

Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

Volume 19 • Number 1 • Summer 1996



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CYRUS STEARNS

The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra

The Indian Buddhist master Vibhūticandra (Rnal-'byor zla-ba¹) first came to Tibet in 1204, and was active and influential for several decades in the transmission and translation of both *sūtra* and *tantra* teachings. He traveled to Tibet three times, and at least one of the works he translated himself into the Tibetan language has been passed down to the present as an important tantric practice in living transmission.² Other works have been the subject of some controversy, although the one which has received the most attention over the centuries may have been forged by

I should like to express my gratitude to the sublime *vajrācārya* Bco-brgyad Khri-chen Rinpoche, of Bodhnath and Lumbini, Nepal, under whose guidance I was privileged to study the *śaḍaṅgayoga* according to the teachings of Jo-nang Tāranātha. I am grateful to Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, Harvard University, for his suggestions in regard to this paper, and for allowing me to use his copies of the manuscripts by Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba and Shes-rab mgon which are listed in the bibliography. I should also like to thank Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Kathmandu, for his kind help in obtaining copies of manuscripts from Nepal.

1. This is the most common Tibetan translation of Vibhūticandra's name, although the forms Rnam-'byor zla-ba and Rab-'byor zla-ba are also found. For example, in a prayer to the transmission lineage of these practices in the Jo-nang-pa tradition, Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) refers to Vibhūticandra as both Rnam-par 'byor-pa'i zla, and the more common translation of Rnal-'byor zla-ba. See Dol-po-pa, *Bla ma nye*, 770, 771. Other than in the colophons of works he authored and / or translated into Tibetan, his name is usually just transliterated as Bi-bhū-ti-tsandra. Cf. de Jong 1979, 164-167, who was very uncertain whether Rnal-'byor zla-ba and Vibhūticandra could even be the same person.

2. This is the *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa*, a fundamental text on the practice of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* of the *Kālacakra-tantra*, directly revealed to Vibhūticandra by the legendary *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa. See below for a discussion of this text. See Grönbold 1983 for basic information on the *śaḍaṅgayoga*.

an unknown author with polemic motives. The following sketch of the life and literary activities of Vibhūticandra will seek to provide a glimpse of this fascinating but little known master and clarify his significance in light of the opinions put forth by later Tibetan authors.

THE LIFE³

Vibhūticandra was born in the later half of the 12th century, in the region of Varendra in East India.⁴ He received full monastic ordination

3. A number of Sanskrit verses and marginal notations in Vibhūticandra's own handwriting were found in Indian palm leaf manuscripts at Sa-skya by Rahūla Saṃkṛtyāyana in the 1930s. See Saṃkṛtyāyana 1937, 11-13. Several western scholars have utilized these notes, in particular his footnotes, personal remarks, and scholarly references found in Saṃkṛtyāyana's edition of Manorathanandin's *Pramāṇavartīkāvṛtti*. See Steinkellner 1981, 288.

The following discussion of Vibhūticandra's life is based upon secondary sources in Tibetan, of which the most important by far are Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 23b-28b, and Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481-486. Padma gar-dbang's work was written in 1538, and Tāranātha's about 80 years later. The accounts given by Tāranātha are what he considered to be the miraculous oral biographies (*gtam-rgyud rnam-thar ngo-mtshar che-ba*) of the Kālacakra tradition of Vibhūticandra (Tāranātha, *Rdo* 479). Tucci 1949, vol. 1, 129, also knew of this source.

Padma gar-dbang's text is a lineage history of the *Kālacakra* teachings known as the *Sbas pa mig 'byed*. Very little is presently known about this compendium of teachings on the *śaḍaṅgayoga*. The *Sbas pa mig 'byed* is often found mentioned among other traditions related to the *Kālacakra*, and was a special teaching of the Bo-dong-pa school in Tibet. After Vajradhara, the text traces the lives of the following lineal masters: Śavaripa, Vibhūticandra, Chos-sku 'od-zer, 'Phags-'od Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, Bu-ston Rin-chen grub, Lo-chen Byang-chub rtse-mo, Lo-chen Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Bo-dong Paṅ-chen, Bsod-nams mchog-gyur, Paṅ-chen Byams-pa Chos-kyi nyi-'od, and Padma gar-kyi dbang-phyug. The relationship, if any, between the text known as the *Sbas pa mig 'byed*, its commentary by *Kālacakrapada (Dus-zhabs-pa), and this tradition will remain unclear until more texts which have recently surfaced in Nepal can be examined.

4. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481, states that Vibhūticandra was born as the son of a merchant in Bha-lendra: *rgya gar shar phyogs bha lendrar tshong dpon cig gi sras su 'khrungs*. But in the colophon to Vibhūticandra's commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, vol. 100, #5282, 280.6-7, he is described as born in the *kṣatriya* caste, in Ba-rendra, an eastern region of India: *shar phyogs ba rendrar rgyal rigs las 'khrungs*. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 24a, also states that he was from the *kṣatriya* caste. The Tibetan rendering of Bha-lendra or Ba-rendra certainly refers to the area

in the *mahāsammitīya* (*mang-pos bkur-ba*) tradition, and studied at such monastic universities as Vikramaśīla in the central Indian region of Magadha, and also in other areas such as Orissa during the final years before the total destruction of those institutions by Muslim invaders.⁵ He may have first met his future *guru*, the *mahāpaṇḍita* of Kashmir, Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127?-1225?), at Vikramaśīla and fled with him to the monastic complex of Jagaddala in Bengal to escape the Muslim onslaught, or he may have already been studying there when Śākyaśrī arrived.⁶ At Jagaddala he became an expert in the traditional fields of *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*, and also in the non-buddhist sciences.⁷ In any case, it seems that he studied under the Kashmiri master for three years in India before traveling with him to Tibet, in the company of a large group of fellow Indian scholar-*siddhas*.⁸ In addition to Śākyaśrī, Vibhūticandra's other early teachers were the scholars Vikhyātadeva (Bi-khyā-ta-de-ba) and *Dharmadāsa (Chos-'bangs). From these three *gurus* he received many teachings, but especially the *Kālacakra-tantra* initiations, reading transmissions, explanations, and oral instructions.⁹

in northern Bengal which was known during that period as Varendra or Varendri. See note 6 below.

5. The Tibetan text reads O-di-bi-sha. Dutt 1962, 378, note 2, mentions that Odivassa is another name for Orissa. For information on Vikramaśīla, see 358-362 of the same work.

6. For the life of Śākyaśrībhadrā, see Roerich, trans. 1976, 1062-1072, etc., and Jackson 1990. For information on the great monastic establishment of Jagaddala, see Dutt 1962, 376-380. It was located in the northern Bengal area known then as Varendra or Varendri, and was probably founded by king Rāmapāla (reign c. 1077?-1120?). It was destroyed by the Turuska invaders about 1207.

7. Dutt 1962, 351, states without giving a source, that Vibhūticandra and his fellow junior *paṇḍita*, Dānaśīla, wrote original works in Tibetan and translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan while still at Jagaddala. This seems very unlikely. It is more probable that they learned Tibetan during their subsequent eleven year stay in Tibet, and began to translate texts while in Tibet. There is no evidence to suggest that Vibhūticandra himself wrote original works in Tibetan; every work of his preserved in Tibetan seems to be a translation, although without Sanskrit originals at hand it is impossible to be certain.

8. Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, trans. 1990, 319, state that Śākyaśrī spent 3 years at Jagaddala, but erroneously places it in Odivisa. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481, correctly states that Jagaddala was in Bengal, and that Vibhūticandra studied with Śākyaśrī for three years in India.

9. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 24a. Khro-phu Lo-tā-ba, *Khro*, 42a-b, specifies that the *paṇḍita-siddha* Vikhyātadeva (Bi-khyā-ta-de-ba) was the main teacher

Vibhūticandra took Śākyaśrī as his main *guru*, and stayed with him for eleven years in Tibet, learning innumerable topics of secret *mantra*, as well as *mahāyāna* subjects such as the *Five Bhūmi Treatises* of Asaṅga.¹⁰

Soon after his arrival in Tibet, Śākyaśrī, accompanied by Vibhūticandra and most of the other *paṇḍitas* of the group, traveled to Central Tibet. The summer retreat of 1206 was spent at Srin-po-ri.¹¹ During this time Śākyaśrī received invitations from the *mahāmudrā* master 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217), Rgya-ma Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston, and perhaps the monastery of Mtshur-phu.¹² According to Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba Byams-pa'i dpal (1172-1236), who was Śākyaśrī's Tibetan interpreter, Vibhūticandra made the following remark while discussing which invitation to accept:

The 'Bri-gung-pa is said to have more wealth, but it is also said that this *mahāmudrā* adept is a great liar.¹³

for tantric subjects of *mahāsiddha* Buddhaśrī, whom Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba studied with for five years, and later invited to Tibet in 1200. Vikhyātadeva's main residence (*gtan-sa*) was at the Mahābodhi in Bodhgayā. Toward the end of the 12th century we find Vikhyātadeva refusing an invitation from the king of Bhaktapur, the *ham-du* priests (?), and the ascetics of the central Kathmandu valley to come teach in Nepal (*bal yul 'thil gyi ta pa swi dang / ham du nram dang / kho pom gyi rgyal pos. . .*). His excuse was advanced age, and he sent Buddhaśrī in his place. My thanks to Mr. Hubert Decleer, Kathmandu, for suggestions on the translation of this passage. Bu-ston, *Bla* 90, lists both Vikhyātadeva and *Dharmadāsa before Vibhūticandra in the lineage of the *Gsung rab rin chen 'dus pa*.

10. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481.

11. Mang-thos klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 156.

12. The earliest available description of this event is Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro*, 69a-b, which states only that the invitations of the 'Bri-khung-ba and Rin-chen sgang-pa arrived at the same time. Roerich, trans. 1976, 600, ('Goslo, *Deb* vol.2, 706) mentions all three, but Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 523, mentions only the first two. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 24b, makes no mention of the following episode, except for stating that Vibhūticandra accompanied Śākyaśrī to Srin-po-ri and built an image of Cakrasaṃvara. See Jackson 1990, 20-21, and 1994, 69-70, for important information about the following events. Bsod-nams dpal-bzang-po's version of the events (in Jackson 1990, 70) is copied verbatim from Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba's original account.

13. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro*, 69b: *nor 'bri khung ba mang zer te / phyag rgya chen po ba 'di brdzun che ba yin zer byas pas /*. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 523, has exactly the same wording.

But according to 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu dpal (1392-1481), writing more than two centuries later, Vibhūticandra said:

This *mahāmudrā* adept is said to be a great liar. We should go to the place of the Bka'-gdams-pa.¹⁴

Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba says that Śākyaśrī then exclaimed, “[He is a] Buddha! A Buddha! It's not right to say that!”¹⁵ He proceeded to explain that his own special deity Tārā had indicated to him that 'Jig-rten mgon-po was indeed the rebirth of the Indian master Nāgārjuna. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba further tells us:

[Śākyaśrī said,] “*Paṇḍita*, you must go there and confess your sin [*sgrib sbyong*]. Build a temple for [a deity] to whom you have devotion.”

So the master Vibhūti also went to 'Bri-khung, confessed his sin to Rin-po-che ['Jig-rten mgon-po] himself, and offered a eulogy. Later he built a temple on Srin-po-ri.¹⁶

'Gos Lo-tsā-ba describes the episode like this:

The *mahāpaṇḍita* was shocked, and exclaimed “Bhūti! Bhūti! Don't say that! A *buddha* has no error. 'Bri-khung-pa is master Nāgārjuna. You

14. 'Gos-lo, *Deb* vol. 2, 706: *paṇḍi ta bi bhū ti candras / phyag rgya ba 'di rdzun che ba yin zer / 'o skol bka' gdams pa'i sar 'byon pa 'thad zhus pas /*.

15. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro*, 69b: *chos rje'i zhal nas / bud dhaḥ bud dhaḥ / de skad byar mi rung ngo /*. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 523, has: *rje paṇ chen gyis nā gardzhu na nā gardzhu na de skad mi btub bo /*.

16. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro*, 69b: *paṇḍi ta yang der song la sgrib sbyong gyis / rang gang mos pa'i lha khang gcig bzhengs gsung / der bla ma bi bhū tas kyang 'bri khung du byon nas rin po che nyid la sgrib sbyong byas bstod pa phul / phyis srin po rir lha khangs bzhengs so //*.

