-step of Drogmi. But it should be pointed that not all Indian Panditas earned the title of a Mahāsiddha necessarily. Regarding the chronology of Gayadhara, we know that he definitely outlived Drogmi who died in 1074. His first visit to Tibet occurred before Atisa’s visit to Tibet in 1042, and he made three subsequent visits and died there. His year of birth 970 is tentative.
25 Ngawang Kunga Sonam’s vagueness about this name’s association with Gayadhara’s third visit to Tibet is briefly discussed by Ngorench, who seem to regard this as one version of the story asserted by Goe and his followers but he also does not analyse far enough to support or refute it when he says: "gsan 'dus 'gos lugs pa mams slob dpon 'di 'dan rgyal po sprin gyi sugs can gdirs gcig pas bzed la..."Those who follow he Guhyasāmaṇa ē Goë tradition assert that this master and king sprin gyi sugs can are the same person." This is plausible since it is at Goe’s invitation that Gayadhara made his third visit to Tibet. See C. W. G. M. S., Vol. IX, p.111, line 2, Line 2. Lamdre historians regards Gayadhara to have been a prince and quote the following verse from the praises to the eighty four Mahāsiddhas by Vajrāśatanapa : rgyal rigs rig pa'i ngsas la mkhas / nam mkha'la hla la the tahom gcod / sprin gyi sugs can bez bya ba'l / bla ma de la phyag 'tshal lo // The royal prince who is learned in sciences, Clarifies his doubts with the gods in the sky; To the Guru who is known as Gayadhara, I pay my homage! See Appendix A, Footnote 1.
26 Tib. Dge slon rdo rje 'dzin pa..
27 Dowman erroneously calls Gayadhara, "the Kashmiri Pandita Gayadhara" which is groundless. This way of giving random names to past scholars can be very misleading as most Tibetan Buddhist historians familiar with Indo-Tibetan scholars will identify Kashmiri Pandita with Kashmiri Pandita Śākyasri, from whom Sakya Pandita [sa kya pa'n di ta] received his Bhikṣu ordination. Gayadhara is neither a Kashmirian nor have been known with this name. See P. P. C. T., p. 278.
masters. Since he was a well known scholar in all five sciences,\textsuperscript{28} he taught and served in the royal palace of the king. One day he received a message from \textit{Avadhūtipa} saying, "Please come to see me as you will make a suitable disciple of mine." \textit{Gayadhara} happily went to see \textit{Avadhūtipa} who consequently bestowed him all the four whispered lineage instructions of Lamdre. He is said to have accomplished the stability of Generation Stage practice, with the ability to see the numerous manifestations of \textit{Nirmanakāyas} and to place his Vajra and bell in space. He possessed the unobstructive ability to go astral travelling or by resurrecting other dead body by transferring his consciousness\textsuperscript{29} and numerous psychic abilities.

According to his teacher's prediction, \textit{Gayadhara} came to Tibet\textsuperscript{30} in search of his future disciple. At that time he first met Shonu Sherab [\textit{gzon nu \'{s}es rab}], a Lotsawa from Purang [\textit{pu brah}] district in south western Tibet, to whom he gave some instructions. This Lotsawa became a faithful devotee and requested him to give more teachings. However \textit{Gayadhara} said to him, "I must first go to U-Tsang [\textit{dbus gtsan}] in central Tibet, where I have some important things to do. After that I shall return here to give you the desired teachings and instructions." They made an arrangement that the Lotsawa would offer 50 ounces of gold and that \textit{Gayadhara} will return in three months time. We will notice from here onwards how strictly \textit{Gayadhara} arranges his time and makes prior agreement with students as to how much they should offer him when he bestows initiations and instructions. This approach has found many critics in Tibet. Thereafter \textit{Gayadhara} proceeded to look for Drogmi.

When Drogmi was in retreat in Lhatse Rocks [\textit{lha rtse'i brag}],\textsuperscript{31} what is now-a-days known as \textit{Gayadhara} Caves [\textit{ga ya dha ra'i phug pa}] one night he had some special dreams. His prophetic dream is not discussed anywhere except in the Lamdre history written by Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk, who says: "When Drogmi was in retreat in Lhatse Rocks, what is now-a-days known as \textit{Gayadhara} Caves, one night he had some rough and special dreams.....Sometime after he had this dream, he heard someone blow an Atsara's trumpet at his door."\textsuperscript{32} The dreams are:

\textsuperscript{28} Generally there are eighteen fields of study, but the five sciences referred here are the five major fields of study "rig gnas che ba lta", [\textit{pa\'ncamahāvidyāsthāna}]: 1. bzo rig pa [\textit{silpavidya}], Fine Arts, 2. gso ba rig pa [\textit{cikitsā}], Medicine, 3. sgra rig pa [\textit{sabdavidya}], Linguistics, 4. gtan tshigs rig pa [\textit{nyāyavidya}], Logic, and 5. nan don rig pa [\textit{adhyatmavidya}], Philosophy. See \textit{bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo smad cha}, mi rigs dpe sprun khan, 1981, p. 2682 and T. E. D., p. 1178.

\textsuperscript{29} Tib. Gron 'jug.

\textsuperscript{30} There is no indication how soon after Drogmi returned from India did \textit{Gayadhara} come to Tibet. Whether Drogmi had built his monastery or not he had become very famous when the two met for the first time. There are some sarcastic remarks made by the associates of \textit{Atiśa} about Indian \textit{Panditas} going to Tibet to collect gold. \textit{Gayadhara} and others have been criticized for their desire to obtain gold in return of instructions. It has to be before 1042 when \textit{Atiśa} came to Tibet hence I would approximately date 1038 as the year when \textit{Gayadhara} first came to Tibet and met Drogmi.

\textsuperscript{31} This cave is situated in Lhatse about 151 kilometers west of Shigatse [\textit{gəśa ka rtse}].

\textsuperscript{32} See F. G. S. D., in S. L. L. S., Vol. XIV, f. 44.
There was a terrifying giant black man, who came to him flying in the sky saying: "I have come from the south." Having said thus he vomited a conch lion [dun gi sen ge] and from the conch-lion's mouth came out a golden Vajra. From the center of the Vajra arose a vase filled with water which soaked into his [Drogmi] body, giving him an inconceivable transcendental wisdom of great bliss. After that three balls of light issued from his body which illuminated three houses which again dissolved into light and were absorbed into his own body. Subsequently his body dissolved into light and absorbed into his feet. His feet eventually vanished like rainbows into space and with these vivid dreams, he woke up.33

This indicates that Drogmi had the dreams night before he met Gayadhara during latter's first visit to Tibet. However Gayadhara did not offer the following explanation and interpretation of the meanings of the dreams until bestowing the entire Lamdre to Drogmi. This happened some eight years after they first met.34

The three houses represented the three realms of existence [khams gsum 'khor ba].35 The black man who came from the south represented Yogesvara (Virupa). The conch-lion vomited from its mouth represented Gayadhara, who was Yogesvara's emanation. The whiteness of the conch represented Gayadhara's white garment.36 His Lion of Speech, which is incomparable to anyone's (speech) is represented by the lion. The golden Vajra which came out from its mouth represents the precious Lamdre instructions, the essence of Vajrayana doctrine. The golden vase filled with water represents the unbroken four whispered lineages as the undried initiation water [dba’ gi chu bo ma numb pa]. The absorption of this into Drogmi's head symbolized that the aforementioned instruction is appropriately transmitted to him. The three light rays issuing from his body which illuminated three houses symbolized that he would have three perfected disciples, who would benefit the three realms of existence by propagation of the instructions. The dissolution of three realms into himself represented that he and all his disciples' minds will become indistinguishably merged into one. The dissolution of his body into his feet symbolized that Drogmi would have two sons. The vanishing of the feet into the space indicated that his two sons will die young and will neither become his spiritual nor his hereditary successors.37

Having been woken up by the trumpet noise Drogmi, being fond of Atsaras, sent an attendant to see who it was. It was an Ācārya wearing a red gown, who said to the attendant, "I need to have an audience with Drogmi since I have come all the way from India to see him and also I should be given some material wealth." To this Drogmi sent a note in Sanskrit saying, "Since I am observing a strict retreat, I cannot meet you. I have no wealth to give you but have some food to eat." While handing the note the attendant gave plenty of food to the Ācārya, who would not even look at the food let alone accepting it. He sat there showing his extreme unhappiness. Having heard the Ācārya's unexpected reaction,

33 Ibid., ff. 43-44.
34 Ibid., f. 63.
35 According to the Buddhist teachings, the cyclic existence known as "Samsara" consists of the three realms: Skt. Kāmadhātu, Tib. 'dod kham; Skt. Rūpadhātu, Tib. gzugs kham; Skt. Arūpadhātu, Tib. gzugs med kham.
36 Even though Gayadhara is nick-named as the "red pandita," and may have occasionally worn a red garment, he is traditionally painted wearing a white garment.
37 See F. G. S. D. in S. L. L. S., Vol. XIV, f. 64.
Drogmi came out of his retreat to meet him and asked what was the matter with him. "You have insulted me by using abusive words," the Äcärya said. "I said that I do not have any wealth to give you but eat some food," Drogmi replied. In the meantime the Acärya touched his right leg on his navel and stretched out the left leg and while resting his two hands on the waist and said, "You did not say that. This is what you have said. " Black hands etc." When Drogmi's note was carefully rewritten on the ground and translated properly, its correct translation came to be as follows: "Cover your black hands on your bottom and leave." Having seen this, Drogmi realized how little Sanskrit grammar had he actually learnt even after studying with eight Panditas for such a long time in India, he lamented and cried. Seeing this the Pandita said: "Since the depth of Sanskrit grammar is unfathomable like the ocean, even I do not know exact details. How could you know everything? You already know this much, you are an exceptional scholar compared with other Lotsawas." Thereupon they had some discussion on the teachings and Drogmi realized that Gayadhara was not only well versed in Vajrayäna and Mother Tantra in general but especially in Hevajra Tantra. He became extremely happy to discover that Gayadhara also had the whispered lineage transmission of Lamdre. Suddenly Drogmi remembered Khasarpani's prophesy in India and he touched Gayadhara's feet and requested to be accepted as his disciple. "I have come here to look for you according to the prediction by the Great Compassionate One. Do you have enough gold for the instructions?" asked Gayadhara. "I will make sure I can fulfil your wishes" replied Drogmi. "I came from India with other two Panditas who had gone to China according to their karmic affinities. As for myself even though I was asked by Purang Lotsawa to stay with him, I came to look for you according to the guidance of my tutelary deity," said Gayadhara. Having said this, they went to a cave and Gayadhara first gave him the Fifty verses of Gum Devotion [bla ma lAa bcu pa] as an elementary teaching to develop teacher and disciple relationship between the two, who were mutually pleased with the outcome of their meeting. It is said that during this period (approximately three months) they translated bla ma lrta bcu pa and other texts into Tibetan which are found in bstan 'gyur. Drogmi received the Amoghasiddhi Gum Yoga as the first transmission and some other teachings from Gayadhara. He offered ten ounces [srart] of gold for the teachings and requested him to bestow Lamdre. Having heard this request Gayadhara said:

"In the meantime I must go to see a Lotsawa in Purang to whom I have already promised to return. With all the offerings I may receive from him, I will then go on pilgrimage to India and visit some of my teachers to make offerings of Ganacakra for the accumulation of

39 Tib. Don yod grub pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor.
merits. I will also have to bring back Indian texts for the instructions you have just requested. In three years time I shall return to give you the complete transmissions. During that period while I am away you have to make necessary arrangements so that you can give me 100 ounces of gold for the commentarial teachings on Tantra and approximately 400 ounces of gold for the pithy instructions. If you can provide that, then I will stay for five years. You should come to meet me in Kyirong (skyid groA)." Drogmi requested to accept silver coins, bronze, Yak tails and musks in case if he was unable to arrange enough gold coins. Here Drogmi strikes a bargain. Gayadhara also left a bibliography of instructions related to Virūpa which he would be giving after his return from India. At that time five men with horses arrived from Kyirong to escort him. Drogmi made a farewell offering of ten ounces of gold, a complete set of new clothes and two horses loaded with meat and butter to Gayadhara. He travelled as far as Parphuk (bar phug) to see them off. Gayadhara left Lhatse for Purang with the escorts. After reaching Purang he gave some teachings to Purang Lotsawa and then went to India.

Drogmi was invited by a rich nomad family in Padro Namthang Karpo (spa gro gnam that dkar po) to conduct a religious ceremony. He stayed in retreat in Mangzang (man bzan) Caves. During the period of three years since Gayadhara returned to India, Drogmi received large sum in gold as a result of giving teachings. In the meantime Gayadhara had already returned from India (about five months earlier) via Dromo (gro mo), near modern Sikkim. Two Atsaras came to meet Drogmi, via whom Gayadhara sent a message to Drogmi saying: "Please come to receive me. I am on my way to see you". Drogmi was happy to hear the good news about his coming and sent a reply saying: "I will come to receive you in two months time." Having sent this message Drogmi went to Lhatse, where he made special preparations, sponsored by the three royal brothers of Lhatse, for a grand reception to welcome the Paññita. Drogmi and his reception party consisted of thirty disciples and his patrons, who carried banners, parasols, throne and all appropriate articles for receiving a Paññita. Together with Gayadhara's party they returned via South Latoe (la stod) to North Latoe and from there through Gephu pass (dge phu'i la) to Lhatse. Since both the Paññita and Lotsawas were famous, numerous wealthy people in the region came to make offerings of gold. From there the party eventually reached Mugulung (mu gu lun) in Mangkhar (man mkar). It is said that Gayadhara chose Mugulung as the appropriate site where Lamdre should be given after he was being inspired by hearing "Mu Mu" echo of a stream which

---

40 Ngawang Kunga Sonam makes an interesting comment regarding where Gayadhara was going to get his Indian texts from. He says: "...I have to go to Nepal to get the texts etc. ..." which suggests that Gayadhara could have left his texts in Nepal. See O. C. E. S. in S. L. S. Vol. XXI, f. 131. Although it is difficult to know which texts he was referring to, it is possible that this is the same Sanskrit text on Tantra (rgyud kyil rgya dpe) said to have reached Sachen's hand later on. See this Chapter, p. 66. From this it is indicative that there were some form of written text which Gayadhara had to resort to even though he should know everything by heart as far as the Lamdre instructions were concerned. He could have also said that as an excuse of not disclosing why he was going to India or Nepal as we know that Gayadhara purposely did not tell the truth to his disciples. There are similar comments made by later Lamdre masters such as Shangton Cheobar (zaA ston chos 'bar), who told Sachen that he had to first consult some texts before he can give Lamdre instructions. It appears to me that these teachers were deliberately using such techniques as a way of examining the genuineness and patience of their disciples (snod brtag pa). There is also a tradition within Lamdre that the instructions should not be given to disciples who have not made at least three formal requests to test the suitability and devotion. During the formal teaching of Lamdre instructions, disciples have to make at least three maṇḍala offerings to request the instructions at the beginning of the session and one at the end.
had its origin in Mangkhar [maṅ ṇm kar] of Mugulung valley in central Tibet. Gayadhara interpreted the echo "Mu Mu" of the stream into 'mukta,' the Sanskrit word for liberation. He gave the Lamdre transmission of Kṛṣṇācārin to Drogmi, who made the offerings of three gold ounces as a Maṅḍala offering on the first auspicious day of the Lamdre teachings.41 Although he finished giving the entire Lamdre teachings within three years, he is said have stayed five years during the second trip in Tibet. Gayadhara and Drogmi translated many Tantric texts which preserved in the bka' 'gyur and bstan 'gyur collection of Tibetan Buddhist Canon.42

After having received the entire instructions from Gayadhara, Drogmi realized that he did not have enough gold to make the offerings he had promised. So he sent a message to his wealthy and famous disciple named Zurpoche [zur po che],43 saying: "Come with lots of wealth and gold, I shall give you teachings." Since Zurpoche was busy conducting a special Vajrakīlaya ritual at the behest of Zurchungpa [zur chuṅ pa]44 in Shang region [saṅ] at that time, there was some unexpected delay in receiving the message. However when he received the message, some of Zurpoche's companions, who were afraid that this might interrupt the ritual, tried to dissuade him from going. Zurpoche however, told them: "My main purpose of performing this ritual is to attain siddhi, and the root cause of attaining siddhi is Dharma. Drogmi is an excellent repository of instructions of the Dharma and especially I have heard that he has been receiving more instructions from Gayadhara lately. He must have got some special instructions for me. Since he has invited me, I must go. It cannot be an omen of obstacles, it is in fact an omen of attaining siddhi."45

Having said this, he appointed Zurchungpa to officiate for the remaining part of the ritual. Before his departure he subdued the serpent of Sampa Wadong [sraṅ pa wa gdon], and ordered it to bring gold in the shape of various animals. It is believed that serpents either brought gold from there or from the sea, and gave gold to Zurpoche, who thereafter went to Mugulung and made an offering of one hundred ounces of gold to Drogmi. Drogmi gave him numerous instructions including the Sādhana of Saroruha and made special preparation to thank Gayadhara for having given him the most precious teachings. His offerings included: 500 ounces of gold which he put in a beautiful tray, 1,000 musks, 200 long white Yak tails, 1,000 black Yak tails as well as many rolls of silks and brocades. Gayadhara found it very difficult to believe as Drogmi's massive offering of gold appeared rather like a magical show and so he took all the offerings to a fair in Mangkhar and asked a crowd of people: "What could you see here?" Everyone in the crowd unanimously said: "Here you

---

41 This tradition of making special offerings on the first day of Lamdre is still practised as explained in the lam 'bras 'chad thabs, the procedures of preaching Lamdre. Sponsoring a whole Lamdre teaching is considered very meritorious deed as it requires a strong financial commitment to make it happen.

42 See Appendix C, Section C.

43 Zur po che -bsa kyil 'byun gnas.

44 Zur po chuṅ ses rab grags.

have got the best quality of gold." Gayadhara, who was very pleased to confirm that it was real gold asked Drogmi "Now, what do you want?" "I request you to give me any remaining instructions of Lamdre if there are any," Drogmi replied. "There is no part of Lamdre instructions left unrevealed to you. Though it is unnecessary for you, this is my way of doing things," saying thus Gayadhara covered his back with a Thanka of Vajra Pañjara [rdo rje gur], put his prayer beads around his neck, placed the Torma [gtor ma] on his head and swore that there is no teachings unrevealed to him. Again he said, "What do you want now?" Drogmi insisted that he did not mean to ask for more teachings if he had already given. Gayadhara also insisted: "What do you want?" Drogmi requested Gayadhara not to give Lamdre instructions to anyone else. Hence it is said that Gayadhara was very pleased to hear this as he interpreted that Drogmi had realized the profoundness and preciousness of the teachings. According to another version of the story Gayadhara said: "You made a mistake by making such a request: "Do not give this Lamdre instruction to anyone else," as it would suggest that you will not have any hereditary successors who will be able to preserve the transmission. But the actual lineage will spread in its purity." This comment is seen as parallel to what Naropa said to Marpa.

Having freed himself from seeking other teachers, as Khasarpāṇi had advised, Drogmi now concentrated on his practice and benefitting others by propagating the teachings. After Gayadhara had returned to India, one day Guru Viravajra came flying in the sky. Drogmi asked: "For what purpose have you come here?" I came here to see the country of snowy mountains and also to clarify your doubts," replied Viravajra. Having said this he stayed for one month during which he composed the Sādhana Rantajvala [sgrub thabs rin chen 'bar ba]. One afternoon he flew through the beams of the sun set to a city in the kingdom of Uḍḍīyana where dakinis were having a Gaṇacakra feast. Soon after that it is also said that Maitripa also came to visit Drogmi and gave him Vajrayoginī instructions.