Dpa'-bo adds that the temple contained a *Samvara* image which was the same size as the body of Śākyaśrī, and which was very blessed and floated in space. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 523: *phyis srin po rir paṇ chen gyi sku tshad kyi bde mchog gi lha khang bzhengs te nam mkha' la bzhugs pa byin rlabs can du grags /*.

It is indeed strange that the available biographies of 'Jig-rten mgon-po, and his nephew, are silent about Vibhūticandra. The only entry in reference to these events is in Shes-rab 'byung-gnas, *Dgongs* vol.1, 83.5, which may be dated between the years 1203-1207: *de'i dus su paṇḍi ta shākya shrī dang zhal mjal du bzhed pa la / gshegs pa ni ma byung / zhabs tog ni rgya chen po mdzad do /*.

have committed a great sin. Go before him now, and confess. Request *dharma*.”

Vibhūti did precisely that. Then the *mahāpaṇḍita* asked Holy [Tārā], “Does that purify Vibhūti’s fault?”

She replied, “If he constructs a Saṃvara temple at this place, that will purify it.” Hence he properly constructed a temple also.¹⁷

The temple was constructed on Drang-srong Srin-po-ri. Vibhūticandra himself fashioned the terra-cotta image of Cakrasaṃvara, and requested Śākyaśrī to perform the consecration.¹⁸ This was a very famous temple in Tibet up until recent times, and recognized as a holy place specially associated with Cakrasaṃvara.¹⁹

Returning to Gtsang from Central Tibet, Śākyaśrī stopped at the monastery of Sa-skya, and spent the rainy season retreat of 1209 at the Rin-chen-sgangs palace.²⁰ During this time he met with Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), then Patriarch of Sa-skya, and

17. 'Gos-lo, *Deb* vol. 2, 706: *paṇ chen thugs hur phyung ste / bhū ti bhū ti de skad [707] ma zer / sangs rgyas la 'khrul pa mi mnga' / 'bri khung pa slob dpon klu sgrub yin / khyod kyis las chen po bsags / da khong ni [sic!] drung du song la bshags pa gyis / chos zhus gsungs pas / bi bhū tis kyang de kho na bzhin du mdzad / de nas rje btsun ma la paṇ chen gyis / bi bhū ti'i nyes pa des dag gam zhus pas / gnas 'dir bde mchog gi lha khang zhig bzhengs na des 'dag par 'gyur gsung ba bzhin lha khang yang legs par bzhengs so /*

18. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481: *drang srong srin po rir bde mchog gi lha khang bzhengs / 'jim bzo bi bhū ti rang gis mdzad / rab gnas kha che paṇ chen la zhus /*

19. Tāranātha, *Rgyal* 65b, records in his autobiography that in the last decade of the 16th century there were also kept in the temple at Srin-po-ri two exceptionally fine icons of the *maṇḍala* (*dkyil thang*) of Cakrasaṃvara according to the tradition of Luipa, and of *Kālacakra*, both definitely of Indian workmanship, which had been the personal meditation objects of Vibhūticandra himself. Tāranātha, *Rgyud* 63, mentions specific iconographical details concerning the figure of Yamāri depicted in Vibhūticandra’s Cakrasaṃvara icon at Srin-po-ri.

Kaḥ-thog Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925), *Gangs*, 156, specifies that the famous image was in the form of Cakrasaṃvara-sahaja (*Bde-mchog lhan-skyes*), with the figure and face of a Nepalese person. Curiously, he does not mention Vibhūticandra, and says that it was built by an emanated master who then dissolved into it. He also mentions that the feet of the image didn’t touch the ground, and that it was suspended in space.

20. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 157: *sbrul lo'i dbyar gnas rin chen sgang du mdzad /*. But Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *Bla* 148, says Śākyaśrī spent the summer at Sa-skya in 1210 (*lcags-pho-rtā*).

continued to teach that master's precocious nephew Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), to whom he had earlier given the lasting epithet "Sa-skya Paṇḍita." Vibhūticandra was also in Sa-skya, along with the other eight *paṇḍitas* in Śākyaśrī's company. According to Jo-nang Tāranātha (1575-1635), he was the most learned of the nine "junior *paṇḍitas*," and already a *mahāpaṇḍita* in his own right.²¹ Historical records of the Sa-skya tradition mention several meetings between Śākyaśrī and Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, during some of which Sa-pan and the other *paṇḍitas* were also present. On one occasion Śākyaśrī returned the prostration which Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan offered to him when the Kashmiri master visited in his private chambers. The junior *paṇḍita* had earlier requested that Śākyaśrī not prostrate to Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, who was a layman, and afterward questioned Śākyaśrī about the reason for his prostration. He replied that Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan was actually *Mahāvajradhara* in the *maṇḍala* of *Guhyasamāja*, so he had been compelled to prostrate.²²

No mention is made in the various Sa-skya chronicles of a refusal by any of the *paṇḍitas* to prostrate to Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, but Tāranātha records an account in which Vibhūticandra refused to prostrate, although the other eight junior *paṇḍitas* did so.²³ According to this version, Sa-skya Paṇḍita had already studied grammar with Saṅghaśrī, and logic with Dānaśrī, and also requested teachings from each of the other *paṇḍitas*, and given each of them gifts. But he did not request teachings from Vibhūticandra, nor offer him any gifts, even though he was the most expert of the junior *paṇḍitas*. This was because of the alleged disrespect Vibhūticandra had shown to Sa-pan's uncle, Rje-btsun Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan.²⁴ The Tibetan scholar Dge-'dun chos-'phel (1903?-1951) held

21. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 485.

22. 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug, *Gdams* 68b. For other traditional versions of this episode according to the Sa-skya tradition, see 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs *Sa*, 79-80, and *Yongs* 191. An example of justification for the junior *paṇḍita*'s concerns is found in the *Gurupañcāśikā* by Aśvagoṣa, which has been translated as *Fifty Verses of Guru-Devotion*. See Translation Bureau of Tibetan Works and Archives 1976, 10.

23. This is only found in Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484, not in the earlier text of Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*.

24. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484.7: *paṇ chung gzhan rnam kyis rje btsun gags pa la phyag phul / [485] bi bhū tis ma phul / rje sa paṇ gyis de'i sngon du sanga shrī la sgra dang / dā na shrī la tshad ma gsan / de dus paṇ chung gzhan rnam la'ang chos 'brel re tsam zhus / rdzong pa bzang po mdzad pa la / bi bhū ti de dus nas paṇ chung dgu'i nang nas mkhas shos yin / de dus paṇ chen*

the opinion that the melancholy verses written by Vibhūticandra in a Sanskrit manuscript preserved at Sa-skyā bear witness to the truth of the account given by Tāranātha.²⁵

However, this version of the story does not ring true for several reasons, and may have been used as a means to show an early rift between Vibhūticandra and the Sa-skyā 'Khon family, for which there is no other evidence. First of all, it is difficult to imagine that a young Indian scholar would refuse to offer a prostration when his own *guru* and eight other *paṇḍitas* did so. And, as was mentioned above, none of the records of the Sa-skyā tradition itself make this claim.

The account may have been fabricated in order to establish Vibhūticandra's estrangement from the Sa-skyā family, and thus by extension his disagreement with Sa-skyā doctrinal positions, the only textual evidence for which is the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, which will be dealt with in more detail below. It should be noted that Vibhūticandra and the other eight junior *paṇḍitas* were not adverse to paying deference to Tibetans. They had previously shown the greatest respect for the young Khro-phu Lo-tśā-ba, Byams-pa'i dpal, rising at his approach and clasping their palms together, after having been convinced of his learning.²⁶ In any case, this version of the events may have been used by 'Bri-gung-pa sympathizers for the purpose of placing

rang du ka yod kyang / chos kyang ma gsan / rdzong pa yang ma mdzad skad /. Also see Jackson 1994, 69, note 165.

25. Dge-'dun chos-'phel, *Rgyal*, 32: 'di bi bha [sic!] ti tsandra kha che paṇ chen gyi zhabs zhur byon pa de bzhi'i phyag bris yin cing sa skyā rang du bris par mngon / mjug tu sa mtha' la slebs par dka' tshul sogs thugs skyo ba'i tshigs bcad gnyis tsam rgya skad du bris pa / tā ra nā tha'i 'khrīd yig don ldan gyi lhan thabs bi bha [sic!] ti rje btsun grags pa la phyag ma 'tshal bas zhabs tog bzang po ma byas sogs gsungs pa dpang por song nas snang /. The verses in question are reproduced in *devanagari* script in Saṃkṛtyāyana 1937, 11-13. In addition to Vibhūticandra's Sanskrit manuscripts which Saṃkṛtyāyana examined in Sa-skyā, it is interesting to note that a very blessed image of Cakrasaṃvara, which had been the personal meditation object of Vibhūticandra, was housed in the Dbu-rtse byang-gi thig-khang temple of Sa-skyā right next to an image Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan had made of himself. Kun-dga' rin-chen, *Gdan*, 19a: paṇḍi ta bi bhū ta tsandra'i thugs dam bde mchog byin rlabs shin tu che ba / The author of this text was an abbot of the ancient Sgo-rum temple in Sa-skyā. See Dkon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas, *Yul* 8.

26. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 496.

Vibhūticandra in opposition to the Sa-skyapa, for purposes that will be made clear below.

In 1213 Śākyaśrī traveled from Khro-phu west to Mnga'-ris, and spent the summer retreat in Pu-rang.²⁷ Vibhūticandra translated a number of brief tantric works in collaboration with Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen at a location identified only as the royal citadel of Nyi-gzungs (*skumkhar nyi-gzungs/nyi-gzugs*).²⁸ In fact, this is the citadel built at Pu-rang in the early 10th century by Skyid-lde Nyi-ma mgon, the son of the Tibetan king Dpal-'khor btsan (b. circa 892), to be the capital of a new state which he founded in Mnga'-ris after fleeing the chaotic situation in central Tibet.²⁹ This identification allows us to state with some certainty that Vibhūticandra was in Pu-rang with Śākyaśrī in 1213, and engaged in some translation work there. In 1214 Śākyaśrī returned to his homeland of Kashmir.³⁰ Vibhūticandra may have accompanied him to Kashmir, or gone directly from Pu-rang to Nepal.³¹ Since all of the translations made with Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba were either in Pu-rang or Kathmandu, it seems reasonable to assume that they traveled together from Tibet to Nepal.

27. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 157; 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, *Dpal* 166.

28. See #1-3 in the Appendix. Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen was a well known scholar of the time. See Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta, *Glo*, for Sa-pan's reply to questions from Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba. We also know that Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba became an important teacher of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235-1280), to whom he gave many initiations and teachings. See Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, *Bla* 308-313. Almost all of Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba's translations found in the *Bstan-gyur* collection were translated at Sku-mkhar nyi-(ma) gzungs, identified as the palace of a religious king (*chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang*).

29. This is stated in various sources, the most detailed of which is Tshe-dbang nor-bu, *Rgyal* 73, and *Bod* 185. The king of Pu-rang in 1215 was Bla-chen Stag-tsha khri-'bar. Petech 1978, 316. It is intriguing that one of the extant Sanskrit notes by Vibhūticandra found in Sa-skya is a farewell to a king, which may well have been addressed to the king of Pu-rang. Saṃkṛtyāyana 1937, 12, thought it might have been addressed to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, but this is impossible, because he would never have been referred to as a king.

30. Mang-thos klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 157; 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, *Dpal* 166; Jackson 1990, 16, 51.

31. In one of the Sanskrit notes in Vibhūticandra's handwriting, found by Saṃkṛtyāyana, he seems about to go to Nepal. Saṃkṛtyāyana 1937, 13: *pascānnepālataḥ sthivā*. Another note (p. 12) mentions that he was going to return to his own country: *svadeśameva yāsyāmi*. Although Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481, states that Vibhūticandra went to Nepal, Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b, has India, which could perhaps be understood as the Indian cultural area in general.

Vibhūticandra continued his studies in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal under learned and realized Newar Buddhist masters such as Buddhaśrī, receiving various textual and oral instructions he had not heard before.³² In particular, he mastered the *Kālacakra* and *Cakrasaṃvara* tantras under the guidance of the Newar *mahāpaṇḍita* Ratnarakṣita.³³ Most important, he received from Ratnarakṣita the teachings of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* of the *Kālacakra* in the tradition of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Anupamarakṣita.³⁴

32. Tāranātha, *Rdo*, 481. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, the interpreter for Śākyaśrī during the years 1204-1214 in Tibet, had also studied in Nepal with *mahāpaṇḍita* Buddhaśrī for five years, and then invited him to Tibet in 1200. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro* 42b, 43a. Also see Roerich, trans. 1976, 709.

33. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 481. A number of works by the Newar master Ratnarakṣita, and some in which he collaborated with a Tibetan translator, are found in the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*. He initiated Ko-brag-pa (1170-1249) into the cycle of *Cakrasaṃvara*, and was also the *guru* of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1264), who studied with him at Swayambhunāth in Kathmandu, also receiving the *Cakrasaṃvara*, and served as his interpreter when he taught Tibetan disciples (Roerich, trans. 1976, 726, 1057). Vibhūticandra also translated at least two texts into Tibetan in collaboration with Chag Lo-tsā-ba. Perhaps they met in Kathmandu and translated texts together there.

34. According to Tāranātha, *Rdo*, 479-480, Anupamarakṣita was an 11th-12th century contemporary of the famous master Abhayākara Gupta. He was born in Magadha, and received full monastic ordination in the Mahāsammitīya tradition. He was skilled in all areas of traditional learning, and also knew the *Kālacakra-tantra*. Taking Avalokiteśvara as his personal deity for meditation, he lived for twelve years in the temple of a self-created image of Khasarpaṇa in the area of Li-kha-ra (Shing-'phel), in east India, meditating upon the ultimate nature of existence. When not even the slightest sign of success in meditation occurred, he became depressed. One night he dozed off briefly, and Khasarpaṇa appeared in his dream and told him, "Son, go to Vikramapuri and your wish will be fulfilled."

The next morning he set off, traveling with one of his disciples. On the day they finally reached Vikramapuri he saw a presentation of a variety of dances and shows, which served as a catalyst, and he realized all apparent phenomena to be like an illusion. That night he stayed in a courtyard, and his special deity, or *Kālacakra*, came there in the form of a mendicant, who said to him, "Son, this is reality." Simply hearing that, his experiential realization of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* was instantly perfected, and he beheld the meaning of the nature of existence. Although he had become a *mahāsiddha*, he continued to act for the benefit of living beings for many more years, keeping the same ordinary human body as before, even though he now had many supernatural abilities. When he finally actualized the rainbow body of the *vajākāya*, he left behind no physical remains.

This lineage later became known in Tibet as the sequential lineage (*ring-brgyud*) of Vibhūticandra.³⁵

During this period of study in the Kathmandu valley, Vibhūticandra concentrated his attention upon the huge commentary to the *Kālacakra-tantra*, the *Vimalaprabhā* of the Śambhala emperor Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, and became an expert *mahāpaṇḍita* in this subject. He had long before composed annotations to the *Vimalaprabhā*.³⁶ He exerted great effort in the *śaḍaṅgayoga* meditation, and is said to have gained control of the subtle channels and energies, which resulted in exceptional experience and realization.

Vibhūticandra became abbot of the Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, where he taught many subjects.³⁷ There he also established an independent institute for the study of the major works of Abhayākara Gupta such as the

35. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 477.

36. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24a. Vibhūticandra's annotations to the *Kālacakra-tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* were very influential in Tibet. They are frequently cited by Bu-ston Rin-chen grub (1290-1364) in his annotated editions of both texts, where they are referred to as *bla ma bi bhū ti tsandra'i phyag dpe yi rgya dpe, bi bhū ti'i mchan*, or simply *rgya dpe*. See for example, Kalkī Yaśas, *Mchog* 101, 118, and 220, and Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, 'Jig 432, 433, 437, 466, etc. Vibhūticandra's annotations were the primary source for Bu-ston's suggested revised translations, which were themselves then accepted in the last revision of the Tibetan translation made in 1334 by Ma-ti paṅ-chen Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1294-1376) and Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros dpal (1299-1353). This will be discussed in detail in my "The Tibetan Translations of the *Kālacakra-tantra* and its Great Commentary," which is near completion. Grönbold 1991, 393, briefly discusses Vibhūticandra's opinion about the identification of some Śambhala emperors.

37. This monastery is said to have been established by Dipaṅkara Atiśa (982-1054), and is often known by the name Tham-bahil, or Vikramaśīla-Bihar. It is in the Thamel district of modern Kathmandu. The earliest mention I have found in Tibetan literature is in Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro* 42b. The most extensive discussion of Tham-bahil is in Locke 1985, 404-413. See also Decler n. d., Macdonald 1987, 114, and Slusser 1982, vol. 1, 87, 297, 360, etc. Important historical information about the *bihar*, and other names by which it was known, is found in Roerich, trans. 1959, 6-7, and 55-56. A different version of the events leading to the construction of the monastery by Atiśa is related by Petech 1984, 42-43. Further information, and a description of the present day temple is provided by Bajracharya 1979. This temple, described as being in N. E. Kathmandu, was visited by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas in 1723. See Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas, *Ta'i* 112.

Munimatālamkāra, the *Upadeśamañjari*, and the *Āvali Trilogy*.³⁸ His disciples were both Indian and Nepalese, for whom he emphasized intense study and practice of the *Kālacakra-tantra*.³⁹ His own spiritual efforts resulted in visions of a number of tantric deities, among them Mañjuśrī and Vajravāhī early in his life, and later Cakrasaṃvara and Kālacakra. Many extraordinary signs accompanied his bestowal of initiation for these practices.⁴⁰

After some time Vibhūticandra traveled once again to Tibet. He had become extremely fluent in the Tibetan language, and translated many works on both *sūtrayāna* and *vajrayāna* into Tibetan.⁴¹ His translation work at the temple of 'Bring-mtshams in Gtsang dates from this visit.⁴² Padma gar-dbang also tells us that it was during this time that

38. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 482: 'phreng ba skor gsum / thub pa dgongs rgyan / man ngag snye ma sogs la'ang rkang tshugs kyi grwa btsugs /.

These early 12th century works by Abhayākara Gupta, as found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, are as follows:

Thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan (Munimatālamkāra), vol. 101, #5299, 71b.3-398b.3.

Man ngag gi snye ma shes bya ba rgyud thams cad kyi skyed rdzogs thun mong du bstan pa (Upadeśamañjari-nāma-sarvatantrotpannopapanna-sāmānya-bhāṣya), vol. 87, #5024, 77.4.5-86.2.4.

Dpal 'jam pa'i rdo rje la sogs pa'i mngon par rtogs pa kun las btus pa rdzogs pa'i rnal 'byor gyi phreng ba (Śrī-mañjuvajrādi-kramābhisamaya-samuccaya-niṣpanna-yogāvali), vol. 87, #5023, 47.5.6-77.4.5.

Rdzogs pa'i rnal 'byor gyi phreng ba (Niṣpanna-yogāvali), vol. 80, #3962, 126.3.4-154.2.8.

Dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rdo rje phreng ba (Vajrāvali-nāma-maṅḍalopāyikā), vol. 80, #3961, 79.1.1-126.3.4. A somewhat different list of the *Āvali Trilogy* is found in Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 2, 1497.

39. Bu-ston, *Bla* 93, records the transmission line of a commentary to the *Nāmasaṅgīti* in which the lineage is traced from Vibhūticandra to a Gotama Śrī, from him to Kīrticandra, and from him to the Tibetan translator Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.

40. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 482.

41. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 482, and Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b.

42. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b. See #8-10 in the Appendix. A *dharma-conch* which had belonged to Vibhūticandra, as well as one which had belonged to his master Śākyaśrī, were kept in one of the monasteries at 'Bring-mtshams until the period of fighting between Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364) and the Shar-ka-pa rulers at Rgya-rtse, when they were moved to Khar-chen for safe keeping. See the anonymous genealogy of the Shar-ka-pa, *Dpal* 66.

Vibhūticandra composed the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*.⁴³ Very little is known of the period, but it is said that he spent time at the monastery of 'Bri-khung gling, where his activities were very influential.⁴⁴ Then he returned to Nepal.

In Nepal he continued to live and teach at Stham Bihar into his old age. Then the most significant event in his life occurred.⁴⁵

Once, when [Vibhūticandra] had become very old, a young *yogin* with bone loops fixed in his ear lobes appeared. He was briefly entertained, and then shown to a verandah. A junior *paṇḍita* studying grammar there watched him. When there were several amazing signs, such as no circulation of breath, and his body changing into various colors and shapes, he told the master, *paṇḍita* [Vibhūticandra].

The *paṇḍita* invited him in, and he replied immediately and without hesitation to every question [Vibhūticandra] mentally asked him.

So he asked, "Who are you?"

"I am the *siddha Śavaripa*," he replied.⁴⁶

43. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b.

44. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 485. Once again, it is strange that the biography of 'Brig-gung-gling pa, included in Shes-rab 'byung-gnas, *Dgongs* 96-123, has no mention of Vibhūticandra during these years.

45. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 482: *dgung lo'ang mang rab song skabs / rnal 'byor pa gzhon nu snyan la rwa dung bcug pa gcig byung nas / sna len cung zad cig mdzad nas grang khang zhig tu bskyal / der sgra slob pa'i paṇ chung cig gis bltas pas / rlung mi rgyu ba dang lus kyi mdog dbyibs sna tshogs su 'gyur ba sogs ngo mtshar ba'i rtags 'ga' re 'dug nas / bla ma paṇḍi ta la zhus pas paṇḍi tas kyang de spyen drangs te yid kyis bri [sic!] ba byas tshad la thogs med du lan [483] shar shar byung / nyid su yin zhus pas / grub thob sha ba ri pa yin gsung / mchog tu dgyes shing gus nas rjes su gzung bar zhus pas sbyor drug gsungs / yi ger bkod pa da lta'i gzhung chung 'di yin / spyir zab mo'i gdams pa mtha' yas pas tshims par mdzad cing rgyud byin gyis brlabs / zhag nyi shu rtsa gcig tsam dngos su bzhugs par yang grags / de nas gang du bzhud zhus pas / 'di nas o rgyan du 'gro / skal ldan 'ga'i don byed / de nas dpal gyi ri la ka 'gro gsung ste mi snang bar gyur / der slob dpon bi bhū ti tsandra ni byin rlabs kyi stobs kyis nyams rtogs mthar phyin pa skad cig la brnyes / 'dzin pa'i yon tan mthar thug pa'i rtags thob /.*

Tāranātha, *Rdo* 477, states this episode occurred at Stham bi-ha-ra in Nepal, as does Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b, who specifies that it was in Kathmandu. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b-26a, gives a considerably more detailed account of the event.

46. The *mahāsiddha Śavaripa* was one of the eighty-four archetypal tantric adepts of ancient India. It is said that he gained liberation on the basis of the mystical songs (*dohā*) of *mahāsiddha* Saraha. The *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* instructions

which he bestowed upon Vibhūticandra were also based upon those songs. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 707.5-6. According to Tāranātha, *Rdo* 459, Saraha himself based his spiritual practice in the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* discipline, and the technical terms specific to that tradition are found throughout his *Dohākośa*.

Since it is not well known, I will summarize the biographical sketch of Śavaripa given by Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 21b-23b, according to the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* tradition:

Śavaripa was born into a family of low caste troubadours in southern India. His father was named Loka and his mother Guṇa. He had two sisters. On one occasion they went to seek food on a mountain in Bengal where the master *Nāgārjunagarbha (Klu-grub snying-po) was meditating. The master, who had no qualms about low caste people, called them inside and gave them much food. Śavaripa pointed to an icon of the *bodhisattva* *Matiratna (Blo-gros rin-chen), and asked, "Who is this?"

The master replied, "This is the divine youth *Matiratna, the *bodhisattva* who is my master Saraha's master, and who resides in the thirty-third heaven teaching the profound *dharma* of secret *mantra*. He cannot be seen by ordinary people."

Śavaripa prayed over and over to the master to be given the eyes with which to see *Matiratna. The master realized that Śavaripa was an extraordinary being, and immediately bestowed upon him the initiation of Cakrasaṃvara in a *maṇḍala* of meditative concentration, and also gave him the complete instructions of the *tantra* and the esoteric teachings. While practicing the instructions, Śavaripa continued to make his living by begging and dancing, until his mental stream was purified and he beheld the *bodhisattva* *Matiratna. At that instant *Matiratna transformed into the great *brahmin* Saraha, and sang for Śavaripa the *dohā* of the quintessential meaning of ultimate reality. Realizing the profound nature of reality through the actualization of *mahāmudrā*, Śavaripa sang Saraha's song in return as an offering. *Matiratna then asked, "Do you understand the meaning?"