After having given the complete Lamdre instructions, Gayadhara returned to India with all the offerings he had received from Drogmi in order to dedicate his meritorious deeds.
Soon after Gayadhara made his third visit to Tibet at the invitation of Goe Lotsawa, who was Drogmi's disciple. In spite of Goe and Drogmi's previous student and teacher relationship, some misunderstanding and discord developed between the two. Drogmi's tight-fistedness or rather strictness in giving instructions and his eagerness to obtaining gifts, failed to impress potential students like Marpa. Incidentally Goe is said to have disparaged Gayadhara by saying: "What kind of Paññita is he? He is a greedy and vagrant Atsara who only wants to collect gold and wealth." Having disparaged Gayadhara, Goe decided that he should compete with Drogmi by inviting someone more famous and learned Paññita than Gayadhara from India himself. After making some inquiries he left for India to invite Mahāpaññita Maitripa, then the most famous Paññita in India. He put all his gold in a human skull and sealed it and made coloured chalk drawings on it and he went to India accompanied by Se Sherab Monlam. They safely reached Dromo as he carried it on his back by saying that he is a Tibetan demon. In a frontier province inhabited by barbarians in North India they met a Paññita, who was accompanied by two attendants. One of them was bearing a parasol and fan made out of peacock feathers and the second one was carrying his bedding. The mysterious Paññita, who was in fact no other than Gayadhara, knowingly asked: "Where are you two going? Are you looking for anybody?" We are going to see Maitripa in Magadha, the two replied. "I am Maitripa,

48 Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk correctly asserts that Paññita Gayadhara visited Tibet four times. All the other Lamdre historians as well as all Tibetan historians believe that Gayadhara visited Tibet only three times. The first visit took place at the predication and guidance of his teacher and Khasarpani during which, he meets Drogmi, but he did not give Lamdre. It was mainly hosted by Purang Lotsawa but Drogmi and Gayadhara first met during this visit. They made preliminary arrangements to bestow Lamdre after three years time. During the second visit, he gave gsum dag lam bras to Drogmi and stayed five years in Tibet. In spite of his detail account of all the four visits which agrees with other accounts, Ngawang Kunga Sonam and others seem to treat the first and second visit as one. It is important to differentiate between the first and second visits. Notwithstanding the maturity of Drogmi, it is unlikely that Gayadhara would have given Lamdre during his first visit. We have to accommodate Gayadhara's expansion that he had to collect his Indian texts from Ind. Drogmi also would not have managed to collect sufficient gold if Lamdre was given during the first visit. Gayadhara told Drogmi that he was going to India to visit his teachers to offer the golds to accumulate merits and to bring back his texts. Though he may have left his texts in Nepal, there is no mention of his teachers living in Nepal. Even if he went as far as Nepal, his return from there to Tibet would still be treated as his second visit. See Ngawang Kunga Sonom's O. C. E. S. in S. L. S., Vol. 2a, f. 135. The third and fourth visits were respectively invited by Goe Lotsawa and Gyijo Daway Oser.

49 A popular phrase used by Drogmi to his potential students was: "If you wish to receive teachings, go and bring some wealth from your home" (chos dgos yul du soñ la na nor 'khuyer la sogs). It is this effective approach of Drogmi, undoubtedly taught by Gayadhara which has been interpreted unfavourably by scholars such as Tsang Nyon Heruka who reports what Marpa thought when he faced Drogmi's strict approach: "Even if I stayed a long time with this guru Drogmi) in order to complete the four abhishekas of Nairatmya, I would have to give fifteen dris [female Yak]. To receive the permission-blessing of the deivi Ekajati, I would surely have to give at least one yak or dri. Without offerings, it is impossible to fill one's mind completely with the dharma. Even if I had such offerings and completely received the dharma in this way, I couldn't say that I had received the teachings from a great Paññita. In particular, I have asked again and again to borrow the dökin-vajrapājihara-tantra to look at briefly, but Drogmi would not give it to me. I should give this guru as many offerings as will please him, and exchange the rest of my provisions for gold. Then I should take my share of the inheritance from my parents and go to India to study the dharma." See L. M. T., pp. 6-7. Although Marpa may have thought that in the beginning, it is the skillful means of Drogmi which actually led him to go to India and became what he is renowned for. Marpa himself appears to have used this approach later to his students. This is the same with Goe Lotsawa.

50 He does not seem to be included among Abhayadattas's eighty-four siddhas. Maitripa was one of the main teachers of Marpa and Khyungpo Naljor. Since he is not only known as Avadhitipas but also "māśa' bdag mei tri pa", he appears to have been a king previously. This raises the question whether he is to be identified with Gayadhara's teacher Avadhitipas or to someone else. See p. 62 of this chapter.
what do you want?" replied Gayadhara. Having heard thus, Goe was very pleased and said, "I wish to invite you to Tibet."

After they spent few days discussing Dharma, Goe was impressed, thinking that this was a very learned Pandita. Thinking that he was actually Maitripa, Goe invited him to come to Tibet by offering seven ounces of gold. The Pandita accepted the invitation. However since the Pandita asked about the health of Drogmi several times on their journey, Goe suspected why the Pandita was asking Drogmi's health. By this time some former disciples had already recognized the true identity of Gayadhara and addressed him by his name. Puzzled Goe asked, "Venerable sir, you have told me a lie. You are not Maitripa." Gayadhara replied: "Aren't you wishing to receive Dharma teachings or not? I am far more learned than Maitripa. When I was teaching Drogmi in the past you have belittled how stupid Drogmi was and how greedy I was. But there is no comparison between you and Drogmi. If you do not wish to accept me as your teacher, I can give back your gold and I can go to U [dbus]." Go offered him one ounce of gold as the Mandala offering and begged: "I did not mean to disparage you. Please forgive me and accept the invitation at any rate." Gayadhara finally accepted Goe's request and said: "I will come to Tibet as you have asked. You were one of Drogmi's disciples yet you are jealous of him. How can you do this to your own teacher? This is unacceptable."

As Goe and Se were about to go ahead so that they can prepare to give an appropriate welcome to the Pandita, they were advised that a gang of Mon bandits were waiting at a road curve to rob them. So they left the gold with a merchant and started their journey. Se however, was very concerned of his teacher's [Goe] safety, so he disguised himself in his teacher's clothes so that if robbers attack, they will attack him instead of his teacher. He became famous for his great dedication to his teacher they reached home unharmed. They gave a grand welcome at the arrival of the Pandita. After their arrival Goe received the initiation of Guhyasamāja Aryā School51 and some other commentaries on Tantra from Gayadhara. Together they also made numerous translation on Tantra as preserved in bstan 'gyur.52

At one time both Goe and Pandita Gayadhara were staying in Shong [sor] with Zurpoche Shakya Jungnay, who had invited them. One day Drogmi paid a visit to Gayadhara who was very pleased to meet him again. Gayadhara asked Drogmi to interpret the teachings that he was going to give. Goe became very angry and jealous of Drogmi and complained to his teacher: "Let two of us take turns to interpret your teachings." Hearing this Gayadhara laughed and laughed and said: "Here in Tibet, you seem to take what is designed to be helpful as harmful. Don't you? I would be happy if you could do the whole interpretation by yourself, but I am afraid that Drogmi will pick up all of your mistakes. You will be unable to find even one mistake in Drogmi's interpretation, and yet you are complaining because of your jealousy. I was hoping that you will learn by observing how

51 Tib. Gsaṅ bsdus 'phags lugs.
52 See Appendix C, Section C.
Drogmi translates and improve your ability to translate properly. If you are not nervous and afraid of Drogmi pointing to your mistakes you could do the entire translation from today onwards." Having heard thus it is said that Goe did not dare to translate.

One day some time after that, Gayadhara secretly gave a Hevajra initiation to Drogmi and others but he did not permit Goe to attend. Next day, Goe was again upset and complaint for excluding him. Gayadhara gave some water from his initiation vase to Goe and said: "Since it is better for you to drink some water from my vase than receive initiation from evil Gurus, drink this water for your purification." Gayadhara reprimanded Goe for his disrespectfulness to Drogmi, and also asked: "Have you not disparaged me as being a greedy man? Why did you behave like that?" Goe tried to explain that he said that in order to hurt Drogmi but not to disparage Gayadhara. Goe had to apologize by making more offerings of gold to Gayadhara.

Lamdre historian Ngawang Kunga Sonam definitely asserts that although Gayadhara gave Hevajra initiation, commentary of Hevajra Tantra and Guhyasamaja etc. to Goe Lotsawa, he didn't give him the Lamdre instructions. He writes: "At one time when Drogmi paid another visit to Gayadhara, Drogmi doubted that Gayadhara may have given Lamdre to Goe, and asked: "Has there been any hindrances to your pledge?" Gayadhara replied: "Do not act as if you want to transgress your own pledges. He (Goe) is so contented and involved with his scriptural study that he did not even ask for any instructions." It is clear from this that Gayadhara did not give Lamdre to Goe.53

3.4. Gayadhara Passes Away in Tibet

Gayadhara again returned to India. When he made his fourth and final visit to Tibet at the invitation of Gyijowa Daway Oser [gyi jo ba zla ba'i 'od zer], Drogmi had already passed away. Gyijo Daway Oser received many teachings and made many offerings. One of his disciples named Nyoe [gtos] also invited Gayadhara and honoured him with great respect. There have been numerous other interested and potential disciples who brought many offerings of gold and begged him to accept them as his disciples. The Pandita once said: "Since you have very good fresh water, favourable weather conditions, few creatures, and nutritious food, now I must devote my time to do intensive practices of virtue here in Tibet. I will neither return to India nor will I wish to obtain more gold nor would I have the time to give instructions." One day when he was translating a text on Kalacakra, he lamented: "If Drogmi was still alive, we the father and son, would have sat together to do this translation. But now he has already departed to Khechara." Saying thus Gayadhara carefully dedicated all the offerings he had received for the beneficial application of virtues. After remaining there several years, Pandita experienced signs of his death and said: "I do not wish to stay here. Take me to Thophu [thod phu] where my spiritual descendants live."
Nyoe replied: "Nobody lives there except some foolish but great meditators who include Phakpa Choenang [phags pa chos snaA], one of Drogmi's disciples and Serok [se rog], one of Drom Depa Tonchung's [brom des pa ston chuA] disciples. On the other hand, we are also your spiritual descendants." "Though that is true, you may transgress your pledges if you fail to take me there," replied Gayadhara. In the meantime Nyoe and his companions took the Pandita to Thophu according to his wish, and as soon as they reached there Gayadhara said: "Now, display all the symbols of the Triple Gem and arrange the offerings. Perform the Gañacakra ceremony if you have not broken the pledges." At the conclusion of the ceremony when everyone was satisfied with the feast of Gañacakra, the Pandita held the Vajra and bell in his hands which he crossed at his heart, sat in full meditation posture and then said:

All of my sons! You must diligently practice meditation without being distracted. Having spent most of the time travelling back and forth between Tibet and India and having become involved in teaching, I did not give sufficient time to strive and meditate properly, but this is how a Yogi must die.55

Having heard thus the disciples witnessed this after three breath rounds: First there appeared a pellet sized ball of light emerging from Gayadhara's crown. Amidst the light there was crystal clear image of Heruka which issued bright lights illuminating the whole space. While hearing the melodious sounds of celestial music and seeing the showers of flowers falling from the sky, filled with rainbows, they saw an image of Heruka go towards the South West direction.

Bodong Panchen [bo don pa chen]56 makes an important remark regarding some personal meditational aids of Gayadhara, who gave them to Serok via whom they eventually reached the hands of Sachen some two generations after Gayadhara had passed away. They became some of the main relics inherited in the Sakya monastery. According to him 57 some time after Se and Rog had passed away, Phagpa Choenang [phags pa chos snaA], who was their relative and their student was given a bronze Stupa, a Thanka of Hevajra, a Sanskrit copy of Tantra, Vajra and bell [which all belonged to Gayadhara]. Later on Chagthangpa [lcags thaA pa] a student of his offered the Sanskrit copy of the Tantra and the Thanka to Nagton Lotsawa [nags ston lo tsA ba], who was disciple of Gyichuwa [sgyi chu ba].58 It is said that Gyichuwa offered these to Sachen from whom he received the Lamdre teachings. Others say that although he [Nagton Lotsawa] invited Sachen, Lopon Rinpoche Sonam

56 He was born in 1306 and died in 1386. See B. A., pp. 778-779.
58 Sgyi chu ba dgra lha 'bar was also a teacher of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo.
Tsemo\textsuperscript{59} came instead. While he hesitated to offer the Sanskrit text himself, it was later offered by his son [probably to Sonam Tsemo].

3.5. Chronology of Drogmi

In spite of the lack of details in one source, it will be important to review the chronology of Drogmi on the basis of several Lamdre and non-Lamdre sources. Goe Lotsawa Shonu Pal tried to date Drogmi's translation of some Tantras and the time when Marpa went to study with Drogmi in the following passages: "The Tantras belonging to the \textit{Yogini} class such as the \textit{Samvara}, \textit{Hevajra} and others were translated by bLa-chen 'Brog mi, when the great lo-tsa-ba was nearing his fiftieth year."\textsuperscript{60} The great lo-tsa-ba he is referring to is Lotsawa Rinchen Sangpo, who was born in 958. The fiftieth year of the great lo-tsa-ba falls in 1008. Drogmi, who was born in 992 would have been only sixteen years old when Rinchen Sangpo was fifty. Hence the time indicated by Goe Lotsawa, is far too early for Drogmi to translate those texts. Drogmi was only making preparations to go India to study at that time and could not have been undertaking those translations. Furthermore Goe Lotsawa says:

\begin{quote}
At that time, the boy (Marpa) had reached the age of fifteen and had a strong desire to learn the profession of a translator. With 'Brogmi he studied assiduously the "language of translations" (lo-tsa'i skad, i.e. Sanskrit) and mastered it thoroughly. Later, he used to say: "I had studied the interlinear and literary translations from Sanskrit under 'Brog-mi Lotsa-ba at the hermitage of my-gu-luü (near Sakya in gTsat). I think his kindness (towards me) was not little, but great."\textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

If Marpa, who was born in 1012 came to meet Drogmi when he was fifteen years old, then Drogmi would be thirty five years old and Rinchen Sangpo would be sixty nine years old. Here we find the discrepancy of 19 years. Goe also believes that Drogmi spent thirteen years in India and does not seem to know about the second visit. According to him, Drogmi went to India in 1008, reached India in 1009 and returned to Tibet in 1022. He does not realize that Drogmi was only sixteen when Rinchen Sangpo was fifty.

According to Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk, Drogmi spent eight years in India\textsuperscript{62} during his first visit to India, but he does not mention how old Drogmi was at that time. Supposedly Drogmi was sixteen when he went to India, took one year to reach India and spent only eight years in India then he would have returned in 1017, ten years before the segagenary cycle was introduced in Tibet. He married after his first return from India and this would have occured in 1018 or in 1019 when he was 26 or 27 years old. He stayed at

\textsuperscript{59} Slob dpon rin po che baod nams rtse mo He is one the five founding masters of Sakyapa tradition and elder son of Sachen.

\textsuperscript{60} See B. A., Pt. I, p. 205.

\textsuperscript{61} See Ibid., Pt. II, p. 399.

\textsuperscript{62} Ngawang Choedak says Drogmi studied in India 12 years with the six scholars including Sëntipa, but does not mention about the second visit. See B. L. G., in S. L. L. S., Vol. f. 163.
least three years before returning to India. This means he went back to India in 1020 and stayed four years with Viravajra, returning to Tibet around 1024. Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk does not indicate that Drogmi had undertaken those translations prior to his meeting with Gayadhara, who collaborated in the translation works. Gayadhara did not go to Tibet until Drogmi had returned from India and the great Lotsawa Rinchen Sangpo would be in his late sixties around that time. Goe Lotsawa's attempt to determine Drogmi's chronology of the translations in relation the age of Rinchen Sangpo has resulted this contradiction. It appears that either Goe had the wrong birth year of Drogmi or his scribe made an error. According to Ngawang Kunga Sonam, Drogmi spent eighteen years during his first visit in India which would delay further everything what Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk has said by ten years.

A similar contradiction is also created by Chogyam Trungpa (or must I say Nālandā Translation Committee?), who attempted to date Drogmi's founding of Mugulung monastery in conjunction with Marpa's chronology. Marpa's chronology may help to determine Drogmi's chronology since he was a student of Drogmi. When did Drogmi found his monastery, Mugulung? When did Marpa come to study with him? While attempting to answer these questions, Trungpa creates an obvious discrepancy with regard to the time when Marpa met Drogmi in his introduction and notes to the translation of Life of Marpa the Translator. He says:

Drogmi had established his monastery in Nyugu Valley in 1043. He was well versed in vajrayāna Buddhism, but his speciality was the teachings of "path and fruition" (T: lam-'bras), which later became the philosophical foundation for the teachings of the Sakya lineage. Drogmi was also a "lotsawa," a translator, and while in Tibet, he translated great number of texts now found in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. Marpa came to Nyugu valley to study with Drogmi around 1054 and stayed three years with him, learning Sanskrit and several colloquial languages of India.

According to Trungpa, Marpa was in his early forties when he first came to study with Drogmi. This is highly unlikely to be true. Would it not be too late for Marpa to meet Drogmi at that time? Marpa is said to have made three journeys and spent eighteen years in

---

63 See O. C. E. S. in S. L. L. S., Vol. XXI, p. 124. But Ngawang Kunga Sonam contradicts with his earlier work written in 1616 where he says: rgya che'i dam chos lo brgyad bar du balbas / de nas dpa' bo rdo rje'i žabs drun du / dbaḥ khrid rgyud geum bād pa maṅ po gsan / mdo r na rgya gar bal yul dañ bcas par / mi lo bcu geum bzung nas mkhas par gyur / Its translation is: He (Drogmi) studied extensive sublime Dharma during eight years. After that he listened many initiations, instructions, explanation on Tantra etc. from Viravajra. In short, he became learned after having spent thirteen years in India and Nepal. See Gratifier of the Readers in S. L. L. S., Vol. XXIII, f. 563. We find that the same author is making conflicting facts in between different works or even paragraphs. Khetsun Sangpo, a modern Tibetan scholar repeats the same mistake regarding the number of years Drogmi spent in India. He copies a large passage from Ngawang Choedak's B. L. G. and says Drogmi spent eight years in India. See Biographical Dictionary of Tibetan and Tibetans, Vol. XI, pp. 34-44. In an earlier volume he copies Ngawang Kunga Sonam's O. C. E. S. and says Drogmi studied with Santipa for eighteen years. See B. D. T. T., Vol. X, p. 44. Although it is evident from where he copied them from, but since he does not credit his sources, they are naked mistakes. Since these scholars simply copied without examination they are clearly unaware of contradictions in the sources.

64 Even though he does not cite his sources, he must have based this on the chronological table by sum pa mkhan po ye šes dpal 'byor's history. See S. P. S. Vol. 214, f. 547.

65 See L. M. T., p. xxvi.
India all together and he was in his early fifties after his last journey. Having forgotten what he has already said in the introduction of the book, Trungpa contradicts himself by saying Marpa was fifteen years when he studied with Drogmi. This means Marpa met Drogmi in 1027 and studied with him until 1030. Since there is no mention about any relationship between Gayadhara and Marpa, Gayadhara could not have been in Tibet around the time when Marpa was with Drogmi. Hence the meeting between Drogmi and Gayadhara has to be later by at least three years. If Drogmi had his monastery built when Marpa came to him, Marpa could have only met Drogmi after Gayadhara had given the Lamdre instructions to Drogmi. According to Lamdre sources the site where Drogmi built his monastery was chosen by Gayadhara, where he gave Lamdre instruction.

CONCLUSION

The origin of Lamdre tradition in India is not only crucial for the greater understanding of the history of Tantric Buddhism in India, but also its continuation in Tibet. Since its introduction to Tibet, Lamdre has been and is still a living tradition within the Tibetan Buddhism, and this can be found from the ten or more volumes of hagiography of the masters and history of the tradition. We hope that this study would motivate others to closely look into the early history of Lamdre in Tibet before it became the central teachings of the Sakyapa tradition. Although neither of Drogmi's son succeeded him, he had numerous disciples who branched their own traditions, which are forgotten amidst the glory of Sakya supremacy. It will be a challenging task to explore the lives and influence of Drogmi's Lamdre disciples with the exception of Khon Konchog Gyalpo. This will enable us to fully understand and appreciate the historical significance of Lamdre in the entire religious history of Tibet. There must be ample Tibetan works beside the Lamdre from where one may find how Lamdre tradition also became the central teachings of some other traditions, whose teachers themselves had never been to India. Although they are based on Lamdre teachings, there may have been some twisting and turning in the formation of the names of those new traditions to conceive them as separate traditions. This is yet to be explored.

66 Ibid., p. 199.
67 See p. 60.
APPENDIX A

The Origins And Founders Of The Nine-Fold Paths

In the Vajrayāna tradition there have been at least some eighty four Mahāsiddhas, who came to the world between 2nd and 10th century. Once they appeared in the meditative vision of the 10th century Ācārya Vajrāsanapadā when he invoked them in a special Ganacakra offering. They represent the main authors and commentators of Mahāyāna philosophy as well as the lineage masters of the Tantric Buddhist traditions. There are numerous collection of transmissions brought to Tibet from India by dedicated translators and scholars between 7th and 11th century. Just as some 59 masters are discussed in Tāranātha's "The Seven Instruction Lineages" [bka' babs bdun ldan], here we will briefly construct the succession lists of some 47 masters of the "Nine-fold Paths" [lam skor dgu] according to the Lamdre tradition. The Nine-fold Path is one of such collections consisting pithy instructions from the highest Tantras. In spite of some partial translations of the Nine-fold Paths provided by pa tshab lo tsā ba ni ma grags [1055 b.] and 'gos lo tsā ba, Drogmi brought the complete transmissions of all the Nine-fold Paths including their pithy instructions to Tibet. The order of the Nine-fold Paths set below do not necessarily reflect their historical order. We will try to identify the masters, the succession of their lineage and will outline the primary texts and their commentaries associated with the Nine-fold Paths which are extant in the bstan 'gyur of Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Unlike the Seven Instruction Lineages which is said to have been written by Tāranātha and the Four Special

---
1 Tib. Slob dpon rdo rje gdan pa žabs. He spontaneously composed one verse prayer to each of the eighty four Mahāsiddhas which will be quoted where suitable in this chapter. See Caturasīti-siddhābhyarthanā [grub thob brya'gyad cu rta bzhin gsal 'debs], Sde dge bstan 'gyur, rgyud, Vol. Tshu, Title No. 3758, ff. 110a - 113b. Also Peking ed. rgyud 'grel, Vol. 81, Title No. 4578, 238 - 4 - 5, ff. 326a - 330a.

2 Tib. Tshogs kyi 'khor lo. It is a periodical feast offered to the lineage Gurus, Triple Gem, Dharma protectors and to the deities in order to fulfil one's vows and purify trasgressions of Pratimokṣa, Boddhisattva and Tantric vows. It is also performed as a thanksgiving offering [gtan rags] at the conclusion of major ceremonies and teachings. The receiving of certain initiation commits the practitioner to make regular Ganacakra on the 10th and 25th of every month of the lunar calendar.

3 Basically there are four classes of Tantra in Buddhist Tantra. They are: Kriya, Cārya, Yoga and Mahānuttarayoga Tantra. Drogmi is regarded as one of the prominent masters who brought the latter Tantra in Tibet.

4 Also known as 'Gos khug pa lhas bsas pa, he was also a student of Drogmi. Some scholars say he bears the name as he was born in a cattle enclosure [lhas bsas]. Although he is also known as 'Goe lo tsā ba, he is not to be confused with 'Gos lo tsā ba gzön nu dpal [1392-1481], the author of Blue Annals. He found Drogmi rather too strict to be his teacher and made his own way to India and became very influential in Guhyasamāja practices in Tibet. Drogmi may have foreseen the importance of insisting to give him lots of gold for instructions and initiations a skillful way of encouraging people like Marpa and Goe to be motivated go to India and study in depth. See chapter III for more details regarding the relationship between Drogmi and Goe. See Appendix C, Section C for list of texts he translated with numerous Indian collaborators.
Transmission\textsuperscript{5} of Tilopa, the lineages of the Nine-fold Paths are clearly defined as to which Tantra the primary texts written by the founders of the paths belong to.

1. Yogisvara Virüpa\textsuperscript{6} is not to be confused with the another Virüpa, named "ṣar phyogs Virüpa," who was the Guru of Sukhasiddhi, and the author of \textquoteleft phyi med \textquoteleft khrul \textquoteleft khor \textquoteleft phag mo dbu bcad ma\textquoteright. Yogisvara Virüpa wrote numerous works on Anuttarayoga Tantra in general and has especially written "Vajra Verses" \[ rdo rje \textquoteleft tsig rkat \] on the Two Section Hevajra Root Tantra \[ kye rdo rje rtsa rgyud brtag pa gštis pa \]. The pithy instructions on the practices of the Hevajra Tantra are what came to be known as the Precious Lamdre tradition.

2. Nägärjuna\textsuperscript{8} is prophesied in the final verses of the \textit{Ārya Lankāvatāra Mahāyāna sūtra} \[ theg pa chenpo \textquoteleft phags pa la tāt kar gægs pa\textquoteright mdo \] and \textit{Ārya Mañjuśrīmūla Tantra} \[ \textquoteleft phags pa \textquoteleft jam dpal rtsa rgyud \] \textsuperscript{10} Tibetan sources explain that Nägärjuna came four hundred years after the time of Buddha's decease and lived six hundred years.\textsuperscript{11} This would roughly be in the first quarter of the second century \[ 125 \text{ C.E.} \]. When he was born in Vidarbha, in South India his parents were told by the sooth-sayers that the child would not

\textsuperscript{5} The bka\textquotesingle brgyud pas have so-called \textquoteleft bka\textquotesingle babs bźi,\textquoteright the Four Special Transmission of Tilopa which became primary source for the six Yogas of Nāropa, is divide into two, common and uncommon, which are preciser than the Seven Instruction Lineages though named in a similar fashion. See Tsang Nyon Heruka, \textit{The Life of Marpa The Translator}, Prajña Press, Boulder, 1982. pp. \textit{xxxii - xxxiii}.

\textsuperscript{6} The editors of Tohoku Catalogue of \textit{sde} dge edition and the catalogue of Peking edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons shows no indication of knowing the existence of more than one Virüpa. and thus list the works of two authors under one name. See Prof. Hakaju Yi and Co., C. C. T. B. C. p. 247 and Suzuki, Dr. Daisetz T., \textit{I.}, p. 204. Robinson and Chattopadhyaya also repeats the same mistake in their list of works by Virüpa. See E. F. S., p. 359 and T. H. B., supplementary notes, p. 404 respectively.

\textsuperscript{8} See Appendix C, Section A for a complete list of works by Virüpa. As Tāranātha has indicated that there were more than one Virūpas, the Lamdre scholars also stress here the importance of not confusing the author of \" Tib. dbu bcad ma\textquoteleft sgrub thabs žes bya ba, Skt.: Chinnamuciśādana-nāma \" who is known as \textit{ṣar phyogs vi rū pa with Yogisvara Virüpa, the author of Tib.: lam \textquoteleft bras bu da\textquoteleft bca\textquoteleft psa\textquoteleft gdama žag, Skt.: Mārgaphalavātavādaka and ex-abbot of Nālandā. The editors of Tohoku Catalogue of \textit{sde} dge edition and the catalogue of Peking edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons shows no indication of knowing the existence of more than one Virüpa. and thus list the works of two authors under one name. See Prof. Hakaju Yi and Co., C. C. T. B. C. p. 247 and Suzuki, Dr. Daisetz T., T. T. C. I., p. 204. Robinson and Chattopadhyaya also repeats the same mistake in their list of works by Virüpa. See E. F. S., p. 359 and T. H. B., supplementary notes, p. 404 respectively.

\textsuperscript{9} See Peking ed. bka\textquotesingle gyur, mdo sna tshogs, Vol. 29, Title No. 775, ff. 606 - 172b.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., rgyud, Vol. 6, Title No. 162, ff. 45b - 255a.

\textsuperscript{11} Tāranātha explains this further with two different calculations: According to one calculation, this Śākya lived for seventy one years less than six hundred years; according to another, twenty nine years less than that \[ i.e. less than six hundred years\]. See T. H. B., p.110. There are some scholars like Benoytosh Bhattacharya, who misdates Nägärjuna about 645 C.E. based on the assumption that there were two Nägärjunas. This confusion is shared by M.Walleser, who also presumed that the Tibetan sources mixed together the accounts of Nägärjuna, the disciple of Aśvaghōsa, with Nägärjuna, the disciple of Saraha.
live beyond the age of seven. Afraid to witness his premature death, his parents sent him to a Buddhist monastery where he learnt to recite the Āparimitāyurhdaya-dharani [tshe dpag med kyi gzun], the life-prolonging sacred mantra and succeeded in escaping his fate. He entered the great university of Nālandā, became a disciple of Mahāsiddha Saraha, who is also known as Rāhulabhadra. Saraha wrote Doha songs based on the second chapter of Guhyasamāja Root Tantra and Nāgārjuna wrote great commentaries on the chapter of the Guhyasamāja Root Tantra [gsas 'dus rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi le'u] and the Bodhicitta chapter of Vairocanābhisambodhī [mam snat mton byan gi byan chub sans kyi le'u]. His main disciple was Āryadeva who accomplished his practice, which he realized in front of a stupa and is therefore known as [mchod rten drun thob]. This lineage has come to Drogmi (10th in line) through an unbroken succession of lineage masters as shown here:


According to the dating of the founding of Nālandā University accepted by some non-Tibetan scholars it is difficult to accept Nāgārjuna entering the University as a student. However, it is difficult not to see some kind of relationship between Nāgārjuna and Nālandā at some stage of his life. One must not forget that since the site where Nālandā is situated is Śāriputra’s birthplace as well as where he passed away, and it was held in reverence even before the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Lord Buddha. Śāriputra passed away before the Buddha and Nāgārjuna came four hundred years after the Buddha’s death. Hence it is a shortsighted argument to rely entirely on what the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hsien had to say about Nālandā’s existence or not as he may have failed to visit it himself. Sankalia appears very convinced that there were no connection between Nālandā and Nāgārjuna but I must say that it is easily dismissed if he remembers Śāriputra’s connection with Nālandā and even if the actual monastery took sometime to develop.

According to Pad ma dkar po, Saraha and his younger brother were both ordained by the Enlightened One’s son Rahüla and were given the names Rahulabhadra and Vīryabhadra respectively. One would find it difficult to accept the accuracy of this account for one cannot be certain how old Rahüla and Saraha lived to fill the long time gap of four hundred or so many years between Buddha and Nāgārjuna. Enlightened One’s son Rahüla [sras sgra gcan 'dzin] and Bhadanta Rahulā [btsun pa sgra gcan 'dzin] are two different people and Saraha’s upadhyāya is the latter, not the former. Vīryabhadra later became known as the Mahāsiddha Kukkuripa, the Dog lover as he was accompanied by one hundred bitches during the day, who became his consorts in the night time. Since other accounts i.e. Abhayadatta’s biography on the eighty four Mahāsiddhas fails to draw the close relation between Kukkuripa and Saraha, this needs further investigation. See Prof. Dr. Chandra, Lokesh, Pad ma dkar po’s Tibetan Chronicle, New Delhi 1968 f. 143.

The primary works and their commentaries on the last eight of the Nine-fold Path [lam skor phyi ma brgyad] have been preserved in Volumes XI and XX in S. L. S. and also in bka’ bryug gdam sngags mo dzod. The commentaries are written by jam mgon koṅ sprul blo gros mtha’ yas. See S. L. L. S.,Vol. XI [da], ff. 399-406 and Vol. XX [wa], ff. 374-397 and also T. I. T. S.,Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1971, ff. 555-561 and 700-723.

Tārānātha says Āryadeva was a contemporary to King Candragupta. Āryadeva was miraculously born out of a lotus in a garden of King of Sīthala Island. He becomes the main disciple of Nāgārjuna and received the Guhyasamāja initiation and instructions in this lineage. There is no such thing as Tantric Āryadeva and Ācārya Āryadeva. There was only one Āryadeva, who is also known as “Kaneri,” and mig geig pa, the One Eyed one. He became known with the latter name after he gave his right eye to a woman, who he met in a forest while he was on his way to subdue a Tīrthika named Durdharsakāla [thub dka' nag po]. The monks of Nālandā had to propitiate Mahākāla, whose emanation, a black crow took the letter inviting Nāgārjuna, who was in the South. Nāgārjuna sent Āryadeva to engage in the debate with the Tīrthika and advised to endure any difficulties on the way to Nālandā. Having defeated his opponent, Āryadeva wrote many important texts on Sutra and Tantra, which have become text books of Advanced Buddhist Studies in many countries.

3. Dombi Heruka19 is not to be confused with [dpal mchog Dom bhi pa] Śrī Dombipa,20 a pupil of Nāropa, who also wrote Sādhanas on a Lone and Nine Deity Manḍala of Hevajra. Dombi Heruka wrote a Sādhanā named "Amṛṭaprabha" [bdud rtsi 'od] and the Completion Stage commentary [lhan cig skes grub] 21 on the basis of Hevajra Triple Tantra. The practices are the instructions on the three spontaneously born Dharmas. He became one of the two main disciples of Virūpa through whom two lineages of Lamdre tradition developed in India. Tārānātha places him as a contemporary to Mahāsiddha Vajraghanta [grub chen dril bu pa] and says: "Dombi Heruka attained siddhi about ten years after Virupa. About ten years later Vajraghanta attained siddhi."22 He also believes that Dombi Heruka brought the Kurukullā-kalpa and the Aralli-Tantra on the basis of Hevajratantra, Nairātmā-devi-sādhana and Sahaja-siddhi.23 Lamdre histories describe Dombi Heruka24 as a boatman who met Virūpa when the latter parted the river Ganges, but not as a king, who received a daughter of a low-caste singer as his Tantric consort and became a great Yogin. The interesting thing about the

16 Tib. Zla ba grags pa [Famous moon]. Unlike Aryadeva, Candrakīrti is not listed among the eighty four Mahāsiddhas of India. He is renowned for his madhyamaka-avatāra-kārikā which is regarded to second to no other works even by his own teachers. There are over a dozen of important works by him in bstan 'gyur, the Tibetan Buddhist Canon which mainly deals with madhyamaka philosophy. See T. H. B. pp. 401-402.

17 He is listed as one of the twelve main Tantric masters to have reigned in Vikramaśila Monastery and said to have succeeded Laṅkā-jayatadra. In Tibetan he is known as bram ze dpal 'dzin and was also a disciple of Kṛṣṇācārin in the Sarorūha Hevajra Lineage. Tārānātha says this is historically an error but assumes that Śridhara received the transmission from Kṛṣṇācārin in his meditative pure vision. He also became known as the "buffalo head ācārya" after he had given his head as a ransom to rescue a Bhikṣu from an evil king who was about to cut off the Bhikṣu's head and replaced his own head with a buffalo head. As a prominent commentator on Śriyamārī Tantra [dpal gsin rje gzed kyi rgyud], there are over thirty works by him in the bstan 'gyur.

18 Skt. Bhikṣu Viravajra. This is his actual Tantric secret name. However, blo gter dba' po gives the secret name Prajñā Indraruci [Prajñendraruci] instead. Other lam 'bras slob bsdā histories i.e. that of Jamyang Kyentse Wangchhuk ['jam dbyan mkhyen brtse dba' phyugs] also confirms Gelong Powo Dorje's [dge snot dpa' bo rdo rje] secret name as Prajñā Indraruci. Secret name [gsan mi] is given to the initiates as a part of the Fourth Empowerment. Chos ṭhang 'phags pa lists the two names as two individuals which must be an printing error. See C. W. G. M. S., Vol. VI, f. 365 and p. 32 See Chapter III.

19 Gdiṅ ba btiṅ nas gā ga brgal / stag la gzon nas dbus grub bāṅes / dom bhi he ru ka zes-pa'i / bla ma de la phyag 'tshal lo // Seated ona mattress (you) crossed the Ganges and attained siddhi while riding a tiger. To the Guru is called "Dombi Heruka", I pay my homage. See Footnote 1, and also chapter II for details of his life.


21 See S. L. L. S., Vol. XI [da], ff. 387-399 and Vol. XX [wa], ff. 287-301 and also T. I. T. R. S., Vol. IV, Delhi, 1971, ff. 507-517 and 631-644. Beside this, many of his other works are also found in bstan 'gyur. See Appendix C, Section B.

22 See T. H. B. p. 222.

23 Ibid p. 246. See Appendix C, section B for the details of his works.

24 Dombi means outcast, a name the king received when he took a young twelve year old girl of low-caste as his consort.
confusion is that Lamdre texts fail to explain why a boatman would receive the name Dombi and fails to mention of his taking a low-caste singer as his consort. Following are the main texts written by Dombi Heruka found in the Lamdre collection, but the list of his works found in the bstan 'gyur are listed elsewhere.1) The Commentary Kumuti on the Root Tantra [rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa ku mu ti]. 2) The Ripening Mandala Rites "Holder of all that is good" [smin byed dkhyil 'khor gyi cho ga bzaṅ po yoás bzuñ]. 3) The six-limbed Sādhana of the Father Deity suitable for people of superior intelligence for the Generation Stage of Liberation Path [grol lam bskyed rim dbaṅ po ral la yab kyi sgrub thabs yan lag drug pa]. 4) Amṛṭaprabha, the Sādhana of the Mother Deity [yum gyi sgrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od]. 5) The minor-commentary on Tummo Completion Stage [rdzogs rim gtum mo'i 'grel chut]. 6) Sādhana Ratnajvala [sgrub thabs rin chen 'bar ba] etc. Since the following succession of this path is mainly based on the commentary Kumuti it is known as "The Commentary Tradition" ['grel pa lugs] and also "The Dombi Heruka tradition" [dom bi'i lugs]:

1) Vajradhara, 2) Vajranairātmyā, 3) Virūpa, 4) Dombi Heruka, 5) Alālavajra, 6) Nags khrod pa, 7) Ācārya Garbharipa, 8) Jayaśrī, 9) Durjayacandra, 10) dge sloṅ dpa' bo rdo rje and 10) 'brog mi lo tsā ba ša kya ye šes.

25 See Chapter II, pp. 35-41.
26 According Ngorchen, Dombi Heruka recited and gave this Sādhana to King Dehara while he was burnt into fire by the subjects of the king. See Chapter II, pp. 39-40.
27 Since the following succession of this path is mainly based on the commentary Kumuti it is known as "The Commentary Tradition" ['grel pa lugs] and also "The Dombi Heruka tradition" [dom bi'i lugs]:

1) Vajradhara, 2) Vajranairātmyā, 3) Virūpa, 4) Dombi Heruka, 5) Alālavajra, 6) Nags khrod pa, 7) Ācārya Garbharipa, 8) Jayaśrī, 9) Durjayacandra, 10) dge sloṅ dpa' bo rdo rje and 10) 'brog mi lo tsā ba ša kya ye šes.

28 See Lineage Tree (1), p. 80.
4. Indrabhūti: There have been at least three Indrabhūtis [some say nine] in the land of Uḍḍīyana. All three are said to have been emanations of Vajrapāni. Historically it is middle Indrabhūti, who received the first initiation of Guhyasamāja directly from Śākyamuni Buddha together with his one thousand queens. After having attained the supreme siddhi, he wrote a commentary called [dbat yon tan rim pa] on [ye šes thig le], the subsidiary Tantra of Hevajra. The practice is known as [phyag rgyas lam rdzogs].

There is a historical lineage of this path coming through the junior Indrabhūti down from Brahmin Ratnavajra to Prajñāuguhyā etc. but the succession of the near lineage is as follows:


5. Mahāśiddha Saroruha: There have been three famous persons with the name Padmavajra in Uḍḍīyana. The senior or chronologically the first is Anahgavajra [yan lag med pa'i rdo rje] and the third one is Uḍḍīyana Padmavajra (Padmasambhava), who established Buddhism in Tibet. The Middle Padmavajra, who is better known as Saroruhaavajra wrote the Hevajra Sādhana [sgrub thabs mtsho skyes] for the liberating

---


34 Tib. Riṅ brgyud. Choegyal Phagpa, whose list of lineage masters of the Nine-fold Paths are slightly different from the traditional Lamdre historical sources, give the following as his version of historical lineage of this Path: Vajradhara, Śrimahāsukha, Indrabhūti, Śrībrhamapāda, Brahmīvināvajra Indrabhūti II, slob dpon gos bral, King Jñanabhūti, Śrīyobhūti, Padmavajra, Dombi Heruka, yan lag bar ma'i Žabs, lha mo buṅ ba'i pad ma, Sister Lakṣmi, Indrabhūti III, Ratnavajra, Kāśmirī Prajñāuguhyā, 'brog mi lo tsa ba etc. See C. W. G. M. S., Vol VI, f. 366 and p. 33.

35 Rgyal rigs o rgyan gnas la bžugs / lcam sriṅ gāis kyi dṅos grub bṣes / in dra bhū ti Žes bya ba'i / bla ma de la phyag 'tshal lo // The royal clan who dwells in Uḍḍīyana attained siddhi with (your) sister. To the Guru who is called "Indrabhūti", I pay my homage. See Footnote 1.

36 Tib. fie brgyud [Skt. Upatantra]. Near lineage is based on teachings, initiations and instructions one can receive in pure vision[s] from the deity or one of the previous lineage Gurus. It could be repetition of an initiation or teachings one has received historically or it could be a totally new set of teachings. However most fie rgyud teachings are based on a rīn rgyud teachings.

37 Tib. Legs smin ka ra. This is a typical compound of Tibetan and Sanskrit names. Lakṣmīṇkarā is the only female siddha who appear in the lineages of the Nine-fold Paths. There are four female Siddhas among the eighty four Mahāsiddhas. Born in the royal family of Uḍḍīyana, a sister of Indrabhūti, she is one of his main successors in most lineages. One short work by her entitled the Advayasiddhi sādhana -n5ma [No. 2220, WL, 60b - 62a] is preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.

38 See Lineage Tree (4), p. 81.

39 Zla ba'i rigs la dṅos grub bṣes / pad ma can daṅ lhan cīg bzhugs / mtho skyes rdo rje Žes bya ba'i / bla ma de la phyag 'tshal lo // The candra race, who attained siddhis live with a Padmavati. To the Guru who is called "Saroruha Vajra" (Padmavajra), I pay my homage. See Footnote 1.

40 Sachen identifies him with Ṛcṣya Jalandhara and says he was a renowned teacher from Baṅgala [Bengal]. See slob dpon mtho skyes kyi lo rgyus, C. W. G. M. S., Vol. I, ff. 380-381. However Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya identifies the siddha Gorakṣa with Anāgavajra presumably on the basis of Abbayadatt's story on siddha Gorakṣa. See T. H. B., p. 227.