Śavaripa replied, "I don't understand." *Matiratna revealed the true meaning, blessing Śavaripa's mental stream, and his realization was perfected. Then *Matiratna gave a prophecy to Śavaripa: "Listen well, and keep this in mind. You are to be known as Śavaripa, the Hunter from the South. Now you must not stay here, but dress as a hunter and go south into the mountains, such as Śrī Parvata, and benefit those who have superior faculties."

The great hermit, together with his sisters, did as he was told, and achieved the sublime attainment of *mahāmudrā*. He wandered in all directions, carrying the bow and arrows of skillful means and knowledge which slay the three poisons. He shot and killed the birds of passion, the snakes of hatred, and the pigs of ignorance, and in a state of non-duality devoured their flesh, and tasted the flavor of the fruit of the blissful, sublime and immutable pristine awareness of *mahāmudrā*. Having received the ultimate

Overjoyed and devoted, [Vibhūticandra] asked to be accepted as a follower, and [Śavaripa] spoke the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. [Vibhūticandra] recorded it in writing, which is this small extant text.⁴⁷

In general [Śavaripa] satisfied him with infinite profound oral instructions, and blessed his stream of mind. It is also known that he actually stayed for about twenty-one days.

Then [Vibhūticandra] asked, "Where will you go?" "I will go from here to Oddiyāna, and benefit a few who are fortunate.⁴⁸ Then I will go straight to Śrī Parvata [Dpal-gyi-ri]," he replied, and disappeared.⁴⁹

At that, due to the force of the blessing, the master Vibhūticandra instantly reached the culmination of experience and realization, and achieved the signs of perfection of the qualities of the branch of *dhāraṇā*.⁵⁰

Soon thereafter Vibhūticandra decided that the instructions he had received from *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa, which have since become known as the direct transmission of Vibhūticandra (*bi-bhū-ti'i nye-brgyud*), would be of great benefit to many persons in Tibet. First he questioned a number of Tibetan mendicant *yogins* who were in Kathmandu, and learned that the most renowned meditation master in Tibet was a former disciple of his, the *siddha* Ko-brag-pa (1170-1249).⁵¹ Vibhūticandra sent a

initiations and teachings of the *tantras* directly from Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī, and Avalokiteśvara, the immortal *siddha* Śavaripa is said to still wander everywhere in this world to bring benefit to human beings.

See also Tatz 1987, especially 703-707, for further information on Maitrīgupta and his relationship with his teacher Śavaripa.

47. The "small extant text" referred to by Tāranātha is the *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (*Yogaṣaḍaṅga-nama*), Peking Tripitaka, vol. 47, #2091, 258.4.2-258.5.1. Vibhūticandra translated it into Tibetan himself. This is a very important text for the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* tradition in general, and the Jo-nang-pa transmission in particular. Another transmission of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* from Śavaripa was later received by the Indian master Vanaratna (1384-1468), who taught it extensively in Tibet. See Roerich 1976, 798-805, 821, etc.

48. According to Roerich, trans. 1976, 976, Śavaripa stated that he was going to Kashmir.

49. An inscription has been found indicating that Śrīparvata was at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India (Hirakawa 1990, 253).

50. *Dhāraṇā* ('*dzin-pa*), is the fourth of the six branches of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. The signs referred to are signs of exceptional realization which arise from control of the *prāṇa* and *bindu*.

51. Rgyal-ba Ko-brag-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan's dates are given in Roerich 1976, 726-727, as 1182-1261. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 143, questions this, gives the earlier birth date of 1170, and states that Ko-brag-pa

junior *paṇḍita*, accompanied by the Tibetan mendicants, to deliver gifts and a letter requesting Ko-brag-pa to come to Nepal for the purpose of requesting the teachings.⁵²

Ko-brag pa received the invitation at Ding-ri glang-'khor, and immediately sent a reply and gifts back with the junior *paṇḍita* and an escort of many Tibetan mendicants. He felt that if he went to Nepal and alone

lived to the age of 80 (1249). The dates given by Mang-thos Klu-sgrub are certainly preferable. Ko-brag-pa's most important disciple was the Bka'-brgyud-pa master Rgyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa Rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1213-1258). Just before he died, Ko-brag-pa sent for Yang-dgon-pa, telling him that he would not live beyond that year, which was his eightieth (or eighty-first). This is recorded in Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 9a, and also in the anonymous biography of Yang-dgon-pa, *Rin* 44, which adds that Yang-dgon-pa was not able to go to his master because the Mongol army had blocked the roads. Therefore it is certain that Yang-dgon-pa was still alive at the time of Ko-brag-pa's passing, and that the earlier set of dates for him are a better choice. Cf. van der Kuijp 1994, 186.

Ko-brag-pa is known to have mastered most of the meditation practices in Tibet, but is usually connected with the *Lam-'bras* tradition in the lineage of the lady Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma, and the *śaḍaṅgayoga* tradition of Vibhūticandra. According to Ngor-chen, *Lam* 116.3.3, Ko-brag-pa meditated upon just the *Lam-'bras* for twenty-four years in the cave of Ra-sa chu-phug, and gained tremendous results. He wrote many texts about the *Lam-'bras*, but only one is now available. This is the *Lam 'bras snyan brgyud / lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag*, mistakenly identified by the modern publisher as a work of the Sa-skya master Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). The colophon (589-590) mentions that it was written at the retreat site of Chu-phug. The historical texts in this collection of the Zhwa-ma tradition may well prove to have also been written by Ko-brag-pa, with additions in the name list of lineal teachers after his time.

52. See Tāranātha, *Rdo* 483, and especially Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 226a-27a, who quotes both Vibhūticandra's letter and Ko-brag-pa's reply.

Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 6b-7a, provides the following account of this event in his biography of Ko-brag-pa: *de'i dus na bal po nas paṇ di ta bhi bu ta tsandra / zhes pa'i mkhas pa gcig grub pa brnyes pa des / chos rje [7a] ba la / bal po na paṇ di ta nga che / bod na dge bshes khyed che bar 'dug pas / 'dir byon gsung pa'i yi ge gha dho li dang / ka ra'i glang po che la sogs nor khyad 'phags kyi rten dang bcas pa byung zhing / bod la phan pa la dgongs nas a po byang chub bya ba 'tshams sbyor byed du bcug te / bod du spyang drangs / glang khor du bsu ba dang / 'bul ba dpag tu med pa mdzad / dbang chos mang du gsan / paṇ chen gyis kyang / chos rje la chos gha re gsan / drang srong srin po ri tshun chad la byon cing / dbus gtsang du 'gro don rgya chen po mdzad /*

received the teaching it would not be of much use to others, but if Vibhūticandra would agree to come to Tibet there would be widespread benefit. Vibhūticandra accepted his invitation.⁵³ Ko-brag-pa provided much assistance and supplies for the trip north to Tibet.⁵⁴ After four months a messenger arrived with the news that Vibhūticandra was approaching Skyid-grong, near the border with Nepal. Ko-brag-pa sent word in all directions that the master would soon be coming to Ding-ri glang-'khor, and then hurried with offerings to Skyid-grong to welcome him.⁵⁵ After Vibhūticandra was escorted to Ding-ri, he bestowed the initiation of *Kālacakra*, the explanation of the *tantra* and the oral instructions for meditation to a large number of Tibetans who had gathered there.⁵⁶ In particular, he taught the special *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of Śavaripa to Ko-brag-pa and six other learned men: Dpyal A-mo-gha, Nyeg-po Chos-ldan, Lho-pa Tshul-gzhon, Mar-ston G.yangs-'bar, G.yung-phug-pa Rgyal-mtshan bde-ba, and Gnyal-ba Mi-mnyam bzang-po.⁵⁷ While at

53. Grönbald 1982, 340, mistakenly states that Ko-brag-pa invited the master Śākyaśrī to Tibet.

54. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 483.

55. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27a-b. In Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 6a, it is mentioned that when he was ten years old (1223) Rgyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa, who is referred to as Rin-po-che Lha-gdong-pa'i sprul-pa'i sku, came to receive teachings from Ko-brag-pa. The same information is found in Yang-dgon-pa's anonymous biography, *Rin* 41. This source, on p. 42, states that Yang-dgon-pa was 21 years old (1233) at the time of his full ordination by Ko-brag-pa. Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 6b-7a, describes Vibhūticandra's arrival in Tibet not long after the mention of Yang-dgon-pa's ordination by Ko-brag-pa (6a). The reference to the Mongols on 6b, just prior to Vibhūticandra's trip, speaks of Ko-brag-pa's repulsion of a Mongol army (*hor gyi dmag zlog pa*), which may indicate an earlier event than the famous Mongol incursion of 1240. Cf. van der Kuijp 1994, 186.

56. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b.

57. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b. Roerich, trans. 1976, 727, and 797, also specifies that Ko-brag pa invited Vibhūticandra to Ding-ri, and there received the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* instructions of Śavaripa. Dpyal A-mo-gha also wrote a *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* text on the basis of Vibhūticandra's teachings. See Bu-ston, *Bla* 89, and Phyogs-las nam-rgyal, *Chos* 10a.

There is considerable confusion in the sources about who received these teachings from Vibhūticandra. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484.2, states that there were many who received the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* from Vibhūticandra, and in particular there were nine disciples who later upheld the lineage of the direct transmission (*nye-brgyud*).

Ding-ri glang-'khor Vibhūticandra and the Tibetan translator Mi-mnyam bzang-po translated the *śaḍaṅgayoga* of Anupamarakṣita, and several other Sanskrit works.⁵⁸ During this period Vibhūticandra lived at the Mkhan-pa charnel ground (Mkhan-pa dur-khrod) west of Ding-ri glang-'khor. This was Ko-brag-pa's place, and had been the principal residence of the Indian master Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas in the 11th century, and the site of his famous meeting with Rje-btsun Mi-la ras-pa (1040?-1123?).⁵⁹

After teaching the *Kālacakra* three times at Ding-ri glang-'khor, Vibhūticandra fell seriously ill. He was cured by Ko-brag-pa, who utilized both techniques for removing impediments (*gegs-sel*) in *yoga*, and medicinal treatments.⁶⁰ Vibhūticandra was very grateful, and requested

Bu-ston, *Bla*, 89 lists Dpyal A-mo-gha, Lho-pa Tshul-gzhon, and Mar-ston G.yang-'bar after Vibhūticandra in several lineages of Savaripa's *śaḍaṅgayoga*. Bu-ston, *Bla*, 60, lists Ko-brag-pa after Vibhūticandra in both the lineages of the *ring-brgyud* of Anupamarakṣita and the *nye-brgyud* of Śavaripa. Ko-brag-pa then passed these lineages on to Gro-lung-pa Gzhon-nu-dpal.

Roerich, trans. 1976, 797, says that the instructions were given to Ko-brag-pa, Dpyal A-mo-gha, G.yung-phug-pa, Nyeg-po Chos-ldan, and Mar-ston G.yang-'bar. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 478.5-6, only mentions Mar-ston G.yang-'bar, Lho-pa Gzhon-tshul, Nyeg-po Chos-ldan, and Dpyal-ston Padma-can as actual disciples of Vibhūticandra.

Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 523, states that the Jo-nang-pa *śaḍaṅgayoga* transmission of these teachings passed through Dpyal A-mo-gha, but Dol-po-pa, *Bla ma nye*, 770, has Mar-ston G.yang-'bar, as well as, on 771, Dpyal-ston A-mo-gha.

58. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b. See #11-17 in the Appendix.

59. See *Zhi byed snga bar phyi gsum gyi skor*, vol. 4 (Thimphu: Kunsang Tobgey, 1979) 351-352, and Rang 'byung rdo rje's *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mi la bzhad pa rdo rje'i gsung mgur mdzod nag ma*, vol. 1 (Dalhousie: 1978) 431.

60. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b-28a. Ko-brag-pa is most well known in the *Lam-'bras* literature for his expertise in the techniques for removal of impediments (*gegs-sel*) during the practice of *yoga*. He is also said to have gained incredible realization on the basis of his practice of the *Lam-'bras*, and the *śaḍaṅgayoga* which he received from Vibhūticandra, and is known to have written texts combining these two systems of tantric practice. In addition to the traditional techniques for removal of impediments according to the *Lam-'bras* teachings, he wrote many texts about previously unknown techniques which were revealed to him when he directly perceived the network of energy pathways in the *vajra* body during meditation. The most famous of his works is the *Gegs sel ha dmigs rgya mtsho*. He also authored a text on the elimina-

from Ko-brag-pa many initiations, textual transmissions, and oral instructions of the *Lam-'bras* teachings, of which Ko-brag-pa was an acknowledged master.⁶¹ This is one of the few instances in which an Indian master is known to have received extensive tantric teachings from a Tibetan.