41 See Sde dge bstan 'gyur, rgyud, Vol. fl, Title No. 1218, ff. 1a - 7a.
path of Generation Stage\textsuperscript{42} and "Tip of the Lamp" [\textit{mar me'i rtse mo}] \textsuperscript{43} based on the Two Part Hevajra Root Tantra. According to Sachen, he was born in \textit{Oḍiśiṣā} (modern Orrisa), south of \textit{Vajrasana} (\textit{Bodh Gaya}) in the \textit{Candra} clan. Since he yearned to practice \textit{Mantra}, he left for \textit{madyādesa} and gradually reached \textit{Uḍḍīyana}, where he became the teacher of king \textit{Indrabhūti}, the third. His childhood name was \textit{Candrabindu} [\textit{zla ba'i thig le}]. He later met his main teacher \textit{Anaṅgavajra} through the guidance of the latter's sister \textit{Yogini Cinto}. The practice of the latter is known as "the Nine Profound Methods" [\textit{zas pa'i tshul dgu}],\textsuperscript{44} for the Generation Stage\textsuperscript{45} practices. Other works related to this include: 1) \textit{The Manḍala Rite known as "Nas glin ma" for the path of ripening the disciples} [\textit{slob ma smin byed kyi lam ston pa dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga nas glin ma}].\textsuperscript{46} 2) The Five-Fold Samāya Gaṇacakra [\textit{tshogs 'khor dam tshig lta pa}].\textsuperscript{47} 3) \textit{The Burnt-Offering Ritual} [\textit{shyin sreg gi cho ga}].\textsuperscript{48} 4) \textit{The Twenty Praises} [\textit{bstod pa tsi šu pa}].\textsuperscript{49} 5) \textit{And the Commentary Pad-ma-can For The Difficult Points Of Root Tantra} [\textit{rtsa brgyud kyi dka' brel pad ma can}].\textsuperscript{50} The succession of this lineage is as follows:

1) \textit{Vajradhara}, 2) \textit{Vilāsyavajra}, 3) \textit{Anaṅgavajra},\textsuperscript{51} 4) \textit{Saroruha}, 5) \textit{Indrabhūti}, 6) \textit{Sister Lakṣmīnikārā}, 7) \textit{Kṛṣṇācārin}, 8) \textit{Śridhara}, 9) \textit{Gayadhara} and 10) \textit{brog mi lo tša ba šā kya ye šes}.

6. \textit{Koṭālipa, tog rtse pa}: Native of \textit{Rameśvara}, \textit{Koṭālipa [Pick-man]}\textsuperscript{53} was a peasant who hoed the fields with his pick for living. He became a student of \textit{Ācārya Ratnakarāsanti-pa}, the Eastern Gate scholar\textsuperscript{54} of \textit{Vikramaśīla} monastery when the latter was returning from his visit to \textit{Sīṇhala} (\textit{Śri Lanka}). He obtained \textit{siddhi} after twelve years of

\textsuperscript{42} Tib. Groł lam bskyed pa'i rim pa.

\textsuperscript{43} See sde dge bstan 'gyur, rgyud, Vol. \textit{fi.a}, Title No. 1220, ff. 19a - 20b.


\textsuperscript{45} Tib. Bskyed rim, Skt. \textit{Utpattikrama}.

\textsuperscript{46} See sde dge bstan 'gyur, rgyud, Vol. \textit{Ta}, Title No. 1263, ff. 1a - 14a.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., Vol. \textit{fa}, Title No. 1224, 26b - 28b.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., Title No. 1223, 23a - 26a.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., Title No. 1222, 22b - 23a.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., Vol. \textit{Ka}, Title No. 1181, ff. 173b - 275a.

\textsuperscript{51} His works include \textit{Śrīhevakjrasādhana} [\textit{dpal kye'i rdo rje'i sgrub thabs}]. See Ibid, Vol. \textit{fa}, Title No. 1249, ff. 209b - 210b.

\textsuperscript{52} See Lineage Tree (5), p. 81.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{žid pa'i rigs pa thar ru'i lus / mu dra ma daṅ dnos grub bsñes / tog rtse pa žes bya ba yi / bla ma de phyag 'tshal lo // Thre peasant, who has a body of a Tharu attained siddhi with Mudrama. To the Guru who is called "Koṭālipa", I pay my homage. See footnote 1.}

\textsuperscript{54} Tib. \textit{Sar sgo sruñ ba'i pañ di ta slob dpon rin chen 'byuñ gnas ži ba.}
practice on the basis of Santipa's teachings. He travelled to the madhyādesa and became the teacher of Savari and Lavapa. He wrote a treatise on Sampūta Tantra known as "The Complete Path of the Five Inconcievables" bsam mi khyab lhas lam rdzogs containing the practices which are instructions on the Five Inconcievables. His work is generally regarded as Completion Stage Practice of general Anuttarayoga Tantra. The succession of the lineage of The Five Inconcievables teachings is as follows:


7. Kṛṣṇācārin: Generally there have been number of teachers under the name of Kṛṣṇa, Kapha, Kṛṣṇācārya or Kṛṣṇācārin in India. Kṛṣṇācārin, originally one of the five hundred devotees of Mahādeva was converted into Buddhism by Virūpa and became one of the two most important disciples of Virūpa. Better known as šar phyogs nag po pa of Mount Utsayana in the Lamdre histories, he wrote four stages of Olapati in the language of the Dākinīs based on the Cakrasaṃvara Tantra [’khor lo sdom pa’i rgyud]

---

55  Tib. Yul dbus.
58  Tib. Ye ṣes kyi mkha’ ’gro ma.
59  Tib. Slob dpon rta mchog.
60  Lamdre texts spell Vinasa, but both of these are printing errors. According to the the stories of the eighty four Mahāsiddhas, Vinapa means one who plays Vina, a kind of Indian lute. Tibetan call it pi vañ. He is said to have been a prince of Gahura who was very attached to his lute.
61  Tib. Sgegs pa’i rdo rje. As a main disciple of Lakṣmīkarā and also Viḷāsyavajra, there are number of his works found in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.
62  Tib. Dpal ldan chos kyi sde.
63  Tib. Bsani po’i žabs. He was a brahmin and native of Manidhara. Snellgrove assumes him to be a teacher of Tillepa and author of Śrīhevajrayākhyāvivarana. See H. T. p. 14.
64  See Lineage Tree (6), p. 80.
65  Bla ma’i bka’ bcag spyod pa mdzad / srid pa bar dor rdzogs saṅs rgyas / nag po spyod pa ṣes bya ba’i / bla ma de la phyag ’tshal lo // Having disobeyed the Guru’s order, you attained enlightenment in the intermediate state. To the Guru who is called “Kṛṣṇācārin”, I pay my homage. See footnote 1.
commentaries. This practice is known as [gtum mo'i lam rdzogs], the Complete Path of g tum mo Fire. The succession of this lineage is as follows:


8. Uciṭāmara: While nag po rdo rje was journeying towards Jālandhara and enacting his Čārya practices, Yoginis were walking before him. He overheard in a street of a big city someone by the name of Uciṭāmara, who, free of sickness and death, could fly in the sky. As he inquired his whereabouts, a young man pointed his finger and said: "With great sense of uncertainty he sometimes dwells in the rocks but sometimes in the forest." The Yogin entered the forest and received the teachings from this dark and naked ascetic, who introduced himself as a disciple of Mahādeva. Subsequently the Yogin wrote verses in praise of bringing the vital energies into the central channel based on entire Mother Tantra such as [nag po u tsi ta chi ba med pa'i rgyud]. The practice is known as [yon po sro tba], "Straightening the Crooked" and its succession lineage is as follows:


9. Vagendrakīrti is the great Paṇḍita who was the Western Gate-Keeper of the Vikramāśīla monastic university and was blessed by goddess Tārā. He wrote numerous texts based on Hevajra Tantra and Predictions of Tārā known as bstan bcos bzi pa sna med.

---

68 Tib. Rus stbal žabs.
69 Tib. Chu 'dzin žabs.
70 Snellgrove says in his footnotes of the introduction to his translation of The Hevajra Tantra: He was certainly a pupil of Jālandhari [also adept of Hevajra-tantra] and the succession is given [EM, p. 43] in a manner which accords completely with my present requirements. See p. 13.
71 See Lineage Tree (7), p. 81.
72 Bka' thub bor nas spyod pa mdzad / lta staṅs mdzad ciṅ dālos grub baṅs / nag po rdo rje žas bya ba'i / bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo // Having abandoned austerity you practiced Čāryā and attained siddhi through ritual gazing. To the Guru who is called "Kṛṣṇāvajra", I pay my homage. See footnote 1.
74 See Lineage Tree (8), p. 81.
75 Rgyal rigs fī ma'i zer la gšugs / ril bu mig sman sa 'og spyod / nag gi dbāṅ phyugs ces bya ba'i / bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo // The royal traveller, who walks through the sun beams, and goes underground with pills and eye-ointment. To the Guru who is called "Vagendrakīrti", I pay my homage. See footnote 1.
"The Fourth Treatise of Seven-Fold Illumination" and "The Precious Thatness". The associated practice is known as "Phyag Rgya Chen po yi ge med pa" being the essence of Dombi Heruka's Sādhana on Vajranairātmya. The succession lineage of this path is as follows:


The last eight-fold succession of teachings and as well as the Lamdre which belonged to the Anuttarayoga Tantra were all transmitted to Drogmi, one of the three founding fathers of the subsequent diffusion of Dharma in Tibet, the other two, Marpa and Goe being his disciples. He thus became the confluence and repository of the Nine-fold Paths. In conclusion, the lineages of the Nine-fold Paths are mainly associated with Cakrasamvara, Hevajra, and Guhyasamāja, the three main Tantras of Mahānuttarayogatantra. All the Mahāsiddhas associated with the Nine-fold Paths have been identified, their master and disciple relationships have been established and their written works preserved in the bstan 'gyur, lam *bras and gdams rtag mdzod have been cited. Excluding Vajradhara, the primordial Buddha from whom all the Vajrayāna lineages were originated, there are 47 Mahāsiddhas who have represented in the lineages of the Nine-fold Paths up to Drogmi. Not all of them belong to the list of the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas but all of their works are still preserved. In all of the lineages it is Vajradhara from whom the lineages generally begin and the second one in the lineages is usually a form of a deity or a Bodhisattva, who makes a brief appearance in the meditative vision of an adept, who receives the initiation and the instruction. He becomes the first human Guru of the lineage. Except some lineages, these lineages are not necessarily named after the first human Guru of the lineages. Generally the transmitter of one lineage such as Virūpa, who brought forward the transmission is the third one in each lineage and it is in whose name the transmission is attributed to. However we have seen that this pattern is not shared by all the lineages. There are lineages which are named after Nāgārjuna or Kotalipa, who are not the third in the line since there have been other predecessors i.e. Vilāsyavjra, Saraha, Vajraghantapa etc. who received the transmission from a deity or Vajradhara. The main reason of doing this is that name of the lineage is ascribed to the master who wrote the main text.

---

77 Tib. Pan chen lha yi 'byuṅ gnas zla ba.
78 Tib. Don yod rdo rje.
79 See Lineage Tree (9), p. 81.
80 Marpa Lotsawa Chokyi Lodro [mar pa lo tsā ba chos kyi blo gros] is the founding father of the bka' brgyud pa tradition and celebrated teacher of Milarepa. When he was fifteen he came to see Drogmi and became a Sanskrit language student. Although he hoped to be initiated by Drogmi, Marpa did not have enough gold and did not have the right karmic affinity to become his student. It is however, Drogmi's guidance and encouragement that Marpa made decision to go to India and became very famous. He is also regarded by the Kagyupa hagiographers as the incarnation of Dombi Heruka. See Chaper III, pp. 66-67.
As shown in the following lineage charts, Indrabhūti, Lakṣmikarā and Viravajra appear in three lineages; Kṛṣṇācārin, Sridhara and Gayadharā appear in four lineages; and Virūpa transmits two lineages succeeded by Dombi Heruka and Kṛṣṇācārin. Other prominent siddhas i.e. Nāgārjuna, Dombi Heruka, Saroruha, and Vajraghantapa appear only in one lineage. Since Drogmi received all the transmissions of the lineages of the Nine-fold Paths from four Indian Panditas and brought them to Tibet, and transmitted as a collection of lineages it became known as the Nine-fold Paths. It is clear that he did not give all nine transmissions to any one individual disciple though he passed down all to different successors.

Kṛṣṇācārin
APPENDIX B SECTION A

Translation of Tibetan text

Here Begins the Praise to Śrī Virūpa

By

Master Sachen¹ (1092-1158)

Namö Virūpāya!

A-la-la! This unimaginable and magnificent torch of brilliance
Which, devoid of elaboration arose from the simultaneously born;
It is wonderful indeed that you are called Holy Virūpa
Have now become my Lord! 1.

Parted from all the conceptions through your glory,
And having expanded the three vital channels² by the four blisses³
Arisen from hazy perception, transforming into bliss-void (experience),⁴
I offer this praise to you, however little I can recall. 2.

O Lord, you possess the wealth of dual perfection of happiness and good.
With wisdom and compassion you reveal the supreme path
To the fortunate disciples, and establish them in Nirvāṇa.
To you who dwell in the supreme unshakable state, I bow down. 3.

You who in this world renounced royal life and received ordination,
Mastered the five sciences⁵ and were revered as preceptor by ten million Sthavira monks.
To you who were famed as Sthavira Dharmapāla, I bow down. 4.

Sachen is an abbreviation of Sa skya pa chen po [the great Sakya], and it refers to Sa chen kun dga’ tīn po, the first of the five Sakya masters known as "Sa skya gön ma rnam lha". Since later Sakya masters ave also been called by this name to recognize as his embodiment, it became as a honorific title for most great masters of Sakya monastery.

Three Doorways of air in this context refers to body, speech and mind.


Bde ba dza ston pa dbyer mi phyed pa is a deep meditative experience representing the non-duality of ss [method] and void [wisdom].

See Chapter III, p. 56, footnote no. 28.
You, benefecial to [those undertaking] the three trainings  
The powerful exponent of the Great Warrior's treatises, have not been defeated in 
debate.  
To you, the pillar of the teachings, like a Second Omniscient One  
Unrivaled on this earth, I bow down. 5.

By day you satiate the hosts assembled from all quarters  
With the nectar of Dharma according to graded vehicles;  
And at night you attained liberation through devotion to secret practices.  
To you who attained the sixth Bhūmi through the grace of Nairātmyā, I bow down 6.

In order to guide beings through the practice of vows  
You left the place of the Sangha, and with dispicable acts  
Entered and wandered through the villages.  
Thereby you became known in the world as "Virūpa," to you I bow down. 7.

Having reversed the flow of Ganges, you subdued the wicked king.  
Eclipsing the sun, you drank the intoxicants of the provinces.  
Yet not inebriated, completely shattering the liṅga, you subdued Caṇḍāli.  
To you who is famed as "Balesvara" The Lord of power, I bow down. 8.

Thus having displayed your unfathomable power  
Thereafter you subdued Kārttika in Saurāstra,  
Having pervaded all space with your non-conceptualized compassion  
You engage in the play of unified great bliss; to you I prostrate. 9.

As a means to make them swiftly realize the suchness  
Of the perfect purity and bliss-void of all Dharmas,  
You have shown the profound path through the four whispered lineages.  
To you who matures and liberates the fortunate ones, I bow down. 10.

Ah ! Until mind attains the pure realm,  
The stage of perfect liberation,  
O Holy One, may your direct manifestation  
Grace me again and again in this manner. 11.

If in this way, may the continuous flow of nectar  
Of these [verses] arising from the power of your compassion  
Should be augmented,  
May the benefit too be completely fulfilled! 12.
Also may the disciples, who in following you,
Not part from the two stages (of generation and completion),
Be unimpeded by the path's obstacles.
May they benefit the doctrine! 13.

Having completely filled with the four blisses
The three perfectly pure vital channels,
And being absorbed by the four quintessential paces
May I attain the stage of the chief Vajra bearer! 14.

May also this place which I have closely resorted to my dwelling
Having filled the earth and the space with its fame,
Shining white like the moon and Kumula [lotus] flower
May it be prosperous with the splendour of its virtues! 15.

Sachen wrote these praises by way of a spontaneous expression of his experience
which occurred when he had the direct vision of the Great Holy Yogesvara (Virūpa),
who, in the preaching gesture sat cross legged between the ravine of 'bal grog and mon grog
and was leaning on the background of the white earth; on his right was Kṛṣṇacarī; on his left was Gayadhara; on his rear was Kokalipa; and in front of him was Vīnasā. It is during this time that he taught the initiation, explanation of the hidden path, initiation of Vajravidārana, the oral transmission of seventy two Tantras, the instructions of lam 'bras, ten Mahāsiddhas and eight minor.

Appendix B Section A (Tibetan Text)
APPENDIX B SECTION B

Translation of Tibetan text

Here begins the Praise to Virūpa
By
Sa[kya] Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltshan (1182-1251/52)

I respectfully bow down to the Supreme Guru's feet!

These flowers of praise [blossomed] from the water of faith
I respectfully strew at the lotus feet
Of [you] renowned as "Śri Virūpa."
Whatever virtue accrues from this, that also I dedicate for the living beings. 1.

You, the Glorious One, who have fully realized
All knowable [objects] without exception
And hold sway over the composition of all Śāstras;
To you, I bow down. 2.

Become the ornament of all the world,
You are famed as "The Great Warrior."
You are endowed with the name "Śri Dharmapāla" [Glorious protector of the Law]
To you, the Fearless One, I bow down. 3.

Having mastery over all that is knowable
Your ever illuminating wisdom radiates everywhere.
To you, who, despite thousands of disputations from within and with others,
Cannot be defeated, I bow down. 4.

Through the activities of teaching, debating and composing
You graciously assemble Saṅgha during the day.
To you who acquired liberation through diligence at night,
The incomparable One, I bow down 5.

Who is able to estimate
Your inconceivable [Enlightened] activities!
[If one were to recount] even a part, it is inexhaustible in a hundred Kalpas.
To you, I bow down. 6.
Even a part of your activities
When reported to the Lord of the world,
He also praised you in the manner of counselling.
To you, I bow down. 7.

The prominent but arrogant teachers of the Tirthikas
Fainted after hearing about you.
To you who made them seek refuge in the Triple Gem.
I bow down. 8.

Dharmapāla, a name you formerly [held]
Was blessed into "Virūpa."
To you who causes those who merely hear it
To relinquish all the obscurations, I bow down. 9.

Should any person, who practises in your footsteps,
And merely remember your name, which is meaningful,
And think of your body, possessed of whatever form
He could never ever be defeated
By one hundred million Māras.
Hence I have realized with certainty
That there is no supreme Lord other than you. 10-11.

When one sends instructions to others in letters
Imagining that they are non other than your blessed instructions
The fire which arose from their friction of suffering
Becomes undoubtedly pacified.
Since this is witnessed by the Triple Gem,
If there are any Holy Ones
Other than you, please tell me. 12-13.

You are no other than the Triple Gem
The Triple Gem is no other than you
There is no Guru other than this
There is no Refuge other than this. 14.

Therefore out of your compassion for sentient beings
You have especially blessed your name
In order that those who hear it will be liberated from evil. 15.
Hence by remembrance you at all times
Whether I am walking, sitting or sleeping
I will not abandon [this practice]
Until I become equal to you. 16.

Therefore why will I not receive the blessings?
The Guru too has accordingly approved
Observe this statement,
From it my mind will not change. 17.

O Compassionate One,
Whoever praises in these words every day,
May your blessings apply to him also
Without any doubt. 18.

This supplication to Yogesvara Virupa was written by Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltschan at the Great Monastery of Sakya.

Appendix B Section B (Tibetan Text)
བཅོས་ལྕགས་པའི་ཚུ་ལེགས་བཅོས་པ་ལས། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བཅོས་ཤུན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤད། བོད་ལྡན་གཞུང་གི་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔེར་བཤdı
APPENDIX C SECTION A

WORKS BY VIRÜPA IN THE BSTAN 'GYUR

We have already cited some of the major works by Lamdre masters in relevant chapters. The following lists of works are according to the title and folio numbers of sde dge edition of Tibetan Buddhist Canon compiled in the complete Catalogue of Tibetan Buddhist Canons, Published by Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, 1934

1. 2017. (Tsi. 76b - 77b)
Tib.: gšin rje mthar byed dmar po'i sgrub thabs.
Skt.: Raktayamāntakasādhana (Sādhana of Red Yamantaka).
Translators: fli ma'i dbaṅ po'i 'od zer and chos rdo rje.

2. 2018. (Tsi. 78a - 80b)
Tib.: gšin rje gšed dmar po'i sgrub thabs.
Skt.: Raktayamārisādhana (Sādhana of Red Lord of Death).
Translator: Dānasīla.

3. 2019. (Tsi. 80b - 81a)
Tib.: 'od gsal 'char ba'i rim pa.
Skt.: (?) (The Stages of the Dawn of Clear Light).
Translator: Dānasīla.

4. 2020. (Tsi. 81a - 84a)
Tib.: sīn tu spros pa med pa de kho na šid kyi man nag ces bya ba.
Skt.: Sunispapañcatattvopadeśa-nāma (Pithy Instructions on Suchness, devoid of Elaboration).
Translators: Durpanācārya and šes rab rin chen.

5. 2022. (Tsi. 85a - 88a)
Tib.: gšin rje gśed kyi 'khrul 'khor gyi phreṅ ba.
Skt.: Yamāriyantrāvali (Garland of Yantra Yoga According to the Lord of Death).
Translator: Dānasīla.

6. 2044. (Tsi. 144a - 146b)
Tib.: bdud rtsi byin gyis brlab pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Amṛtādhiśṭhāna-nāma (The consecration of the Nectar).
Translators: Durpanācārya and že sdaṅ rdo rje.
7. 2280. (Shi. 134a - 136a)
Tib.: do ha mdzod ces bya ba.
Skt.: Dohakoṣa-nāma (The Treasures of Doha).
Translator: Śrīvairocanavajra.

8. 2283. (Shi. 138a - 139a)
Tib.: dpal bir ba pa'i tshig rkaḥ brgyad cu rtsa bzi pa.
Skt.: Śrī-Viśṇu-patadacatraśīti (The Eighty Four Lines of Śrī Viśṇu).
Translator: Śrīvairocanavajra.

9. 2284. (Shi. 139a - 143b)
Tib.: lam 'bras bu dañ bcas pa'i rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkaḥ.
Skt.: (The Root Vajra Verses of Path Including its Result).
Translator:

10. 2285. (Shi. 142b - 145a)
Tib.: bdud rtsi grub pa'i rtsa ba žes bya ba.
Skt.: Amṛtasiddhiśāla-nāma (The Root of Accomplishing Nectar).
Translator: Enadeva.

11. 2344. (Zi. 2b - 3a)
Tib.: las kyi gtum mo'i do ha mdzod kyi glu žes bya ba.
Skt.: Karmacandaślikādohakoṣagiti-nāma (The Dohakoṣa Songs of Activity Candra). Translator:

12. 2369. (Zi. 9a - 9b)
Tib.: bi rū pa'i glu.
Skt.: (Songs of Viśṇu).
Translator:
APPENDIX C SECTION B
WORKS BY ĐOMBI HERUKA IN THE BSTAN 'GYUR

1. No. 1416. (tsha. 209a - 225a)
Tibetan: gsan ba rdo rje rgyud kyi rgyal po'i 'grel pa.
Sanskrit: Guhyavajratantrarājavṛtti (Commentary on the Secret Diamond, King of Tantras).
Translators: Gururatnavajra and 'brog mi lo tsa ba ša kya ye ēs.

2. No. 1464. (sha. 33a - 34a)
Tibetan: dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs ţes bya ba.
Sanskrit: Ekavirāsādhana-nāma (Sādhana of the Sole Hero).
Translators: Ātiśa Dipamkara and nag tsho lo tsa ba tshul khrims rgyal ba.

3. No.1229. (ña. 37a - 41a)
Tibetan: de kho na šid bcu pa.
Sanskrit: Daśatattva (The Ten Suchnesses).
Translators: mar me mdzad ye ēs and dge ba'i blo gros.

4. No. 1230. (ña. 41a - 43a)
Tibetan: māl 'byor pha dān māl 'byor ma rnams la thun moṅ ma yin pa'i don la gdams pa ţes bya ba.
Translator: ?

5. No. 1231. (ña. 43a - 45a)
Tibetan: tshogs kyi khor lo'i cho ga ţes bya ba.
Sanskrit: Gaṇacakravidhi-nāma (Rites of the Gaṇacakra).
Translators: Jiḥānākara and chos kyi blo gros.

6. No. 1232. (ña. 45a - 48a)
Tibetan: dpal kye rdo rje'i sgrub pa'i thabs.
Sanskrit: Śrīhevajrasādhana (Śrī Hevajra Sādhana).
Translator: Vanaratna and gzon nu dpal.

7. No. 1234. (ña. 67b - 70a)
Tibetan: sloṅ mo'i 'grel pa ţes bya ba.
Sanskrit: Bhikṣāvṛtti-nāma (Commentray on Alms).
Translator: Jetakarna and ši ma rgal mtshan.
8. No. 1266. (Ta. 24a - 25b)
Tibetan: man Ṇaṅg rim pa gsum pa žes bya ba.
Sanskrit: Trikramopadeśa-nāma (Pithy Instruction with three Stages).
Translator: ?

9. No. 1306. (Ta. 215a - 217b)
Tibetan: bdag med rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs.
Sanskrit: Nairāṭmyayoginīsādhana (Śādhanā on Nairāṭmyayogini).
Translator: Gayadhara and 'brog mi lo tsā ba ša kya ye žes.

10. No. 1317. (Ta. 243b - 244)
Tibetan: 'phags ma sgrol ma ku ru kulle'i bstd pa.
Sanskrit: Ārya-Tārākurukulesotra (Praise to the Holy Tārā Kurukulle).
Translator: ?

11. No. 2223. (Wi. 68b - 70b)
Tibetan: dpal lhan cig skyes pa grub pa žes bya ba.
Sanskrit: Śrī-Sahajasiddhi-nāma (The Simultaneously Born Accomplishment).
Translator: ?

12. No. 2368. (Zi. 9a - 9a)
Tibetan: ḍom bi'i glu.
Sanskrit: Dombi-gītikā (The Songs of Dombi Heruka).
Translator: ?

13. No. 2389. (Zi. 21a - 21a)
Tib.: rtsa rlung gi sgo nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Nādībinduvārayogacaryā-nāma (The Cārya Yogi Practices of Vein and Droplets).
Translator: ?

14. No. 2390. (Zi. 21a - 21b)
Tib.: yi ge gti's pa'i man Ṇaṅg ces bya ba.
Skt.: Akṣaradvikopadeśa-nāma (Pithy Instructions on Two Letters).
Translator: ?

15. 2542. (Gu. 235a - 275a)
Tib.: 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yaṅ dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa.
Skt.: (Commentary on the Perfect Utterance of Holy Mañjuśrī’s Names).
Translator: khyuṅ grags.
APPENDIX C SECTION C

LIST OF TEXTS TRANSLATED BY DROGMI, GAYADHARA AND OTHER COLLABORATORS

bka’ 'gyur

1. No. 370. (Kha. 1b - 125a)
   Tib.: gyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal rdo rje mkha’ 'gro žes bya ba.
   Skt.: Śrī-Vajraḍāka-nāma-mahātantrarāja (Glorious Vajraḍāka, The king of Tantras).
   Translator: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

2. No. 378. (Ga. 60b - 71a)
   Tib.: mkha’ 'gro ma tham cad kyi thugs gñis su med pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa’i ye šes rdo rje phag mo mnon par 'byuñ ba’i rgyud kyi rgyal po žes bya ba.
   Skt.: ḍākinīsārvacittāvādınāyājñāvarāḥābhābhāvantantrasāma-nāma.
   (The King of Tantras of the Perfect Manifestation of Diamond Wisdom Vārāḥī, Which is the inconceivable and inseperable mind of all the ḍākinīs).
   Translators: gyi jo zla ba’i ’od zer and Gayadhara.

3. No. 379. (Ga. 71a-72b)
   Tib.: mkha’ 'gro ma tham cad kyi thugs gñis su med pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa phag mo mnon par 'byuñ ba’i rgyud las rgyud phyi ma rdogs rim bstan pa’i le’u.
   Skt. (?)The Chapter on the Completion Stage from the later Tantra of the Perfect Manifestation of Vārāḥī, Which is the inconceivable and inseperable mind of all the ḍākinīs).
   Translators: gyi jo zla ba’i ’od zer and Gayadhara.

4. No. 381. (Ga. 73b-158b)
   Tib.: yan dag par sbyor ba žes bya ba’i rgyud chen po.
   Skt.: Sampaṭa-nāma-mahātantra (The Great Sampaṭa Tantra).
   Translators :'brog mi and Gayadhara.

5. No. 382. (Ga.158b - 184a)
   Tib.: rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po yan dag par sbyor ba’i thig le žes bya ba.
   Skt.: (?) Droplet of Sampaṭa, the Great King of Tantras).
   Translators :'brog mi and Gayadhara.

6. No. 383. (Ga. 184b - 187a)
   Tib. dpal gsāṅ ba rdo rje rgyud kyi rgyal po.
   Skt.: Śrī-guhyavajra-tantrarāja (The Glorious Secret Vajra, King of Tantras).
   Translators :'brog mi and Ratnavajra.
7. No. 384. (Ga. 187a - 195b)
Tib. dpal gsaṅ ba tham cad gcod pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-guhyasarvacchinda-tantrarāja (Ths King of Tantra which Cuts all the Secrets).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

8. No. 385.(Ga. 196a - 199a)
Tib. dpal 'khor lo sdom pa gsaṅ ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-cakrasāṃvaraguhyaācintya-tantrarāja .
( Glorious Cakrasaṃvara, the King of Tantras with inconceivable Secrets).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

9. No. 386. (Ga. 199a - 202a)
Tib. dpal nam 'kha' daṅ mīnam pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-khasama-tantrarāja-nāma (Glorious King of Tantras which Equals the Sky).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

10. 387. (Ga. 202a - 203b)
Tib. dpal nam 'kha' chen po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-Mahākha-tantrarāja (The Glorious King of the Tantras of Great Sky).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

11. No. 388. (203b - 208b)
Tib. dpal sku gsuṅ thugs kyi rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-Kāyavākcitta-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Body, Speech and Mind).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

12. No. 389. (Ga. 208b - 213b)
Tib. dpal rin chen phreṅ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-Ratnamālā-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Garland of Jewels).
Translators : 'brog mi and Ratnavajra.

13. No. 390. (Ga. 213b - 216a)
Tib. dpal dam tshig chen po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt. Śrī-Mahāsamaya-tantrarāja-nāma (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Pledge).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

14. No. 391. (Ga. 216a - 219a)
Tib.: dpal stobs po che'i rgyud kyi rgyal po žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-Mahābala-tantrarāja-nāma (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Great Power).
Translators : 'brog mi and Gayadhara.
15. No. 392. (Ga. 219a - 220a)
Tib.: dpal ye 'ses gsaṅ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jñanāguhya-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Secret Wisdom).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

16. No. 393. (Ga. 220b - 221b)
Tib.: dpal ye 'ses phreṅ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jñānamāla-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Garland of Wisdom).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

17. No. 394. (Ga. 222a - 223a)
Tib.: dpal ye 'ses 'bar ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jñānajvala-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Blazing wisdom).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

18. No. 395. (223a-224b)
Tib.: dpal zla ba'i phreṅ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Candramālā-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Garland of Moons).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

19. No. 396. (224b - 227b)
Tib.: dpal rin chen 'bar ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po 'zes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-Ratnajvala-tantrarāja-nāma .
(The King of the Tantras of Glorious Garland of Blazing Jewels).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

20. No. 397. (Ga. 227b - 229a)
Tib.: dpal ni ma'i 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po 'zes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-Sūryacakra-tantrarāja-nāma (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Wheel of Sun).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

21. No. 398. (Ga. 229a- 230a)
Tib.: dpal ye 'ses rgyal po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jñānarāja-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of King of Wisdom).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

22. No. 399. (Ga. 230a - 231b)
Tib.: dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro gsaṅ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Vajradākaguhya-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Secret Vajradākini).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.
23. No. 400. (Ga. 231b - 233a)
Tib.: dpal gsar ba me 'bar ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jvalāgniguhyā-tantrarāja.
(The King of the Tantras of Glorious Secret Blazing Fire).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

24. No. 401. (Ga. 233a - 235a)
Tib.: dpal gsar ba bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Amṛtaguhya-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Secret Nectar).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

25. No. 402. (Ga. 235a - 237a)
Tib.: dpal dur khrod rgyan pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Śmaśānālāṅkāra-tantrarāja.
(The King of the Tantras of Glorious Ornament of Cemetery).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

26. No. 403. (Ga. 237a - 238b)
Tib.: dpal rdo rje rgyal po chen po'i rgyud.
Skt.: Śrī-Vajrarājajamāhātantra (The Tantra of Great Glorious Vajra King).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

27. No. 404. (Ga. 239a - 239b)
Tib.: dpal ye ses bsam pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Jñānāsaya-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Wisdom of Thought).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

28. No. 405. (Ga. 240a - 242b)
Tib.: dpal chags pa'i rgyal po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Rāgarāja-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious King of Lust).
Translators: 'brog mi and Candramāla.

29. No. 406. (Ga. 242b - 244a)
Tib.: dpal mkha' 'gro ma'i sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-dākiniśamvara-tantrarāja-nāma (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Dākinī Samvara).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

30. No. 407. (Ga. 244b - 245b)
Tib. dpal me'i phreñ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Agnimālā-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Fire Garland).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.
31. No. 408. (Ga. 245b - 247a)

Tib.: "dpal mkha' 'gro ma gsan ba 'bar ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-dākinìguhyajvala-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Secret Blazing Dakini).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

32. No. 409. (247a - 248a)

Tib.: "dpal rdo re'jigs byed nam par 'joms pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Vajrabhairavavidarāṇa-tantrarāja
(The King of the Tantras of Subduing Glorious Vajrabhairava).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

33. No. 410. (248a - 249b)

Tib.: "dpal stobs chen ye šes rgyal po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Mahābalajñānarāja-tantrarāja (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Powerful Wisdom).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

34. No. 411. (Ga. 249b - 251b)

Tib.: "dpal rdo rje grub pa dra ba'i sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Vajasiddhājālasaṁvara-tantrarāja
(The King of the Tantras of Glorious Net of Vajra Accomplishment).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

35. No. 413. (Ga. 254b - 259b)

Tib.: "dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dur khrod kyi rgyan rma'd du byaṅ ba žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-Cakrasaṁvaratantrarāja-adbhutaśmaśānālaṁkāra-nāma
(The King of the Tantras of Glorious Cakrasaṁvara Tantra, the Wondrous Ornament of Cemetery).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

36. No. 414. (Ga. 259b - 261b)

Tib.: rgyud kyi rgyal po rtog pa med pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Anāvila-tantrarāja-nāma (The King of the Tantras of Free of Contamination).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

37. No. 417. (Na. 1b - 16b)

Tib.: kye'i rdo rje žes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma. [The King of the Tantras of Hevajra].
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.
38. 418. (Na. 13b - 30a)
Tib.: kye'i rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma dra' ba'i sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: (The King of the Tantras of Glorious Hevajra Net of Vajradakini).
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

39. 419. (Na. 30a - 65b)
Tib.: 'phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur 'zes bya' ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa.
Skt.: Äyra-DakiniVajrapani-mahātantrarājakalpa-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

40. 424. (Na. 143a - 167a)
Tib.: dpal sañs rgyas thod pa 'zes bya' ba rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po.
Skt.: Śrī-Buddhakapāla-nāma-yogītantrarāja.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayadhara.

41. 426. (Na. 171a - 176a)
Tib.: dpal laTöyö ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po.
Skt.: Vajrārali-mahātantrarāja-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

42. 427. (Na. 176a - 180b)
Tib.: ri gi a ra li 'zes bya' ba rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po 'zes bya ba.
Skt.: Rigi-ārali-tantrarāja-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

43. 428. (Na. 181a - 231b)
Tib.: rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gdan bzi pa 'zes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrīcatuhpītha-mahāyogītantrarāja-nāma.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba khug pa lhas btsas and Gayadhara.

44. 429. (Na. 231b - 260a)
Tib.: dpal gdan bzi pa'i bṣad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po stags kyi cha 'zes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrīcatuhpīthākhyātatantrarājamantarāṇśa-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

bstan 'gyur

45. 1185. (rgyud Ga. 1b - 58b)
Tib.: kau mu di 'zes bya ba'i dka' 'grel.
Skt.: Kaumudipāñjikā-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi lo tsā ba and Prajñendraruci (Bhikṣu Vīravajra).
46. 1195. (Ca. 43b - 49a)
Tib.: 'phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur ņes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa da'n po'i rgyal po'i bṣad sbyar.
Skt.: Ārya-Dākinīvajrapāñjarāmaḥ-tantrarāja-kalpa-nāma-mukhabandha.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

47. 1196. (Ca. 54a - 94b)
Tib.: rgyud kyi rgyal po mkha' 'gro ma rdo dra ba'i dka' 'grel de kho na śīd rgyas pa ņes bya ba.
Skt.: Dākinīvajra-jālātantra-jatattvapauṣṭika-pañjikā-nāma.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba khug pa lhās bsas and Gayadhara.

48. 1207. (Ja. 303b - 309a)
Tib.: glu'i de kho na śīd ces bya ba.
Skt.: Gititattva-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnavajra.

49. 1208. (Ja. 303b - 309a)
Tib.: rdo rje'i glu bṣad pa ņes bya ba.
Skt.: Vajragitiḥāṣya-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

50. 1209. (Ja. 309a - 311b)
Tib.: mōn par rtogs pa'i rim pa ņes bya ba.
Skt.: Abhisamayakrama-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnavajra.

51. 1210. (Ja. 311b - 311b)
Tib.: dbyu gu drug cu rtsa bzi'i bṣad pa.
Skt.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnavajra.

52. 1211. (Ja. 311b - 313b)
Tib.: kye rdo rje'i de kho na śīd rnam par phyed pa.
Skt.: Aṣṭaṃśāṇā-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnaśrīmitra.

53. 1212. (Ja. 313b - 314a)
Tib.: dur khrod brgyad ces bya ba.
Skt.: Aṣṭaṃśāṇā-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnaśrīmitra.
54. 1220. (fa. 19a - 20b)
Tib.: dpal kye rdo rje'i mar me'i rtse mo lta bu'i gdam pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrihevajrapradīpaśūlopaṃavāvādaka-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

55. 1225. (fa. 28b - 29b)
Tib.: dpal kye rdo rje'i bha ḍa rā ga'i bstod pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrihevajrabhaḍarāgastrtra-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

56. 1226. (fa. 29b - 31a)
Tib.: dpal dpa' bo gcig pa žes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs.
Skt.: Śrī-Ekavīrāsādhana-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

57. 1236. (fa. 71b - 73a)
Tib.: kye rdo rje'i dran pa gcig pa.
Skt.: Hevajraikasmṛti.
Translators: 'brog mi and Prajñendaruci.

58. 1239. (fa. 126b - 130a)
Tib.: yan lag drug pa žes bya ba'i sgrub thabs.
Skt.: Saḍaṅgasādhana-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnaśrījñāna.

59. 1240. (fa. 130a - 154a)
Tib.: dkyil 'khor gi cho ga sgrub thabs bzaṅ po yoṅs su gzuṅ ba žes bya ba.
Skt.: Suparigraha-nāma-maṇḍalavidhisādhana.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

60. 1241. (153b - 155b)
Tib.: 'byuṅ po thams cad kyi gtor ma.
Skt.: Sarvabhūtabali.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

61. 1251. (fa. 214a - 241b)
Tib.: rin chen 'bar ba žes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs.
Skt.: Ratnajvalaśādhana-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Prajñendaruci.
62. 1254. (ña. 253b - 274a)
Tib.: dpal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i gzun grel gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga.
Skt.: Śrihevajraśāstravrtyttimañdalavidhi.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

63. 1255. (ña. 274a - 277a)
Tib.: sbyin sreg gi cho ga.
Skt.: Homavidhi.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

64. 1256. (ña. 277a - 280a)
Tib.: dgyes pa rdo rje'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga.
Skt.: Hevajrahomavidhi.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

65. 1263. (Ta. 1b - 14a)
Tib.: kye'i rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi las kyi rim pa'i cho ga.
Skt.: Hevajramaṇḍalakarmakramavidhi.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

66. 1306. (Ta. 212b - 215a)
Tib.: bdag med "byor ma'i sgrub thabs.
Skt.: Nairātmyayoginisādhana.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

67. 1306. (Ta. 215a - 217b)
Tib.: bdag med ma žes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs.
Skt.: Nairātmyāśādhana-nāma.
Translators: 'brog mi and Gayadhara.

68. 1310. (Ta. 226b - 227a)
Tib.: dpa' gcig ma'i sgrub thabs.
Skt.: Prajñendraruci.

69. 1415. (Tsha. 1b - 208b)
Tib.: rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro žes bya ba'i rnam par bṣad pa.
Skt.: Śrihevajradāka-nāma-mahātantrarājavivṛti.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.
70. 1416. (Tsha. 209a - 225a)

Tib.: gsas ba rdo rje'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i 'grel pa.
Skt.: Guhyaratnatantarājāvṛtti.
Translators: 'brog mi and Ratnavajra.

71. 1417. (Tsha. 225b - 239a)

Tib.: dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro rgyud kyi de kho na śīd rab tu brtan par byed pa žes bya ba'i dka' 'grel.
Skt. Śrī-hevajraḍākatantaratattvasūthira-nāma-pañjikā.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayadhara.