Vibhūticandra stayed in Tibet for three years, two of which were spent in Ding-ri glang-'khor. During this period, and most probably while Vibhūticandra was still in Ding-ri, the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud master Rgod-tshang-pa Mgon-po rdo-rje (1189-1258) also came to receive teachings from him.⁶² Vibhūticandra also traveled again to Srin-po-ri in Central Tibet, and probably made the extant translations done at Srin-po-

tion of illnesses and demonic influences (*nad gdon dbyung ba'i man ngag*). The most extensive discussion of his *Lam-'bras* connections is Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, *Lam* 116.

61. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 28a. Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 7a, also verifies that Vibhūticandra received some teachings from Ko-brag-pa. See note 52 above for the full Tibetan text.

62. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484.2-4. Tāranātha states that Rgod-tshang-pa requested teachings on the short outer, inner, and secret *bla-sgrub* texts, and even wrote annotations and a topical outline for them. He mentions that this is clear if one consults the written works of Rgod-tshang-pa, but that there is no mention of their meeting in his hagiography because his disciples kept it secret. Despite a careful search of all the texts related to practices such as *guruyoga* in *The Collected Works of Rgod-tshang-pa*, I have been unable to locate any collaborating evidence of contact between Vibhūticandra and Rgod-tshang-pa.

The three texts referred to are, according to the titles in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, vol. 87: *Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung phyi sgrub tillo pas mdzad pa*, #5014, 14.1.3-14.2.3, *Bla ma sgrub-pa'i rgya gzhung nang sgrub nā ro pas mdzad pa*, #5016, 14.4.2-15.2.7, and *Bla ma gsang sgrub klu grub gyis mdzad pa*, #5017, 15.2.7-16.2.6. All three texts were translated into Tibetan by Vibhūticandra. The *gsang-sgrub* text was translated at the monastery of Ding-ri, and the *phyi-sgrub* text at the charnel ground of Mkhan-pa (Mkhan-pa'i dur-khrod). The *nang-sgrub* was no doubt translated at the same time as the two other related texts. These texts are also found in the *Gdams ngag mdzod*, vol. 7 (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1972) 97-107.

Following the *phyi-sgrub* text is another small text composed by Vibhūticandra himself: *Phyi sgrub kyes rten 'brel paṅ chen bhi bu ti tsantras mdzad pa*, #5015, 14.2.3-14.4.2. Tāranātha, *Khrid* 352, in his supplement to the history of the *Jo nang khrid brgya* of his predecessor Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566), refers to this text by Vibhūticandra as the essential basis for the *bla-sgrub* practices of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud tradition: *gdams ngag ngo bo ni / bi bhū ti tsandra'i gzhung gi rjes su 'brangs so*.

ri during this visit.⁶³ Rgwa-lo Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203-1282) also invited Vibhūticandra to Rong Dben-dmar in Gstang, as well as Kyog-po monastery and Sham-bhar, and requested all the initiations and instructions of the Kālacakra.⁶⁴ Finally, Vibhūticandra was invited by the famous teacher Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer (1214-1292) to Gser-sdings in the upper Nyang valley of Gtsang. He bestowed upon Chos-sku 'od-zer many initiations, such as Kālacakra and Cakrasaṃvara, and many teachings such as the *Āvali Trilogy* of Abhayākara-gupata., and especially the *śaḍaṅgayoga* received directly from Śavaripa.⁶⁵ As will be emphasized below, it is very significant that Vibhūticandra also taught the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* to Chos-sku 'od-zer.⁶⁶ At this time Rgyus-pa Bzhon-seng and Zhang-sgom Rin-chen seng requested many instructions from Vibhūticandra, such as the *Ye shes spyan sgrub (Jñānacakṣu-sādhana)*.⁶⁷

After three years in Tibet, Vibhūticandra returned to Nepal, and lived for many more years. Tāranātha states that he achieved the *siddhi* of indivisibility, and the realization of the total integration of bliss and emptiness through his perfection of *dhāraṇā*, the fourth branch of the *śaḍaṅgayoga*. As a result he is said to have left no body at death.⁶⁸

63. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484. Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 7a. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 28a. See #18-19 in the Appendix.

64. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 28a. Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba, Shes-rab rin-chen (b. 1405), *Dpal* 57-60, provides the most detail about Rgwa-lo, and mentions that Vibhūticandra was one of his teachers. See also Roerich, trans. 1976, 790.

65. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab*, 28a, 34b. The biography of Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer given in this text, 28b-39b, is the most extensive available discussion of his life. Bu-ston, *Bla*, also places Chos-sku 'od-zer after Vibhūticandra in one lineage of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* transmitted by Śavaripa. See note 38 above for the identification of the *Āvali Trilogy* of Abhayākara-gupta.

66. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 35a.

67. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 28b. In Bu-ston, *Bla* 89, Zhang-sgom Rin-chen seng-ge is listed after Vibhūticandra in the transmission lines for both the *Ye shes spyan sgrub* and the *Nyi zla sgrub pa*. Zhang-sgom is listed as Bla-ma Zhang Ratnasimha in the transmission line the colophon of the *Bla ma gsang sgrub*. See #16 in the Appendix.

Roerich, trans. 1976, 671, mentions a Bka'-brgyud-pa master named Bzhonu seng-ge (1200-1266) who may be our Rgyus Bzhon-seng. Bu-ston, *Bla* 90, lists Rgyus Gzhon-seng after Vibhūticandra in the lineage of the *Gsung rab rin chen 'dus pa*, and on 92, lists him after Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta in the lineages of several different *śaḍaṅgayoga* practices.

68. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484.

THE LEGACY

The legacy of Vibhūticandra has come down to the present day in the form of texts which he authored and translated into Tibetan, and in the practice of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* directly transmitted to him by *mahāsiddha Śavaripa*. In the following centuries, it was these teachings of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* which were regarded in Tibet as the most significant spiritual legacy of Vibhūticandra. From among the other texts which he authored and/or translated, the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* is the one text which has received the most attention from critics.

Vibhūticandra is the author of at least eight texts found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*. Six of those eight he translated into Tibetan by himself or with a Tibetan translator, as well as at least another twenty-five works written by other Indian teachers. All but four of these are tantric texts.⁶⁹ He translated works in Tibet at the ancient royal palace in Pu-hrang, at 'Bring-mtshams in Gtsang, at Ding-ri glang-'khor near the border with Nepal, and at Srin-po-ri in Dbus. Others he translated at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, Nepal.

The Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa (Yogaśaḍaṅga)

The *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa (Yogaśaḍaṅga)* spoken by *mahāsiddha Śavaripa* to Vibhūticandra at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu is the most important core text (*mūla, rtsa-ba*) for the direct transmission (*nye-brgyud*) of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* perfection stage practices of the *Kālacakra-tantra* as practiced in Tibet.⁷⁰ The very succinct verse definitions of each of the six branches of the practice found in this short work are quoted as authoritative speech in virtually every *śaḍaṅgayoga* instruction text written in Tibet. The special importance of this transmission for the Jo-nang-pa tradition is underscored by the fact that Kun-spangs Thugs-rje brtson-grus (1243-1313), the founder of Jo-nang monastery, wrote the only known commentary to it.⁷¹

69. A complete list of these texts is found in the Appendix.

70. See #17 in the Appendix. The most important core text for the sequential transmission (*ring-brgyud*) of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* in Tibet is the *Sbyor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag rje dus 'khor zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud zhal gyi gdams pa (Arya-kālacakrapāda-sampradāya-nāma-śaḍaṅgayogopadeśa)* of *Kālacakrapada (Dus-'khor zhabs), translated in the 11th century by the Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Somanātha and the Tibetan *lo-tā-ba* 'Bro Shes-rab grags. Peking, vol. 47: 245.5.8.-247.1.3.

71. Kun-spangs-pa was responsible for first gathering together all the extant lineages of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* in Tibet, and then furthering their propagation.

Kun-spangs-pa wrote a number of important texts on the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, although only one seems to have survived to the present day.⁷² This is the earliest available Tibetan work on the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa*, written by one Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, a *yogin* of the *Kālacakra*, who is identified as the *siddha* Yu-mo-ba in an editorial note at the end of the text.⁷³ This is, of course, a false attribution. The *Snying po bsdus pa* is a commentary upon the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* revealed by Śavaripa to Vibhūticandra. As discussed above, Vibhūticandra came to Tibet as a young man in 1204, whereas the Tibetan *Kālacakra* master Yu-mo-ba Mi-bskyod rdo-rje was born in the first cycle of the Tibetan system of reckoning dates, which began in 1027.⁷⁴ In fact, Thugs-rje brtson-'grus is only one of the many names of the founder of Jo-nang. He was also known as Kun-spangs Chos-rje, Zhang Thugs-rje brtson-'grus, Kun-tu bzang-po, and Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje.⁷⁵

He occupies a central position in the transmission lines of these teachings as received by both Bu-ston Rin-chen grub and Dol-po-pa Shes rab-rgyal mtshan. Kun-spangs-pa received and practiced seventeen different lineages of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, and then synthesized them. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 476-478, gives a clear and succinct sketch of these seventeen lineages, many of which are associated with the different Tibetan translators of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*. In his treatment of the history of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* in Tibet, 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (1813-1899), *Theg* vol. 1, 549-551, simply copies verbatim Tāranātha's entire discussion.

72. See Bu-ston, *Bla*, 92 for a list of *Kālacakra* texts by Kun-spangs-pa, but without clear titles.

73. Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, *Dpal* 24. What may be another copy of this commentary is preserved in the library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, under the title *Dpal sha ba ri pa'i gzung chung / gzhung chung de'i 'grel pa kun spangs thugs rje rtsen 'grus gyis mdzod*, in six folios. See van der Kuijp 1994, 193, note 40.

74. Ngag-dbang blo-gros grags-pa, *Dpal* 18.

75. Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, *Lam* 117.4.2, gives both the names Kun-tu bzang-po and Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje. Jo-nang Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1306-1386) notes that Byang-sems Rgyal-ba ye-shes (1257-1320) received this commentary on the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of Śavaripa from Kun-spangs-pa himself. See Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, *Chos* 9a, where it is referred to as *sha ba ri pa'i gzhung 'grel*. Mkhas-btsun Yon-tan rgya-mtsho also received this text from Kun-spangs-pa himself. See Dol-po-pa, *Bla ma yon* 304.

Kun-spangs-pa is clearly stated to be the author of the commentary in Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog's biography of Pañ-chen Shākya mchog-ldan (1428-1507), and in the biography of the 16th century Jo-nang throne-holder

Kun-spangs-pa's *Snying po bsdus pa* is significant for several reasons. First of all, he collected in it the scattered oral instructions (*man-ngag kha-'thor-ba*) of the teachings Śavaripa bestowed upon Vibhūticandra.⁷⁶ Special instructions from Kun-spangs-pa's work can later be seen in the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* instruction manual of Jo-nang Tāranātha, especially the teachings of the first branch of *pratyāhāra* (*so-sor sdud-pa/gcod-pa*), where the oral instructions of *mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra are presented on the basis of the explanations in the *Snying po bsdus pa*, although not identified as drawn from that source.⁷⁷ Kun-spangs-pa's text is also important as the earliest available Tibetan work concerning the *Kālacakra*, and specifically as the only commentary on the teachings of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* as passed down in the direct transmission of Vibhūticandra (*bi-bhū-ti'i nye-brgyud*).⁷⁸

Sgo-rum Kun-dga' legs-pa (1477-1544), written by the Sa-skyā master 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug (1524-1568). Kun-dga' grol-mchog, *Paṇḍi*, 53: *sha wa ri'i rdo rje'i gzhung chung /..rdo rje gzhung chung gi 'grel pa thog mtha' bar dge rnam kun spang kun tu bzang pos mdzad pa dang /*. 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug, *Rje*, 278: *sbyor drug gi gzhung shwa ba ris mdzad pa / de'i man ngag jo nang kun spangs chen pos mdzad pa/*.

76. Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, *Dpal* 24.

77. Tāranātha, *Zab* 369-370.

78. The oldest available Tibetan treatise concerning the sequential transmission (*ring-brgyud*) of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* is the *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i gegs sel mig gi sgron me*, by Kun-spangs-pa's disciple La-stod Dbang-rgyal, who was also known as Gnyos Dbang-rgyal. This text has survived unnoticed among the numerous volumes of the collected works of Bo-dong Paṅ-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1376-1451). See La-stod Dbang-rgyal, *Dus*. It is an instruction manual dealing with the last four branches of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, and focusing upon methods for the removal of impediments (*gegs-sel*) which may arise during the advanced practice of those *yogas*.