72. 1446. (Wa. 276b - 282b)

Tib.: bcom ldan 'das dpal bde mchog 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga.
Skt.: Bhagavacchācakrasambaramadālavidhi.
Revisors: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

73. 1450. (Wa. 349a - 355b)

Tib.: gsas ba'i de kho na śīd rab tu dsal ba žes bya ba.
Skt.: Guhyatattvaprakāśa-nāma.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

74. 1613. (Ya. 113a - 138a)

Tib.: rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal gdn bzi pa žes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga stīn po mdo' bsags pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrīcaturpitthatantrarājamaḍalavidhisārasamuccaya-nāma.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

75. 1616. (Ya. 143a- 148b)

Tib.: dpal gdn bzi pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs.
Skt.: Śrīcaturpīṭhasādhana.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

76. 1620. (Ya. 163a - 167a)

Tib.: gdn gzi'i de kho na śīd bzi pa.
Skt.
Translators: 'gos lo tsā ba and Gayadhara.

77. 1652. (Ra. 104b - 150a)

Tib.: dpal saṅs rgyas thod pa'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel ye šes ldan pa žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śrī-Buddhakapāḷatantrapañjikā-jīṉāna-vatī-nāma.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayadhara.
78. 1655. (Ra. 225b - 229b)
Tib.: dpal saṅs rgyas thod pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śri-buddhakapālasādhana-nāma.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayadhara.

79. 1656. (Ra. 229b - 230b)
Tib.: 'byun po thams cad kyi gtor ma'i cho ga.
Skt.: Sarvabhūtabalividhi.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayadhara.

80. 1657. (Ra. 230b - 243b)
Tib.: dpal saṅs rgyas thod pa žes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa gsal ba žes bya ba.
Skt.: Śri-Buddhakapālaṁdaṇḍavidhikrama-pradyotana-nāma.
Translators: gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer and Gayādhara.

81. 1705. (Sa. 62a - 63b)
Tib.: 'phags ma sgrol ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs cho ga žes bya ba.
Skt.: Āryāṭārāmaṇḍavidhi-nāma-sādhana.
Translator: 'brog mi lo tsā ba.
APPENDIX D

A COMPLETE CATALOGUE
OF
SAKYA LAM 'BRAS LITERATURE SERIES

Lamdre represents one of the most precious non-canonical literatures of Sakya Tibetan Buddhism. It generally covers esoteric teachings of Mahānuttara-yoga-tantra and Hevajra Tantra. The Lamdre literature is not only the greatest historical evidence of the tradition but the greatest gift of its masters. While exact dates of the Indian masters are not easy to determine, the preservation of their teachings in notes, manuscripts and stories has provided primary sources for the study of this 1400 year old tradition.

The Lamdre texts are meditational and practical manuals used by hundreds of ecclesiastics and lay practitioners of the Sakya tradition, constituting a sacred and secret path which past great masters have trodden. Those who are fortunate enough to own a set of Lamdre texts would treat them as most valuable thing and they are taken wherever they may go. Thus these texts are known as "non-detachable" [brane spa] for practitioners. Works on Lamdre contain sacred oral history, hagiographies of the lineage masters, instructions on esoteric meditation practices of Hevajra Sādhana, numerous commentaries on Hevajra Tantra, and related liturgies on rites and rituals of the Tantra. Traditionally these texts are only accessible to the faithful and fortunate initiates, who are then allowed to practise the meanings of these texts.

A brief account of the origin of the selective accumulation of Lamdre works written by scholars and Yogins during a period that spanned from the 7th to the 20th century C. E. will be useful. Generally the entire Lamdre literature can be divided into six main divisions:

1. Expositions on Hevajra Tantra [gzaṅ bṣad].
2. Classical Lamdre Manuscripts [lam 'bras glegs bam].
3. Hagiography of the Lineage Masters [bla ma brgyud pa'i mam thar].
4. Treatises on Common Lamdre Teachings [lam 'bras tshogs bṣad].
5. Manuals on Uncommon Lamdre Teachings [lam 'bras slob bṣad].
6. Liturgy on Initiation Rites, Maṇḍala Rituals and Hevajra Sādhana [dbaṅ dāṅ dkyil chog sgrub thabs skor].

In addition to the expositions written by Lamdre masters and the like, there are numerous Indian expositions gzaṅ bṣad or nam 'grel on Hevajra Tantra in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. They are used and consulted within and outside the Lamdre tradition. The classical Lamdre manuscripts are pre-15th century scriptures extracted both from expositions and oral instructions which are compiled and edited, and named after the colour of the wrapping
cloth excluding "Lamdre Blue Annals" [lam 'bras pod ston]. Prior to 13th century, notes on the secret oral teachings were passed down from master to disciple and were circulated in manuscript form. In 13th century when carving and production of xylographic blocks began in Tibet, selected works were compiled and edited in the collected works of the five founding masters of Sakya [sa skya gon ma lta]. Beside Virūpa and other Indian authors, the earliest Lamdre authors were sa chen kun dga' sfin po (1092-1158) and his sons, slob dpon bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) and rje btsun grags pa rgyal mshan (1147-1216), whose works were published in their collected works [bka' 'bum]. This was then followed by sa skya pañ di ta kun dga' rgyal mshan (1182-1251/52) and his nephew 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mshan (1235-1280), whose works on Lamdre are also found in their collected works. In spite of the inclusion of the Lamdre works by the Five Masters in their collected works, the Lamdre literature did not become known until the emergence of separate editions of extracted Lamdre work(s) wrapped in different colored clothes. The hagiographies of Lamdre lineage masters cover one third of the entire Lamdre literature. There are many works on Lamdre in the bka' 'bums of Sakya masters which are not included in this edition. The success story of Sakyapa scholarship from the 13th to the 16th century and the glorification of individual scholars and Yogins have led to the compilation and creation of "Collected Works" [bka' 'bum]. However the nature of the contents of Lamdre works being secret and esoteric did not allow its disclosure through compilation and printing. There was a self-imposed restriction on the disclosure of Tantric instructions in almost every tradition. For instance, žanston chos 'bar advised Sachen not to write or even talk to anyone about Lamdre practice for eighteen years, and only after the lapse of time, did Sachen began to teach and write on Lamdre. Out of his eleven commentaries, which were in fact commentaries to the same root text [gzung rtsa ba rdo rje tshig rkañ], lam 'bras gflags ma, being the last one of all and especially because of its conciseness, was compiled together with some notes and they sealed and locked in a wooden trunk. Although it was originally known as "sag šubs ma," a name derived from the wooden trunk, its actual name is gflags ma since it was given to gflags zì ra ba dbaṅ phyug dpal, not to be confused with gflags sfin po rgyal mshan, a disciple of tshogs sgom kun dga' dpal. According to Ngorench, since Jetsun Drakpa Gyaltsan located, selected, compiled and wrapped this and other instructions on Lamdre in a yellow cloth, it became known as "Lamdre Yellow Annals" [lam 'bras pod ser ma]. As a matter of interest we can see here that within one generation, this work had received three different names much to the confusion of the historians of Lamdre literature. One can imagine how the discrepancies in identification of the eleven commentaries would have arisen. Another important Lamdre author is dmar chos kyi rgyal po, who as a close disciple of Sapan, wrote " gzung gṣad dmar ma " on the basis of instructions given by Sapan which later became known as "Lamdre Red Annals" [lam 'bras pod dmar]. In his

See C. W. G. M. S., Vol. IX, p. 120 - 3 - 4.
introduction, dmar reiterates that lam 'bras gTtags ma was primarily used as a reference by Sapan when giving teachings on Lamdre. Based on these two works, the first systematic and comprehensive Lamdre treatise, "Lamdre Black Annals" [lam 'bras pod nag], was written by bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mstan (1312-1375), who also sponsored the first edition of the collected works of the five masters as a tribute at the funeral observance of his deceased teacher dpal ldan sen ge. His treatise was so named because it was wrapped in a dark iron coloured cloth. Beside these, there were number of works on Lamdre written by some disciples of Drogmi and the five masters which are not listed in this edition.

The 16th century saw the emergence of a galaxy of Lamdre scholars and masters. In spite of the aforementioned Lamdre works named after the different colours of the volumes, other works found in the collected works of numerous masters may have been carved earlier but there is no evidence of Lamdre being printed. In this edition of Sakya Lamdre Literature Series (S. L. L. S.), we will notice that the works are divided into lam 'bras slob bsad and lam 'bras tshogs bsad. Prior to 15th century, there was neither any literature which distinguished between the two lineages nor any evidence of their existence. This system of two lineages has been developed from a practice of mus chen dkon mchog rgyal mshan (1388-1469), who gave pithy instructions to bdag chen blo gros rgyal mshan (1444-1479) in private. It was restricted to small number of selected disciples, and was seldom given, as it was designed to guide advanced individuals who were making experiential progress [myo khrid] on the basis of the teacher's experiential advice [man nag]. The common lineage, however, allowed a larger group of students and was given annually in Ngor monastery in Tibet, and bore the name tshogs bsad. Dagchen Lodro Gyaltsan, who has also written numerous works, is regarded as the first promulgator of both lineages. Subsequently his disciples and grand-disciples, who followed the two distinct lineages, made a vast liturgical contribution to the development of the lineages. An obvious difference between the two is the language and style of composition rather than the contents. Lobshey manuals are straight forward instructions written in the warm colloquial language of Upper Tsang, while Tshogshey manuals use rather classical and scholastic Tibetan, with numerous quotes from Sutras and Tantras.

Nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1547), a prolific Sakya author, wrote some scholastic treatises on Three Visions and Three Tantras. His works simplified the duties of many later Lamdre masters, who made a habit of reading it in teaching sessions, so that it became the classical Lamdre Tshogshey manual of Sakya and Ngor monasteries. Perhaps his works were widely read than any others. My first introduction to Lamdre work was his 'Beautiful Ornament of Three Visions" [sna gsum mdzes rgyan] in 1970. Later 'jam ngon a mes zabs nag dba kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601) and pan chen nag dba chos
grags's (1572-1651) works were and are still used as alternative or supplementary to the former manuals in Tshogshey tradition.

The uncommon Lamdre lineage was transmitted through rdo ri pa kun spa ns pa chen po (1449-1524) to sgo rum kun dga' legs pa and from both of them to Tsharchen. It remained solely as oral teachings until 'jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dba' phug (1524-1568) and ma thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594) who became the sun and moon-like disciples of tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567). These two eminent masters took notes on the basis of instruction heard from Tsharchen, and wrote two complete sets of Lamdre Lobshey manuals, which were later endorsed by Tsharchen. Most of these works remained as manuscripts [gzigs dpe]. In 1904 'jam mgon blo gter dba' po (1847-1914) courageously arranged and sponsored the task of preparing xylographic blocks of seventeen volume Lamdre Lobshey (including all the biographies) in spite of criticism from others who feared that the printing and disclosure of the secret teachings might displease the Dharma protectors. Ignoring their opposition, he wrote a synthesis of the two Lamdre Lobshey manuals and dispelled the doubts of contradiction between the two works raised by other scholars. Without his tireless effort and noble example of sponsoring, editing and publishing many important Sakya works e.g. sgrub thabs kun btus including lam 'bras slob bsad, this edition of the complete collection of Lamdre (31 Volumes) could not have materialized. Prior to this they were not published together since the uncommon texts were indirectly censored from printing.

This catalogue is based on the collection of legitimate works on Lamdre tradition written by many lineage Gurus of both traditions from Virüpa to His Eminence Chogay Trichen Rinpoche. They are a gradual accumulation of works compiled, edited and re-edited by numerous masters. Naturally there are Lamdre bibliographies and lists of received teachings [gsan yig] of early prominent masters which do not contain the latter works. Notwithstanding this, we do not see any theory to guide us how to distinguish between the authors or works of the two traditions. The classification neither follow chronological order nor are there technical reasons to indicate how the works were distinguished. If the concept of slob bsad tradition came into being after Dagchen Lodro Gyaltshan, then all works prior to him should be tshogs bsad and post Dagchen Lodro Gyaltshan works should be slob bsad. But this does not appear to be the case. For instance, while most works of Drakpa Gyaltshan are listed in the slob bsad, some of his works are listed in tshogs bsad. Similarly the lam 'bras gtags ma and other ten commentaries which served the basis of all works listed in this catalogue were and are not used for either of the Lamdre teaching situation. Separate teaching and oral transmission sessions [luA rgyun] on these commentaries were held outside of Lamdre sessions if the commentarial lineages and transmissions were extant. It is essential to include the eleven commentaries in the collection of Lamdre works since they were the first expositions on the subject. Eminent
Lamdre scholars such as Ngawang Choedak's works should not necessarily fall in the tshogs bṣad division as he has been a recipient and promulgator of both traditions. The free usage of his works practised in both traditions is evidence of the impartiality of his works. He has been a great exponent of both traditions.

The emergence of this thirty one volume Sakya Lamdre Literature Series is a welcome and new phenomenon in the history of Lamdre texts. We may hope that this edition can be enlarged and developed in the near future. It amalgamates tshogs bṣad, slob bṣad, the eleven commentaries by Sachen, as well as many other works related to Lamdre. It was edited by His Holiness Sakya Trizin for its publication undertaken by Sakya Centre, Dehra Dun in 1983. His Holiness explains the model of his edition in the postscript of its bibliography. It is published in the traditional folio style [dpe gzugs] or loose leafs which required several years of painstaking calligraphy work by many dedicated monks of Sakya Centre. Thanks are due to all the monks, including Venerable Migmar Tseten, for their dedication in making such a publication possible. For the sake of convenience in locating the references, I have amended the title numbers which are numbered in sequence. The folio numbers are given without specifying side a or side b since odd and even numbers indicate them. Translation of the essential part of the Tibetan titles are provided together with their transliterations. Volumes are marked alphabetically; hence the first volume is marked 'pod ka pa' Volume One. Future editors of Lamdre texts need to consider collecting more works on Lamdre from a wider sources e.g. bka' 'bums, which are not included in this edition, and to develop a systematic theory of classification arrangements between the two traditions and different works.
Vol. 1 Ka [slob bṣad]

Title No. 1. ff. 1 - 13.  
Hagiography of Virupa.
bla ma 'phags bod kyi lo rgyus las mal 'byor dbañ phyugs bir wa pa'i lo rgyus.
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 2. ff 14 - 17. Hagiography of Drogmi Lotsawa.
bla ma bod kyi lo rgyus bla chen 'brog mi lo tsā ba'i lo rgyus.
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 3. ff. 18 - 31.  
Hagiography of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo [sa chen kun dga' sɦiŋ po'i rnam thar].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 4. ff. 32 - 34.  
Hagiography of Sonam Tsemo [bsod nams rtse mo'i rnam thar].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 5. A ff. 35 - 56.  
Hagiography of Drakpa Gyaltshan [rje btsun rin po che'i rnam par thar pa].
Author: sbal ston seŋ ge rgyal mtshan (?).

Title No. 6 (A). ff. 57 - 63 (B) ff. 64 - 75.  
Versified Hagiography of Sakya Pandita [chos rje sa pañ gya rnam thar].
Author: yar kluṅ pa grags pa rgyal mtshan (?).

Title No. 7. ff. 77 - 112.  
Hagiography of Sakya Pandita [sa pañ gya rnam thar].
Author: rin chen dpal (?).

Title No. 8. ff. 113 - 133.  
Hagiography of Sakya Pandita [ rnam thar gsuṅ sgros ma].
Author: 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280).

Title No. 9. ff. 134 - 289.  
Path of the Fortunate Aeon: A Hagiography of Sakya Pandita.  
nam thar skal pa bzañ po'i legs lam.
Author: rin spuṅ nag dgañ 'jig rten dgañ phyug grags pa (In 1255).
Title No. 10. ff. 290 - 338.
Hagiography of Dharma King Choegyal Phakpa (1235-1280).
bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa.
Author: ye ses rgyal mtshan (In 1283).

Title No. 11. ff. 338 - 340.
Hagiography of Tshog Gom Kunga Pal [bla ma tshogs sgom rin po che'i rnam thar].

Title No. 12. ff. 341 - 344.
Hagiography of Nyenchen Sonam Tenpa.
ñen chen bsod nam bstan pa'i rnam thar.

Title No. 13. ff. 345 - 361.
Auto-Hagiography of Rinchen Senge.
šaṅs kyi bla machos rje rin chensaṅ ge'i rnam tharraṅ gis mdzad pa.
Author: rin chen saṅ ge.

Hagiography of Zhang Konchok Pal (1240-1302) [āṇ dkon mchog dpal ba'i rnam thar].
Author: dge sloṅ dpal ldan tshul khrims (1333-1389).

Title No. 15. ff. 367 - 374.
Hagiography of Gyalwa Drakphukpa (1277-1350) [rgyal ba brag phug pa'i rnam thar].
Author: dpal ldan blo gros brtan pa (1315-1358).

Title No. 16. ff. 374 - 385.
Hagiography of Hermit Lodro Tenpa (1315-1358) [ri khrod pa blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar].
Author: dge sloṅ dpal ldan tshul khrims (1333-1389).

Title No. 17. ff. 386 - 406.
Hagiography of Lama Dampa Sonam Gyaltshan.
bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar.
Author: dge sloṅ dpal ldan tshul khrims (1333-1389).

Title No. 18. ff. 406 - 412.
Hagiography of Lama Dampa Paldhan Tshultrim.
bla ma dam pa dpal ldan tshul khrims gyi rnam thar.
Author: dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1469).
Title No. 19. ff. 413 - 431.
Hagiography of Mahāsiddha Buddha Śrī (1339-1419) [grub chen bu dddha śrīs rnam thar].
Author: nor chen kun dga' bzañ po (1382-1456).

Title No. 20. ff. 432 - 473.
The short Hagiography of Ngorchen Kunga Sangpo.
[nor chen gyi mam thar mnor bsdus].
Author: dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1469).

Title No. 21. ff. 475 - 585.
[rnam thar legs bṣad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho].
Author: dge sloṅ dpal ldan don grub.

Title No. 22. ff. 586 - 627.
[mus chen gyi mam thar ṇo mtshar rgya mtsho].
Author: bsod nams seṅ ge (1429-1489).

Vol. 2 Kha [slob bṣad]

Title No. 23. ff. 1 - 33
[mus chen gi mam thar ṇo mtshar phreṅ ba].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1479).

Title No. 24. ff. 35 - 151.
[bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar ut pa la'i do šal].
Author: tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567).

Title No. 25. ff. 153 - 247.
A hagiography of Doringpa Kunpangpa Chenpo (1449-1524).
[rje btsun kun spaṅ pa chen po'i rnam thar ṇo mtshar dad pa'i spu loṅ].
Author: tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567).
Title No. 26. ff. 249 - 397.
[rje btsun sgo rum pa'i ram thar yid bzin chu gter].
Author: 'jam dbyaṅs mkhyen brtse dbaṅ phyug (1524-1568).

Title No. 27. ff. 399 - 638.
[tshar chen rdo rje 'chaṅ gi mam thar bstan pa'i nī 'od].
Author: rgyal ba lha pa (Vth Dalai Lama).

Vol. 3 Ga (slob bṣad)

Title No. 28. ff. 1 - 250.
[bla ma rin po che mkhan chen pa'i mam thar rdo mtshar sñe ma].
Author: 'jam dbyaṅs mkhyen brtse dbaṅ phyug (1524-1568).

Title No. 29. ff. 251 - 394.
A Hagiography of Great Abbot Shonu Lodro (1527-1599).
[mkhan chen gzön nu blo gros mam thar]
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1479).

Title No. 30. ff. 395 - 625.
Auto-Hagiography [raṅ gi mam thar yul sna tshogs kyi bdud rtsi myoṅ ba'i gtam du byas pa zol zog rdzun gis ma bslad pa sseg ma'i me loṅ].
Author: bdag chen blo grosrgyal mtshan (1444-1479).

Vol. 4 Ŧa (slob bṣad)

Title No. 31. ff. 1 - 123.
A Hagiography of Maitri Dondrup Gyaltshan (1527-1587).
[rje btsun rdo rje 'chaṅ ma'i tri don grub rgyal mtshan].
Author: mi pham chos rgya mtsho (?).

Title No. 32. ff. 125 - 151.
[rje btsun sdiṅs ma chen po'i mam thar byin brlab kyi chu gter].
Author: bdaṅ phyug rab brtan (1559-1636).
Title No. 33. ff. 153 - 335.
A Hagiography of Great Abbot Sonam Choephel (1527-1603).
[mkhan chen bsod nams chos 'phel gyi rnam thar].
Author: dkon mchog rdo rje (?).

Title No. 34. ff. 337 - 387.
A Hagiography of Ngawang Choedak (1572-1641) [mkhan chen nag dbaṅ chos grags kyi rnam thar].
Author: dgon gsar ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan (?).

Title No. 35. ff. 389 - 497.
A Hagiography of Wangchuk Rabten (1559-1636) [dbaṅ phyug rab brtan gyi rnam thar].
Author: rgyal ba lha pa (Vth Dalai Lama).

Title No. 36. ff. 499 - 701.
A Hagiography of Kagyurwa Chenpo Sonam Chogdhen (1603-1659).
mgon po bsod nams mchod ldan gyi rnam thar].
Author: rgyal ba lha pa (Vth Dalai Lama).

Vol. 5 Ca (slob bṣad)

Title No. 37. ff. 1 - 109.
A Hagiography of Shalu Rinchen Sonam Chogdrup (1602-1681).
[rin chen bsod nams mchog grub kyi rnam thar].
Author: rgyal ba lha pa (Vth Dalai Lama).

Title No. 38. ff. 111 - 449.
An Auto-Hagiography (1633-1703).
[lce btsun nag gi dbaṅ phyug mkhyen rab byams pa'i rai rnam].
Author: lce btsun mkhyen rab byams pa (1633-1703).

Title No. 39. ff. 451 - 626.
An Auto-Hagiography (1654-1728) [rmor chen un dga' lhun grub kyi rnam thar].
Author: rmor chen kun dga' lhun grub (?).
Vol. 6 Cha (slob bṣad)

Title No. 40. ff. 1 - 300.
Hagiography of Nesarpa [gnas gsar pa chen po 'jam mgon bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa legs pa'i rgyal mtshan gyi nam thar rdo mtshar rab 'byams].

Vol. 7 Ja (slob bṣad)

Title No. 42. ff. 1 - 147
A Hagiography of Thartse Khuwon Jampa Namkha Chime (1765-1820).
[thar rtse khu dbon byams pa nam mkha’i chi med kyi rmam thar].
Author: Byams pa kun dga’ bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1829-1870).

Title No. 43. ff. 148 - 345
A Hagiography of Jampa Kunga Tenzin (1776-1862).
[byams pa kun dga’ btsan ’dzin gyi rmam thar].
Author: Byams pa kun dga’ bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1829-1870).

Title No. 44. ff. 346 -523
A Hagiography of Naljor Jampal Sangpo (1789-1864).
[mal ‘byor ’jam dpal bzad po’i rmam thar].
Author: Byams pa kun dga’ bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1829-1870).

Title No. 45. ff. 524 - 678
A Hagiography of Jampa Kunga Tenpay Gyaltshan (1829-1870).
[byams pa kun dga’ bstan pa’i rgal mtshan gyi rmam thar].
Author: 'jam dbya’ns blo gter dba’ po (1847-1914).

Vol. 8 fia (slob bṣad)

Title No. 46. ff. 1 -235
A Hagiography of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820-1892) [jam dbya’ns mkhyen brtse dba’ po kun dga’ bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan dpal bzad po’i rmam thar mdor bsdus].
Author: ko’n sprul nag dba’ yon tan rgya mtsho (1813-1899).

Title No. 47. ff. 237 - 335
A Hagiography of Jamyang Loter Wangpo (1847-1914).
[jam dbya’ns blo gter dba’ po’i rmam par thar pa’].
Author: mkhan chen bsam gtan blo gros (1868-1931).
Title No. 48. ff. 337 - 387
A Hagiography of Ga Ngawang Lekpa (1864-1941).
[bla ma rdo rje 'chañ sga ston ñag dbaň kun dba' legs pa'i 'byun gnas kyì nam thar].
Author: sde gzuñ sprul sku kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1885-  )

Title No. 49. ff. 389 - 414
A Hagiography of Khenchen Dampa Rinpoche Ngawang Lodro Shenphen Nyingpo
(1876-1952).
[rje btsun bla ma dpal e wam khan gsar mkhan chen ñag dbaň blo gros gzan phan sñin po'i
nam thar].
Author: tre hor gdon thog sprul sku.

Title No. 50. ff.
A Commentary on Fifty Verses of Guru Devotion.
[bés bñen dam pa bsten par byed pa'i thabs śloka lha bcu pa'i 'grel pa].
Author: tshar chen blo gsam rgya mtsho (1502-1566).

Vol. 9 Ta (slob bṣad)

Title No. 51. ff. 1 - 760
Solar Radiance: An Extensive Commentary on Hevajra Tantra.
[rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal kye rdo rje'i rgya cher 'grel pa ñi ma'i 'od zer].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375).

Vol 10 Tha (slob bṣad)

Title No. 52. ff. 1 - 325
Garland of Precious Diamond: A Commentary on Root Tantra.
[rtsa rgyud tshig 'grel dag ldan bsrubs skyes rdo rje rin po che'i phreñ ba].
Author: ñag dbaň chos grags (1572-1651) Supplemented by blo gter dbaň po (1847-1914).

Title No. 53. ff. 327 - 581
Sun's Rays: An Exposition on Hevajra Sādhana.
[dpal kye rdo rje'i nam bṣad ñi ma'i 'od zer].
Author: Tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1566).
Title No. 54. ff. 1 - 8
*Bibliography of Lamdre Works.*
[gsun 'nag rin po che lam 'bras bu dañ bcaś pa'i don gsal bar byed pa glegs bam gyi dkar chag].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 55. ff. 9 345
*The Yellow Annals: An Exposition on Root Vajra Verses.*
[rtsa ba rdo rje tshig rkañ gtsos pod ser gźun bśad].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 56. ff. 348 - 386
*The Instruction on Inconceivable According to Koṭalipa.*
[tog rtse pa'i bsam mi khyab pa'i gdams 'nag].
Author: Koṭalipa.

Title No. 57. ff. 387 - 399
*Simultaneously Born Accomplishment of Đombi Heruka.*
[dom bhi he ru kas mdzad pa'i lhan cig skyes grub].
Author: Đombi Heruka.

Title No. 58. ff. 399 - 406
*Received In Front of a Stupa of Nāgārjuna.*
[slob dpon klu sgrub kyi mdzad pa'i mchod rten druñ thob].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 59. ff. 406 - 419
*Mahāmudrā Without Letters According to Vāgiśvarakirtī.*
[slob dpon 'nag dbañ grags pas mdzad pa'i phyag rgya chen po yi ge med pa].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216)

Title No. 60. ff. 419 - 443
*The Nine Profound Methods by Saroruha.*
[slob dpon pad ma ba dzras mdzad pa'i bskyed rin zab pa'i tshul dgus bryan pa].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).
Title No. 61. ff. 445 - 456
The Complete Path of Psychic Fire by Kṛṣṇācārin.
[slob dpon nag po spyod pas mdzad pa'i gtum mo lam rdzogs].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 62. ff. 457 - 460
The Instruction on Straightening the Crooked by Uciṭāmara.
[nag po u tsi 'chi ba med pas-mdzad pa yon po sroṅ ba'i gdams ngag].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 63. ff. 461 - 479
Complete Path of Mudra by Indrabhūti.
[slob dpon inda bu tis mdzad pa'i phyag rgya'i lam skor].
Compiled by grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 64. ff. 481 - 580
A Brief Edition of this Transmission.
[luṅ 'di ŋid dān mdor bsdus su sbyar ba].
Author: gragspa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 65. ff. 581 - 593 (This is also found in Vol. 1, Title No. 1)
Hagiography of Indian Gurus [bla ma brgyud pa rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 66. ff. 594 - 599 (This is also found in Vol. 1, Title 2)
Hagiography of Tibetan Gurus [bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus].
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Vol. 12 Na. (slob bṣad)

Title No. 67. ff. 1 - 446
For the Sons: An Exposition on Lamdre [lam 'bras gzün bṣad sras don ma].
Edited by phul chuṅ ba (*This text should ideally be edited in Volume 27-29.)

Title No. 68. ff. 447 - 476
An Outlined Synthesis of Vajra Verses.
[rdje tshig rkaṅ gi bsdus don dān sa bcad kyi bkral ba].
Author:
Title No. 69. ff. 477 - 615

[gsun 'dag rin po che lam 'bras bu bcas pa 'nor lugs thun mo 'na yin pa slob bšad kyi 'chad thabs gsar chen mdzod brgya 'byed pa'i legs dšad 'phrul gyi lde'u mig].
Author: blo gter dbaṅ po (1847-1914).

Vol. 13 Pa.(slob bšad)

Title No. 70. ff. 1 - 469

Miscellaneous Lamdre Works According to the Bibliography of Minor Red Annals.
[lam 'bras pu sti dmar chuh dkar chag ltar gsun 'thor bu tsha ba tshaṅs 'grigs].
Author: mus chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1469).

Title No. 71. ff. 471 - 609

Initiation Rites on the Six-Limbed of Body Manḍala Path Initiation According to Hevajra Instruction Lineage, Clear Mirror of Initiating Rites, Blessing of Path of the Profound Guru Yoga. (dpal kye rdo rje man 'dag lugs kyi lmo rtogs yan lag drug pa lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbaṅ chog, dbaṅ bskur ba'i cha ga gsal ba'i me loṅ, lam zab mo mal 'byor gyi byin rlabs ŋams len).
Author: mus chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1469).

Vol. 14 Pha (slob bšad)

Title No. 72. ff. 1 - 225

Flourish of the Great Secret Doctrine: A Lamdre History.
[gsun 'dag rin po che lam 'bras bu daṅ bcas pa'i khog phub kyi rnam bšad las gdam gnas 'byun tshul gyi zin bris gsun chen btsan pa rgyas byed (lam 'bras slob bšad khog phub).]
Author: 'jam dbyaṅs mkhyen brtse dbaṅ phyug (1524 - 1568).

Title No. 73. ff. 227 - 234

Nejar ma: A Lineage Guru Prayer of Lamdre.
[gsun 'dag rin po che lam 'bras bu daṅ bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa la gsal ba 'debs pa gnas sbyar ma].
Author: brag phug pa.
Kunzang Wangshi ma: A Prayer to the Gurus of the Three Combined Lineages of Lamdre with Prayer to Realize the Graduated Path of Lamdre. (gsun 'tang rin po che brgyud pa gsum 'dus kyi bla ma la gsol ba 'debs a lam rim smon lam dañ bcas pa).
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).

Namdak ma: A Prayer to The Lineage Gurus of Lamdre. (gsun 'tang rin po she'i brgyud 'debs).
Author: nor chen kun dga' bzañ po (1382-1456).

The Unmistaken Tradition of Kha'u Drak Dzongpa: The Path of Three Visions. [snah ba gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzoi pa'i bzed pa ma nor ba].
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).

The Path of Three Tantras: The Practice of Old Monk Khyentse. [rgyud gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzoi pa'i khyad chos ban rgan mkhyen brtse'i ñams len].
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).

The Unmistaken Tradition of Kha'u Drak Dzongpa: Notes on Outer Generation Stage Practice. (phyi bskyed rim gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzoi pa'i bzed pa ma nor ba).
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).

The Unmistaken Tradition of Kha'u Drak Dzongpa: Notes on Inner Generation Stage Practice. (nañ bskyed rim gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzoi pa'i bzed pa ma nor ba).
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).

The Unmistaken Tradition of Kha'u Drak Dzongpa: Notes on Dream Yoga Etc. (mi lam man gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzoi pa'i bzed pa ma nor ba).
Author: jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbañ phyug (1524-1568).
Title No. 81. 555 - 619

*Three Practical Ritual of Lamdre [bshen pa gsum gi lag len gsun ṇag be’u bum].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523 -1594).

**Vol. 15 Ba (slob bṣad)**

Title No. 82. ff. 1 - 12

*Prayer to the Lineage Gurus of Lobshey Tradition. [slob bṣad brgyud ’debs lam rim dañ bcas pa].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 83. ff. 13 - 29

*Prayer to the Lineage Gurus of Three Tantras (dges mdzad rgyud gsum brgyud ’debs).*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 84. ff. 31 - 151

*The Three Visions [snañ gsum khrid yig zla ba bdud rtsi’i thig phren].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 85. ff. 153 - 240

*The Instruction on Path of Mantra [stags lam gyi khrid yig ŋi gzon gsar pa’i thig phren].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 86. ff. 241 - 255

*Outer Generation Stage [phyi bska’ed rim].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 87. ff. 257 - 274

*Inner Generation Stage [nañbskyed rim].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 88. ff. 275 - 315

*Vase Initiation [bum dbañ].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 89. ff. 317 - 359

*Secret Initiation [gsañ dbañ gi khrid yig].*
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).
Title No. 90. ff. 361 - 378
*Transcendental Wisdom [šes rab ye šes kyi dpañ].
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 91. ff. 379 - 404
*The Fourth Initiation [dbpañ bži pa"ikhrid].
Author: klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1594).

Title No. 92. ff. 405 - 646
*Dispelling Doubts of Darkness: A Synthesis of Two Instruction Manuals.
[khrid kyi Zun bcud bsdus log rtog som ŋi mun sel].
Author: blo gter dpañ po (1847 - 1914).

Title No. 93. ff. 647 - 648
*Supplementary to Prayer to Lineage Gurus [rgyud bśad brgyud 'debs kyi kha skoñ].

Vol. 16 Ma (slob bśad)

Title No. 94. ff. 1 - 121
[lam 'bras pod nag bla ma brgyud pa'i nam thar no mtshar snañ ba].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312-1375).

Title No. 95. ff. 123 - 449
*An Exposition of Treasure of Instructions [gžun bśad ma nag gter mdzod].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312 - 1375).

Title No. 96. ff. 451 - 543
*Illucidating the Hidden Meanings [sbas~don kun gsal].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312 - 1375).

Title No. 97. ff. 545 - 597
*Clear Realization of Glorious Hevajra [kye rdor mignon rtogs].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312 - 1375).

Title No. 98. ff. 598 - 605
*Initiation Rites of the Body Maññala. [lus dkyil dpañ chog].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312 - 1375).
Title No. 99. ff. 606 - 614
Guru Yoga [bla ma'i rnal 'byor žal šes].
Author: bla ma dam pa bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312 - 1375).

Vol. 17 Tsa (slob bṣad)

Title No. 100. ff. 1 - 417
The Essential Moon's Rays of Generation Stage: An Exegesis of Hevajra Sādhana. [dpal kye rdo rje'i sgrub thabs rgya cher bṣad pa bkyed rim gnad kyi zla zer].
Author: nor chen kun dga' bzaṅ po (1382-1456).

Title No. 101. ff. 419 - 640
Ilucidating the Pith Instructions: An Exegesis of Hevajra Sādhana. [kye rdor man ṇag lugs kyi bskyed rim mam bṣad man ṇag gsal byed].
Author: go ram pa bsod nam seṅ ge (1429-1489).

Vol 18 Tsha (slob bṣad)

Title No. 102. ff. 1 - 27
Ilucidating the Meaning of Signs [brda don gsal ba].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 103. ff. 27 - 32
Explanation of the Hidden Path [lam sbas bṣad].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 104. ff. 32 - 58
Non-Differentiation of Samsara and Nirvāṇa ['khor 'das dbyer med].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 105. ff. 58 - 65
Essential Visualization [dmigs gnad].
Author: ṇag dbaṅ chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 106. ff. 65 - 92
Explanation of Vajra and Bell [rdor dril mam bṣad].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).
Title No. 107. ff. 92 - 113
Method of Blessing Nectar Pills [bdud rtsi ril bu sgrub pa].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 108. ff. 113 - 115
Method of Repelling Malediction Through Aṣṭa (Mantra) [aṣṭa'i byad zlog].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 109. ff. 115 - 242
Essential Notes From Shalu Khenchen and Ludrub Gyatsho.
(ier mkho'i zin bris zwu lu mkhan chen gsun dañ klu sgrub gsun skor).
Editor: mgon po bsod nams mchog ldan (1603-1659).

Title No. 110. ff. 243 - 274
Beautiful Ornament of Six-Limbed Clear Realization.
(mhon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i mdzes rgyan).
Author: nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 111. ff. 275 - 292
Beautiful Ornament of Body Maṇḍala [lub dkyi mdzes rgyan].
Author: nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 112. ff. 293 - 364
Beautiful Ornament of Great River of Initiation [dbañ chu chen mo mdzes rgyan].
Author: nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 113. ff. 365 - 374
Praise and Benediction Verses [bstod pa bkra śis].
Author: Saroruha.

Title No. 114. ff. 375 - 398
Beautiful Ornament of Torma Rites [gtor chog mdzes rgyan].
Author: nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 115. ff. 399 - 476
A Synthesis of Instructions on Initiation Rites [dbañ chog man ṭag gi sfin po].
Author: blo gter dbañ po (1847-1914).
Title No. 116. ff. 477 - 536

*Initiation Rites of Path Initiation* [lam dbaṅ bskur chog].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 117. ff. 537 - 626

*A Guide Illucidating the River of Hevajra Initiation.*
[dpal kye rdo rje'i dbaṅ gi chu bo'i gsal byed kyi lhan thabs].
Author: tshar chen blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1566).

Vol. 19 Dza (slob bṣad)

Title No. 118. ff. 1 - 39

*Clear Unmistaken Path: A Sādhana of Vajranairatmyā.*
[rje btsun rdo rje bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs ma nor lam gsal].
Author: nag dbaṅ kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601).

Title No. 119. ff. 41 - 117

*A Maṇḍala Ritual of Vajranairatmyā.*
[rje btsun rdo rje bdag med ma'i dkyil chog gsal byed phrin las kun khyab].
Author: nag dbaṅ kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601).

Title No. 120. ff. 119 - 135

*Notes on Sādhana.*[sgrub thabs kyi tho yig].
Author: nor chen dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 121. ff. 137 - 223

*Rites of Imparting Initiation in the Vajranairatmyā Maṇḍala.*
[bdag med ma'i dkyil 'khor du dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga].
Author: blo gter dbaṅ po (1847-1914).

Title No. 122. ff. 225 - 415

*Rites of Imparting Bodhisattva Vows According to Two Exceptional Lineages.* (brgyud pa'i khyad par gños ldan sems bskyed kyi cho ga dam pa'i bzed srol sems ñid ñal bso).
Author: nag dbaṅ chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 123. ff. 417 - 445

*Blessings of Protecting Interdependent Origination* [rten 'grel bsruñ ba'i byin rlbs].
Author: 'jam dbyañs mkhyen brtse dbaṅ po
Title No. 124. ff. 447 - 481
Blessing and Dharani of Vajravidarani [rnam 'joms guṇs dañ byin rlabs].
Author: dge sloṅ braṅ ti.

Title No. 125. ff. 483 - 529
The Shower of Siddhis: A Guru Puja [bla mchod dṇus grub char 'bebs].
Author: byams pa kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1829-1870).

Title No. 126. ff. 531 - 567
A Brief Practice of Outer Profound Guru Yoga.
[lam zab mo phyi ma'i ñams len šin tu bs dus pa byin rlabs mchog rtsol].

Title No. 127. ff. 569 - 619
Annals on Guru ratnasambhava [bla ma rin 'byuṅ be'u bum].

Vol. 20 Wa (slob bṣad)

Title No. 128. ff. 1 - 17
Profound Guru Yoga [lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor].
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).

Title No. 129. ff. 18 - 35
(lam rim smon lam rnam bṣad thugs dam gnad bskul rol mo).
Author: byam pa bstan 'dzin sńan grags.

Title No. 130. ff. 37 - 60
A Short Guru Puja on Profound Guru Yoga [lam zab bla mchod ŋuṅ bs dus].
Author: blo gter dpañ po (1847-1914).

Title No. 131. ff. 61 - 103
Jewel Mirror: A Synthesis of View [lta śiṅ nor bu'i loṅ].
Author: byam pa bstan 'dzin sńan grags.

Title No. 132. ff. 105 - 191
Reputation of Errors: A Commentary Elucidating the Meanings of Tantric Pledges
(dam tshig gi rnam bṣad 'grel pa 'khruṅ spoṅ gi dgoṅ pa rab tu gsal ba).
Author: bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan (1444-1495).
The Profound Stages of the Path of Enlightenment of Vein, Channels, Yantra and Blazing and Blissful Heat of Candali Yoga. [rtsa rlu'i 'phrul 'khor zab lam byan chub sgrub pa'i rim pa bklags chog ma dañ gtum mo'i bde drod rab 'bar ma].
Author: šar bla ma mkhas dbañ kun dga' dpal ldan.

Prayer to the Lineage Gurus of Last Eight-fold Paths.
[lam skor phyi ma brgyad kyi brgyud pa'i gsal 'debs].
Author: nor chen kun dga' bzañ po (1382-1456).

Clear And Auspicious Crystal Mirror: The Instruction on Inconceivable by Koṭalipa
[tog rtse pa'i bsam mi khyab pa'i khrig yig bkra śis dwañs ēl me loti].
Author: koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Auspicious Medicinal Extract: The Instruction on Simultaneously Born Accomplishment by Dombi Heruka.
[dom bhi he ru ka'i lhan cigs skyes grub kyi khrig yig bkra śis gi wañ sman bcud].
Author: koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Auspicious Heap of White Mustard: The Instruction on Nine Profound Methods by Saroruha.
(pad ma ba dzra'i zab pa'i tshul dgu'i khrig yig bkra śis yuñs dkar goñ bu).
Author: koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Auspicious White Conch Swirling in the Right: The Instruction on Path of Mudra by Indabhuti.
(in dra bhu ti'i phyag rgya'i lam gyi khrig yig bkra śis duñ dkar gyas 'khyil).
Author: koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Heap of Auspicious Vermillion: The Instruction on Complete Path of Candali by Kṛṣṇācārin.
(nag po'i gtum mo lam rdzogs kyi khrig yig bkra śis li khrī'i thig le).
Author: koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899).
Title No. 140. ff. 367 - 374

Essence of Auspicious Yogurt: The Instruction on Straightening the Crooked by Utsitamara.
(nag po utsi ta 'chi ba med pa'i yon po sron ba' khrid yig).
Author: kon sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Title No. 141. ff. 374 - 397

The Good Tree of Auspicious Wood Apple: The Instruction Received in front of a Stupa by Nagarjuna.[phags pa klu sgrub kyi mchod rten drun thob kyi khrid yig].
Author: kon sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Title No. 142. ff. 398 - 415

The Sprouts of the Auspicious Durwa Grass: The Instruction on Mahamudra Without Letters by Vagisvarakirti[nag dban grags pa'i phyag rgya chen po yi ge med pa'i khrid yig].
Author: kon sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1833-1899).