The most detailed treatment of La-stod dbang-rgyal's views, especially in connection with the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and the *Lam-'bras* teachings, is found in Kun-dga' bzang-po, *Lam*, 117.2.4-117.4.1. Here it is made clear that his synthesis of these two systems was soundly rejected by the Sa-skyā-pa lineage holders of the *Lam-'bras*. In particular, his view is said to have been exactly the same as that of the Chinese master Ha-shang (*rgya-nag mkhan-po ha-shang*), whose view had been refuted centuries before in Tibet by the Indian *paṇḍita* Kamalaśīla. This is particularly interesting since it is known that La-stod Dbang-rgyal's teacher, Kun-spangs-pa, actually transmitted the teachings of the notorious Chinese monk. Kun-spangs-pa taught the Chinese Ha-shang's esoteric instructions to 'Phags-'od Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (b. 1268), the teacher

The Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba (Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā)

This work is concerned with the three most important vows which may be taken by a Buddhist: those of the *pratimokṣa*, the *bodhisattva*, and the *vidhyādhara*.⁷⁹ This is an area of exegesis in which scholars of the Sa-skyā school have long excelled, beginning with the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of Rje-bstun Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, dealing with the nature of the sacred commitments inherent in *vajrayāna* Buddhist practice, and the renowned *Sdom gsum rab dbye* of his nephew Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, dealing in depth with all three vows. Both of these have been, to say the least, controversial works.⁸⁰ In addition, the master of 'Bri-gung, Jig-rten mgon-po, and his nephew Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187-1241), wrote very influential works, known collectively as the *Dgongs gcig yig cha*, some of which touch on these same subjects, often at odds with the interpretations of the Sa-skyā-pa.⁸¹

As mentioned above, Vibhūticandra had contacts with the 'Bri-gung tradition before he visited Sa-skyā in 1209, and later was very active at 'Bri-gung monastery during his second trip to Tibet. Padma gar-dbang specifies that Vibhūticandra wrote the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* at this time.⁸² The earliest mention of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* is by the scholar Bcom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri (c.1235-c.1315?). In his catalogue of works translated into Tibetan, which was most probably written before 1283, he specifically lists the text as a work composed by

of Bu-ston, who should not be confused with Mkhas-btsun Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1260-1327), the teacher of Dol-po-pa. See A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams (1597-1659), *Dpal* 133: *rgya'i ha shang gi man ngag gi skor rnam gnang ngo l*. Some of the texts of the Chinese Ha-shang were still preserved at Jo-nang in the time of Tāranātha, who mentions that he had read the *Mdo sde brgyad bcu khungs* of Ha-shang, and felt that the absolute denigration of Ha-shang's teachings in Tibet were based on ignorance of their actual content, and were judgments based upon isolated quotations taken out of context. See Tāranātha, *Dge* 542-544.

79. See #31 in the Appendix. Peking, vol. 81, #4549, 214.3.4-215.4.1. Derge, #3727, vol. TSHU, 54b.2-56b.7. Cone microfiche edition, vol. TSHU, 54b.1-56b.7. Another version is found in Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, *Sdom*, written in 1461. The entire text is quoted on 228.1.1-229.3.4, and followed by Go-ram-pa's refutation.

80. See Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa*, and Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta, *Sdom*.

81. Most of these 'Bri-gung works were apparently written down in about 1226.

82. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b.

Vibhūticandra.⁸³ From this information it can be seen that before the turn of the 14th century the text was accepted as an authentic work composed by Vibhūticandra.

On the other hand, while Jo-nang Tāranātha also stated that the text of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* first appeared after Vibhūticandra's second visit to Tibet, he believed it to be a forgery:

After that [trip to 'Bri-gung], the short text called *Sdom gsum 'od 'phreng*, in which there are refutations of the philosophical position of the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of the great Rje-btsun, was composed, perhaps by a scholar of Srin-po-ri, it is said, or perhaps by a partisan of the 'Bri-khung-pa, it is also said, and with the attribution "composed by Vibhūticandra." It also does contain the philosophical position held by Vibhūticandra.

Later followers of the Sa-skyapa had no experience in regard to Tibetan compositions and Indian compositions, and when they saw those refutations, they were deeply offended. Since the text of the '*Od-'phreng* has clear and obvious signs of being a Tibetan composition, it was definitely not composed by Vibhūticandra.

There is no need to be that angry at him. It is the same, for example, as Vajradhara not being at fault even though there is wrong view and conduct in a false *tantra*.

Henceforth, if there are [points] in the tradition of the *Sdom gsum 'od 'pheng* which can be refuted with scripture and reasoning, cite them!

To have deep animosity just about a prostration not offered to Rje-btsun Grags-rgyal, and a refutation, is merely narrow-minded and not the conduct of a scholar. So if you hope to be a scholar, it would be preferable if you acted in a manner fit for a scholar.⁸⁴

83. Bcom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri, *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi me tog*, 32b: *pañḍi ta bhi bu ris rang gis byas pa spyod 'jug gi 'brel pa dang / bsdom gsum 'od gyi phreng ba dang / nang gi snye ma a nu pa ma'i sbyor drug gi bzhung dang / rmi lam rtag pa dang / mgon po'i sgrub thabs dang / 'jams pa'i rdo rje'i mchod pa dang / phyogs kyi glang po'i dzad 'brel lags pa bsgyur /*. I am grateful to Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, Harvard University, for this reference.

84. Tāranātha, *Rdo*, 485: *de rjes srin po ri pa'i dge bshes cig yin nam yang zer / 'bri khung pa'i phyogs 'dzin cig yin nam yang zer te / rje btsun chen po'i rtsa ltung 'khrul spong gi grub mtha' la dgag pa yod pa'i sdom gsum 'od 'pheng zer ba'i gzhung chung de brtsams nas / bi bhū ti candras mdzad do zhes kha 'phangs byas 'dug / grub mtha' bi bhū ti'i bzhed pa ni yin yod par yang gda' / phyis kyi sa skyapa rnam bod rtsom dang rgya rtsom gyi nyams ni med / dgag pa de mthong bas snying na ba yin te / 'od 'phreng gi gzhung de bod rtsom sang sang sngon rtags can yin pas / bi bhū tis ma mdzad par nges / khong la tshig pa de tsam za mi dgos / dper na rgyud brdzus ma gcig gi*

These comments raise a number of interesting points. To begin with, Tāranātha informs us that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* refutes positions laid forth in the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, which the Sa-skyā tradition to this day considers the definitive text on the nature of the fourteen fundamental sacred commitments (*samaya*, *dam-tshig*) of the *vajrayāna*, following the tradition of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Virūpa.⁸⁵ This opinion is shared by the important Sa-skyā scholar Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489), who repeatedly mentions the specific points in the '*Khrul-spong* which he feels have been attacked in the brief verses of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, and then proceeds to strongly refute those attacks.⁸⁶ However, the Bka'-brgyud-pa historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'pheng-ba (1503/4-1566) states that Vibhūticandra wrote his text after seeing Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's explanation in the *Sdom gsum rab dbye* that the three vows are transmutable (*gnas-'gyur*).⁸⁷ Another early commentator upon the *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, Kun-mkhyen Dga'-gdong-pa, identified the specific use of the examples of sun, moon, and stars by Vibhūticandra to be a refutation of the position that the three vows possess a single essence (*ngo-bo*

nang na / lta spyod log pa 'dug kyang / de rdo rje 'chang la khag med pa dang 'dra / lar sdom gsum 'od 'phreng gi lugs de la'ang lung rig gis gnod byed yod na khyogs shog / rje brtsun grags rgyal la phyag ma phul ba dang / dgag pa byas pa tsam la snying 'kham [486] pa ni gu dog tsam yin gyi / mkhas pa'i bya ba ma yin no / des na mkhas pa yin du re na mkhas pa la 'os pa zhis byas na dga' 'o /

85. The *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* was later the object of a refutation by Tsongkha-pa, Blo-bzang grags-pa (1357-1419) in his *Gsang*, which was in turn refuted by the Sa-skyā master Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya mchog-ldan (1408-1507) in his '*Khrul*.

86. See for example, Bsod-nams seng-ge, *Sdom* 234.4.4-235.2.1, where he quotes the relevant passage from Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa* 258.4.3-258.4.6, on the issue of *gnas-'gyur* and *ngo-bo-gcig*, which is refuted in the '*Od phreng*.

87. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 524: *phyis sa paṇ gyi sdom gsum rab dbye brtsams nas sdom gsum gnas 'gyur du gzigs nas / deng sang bstan pa'i zabs 'di ru. sdom pa gsum gyi rnam gzhas la / mkhas pa'i rgyu skar 'ga' zhis gis / phyogs re'i cha tsam rtogs gyur mod. sogs nas / bdag blo nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyis / phyogs las rgyal bar byas te 'god / ces dang / gsum ldan gsungs pa'i dgongs pa ni / zhes sogs kyi sdom gsum 'od phreng brtsams /* I have not located any reference to this in Sa-skyā Paṇḍi-ta's *Sdom gsum rab dbye*.

gcig), which had been stated in the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan.⁸⁸

The Bka' brgyud master Karma 'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539) would later remark, "Since there have been very many statements in Tibet about the three vows being identical in essence or different, I will not elaborate upon it here."⁸⁹ Although many of the issues being dealt with in these texts are exceedingly complex, it seems appropriate to at least briefly outline the positions of Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Vibhūticandra in regard to the question of the identical or different nature (*ngo bo gcig dang tha dad*) of the three vows, and whether they are transmutable (*gnas-'gyur*). It was perhaps these two points which provoked the strongest reactions from many critics of Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan's work.⁹⁰

Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan defines the nature of the *pratimokṣa* vow as renunciation of everything which is harmful to others. In addition to that, the *bodhisattva* vow is the commitment to benefit others. The *vidyādhara* vow is to carry out the former vows while sustaining the pristine awareness of oneself as a deity. There is thus no contradiction between the three vows.⁹¹ When a person who has taken full ordination

88. See Bsod-nams seng-be, *Sdom* 233.2.5-6: *sdom gsum rab dbye'i 'grel byed kha cig (Dga') na re / da ni 'di dpyad par bya ste / kha cig sdom pa gsum po rje btsun chen pos rtsa ltung 'khrul spong du ngo bo gcig du gsungs pa / pañdi ta bi bhū ti candras sdom gsum 'od kyis phreng bar nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpes ngo bo gcig pa bkag nas rdzas tha dad du bzhad zer ro /*

The commentary by Kun-mkhyen Dga'-gdong-pa is not presently available, but is mentioned in the autobiography of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566) as one of the four great authentic commentaries (*tshad-thub 'grel-chen bzhi*). See Kun-dga' grol-mchog, *Zhen* 361.3.

The examples of the sun, moon, and stars are found in the *'Od pheng*, Peking edition, 215.1.4-5. The section of the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* which is being refuted with the use of those examples is the same passage cited in note 86 above.

89. Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan padma*, 101: *sdom gsum ngo bo gcig dang tha dad ces bod na lab brjod shin tu mang bas 'dir ma spros //*

90. For example, Bu-ston rin-chen grub later said that the statement "the three vows are transmutable and have a single essence" was a perverse Tibetan invention, for which there were no believable scriptural sources. See Bu-ston, *Gtsang* 256: *sdom pa gsum gnas gyur ngo bo gcig ces pa bod kyi ngan rtog yin / yid ches thub pa'i lung khungs med //* And according to Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan drang* 124, Karma pa VII Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506) held the opinion that the idea of the vows being transmutable contradicted the idea of their single essence.

91. Gags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa*, 258.4.

according to the *pratimokṣa* becomes motivated to attain Buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings, all the *pratimokṣa* vows become *bodhisattva* vows. When that same person enters into a *maṇḍala* to receive tantric initiation, all the vows are then referred to as *vidyādhara* vows.⁹²

Grag-spa rgyal-mtshan used a series of examples drawn from scripture to illustrate his position. In the scriptural quotation it is pointed out that when some varieties of stone are smelted, they yield iron, copper, and silver. But a single gold-transforming tincture can transmute them all into gold. Likewise, the different vows determined by specific attitudes are all referred to as *vidyādhara* if one enters into a great *maṇḍala*. Finally, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan notes that the example of the stone obviously designates ordinary persons, while the iron is the *śrāvaka* discipline, the copper is the *pratyekabuddha* discipline, the silver is the discipline of the *bodhisattva*, and the gold-transmuting tincture is the discipline of the *vidyādhara*.⁹³ In the view of later Sa-skyapa commentators, such as Go-ram-pa, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's intention was to show that the lower vows are sequentially transformed into the higher ones as those vows are later taken. When one is thus endowed with all three vows, they may be said to have a single essence.⁹⁴

In regard to the nature of the vows, the following lines are often quoted from the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, where they are found soon after Vibhūticandra's refutation of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's interpretation of the scriptural quotation summarized in the previous paragraph:

Therefore, when one endowed with the *pratimokṣa* takes the [*bodhisattva* vow] of the mind of sublime enlightenment, the former resides in the *ālaya* in a dormant fashion.

When the *vidhyādhara* vow is received, both the lower ones become dormant.

For example, while the stars shining in the sky provide some light, when the orb of the moon shines the starlight becomes dim, but the world is bright.

When the hot rays of the sun appear, the moonlight becomes dim, but the world is bright.⁹⁵

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.* The scripture which is quoted is identified as the *Rgyud 'bum pa'i lung de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa*.

94. Bsod-nams seng-ge, *Sdom* 235.2.

95. Bi-bhū-ti-tsandra, *Sdom* 215.1: *des na so sor thar ldan pas / byang chub mchog gi sems blangs na / dang po de ni kun gzhi la / bag la nyal ba'i tshul*

Here Vibhūticandra clearly disagrees with Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's assertion that the former vows transform into the latter vows. Instead, he states that they all remain individual, although the latter ones may seem to dominate the former. While agreeing with Vibhūticandra, the Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705) would later give another example to illustrate the same point. If water, beer, and milk are mixed together in the same vessel, the smell of the beer and the color of the milk will dominate, but this does not prove that the water is gone.⁹⁶

According to the Sde-srid, the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* also states that the three vows are substantially different (*rdzas tha-dad*).⁹⁷ This, of course, contradicts Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's position that they have a single essence. The following lines illustrate Vibhūticandra's argument.

Therefore, it is not correct that one becomes endowed with the three [vows] when [receiving] the single *vidhyādhara* [vow]. If it were correct, the former two would arise without the necessity of rituals. The Great Sage did not teach a common ritual for the three vows.⁹⁸

Here the Sde-srid comments that the three vows which are present in the mental continuum of an individual are substantially different for a number of reasons. They are different at the point of arising, because the former must be present as the basis for the latter ones. They are different in duration, because the *pratimokṣa* endures as long as one lives, whereas the latter two remain until the attainment of Buddhahood. And they are different in that the former is lost at death, but the latter two are not.⁹⁹ As mentioned by Karma 'phrin-las-pa, there were numerous textual discussions in Tibet of these and many other questions raised in Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Vibhūticandra's works. Hopefully these same topics will receive detailed scholarly treatment in the future which is not possible in this paper.

du gnas / rig 'dzin sdom pa thob pa na / 'og ma gnyis ka bag la nyal / dper na mkha' la skar ma shar / cung zad snang bar byas gyur mod / zla ba'i dkyil 'khor shar ba'i tshe / skar 'od nyams mod 'jig rten gsal / rta bdun tsha zer byung ba na / zla ba'i 'od nyams 'jig rten gsal //

96. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Dpal* 480.

97. *Ibid.*, 479.

98. Bi-bhū-ti-tsandra, *Sdom* 215.2: *des na rig 'dzin gcig pu la / gsum ldan sbyor ba 'thad ma yin / gal te 'thad na 'og ma gnyis / cho ga mi dgos skye bar 'gyur / sdom gsum cho ga thun mong du / thub pa chen pos gsungs pa med //*

99. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Dpal* 479.

The next issue which was mentioned above by Tāranātha is the question of authenticity. He states that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* contains the attribution (*kha-'phangs*) “composed by Vibhūticandra (*bi bhū ti candras mdzad do*).” This is indeed the case, but it should be noted that all the colophons of texts composed or translated by Vibhūticandra alone are written in the third person, using the honorific verb “to compose” (*mdzad*).¹⁰⁰ Not a single colophon is in the first person, using another ordinary verb such as *sbyar-ba*, *'bri-ba*, or *bkod-pa*. In other words, Vibhūticandra wrote none of the colophons to his own works, and it seems that the unknown author of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, if it is indeed a forgery, may have simply copied a standard formula usually found at the end of a work by Vibhūticandra, to the effect of “(The work) composed by Vibhūticandra, the *mahāpaṇḍita* of Jagaddala in eastern India, and translated himself, is complete.”¹⁰¹

Tāranātha then makes the very significant statement that the views within the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* do actually coincide with those of Vibhūticandra himself. His source for this knowledge is not specified, but he seems to make the point, both here and further below in the quote, that the doctrinal content of the text presents no problem for him, and a few lines further on he invites debate upon this very subject. It is other evidence within the text, such as style, diction, and so forth, which presumably caused him to state that it was obviously not by Vibhūticandra, and must have been written by a Tibetan.¹⁰² The specific refutation by

100. In this context it is very interesting to note that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan lists seven treatises concerning the nature of vows attributed to early masters such as *Mañjuśrīyaśas ('Jam-dpal grags-pa), *Ānandagarbha (Kun-dga' snying-po), and Lady *Lakṣmī (Lcam Legs-smi), which he states are certain forgeries, even though he received them in a living transmission from his own *guru*, and had even taught them a bit himself! He also emphasizes the use of the third person honorific “*mdzad*” used in the forged colophons. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa* 238.3.3-4: *gzhung dang don gyi 'grel pa bdun po de dag kho bos kyang bla ma las thos shing / gzhan la'ang cung zad 'chad mod kyi / de dag ni log par smra ba 'ba' zhig yin la / mdzad do zhes zer ba'i slob dpon chen po de dag gis kyang ma mdzad pa nyid du rig par bya'o /*

101. For example, see the 'Od-phreng colophon of the Peking edition, 215. 4.1: *rgya gar shar phyogs dza ga ta la'i paṇḍi ta chen po bi bhū ti candras mdzad te rang 'gyur du mdzad pa rdzogs so /*

102. In Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa* 249.4.2-4, there is a pertinent discussion of how to deal with texts attributed to the Buddha, or to other great masters, which were not composed by them: *yang sangs rgyas sam slob dpon chen po dag gis ma mdzad pa la mdzad par ming btags pa dag mthong na de legs par*

an Indian *paṇḍita* of points in a contemporary Tibetan text is also, to my knowledge, unprecedented. This may have been another factor contributing to Tāranātha's judgment that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was not composed by Vibhūticandra himself. It is conceivable that Vibhūticandra taught the basic positions found within this text, which was then written in verse form with a specific polemic aim by someone who had heard them during his stay at 'Bri-gung or Srin-po-ri.

Tāranātha also states that later Sa-skyā authors were not able to discern the difference between authentic texts of Indian origin, and those composed in Tibet. In particular, later scholars of the Sa-skyā tradition criticized and ridiculed Vibhūticandra, which Tāranātha dismisses as mere bluster.¹⁰³ He gives as a reason the episode which was discussed above, in which Vibhūticandra is said to have not prostrated to the Sa-skyā master Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, therefore arousing the ire of those in the Sa-skyā tradition.

As we have seen, the Sa-skyā-pa thinkers, as represented by Dga'-gdong-pa and Go-ram-pa, believed the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* to have been composed by Vibhūticandra. As mentioned above, the strongest witness for the authenticity of the text is the fact that it was taught by Vibhūticandra to Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer.¹⁰⁴ This shows that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was also accepted as an authentic work of Vibhūticandra in the lineage of the Bo-dong-pa tradition of the *śaḍaṅ-gayoga* masters whose lives are recorded by Padma gar dbang in 1538. The *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* is also included in all the available editions of the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub included it in his landmark edition, and his index to the collection states that it was composed by Vibhūticandra, with no mention of any uncertainty of authorship.¹⁰⁵ Bu-ston also translated at least one of Vibhūticandra's works from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and certainly did possess the ability to distinguish between Indian and Tibetan compositions.¹⁰⁶

brtags te / don log par mthong na ni snga ma bzhin brda sprad par bya la / don la skyon med cing tshig ni 'phags pa dag gis ma mdzad pa'i nges pa dang ldan na 'di nyid don yin mod kyi / tshigs gi sdeb sbyor 'di ni 'phags pa dag gis ma mdzad do zhes brda sproḍ par smra ba 'di la'ang nyes pa med do /

103. Tāranātha, *Rdo*, 484: . . . 'ur 'brog langs pa kho nar zad do /

104. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 35a.

105. Bu-ston Rin-chen grub, *Bstan* 566: *bi bhū ti candras mdzad pa'i sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba / de nyid kyi rang 'gyur /*

106. *Sgrub thabs mdor byas kyi dka' 'grel* (*Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana-pañjikā*), Peking, vol. 62, #2701: 263.1.6.-265.2.6. See #25 in the Appendix. This

The *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was also accepted as authentic in the Dge-lugs-pa tradition, since we find Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa using a verse from it when quoting Vibhūticandra.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho gives Vibhūticandra's opinions from the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* a prominent place in his treatment of the controversy about whether the three vows can be considered transmutable.¹⁰⁸ He specifically quotes the concluding lines of Vibhūticandra's work, and states that they clearly show he was following the views of his master Śākyaśrī in maintaining that the vows are different in nature.¹⁰⁹

The Bka'-brgyud teacher Karma 'phrin-las-pa, writing in 1502 and 1509, engaged in a fascinating discussion of the issues raised in the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, while clearly considering the text to have been composed by Vibhūticandra.¹¹⁰ As noted above, the Bka'-brgyud historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba also mentions the composition by Vibhūticandra, with no hint of controversy about authorship. Finally, the later Sa-skyā scholar Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697-1774) included the text in the Sde-dge edition of the *Bstan-'gyur*, without special comment.¹¹¹

CONCLUSIONS

During three separate trips to Tibet, which totaled at least fifteen years, the Indian *mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra made significant contributions to

text concerning the practice of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* was translated on the basis of the Indian manuscript by Bu-ston at his primary residence, the retreat site of Dpal Ri-phug above Zha-lu monastery, in the year 1340. Ruegg 1966, 149, also mentions that Bu-ston translated the small *Samvarasādhana* by Vibhūticandra in 1357, but I have not located this text in the Peking edition of the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur*.

107. Blo-bzang grags-pa, *Gsang* 471.

108. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Dpal* 475-481.

109. *Ibid*, 479.

110. Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan padma* 101, where the *Sdom gsum 'od phreng* is quoted, and especially Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan drang* 122-130, where the *'Od phreng* is quoted on 123, and the issues are dealt with in detail from the viewpoints of Vibhūticandra, Rje-btsun Grags-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa, and so forth. Karma 'Phrin-las-pa places the greatest emphasis upon the opinions of his teacher, the seventh Karma-pa, Chos-grags rgya-mtsho.

111. Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen, *Dpal* 770: *sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba zhes bya ba rgya gar shar phyogs dza ga ta la'i paṇḍi ta chen po bi bhū ti candras mdzad te / de nyid kyi rang 'gyur /*.

the transmission of Buddhist knowledge from India and Nepal at a time when it was being destroyed by the Islamic invasions in India. In particular, the practice of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* of the Kālacakra, as taught to him by the immortal *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa, has continued until the present day to be of special importance for the Kālacakra traditions maintained in Tibet. A number of works composed and translated by Vibhūticandra are preserved in the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*, some of which hold promise for future research, especially his compositions concerning the *Kālacakra-tantra* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

The *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* is certainly the most controversial work attributed to Vibhūticandra. Rje-btsun Tāranātha was of the opinion that it was definitely a forgery, although the ideas within it correspond to positions Vibhūticandra accepted. Representatives of the other traditions all seem to have accepted it as an authentic work. Final conclusions on this issue will have to await more thorough research into the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* itself, and the numerous issues raised by the opinions found therein.

APPENDIX

Works in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*
Composed and / or Translated by Vibhūticandra

Texts composed and/or translated at the Royal Palace in Pu-rang, Tibet:

1. *Rdo rje tsaṅ tsi ka'i las sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Vajracarcikākarma-sādhana*), vol. 86, #4824: 46.2.5.-46.4.3.

Composed by Śrīdhara

Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tṣā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang sku-mkhar nyi-gzugs.