Title No. 143. ff. 417 - 512

(gsuh lag rin po che nlam 'bras bu dañ bchas pa nor lugs thun min slob bșad dañ thun moñ tshogs bșad tha dad kyi smin grol yan lad dañ bachs pa'i rgyud yig gser gyi phreñ ba byin zab 'od brgya 'bar ba).
Author: blo gter dañ po (1847-1914).

Vol. 21 (Tshogs bșad)

Title No. 144. ff. 1 - 314

Ocean of Collected Elegant Sayings: A Lamdre History [gsun lag rin po she'i byon thsul khog phub dañ bachs pa rgyas par bșad par legs bșad 'duñ pa'i rgya mtsho].
Author: 'jam mgon a mes žabs nag dañ kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601).

Title No. 145. ff. 315 - 350

The Precious Ornament of Illuminating the Three First Modes.
(tshul dañ po gsum gyi don fñuñ nu'i nag gis ston par byed pa'i legs par bșad pa tshul gsum gsal bar byed pa'i rin po che'i rgyan].
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1547).

Title No. 146. ff. 351 - 427

Beautiful Ornament of Sublime Tree of Tantric Sastra.[rgyud kyi mñon par rtogs pa'i don fñuñ nu'i nag gis gtan la 'bebs par byed pa'i rin po che'i rgyan].
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1547).
Title No. 147. ff. 429 - 575
Fundamentals of General Classes of Tantra [rgyud sde spyi'i mam par gzag pa].
Author: bsod nam rtse mo (1142-1182).

Vol. Za 22

Title No. 148. ff. 1 - 227
mnon rtogs ljon šin. (The Tree of Realization).
Author: grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216).

Title No. 149. ff. 279 - 625
Ornament of the Superior Master's Thought: Elegant Saying Which Illuminates the Abhisamaya of The Tantra.
[rgyud kyi mion par rtogs pa'i gsal byed legs pa rbsd pa go'i ma'i dgo'i rgyan].
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1547).

Vol. 'A 23

Title No. 150. ff. 1 - 8
Prayers to the Lineage Gurus of Lamdre [gsun rtag rin po che'i brgyud 'debs].
Authors: nor chen kunga bza'n po (1382-1456) and dkon mchog lhun grub (1487-1547).

Title No. 151. ff. 9 - 79
Śrī Hevajra, The King of Tantras [dpal kye rdo rje Žes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po].
Translators: 'bogmi lo tsä ba (992-1074) and Gayadhara (970-1090).

Title No. 152. ff. 81 - 553
Ornament of the Secret Vajradhara's Thought: A Sub-Commentary on the Commentary "dag Idan" on The Two Part Hevajra Tantra .
(dpal kye rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnis pa'i mam par bsd pa ma dag par 'joms pa'i 'grel pa dag Idan žes-'bya ba'i mchan gyi ťikka gsa'n bdag rdo rje 'dzin pa'i dgo'n rgyan).
Author: blo gter dba'n po (1847-1914).

Title No. 153. ff. 555 - 588
The Gratifier of the Readers: A Versified Eulogical Hagiography of Lamdre Masters. [gsun rtag lam 'bras'bu dbn bcas pa'i gdams Žag zab mo byun tshul gyi yi ge don gñer dga' ba bskyed byed].
Author: 'jam mgon a mes žabs Žag dba'n kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601).
Vol. Ya 24

Title No. 154. ff. 1 - 52
(dpaldan gyid gdan rabs nor bu'i phreñ ba).
Author: dge slo'n sa'n rgyas phun tshogs (1493- ).

Title No. 155. ff. 35 - 73
Pleasant Grove of The Intelligent: An Easy Guide to Understand the Meaning of All the Commentaries (11) on Root Vajra Verses.
(gsung nag rin po che lam 'bras bu dan bcas pa'i rtsa ba rdo rje rka'n gi don 'grel khog phub mam 'grel ma lus pa bde lag tu rtogs par byed pa blo gsal yid bde 'byun ba'i dga' tshal).
Author: 'jam mgon a mes zabs ha'g dbari kun dga' bsod nams (1537-1601).

Title No. 156. ff. 75 - 269
Beautiful Ornament of Three Visions: Instructions on the Preliminaries of Lamdre.
(lam 'bras bu dan bcas pa'i gams nag gi gzun shin rgyas pa gzun ji lta ba bzin bkti ba'i lam gyi sjon 'gro'i khrid yig sna'n gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan).
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1487-1547).

Title No. 157. ff. 271 - 493
Beautiful Ornament of Three Tantras: Instructions on Actual Path of Lamdre.
(lam 'bras bu dan bcas pa'i gams nag gi gzun shin rgyas pa gzun ji lta ba bzin bkti ba'i lam gyi dnos gi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan)
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1487-1547).

Title No. 158. ff. 495 - 651
Bestower of the Wish-Fulfilling Blessings: Supplement of the Abbatial Succession of Ngor Evam Monastery.
(e vam pa'i gdn rBs rin chen phreñ mDzes kyi kha sko'n rtogs brjod byin brlab 'dod dgu'i dpal ster).
Author:

Vol. Ra 25

Title No. 159. ff. 1 - 149
Treasure of Siddhis: Instructions on Lamdre.
(gsung nag rin po che'i khrid yig dnos grub 'byun ba'i gter).
Author: dge slo'n sa'n rgya rin chen (1453-1523).
Title No. 160. ff. 151 - 196
Blossoming of the Lotus Grove: A Lamdre History.
(gsun ngag rin po che'i byuṅ tshu daṅ kho phub kyi zin bris gsun ngag bstan pa'i pad tshal bdad pa).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 161. ff. 197 - 217
Nectar of The Heedful Talks: A Commentary on the Vajrayāna Pledges. [rdo rje theg pa'i bslab bya dam tshig gi tshogs mam par bṣad pa'i zin bris lam gyi rtsa ba bag yod gtam gyi bdud rtsi).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 162. ff. 219 - 281
Essential Elegant Sayings of Three Visions: Instructions on the Preliminaries of Lamdre
(gsun ngag ston 'gro'i khrid rim sna'i gsum sning po'i legs bṣad).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 163. ff. 289 - 399
Essential Elegant Sayings of Three Tantras: Instructions on the Actual Path of Lamdre.
(gsun ngag dnios gzi'i khrid rim rgyud gsum sning po'i legs bṣad).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 164. ff. 401 - 483
Essential Elegant Sayings on Outer Generation stage.
(phyi bskyed rim ram par bṣad pa blo gsal bde 'jug mkhas la ŋe bar mkho ba sning po'i legs bṣad).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 165. ff. 485 - 545
Light Beams of the Great Secret Doctrine: An Exposition on Outer Generation Stage of Hevajra. (dpal kye rdo rje man ngag lugs kyi phyi bskyed pa'i rim pa'i ram par bṣad pa'i zin bris gsan chen bstan pa'i 'od phrei).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).

Title No. 166. ff. 547 - 569
A Concise Exposition (I) on the Profound Body Maṇḍala.
(zab mo lus dkyil gyi ram bṣad zin bris ŋuṅ ŋus ram gsal).
Author: ngag dban chos grags (1572-1651).
Title No. 167. ff. 571 - 577
A Concise Exposition (II) on the Profound Body Maṇḍala.
(zab mo lus dkyil gyi rnam bṣad zin bris ūnū nus rnam gsal).
Author: nag dbaṅ chos grags (1572-1651).

Vol. 26 La

Title No. 168. ff. 1 - 65
Accomplishment of Secret Path: Rites of Initiating Disciples in the Profound Body Maṇḍala of Śrī Hevajra.
[dpal kye rdo rje'i zab mo lus kyi dkyil 'khor du slob ma dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga grub pa'i gsaṅ lam].
Author: blo gter dbaṅ po (1847-1914).

Title No. 169. ff. 67 - 68
A Supplement to Path Initiation [lam dbaṅ zur bkol].

Title No. 170. ff. 69 - 144
Melody of Pleasing the Victorious Ones: A Commentary on the Versified Prayer of Graduated Path of Lamdre by Tsharchen, The Great King of Dharma. [tshar chen chos kyi rgyal pos mdzad pa'i gsuṅ ūn gyaṅ lam rim smon lam gyi rnam bṣad rgyal ba dgyes pa'i rol mo].
Author: gzim 'og bstan 'dzin snan grags.

Title No. 171. ff. 145 - 203
['jam mgon bla ma'i žal luṅ bdud rtsi thig pa].
Author: sde gzun sprul sku kun dga' rgyal mtshan.

Title No. 172. ff. 205 - 286
(kun dži nos 'dzin daṅ rnam šes ye šes 'byed tshul bstan pa legs bṣad lha yi rna chen).
Author: sde gzun sprul sku kun dga' rgyal mtshan.

Title No. 173. ff. 287 - 323
Nectar For the Beginners: A Guide to Conduct Basic Hevajra Retreat.
(kye'i rdo rje'i gzi bsñen bya tshul gsar bu'i bdud rtsi).
Author: nag dbaṅ legs grub.
Title No. 174. ff. 325 - 393
Destroyer of Evil Troops: Land Taming Rites of Śrī Hevajra Yoga.
(dpal kye rdo rje'i rnal 'byor la brten pa'i sa chog bdud dpuñ tshar gcod).
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1487-1547).

Title No. 175. ff. 395 - 433
Clear Mirror: Practical Rites of Burnt Offerings of the Four-fold Activities of Śrī Hevajra.
(dpal kye rdo rje'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga lag len gsal ba'i me loñ dañ las bzi'i sbyin sreg).
Author: nam mkha' dpal bzañ.

Title No. 176. ff. 425 - 431
A Prayer to Realize the Graduated Path of Lamdre.[lam rim rgyud la skye ba'i smon lam].
Author: nam mkha' dpal bzañ.

Title No. 177. ff. 433 - 467
Chariot of Bringing the Sun of Siddhis: A Prayer of the Graduated Path of Lamdre.
(gsuii hag lam rim gyi smon lam dnos grub ŋin byed 'dren pa'i śini rta).

Title No. 178. ff. 469 - 482
Kemel of Siddhis: Rite of Offering Gaṇacakra of Śrī Hevajra.
(dpal kye rdo rje'i tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga dnos grub sfe ma).
Author: mkhyen rab bstan 'dzin lhun grub.

Title No. 179. ff. 483 - 521
Ocean of Wealth: A Brief Rituals of Consecration According to Śrī Hevajra.
(dpal kye rdo rje'i rnal 'byor la brten pa'i rab gnas mdor bsdus pa dpal 'byor rgya mtsho grub skyes lja'i bcud len].
Author: ņag dbañ legs grub.

Title No. 180. ff. 523 - 619
Liturgical Texts According to the Consecration Ritual of Ocean of Wealth.
(rab gnas dpal 'byor rgya mtsho mar grags pa'i lag len dañ ņag 'don gyi rim pa mtho ris legs byas kyi rdziñ rini).
Author: ņag dbañ blo gros siiñ po gzan phan mtha' yas.

Title No. 181. ff. 621 - 624
Supplement to the Two Texts .(Title No 179 and 180) [de gñis la mkho ba'i zin bris].
Vol. Ṣa 27

Title No. 182. ff. 1 - 189
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Shujay Ngodrup to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. (gzūṅ rdo rje’i tshig rkaṅ gi ’grel pa rnal ’byor gyi dbaṅ phyub dpal sa skya pa chen po la żu byas dchos grub kyis žus pa). Author: sa chen kun dga’ sniṅ po (1092-1158).

Title No. 183. ff. 191 - 395
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Lokya Wangchuk Drak to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. (gzūṅ rdo rje’i tshig rkaṅ gi ’grel pa rnal ’byor gyi dbaṅ phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la klog skya dbaṅ phyug grags kyis žus pa). Author: sa chen kun dga’ sniṅ po (1092-1158).

Title No. 184. ff. 397 - 529
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Changchub Sempa Dawa Gyaltshan to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. (gzūṅ rdo rje’i tshig rkaṅ gi ’grel pa rnal ’byor gyi dbaṅ phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la byaṅ chub sems dpa’ zla ba rgyal mtshan gyis žus pa). Author: sa chen kun dga’ sniṅ po (1092-1158).

Vol. Ṣa 28

Title No. 185. ff. 1 - 148
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Bende Shinjema to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. (gzūṅ rdo rje’i tshig rkaṅ gi ’grel pa rnal ’byor gyi dbaṅ phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la ben de gśin rje mas žus pa). Author: sa chen kun dga’ sniṅ po (1092-1158).

Title No. 186. ff. 149 - 491
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Khampa Gatheng to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo. (gzūṅ rdo rje’i tshig rkaṅ gi ’grel pa rnal ’byor gyi dbaṅ phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la kham pa sga theṅ gis žus pa). Author: sa chen kun dga’ sniṅ po (1092-1158).
Vol. Ha 29

Title No. 187. ff. 1 - 159
Commentary on Vajra Verses Written by Sachen Kunga Nyingpo for Machik Shangmo.
(gzuh rdo rje'i tshig rkah gi 'grel pa mal 'byor gyi dban phyug dpal sa skya pa chen pos yum ma gcig žan mos don du mdzad pa).
Author: sa chen kun gda' sni po (1092-1158).

Title No. 188. ff. 161 - 295
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Jomo Hahuma to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo.
[gzuh rdo rje'i tshig rkah gi 'grel pa mal 'byor gyi dban phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la jo mo 'a 'u mas žus pa].
Author: sa chen kun gda' sni po (1092-1158).

Title No. 189. ff. 297 - 496
Commentary on Vajra Verses Requested by Jodhen Denbuma to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo.
(gzuh rdo rje'i tshig rkah gi 'grel pa mal 'byor gyi dban phyug dpal sa skya pa chen po la jo gdan ldan bu ma šus pa).
Author: sa chen kun gda' sni po (1092-1158).

Vol. A 30 (Red Annals)

Title No. 190. ff. 1 - 295
Commentary on Vajra Verses on the Basis of the Teachings of Guru Mañjunātha.
(gzuh rdo rje tshig rkah gi 'grel pa 'jam mgon bla ma'i gshur sgros ma).
Author: dmar chos kyi rgyal po (Sakya Panḍita’s Disciple).

Title No. 191. ff. 297 - 303
Essence of the Profound Meanings: A Synopsis of Lamdre Teachings.
[gshur nag rin po che'i khrid yig bsol 'debs zab don sni po].
Author: dkon mchog lhun grub (1497-1557).

Title No. 192. ff. 305 - 314
Essence of Nectar: The Essential Meanings of the View "Non-Differentiation of Samsara and Nirvana".
"khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta ba'i gnad mams legs par bsa'ad pa bdud rts'i niñ khu.
Author:

( gsun ‿ ng rin po che slog bsdad ’chad thabs mdor bsdus zab don nor bu’i me loṅ).

Author: bco brgyad khri chen legs bsdad rgya mtsho (1932-)

Wondrous Technical Key: A Complete Bibliography of the Profound Dharma Articles of Common and Uncommon Lamdre Teachings. (thun moṅ ba tshogs bsdad daṅ thun min slob bsdad zab moṅ chos skor cha lag daṅ bcas pa’i dkar chag no mtshar ’phrul gyi lde’u mig).

Editor: skyabs mgon ῥag dbaṅ kun dga’ (1945-).

Illuminating Torch of Lamdre: Synopsis of Uncommon Lamdre.

( gsun ‿ ng rin po che am ‘bras bu daṅ bcas pa’i khrid yig gsun ‿ ng bstan pa gsal ba’i ni ma’i ’od zer žes bya ba las bsdus don gsun ‿ ng gsal byed sgron me).

Author: kun dga’ legs grub.

Illuminating Torch of Enlightenment Thought: Instructions on Preliminary Three Visions.

( snaṅ gsum gyi khrid yig byaṅ chub sems ῥid gsal ba’i sgron me).

Author: kun dga’ legs grub.

Illuminating Torch of the Wisdom of Initiation: Instructions on Non-Differentiation of Samsara and Nirvana of Three Tantras.

( gyud gsum ’khor ’das dbyer med kyi khrid yig dbaṅ gi ye šes gsal ba’i sgron me).

Author: kun dga’ legs grub.

Illuminating Torch of Pure Vision: Instructions on Outer and Inner Generation Stage.

( phyi naṅ bskyed rim gyi khrid yig dag snaṅ gsal ba’i sgron me).

Author: kun dga’ legs grub.

Illuminating Torch of Blissful Heat: Instructions on Self-Blessings.

( raṅ byin rlabs kyi khrid yig bde drod gsal ba’i sgron me).

Author: kun dga’ legs grub.
Title No. 200. ff. 205 - 223
Illuminating Torch of the Supreme Path of Messenger.
[pho ña lam mchog gsal ba'i sgron me].
Author: kun dga' legs grub.

Title No. 201. ff. 225 - 233
Illuminating Torch of Bliss-Void: Instructions on Maṅḍala Cakra.
(dkyil 'khor 'khor lo'i khris yig bde ston gsal ba'i sgron me).
Author: kun dga' legs grub.

Title No. 202. ff. 235 - 240
Illuminating Torch of Becoming rainbow Body: Instructions on Vajra Waves.
(rdo rje'i rba riabs kyi khris yig 'ja' lus m ön gyur gsal ba'i sgron me).
Author: kun dga' legs grub.

Title No. 203. ff. 241 - 249
Illuminating Torch of Textual Sources.
(bstan bcos da ni lun gi skabs gsal ba 'brel bsgrigs gsal ba'i sgron me).
Author: kun dga' legs grub.

Title No. 204. ff. 251 - 335
(gsuh ng rin po che'i khris yig bde chen bcud kyi stii po).
Author: kun dga' legs grub.

Title No. 205. ff. 337 - 463
Mine of Siddhis: Instructions on Precious Lamdre.
(gsuh ng rin po che'i khris yig dños grub 'byun ba'i gter).
Author: dge slo dkon mchog dpal ldan (1453-1524).

Title No. 206. ff. 465-659
Moon's Rays: An Exposition on Generation and Completion Stage of Śrī Hevajra.
(dpal kye rdo rje'i bskyed rdzogs kyi mam bṣad nes don gsal byed zla ba'i 'od 'zer).
Author: dge slo dkon mchog dpal ldan.

Title No. 207. ff. 661-673
Refuting the Evil Talks: Clear Answers to the Questions of Brahmačakra.
(dri ba tshangs pa'i 'khor lo'i lan gsal bar bstan pa smra ba 'ran 'joms).
Author:
Bibliography


Chandra, Prof. Dr. L., The Blue Annals, (Tibetan Text), Indian Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1974.


------------, Pad ma dkar po's Tibetan Chronicle, New Delhi, 1968.


Csoma, de Koros, A., Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical Works To Be Met With In Tibet, JASB, 1938.


------------, History of Rise, Progress, and Downfall of Buddhism in India, Calcutta, 1908.


Dorje, Ācārya, S., Bibilotheca-Indo-


Hakaju, Ui and Co., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, 1934.


Kuznetsov, B. I., (Translit.) *rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me lo* (*The Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies*), Laiden, Netherlands, 1966.


Sangpo, Khetsun,  
Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, Vo. X

Sankalia, H. D.,  
The University of Nālandā, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1972.

Shakabpa, Tsepon, T. W.,  
Tibet: A Political History, Yale University, 1967,

Sinha, Bindeshwari Prasad,  

Snellgrove, D. L.,  

Sonam, Kunga, A.,  

Suzuki, Dr. Daisetz, T.,  
The Tibetan Tripitaka, Catalogue and Index, Tokyo 1962.

Tāranātha,  

Templeman, David,  
A Treasury of Instructions And Techniques For Spiritual Realization, Delhi, 1971, Vol. IV.

Thaye, Jamgon, K. L.,  
A Treasury of Instructions And Techniques For Spiritual Realization, Delhi, 1971, Vol. IV.

Trengwa, P. T.,  

Tucci, Giuseppe,  
(Trans.) deb ther dmor po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles by bsod nams grags pa, Instituto Italiano Per II, Medio Estremo Orienter, Roma, 1971.
Literatures, Vol.

Vidyabhusana, S. C.,

Virūpa,

Vostrikov, Andrei, I.,

Ui, Hakaju, Prof.,

Wangchuk, Jamyang K.,

Watters, Thomas,


History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1977.

The Vajra Verses, sde dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. Shi. Title No. 2284.


A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, (sde dge Edition), Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, 1934.