2. *Dpal rdo rje dbyangs can ma'i sgrub thabs* (*Śrīvajrasarasvatī-sādhana*), vol. 86, #4826: 47.1.8.-47.5.6.

Composed by Śrīdhara.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tṣā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang sku-mkhar nyi-gzugs.

3. *Rdo rje dkar mo'i rjes su 'dzin pa'i sgrub thabs* (*Vajragauryanugraha-sādhana*), vol. 86, #4827: 47.5.6.-48.3.3.

Composed by Śrīdhara.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tṣā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i khab sku-mkhar nyi-gzugs.

Texts composed and/or translated at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, Nepal:

4. *Dpal bde mchog gi dkyil 'khor kyi cho ga* (*Śrīsaṃvara-maṇḍalavidhi*), vol. 52, #2226: 74.1.7.-85.5.3.

Composed by Tathāgatavajra.

Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Thang bi-ha-ra.

5. *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Āryāmoghapāśa-sād-hana*), vol. 86, #4841: 102.4.2.-102.5.8.

Composed by Vibhūticandra, who was blessed by Śrī Cakrasaṃvara.

Translated with Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Bal-yul Thang-gi bhi-har gi gtsug-lag-khang.

6. *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa'i sgrub thabs* (*Āryāmoghapāśa-sād-hana*), vol. 86, #4840: 101.3.7.-102.4.2.

Composed by Śākyaśrībhadra.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen.

Transmitted from Vibhūticandra to Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba, by him to his (spiritual?) son (*sras*) Blo-gros bzang-po, and by him to Slob-dpon A-mo-gha.

7. *Dpal rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thabs* (*Śrīvajravārāhī-sād-hana*), vol. 86, #4825: 46.4.3.-47.1.8.

Composed by Śrīdhara.

Translated by Vibhūticandra, and revised and finalized (*zhus te gtan la phab*) by Blo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Dpal chos-kyi-dbyings kyi gtsug-lag-khang rang-byung.¹¹²

Texts composed and/or translated at 'Bring-mtshams, in Gtsang, Tibet:

8. *Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa'i 'grel pa* (*Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-tīkā*), vol. 47, #2084: 238.2.5.-242.4.2.

Composed by Raviśrījñāna.

Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Ru-lag gi snying-po 'bring-mtshams kyi sa'i-cha/ dpal rgya-rtags kyi gtsug-lag-khang.

9. *Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i dgongs pa'i 'grel pa khyad par gsal byed* (*Bodhicaryāvātāra-tātparyapañjikā-viśeṣadyotānī*), vol. 100, #5282: 235.5.8.-281.3.4.

Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.

Translated at Ru-lag gtsang-stod 'bring-'tshams kyi sa'i-cha dpal rgya-rtags kyi gtsug-lag-khang.

112. Roerich, trans. 1959, 55, states that the Indians referred to Stham-Bihar by this name.

10. *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi brjed byang yon tan gyis 'gengs pa* (*Guṇabharanī-nāma ṣaḍaṅgayoga-ṭippanī*)¹¹³, vol. 47, #2103: 283.1.5.-294.4.8.
 Composed by Raviśrījñāna.
 Originally translated by Vibhūticandra, but later retranslated by Dpang Lo-tśā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342) at the insistence of Chos-grags dpal-bzang.¹¹⁴
 The original translation by Vibhūticandra was of only half the text.¹¹⁵

*Texts composed and / or translated at Ding-ri,
 near the Tibet-Nepal border:*

11. *Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa* (*Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*), vol. 47, #2083: 234.2.4.-238.2.5.
 Composed by Śrī Anupamarakṣita.
 Translated by Vibhūticandra and Gnyal Lo-tśā-ba Mi-myam bzang-po, at La-stod Ding-ri glang-skor mkhan-pa (dur) khrod. See #22 below for the later retranslation by Dpang Blo-gros-brtan-pa.
12. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i gdams ngag nyi ma zla ba sgrub pa* (*Śrī-kālacakropadeśa-sūryacandra-sādhana*), vol. 47, #2085: 242.4.2-244.5.6.
 Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Dpal Ding-ri glang-'khor.¹¹⁶
13. *Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung phyi sgrub ti llo pas mdzad pa* (*Guru-sādhana*), vol. 87: 14.1.3.-14.2.3.
 Composed by *yogeśvara* Tilopa.
 Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Dpal mkhan-pa'i dur-khrod (in Ding-ri.)

113. This text has been translated into German by Günter Gröbold (1969).

114. This master may be identified as Kun-spangs Chos-grags dpal-bzang (1283-1363), one of the great disciples of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa at Jo-nang monastery. He was also a translator of several texts from Sanskrit. See Ngag-dbang blo-gros grags-pa, *Dpal* 32-33, and Mang-thos klu -sgrub, *Bstan* 180.

115. Dpang-lo mentions in his colophon that although there are several instances of questionable meaning in the text, and many corrupt grammatical constructions, he had consulted an authoritative original document, and finding them there as well, had strictly adhered to the original in his work. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b, states that this text was translated at 'Bring-mtshams rgya-rtags.

116. According to the Derge Index, this text #1369, PHA, 216b.2-221b.4, was composed by Rigs-gsum mgon-po.

14. *Phyi sgrub kyis rten 'brel paṅ chen bhi bu ti tsandras mdzad pa* (*Bāhya-siddhi-pratītyasamutpāda*), vol. 87, #5015: 14.2.3.-14.4.2.
No colophon, but the composition and translation are attributed to Vibhūticandra.
15. *Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung nang sgrub nā ro pas mdzad pa* (*Guru-siddhi*), vol.87, #5016: 14.2.4.-15.2.8.
Composed by ŚrīNāropa.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, probably at Ding-ri.
16. *Bla ma gsang sgrub klu sgrub gyis mdzad pa* (*Guru-guhya-siddhi*), vol. 87, #5017: 15.2.8.-16.2.6.
Composed by paṅḍita Nāgārjuna.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Dpal Ding-ri glang-'khor gyis dgon-pa.
Transmission lineage: Vajradhara, Vajrapāṇi, Nāgārjuna, Tillopa, Nāropa, Pham-thing-pa, Śākyaśrībhadrā, Vibhūticandra, Ratnaśrībhadrā, Bla-ma zhang Ratnasimha.
17. *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (*Yogaśaḍaṅga*), vol. 47, # 2091: 258.4.2.-258.5.1.
Spoken by Śrī Śāvareśvara.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, probably at Ding-ri.
Transmitted by Śavaripa directly to Vibhūticandra, at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Texts composed and/or translated at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri, in Dbus, Tibet:

18. *Lu yi pa'i mngon par rtogs pa'i 'grel pa sdom pa'i 'byung ba* (*Lūhipādābhisamaya-vṛtti-saṃvarodaya*), vol. 52, #2224: 58.2.1.-63.1.7.
Composed by Tathāgatavajra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri.
19. *Lu yi pa'i mngon par rtogs pa'i 'grel pa'i ti ka khyad par gsal byed* (*Lūhipādābhisamaya-vṛtti-ṭīkā-viśeṣa-dyota*), vol. 52, #2225: 63.1.7.-74.1.7.
Composed by Tathāgatavajra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri.
Received by 'Jam-dpal gzhon-nu from Vibhūticandra himself.

Other texts:

20. *Ye shes spyan sgrub pa* (*Jñānacakṣu-sādhana*), vol. 47, #2086: 244.5.6.-245.3.7.

Composed by Kālacakrapada.

Translated by Vibhūticandra.

Transmission lineage: Kālacakrapada, *jñānaḍākinī* Sūryadharmā, Ratnaśrībhadrā, Śākyāśrībhadrā, Vibhūticandra.

21. *Nang gi snye ma* (*Antarmañjarī*), vol. 47, #2093: 259.2.1.-264.5.3.

Edited and translated by Vibhūticandra.¹¹⁷

22. *Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa* (*Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*), vol. 47, #2102: 274.3.7.-283.1.5.

Composed by Anupamarakṣita.

A revision of #11 above, which was translated by Vibhūticandra and Gnyal Lo-tṣā-ba Mi-yam bzang-po. This new translation is by Dpang Lo-tṣā-ba Dpal-ldan blo-gros brtan-pa at the insistence of the great *Kālacakra* master Chos-grags dpal-bzang-po.¹¹⁸

23. *Rmi lam brtag pa* (*Svapnohana*), vol. 59, #2621: 110.3.8.-111.2.5.

Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.

24. *Rim pa lnga'i dgongs 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer* (*Pañcakrama-mata-ṭikā-candrāprabhā*), vol. 62, #2700: 252.3.1.-263.1.6.

Composed by Abhyākaragupta.

Translated by Vibhūticandra.¹¹⁹

25. *Sgrub thabs mdor byas kyi dka' 'grel* (*Pinḍīkṛta-sādhana-pañjikā*), vol. 62, #2701: 263.1.6.-265.2.6.

117. Rong-pa Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) and Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283-1325) strongly criticized Vibhūticandra. Both these teachers had been fellow students with Bu-ston Rin-chen grub under Thar-lo Nyi-ma rgyal mtshan, who had been the abbot of Bodhgayā, India, for six years. See Tāranātha, *Myang* 142. Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan later became one of Bu-ston's most important teachers. See Roerich 1976, 792-793, and Ruegg 1966, 87-89. According to Tāranātha the criticism by Shes-rab seng-ge and Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan was because of an awkward translation by Vibhūticandra of his own anthology of Kālacakra related teachings, the *Nang gi snye ma* (*Antarmañjarī*). They had found what they considered to be serious mistakes in meaning, but according to Tāranātha this was due to the lack of fluency in the translation, and they had therefore been unable to correctly comprehend Vibhūticandra's intended meaning. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 484: *nang gi snye ma'i 'gyur ma bde ba zhig 'dug pas 'khrul gzhi byung nas don ma dgongs par. . . /*

118. The colophon states: *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i tshul la lhag par mos shing blo gros kyi snang ba cher rgyas pa'i slob dpon chen po chos grags dpal bzang po'i bkas bskul /* See note 114 above for the identification of Chos-grags dpal-bzang.

119. Ruegg 1966, 123, mentions that Bu-ston completed Vibhūticandra's translation of this text.

Composed by Vibhūticandra.

Translated by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, at the retreat site of Dpal Ri-phug, on the *Dpa'-bo* year of 1340.¹²⁰

26. 'Jam pa'i rdo rje mchod pa'i cho ga (*Mañjuvajra-pūjā-vidhi*), vol. 66, #2766: 59.2.3.-60.5.8.

Composed by Śrīdatta.

Translated by Vibhūticandra, with revision by Blo-gros seng-ge.

27. *A ra pa tsa na'i sgrub thabs* (*Arapacana-sādhana*), vol. 79, #3538: 85.3.4.-85.5.2.

Composed by Ajitamitra.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje dpal.

28. *Rmugs 'dzin 'chol ba'i sgrub thabs* (*Ucchuṣma-jambhala-sādhana*), vol. 81, #4565: 225.2.5.-226.1.8.

Composed by Abhayākaragupta.

Originally translated by Alaṃkadeva and Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas sbas-pa, but retranslated by Vibhūticandra and Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje dpal.

29. 'Phags ma gdugs dkar mo can gzhan gyis mi thub pa sgrub pa'i thabs (*Ārya-sitātapatrāparājītā-sādhana*), vol. 80, #3935: 20.3.8.-20.5.6.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and (Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba) Shes-rab rin-chen.

30. 'Phags ma sgrol ma sgrub pa'i thabs (*Ārya-tārā-sādhana*), vol. 81, #4519: 97.4.6.-98.1.4.

Composed by Śākyaśrībhadrā.

Translated by Vibhūticandra.

31. *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* (*Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā*), vol. 81, #4549: 214.3.4.-215.4.1.

Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.

32. *Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa gnad kyi sgron ma* (*Abhidharmakoṣa-vṛtti-marma-pradīpa*), vol. 118, #5596: 275.5.8.-332.5.1.

Composed by Dignāga.

Translated by Vibhūticandra and 'Jam-dpal gzhon-nu.

33. 'Chi ba med pa'i mdzod kyi rgya cher 'grel pa 'dod 'jo'i ba mo (*Amarakoṣa-tīkā-kamadhenū*), vol. 140, #5788: 157.4.1-183.2.7.

Composed by Vibhūticandra (Rab-'byor zla-ba).

Translated by Rgya-gar gyi mkhan-po Kīrticandra and Yar-lungs-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (13th-14th cent.) in Kathmandu, Nepal.

120. Ruegg 1966, 122, also mentions Bu-ston's translation of this text.

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