

Reconsidering the Dates of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan's (1292-1361) *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* and the *Bka' bsdu bzhi pa'i don**

Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp

Abstract: Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan was one of the more influential thinkers of fourteenth century Buddhist Tibet. To date, two of what are arguably his more important treatises, the *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho* and the *Bka' bsdu bzhi pa'i don*, have been the object of various studies, yet what has remained somewhat of a mystery is when exactly they were written and, thus, when they might have begun to exert an influence on the intellectual life of his contemporaries. This essay modifies earlier attempts at their dating and suggests somewhat different scenarios. At the same time, it also makes recommendations to consider the importance of providing, when possible, a social and political context for such treatises. In addition, it brings to bear on these questions some of the information provided by a number of biographies of his contemporaries that were recently published.

Preamble

It is no exaggeration to say that Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtsan, alias Rton pa bzhi pa and Rton pa bzhi ldan pa, that is, "One who Embodies the Four Kinds of Reliance," was a veritable force

* I take great personal pleasure to have written this essay in honor of our friend and colleague Cristina and in celebration of her lasting and incisive contributions to the field of Indo-Tibetan and Tibetan studies.

of nature that forever changed the course of the development of Buddhism in Tibet.¹ To this day, the particular views of this founder of the Jo nang pa tradition on central way philosophy, *madhyamaka*, "buddha-nature" (*sangs rgyas kyi rang bzhin*) as captured by the expressions of "the essence of what has gone to/come from thusness" (*tathāgatagarbha*, *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*) and "the essence of what has gone to bliss" (*sugatagarbha*, *bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po*),² and on Mahayana Buddhism in general course through the veins of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and continue to inform and influence its various interpretive strategies.³ Compared with some of his contemporaries, Dol po pa was not an especially prolific writer, but his redoubtable and charismatic personality⁴ and several of his literary pieces had evidently made such profound impressions on his disciples that they became willing participants in the paradigm shift that he had initiated in them. It is true that his followers did not always see things exactly the same way and were thus often in disagreement with one another about what their master had meant and about the precise import of some of the novel terminologies he had deployed. But it is also true that, in aggregate, they were important exponents of his iconoclasm and no doubt were instrumental in spreading his "word" that ultimately resulted in the formation of a doctrinal corpus that came to be called the Jo nang pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, a school the "headquarters" of which was Jo [mo] nang monastery that lies nestled

1 For a fine study of his life and intellectual development, see Stearns 2011 and the earlier literature cited therein; see also the text and translation of his message to his disciples in Kapstein 1992: 27-43. Earlier, Stearns 1999: 86, and then later Stearns 2011: 91, mentioned the *Catuhpratisaraṇasūtra* and the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* as sources for these "four reliances," albeit without giving concrete references. In fact, the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* does not mention these four at all! For the apocryphal *Catuhpratisaraṇasūtra* that exists only in late quotations, see Lamotte 1988: 11-14. Surely, given Dol po pa's pre-eminent concern with the *Kālacakra* corpus, the relevant passage on these towards the very end of Puṇḍarīka's (early 11thc.) *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on Yaśas' *Laghukālacakratāntra* would be the more obvious source; see *Bstan 'gyur* 1994-2008: 6; 1367 [= Puṇḍarīka 1994: 148, ll. 23-25]. That said, the quartet of reliances figures even more prominently in the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra*, for which see Braarvig 1993: 440 ff.

2 My translation of these two expressions is of course very tentative. For a superb discussion of the possible meanings of just *tathāgatagarbha*, see Zimmerman 2002: 39-45. A great deal of thought still needs to go into trying to find the most apt translation of these two terms; in my opinion "tathāgata heart" and "sugata heart" will not quite do and is lazy. The Tibetans interpreted these expressions as *atpuruṣa* compounds with a suppressed genitive case ending: *tathāgatasya* and *sugatasya*. For the terms *tathāgata* and *sugata*, see the succinct remarks in Griffiths 1994: 60-61. The term *sugatagarbha* is more often used in tantric than in sutric literature, and this is also reflected in the Indic Buddhist commentarial literature. Dol po pa generally uses *bde [bar] gshegs [pa'i] snying po* more extensively in his oeuvre than the expression *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*. Guenther 1975: 281 intuitively suggested a difference in nuance, albeit without providing any textual basis, and the jury is still out on what it is exactly that distinguishes these two. On occasion, both terms are used interchangeably.

3 See, for example, Kapstein 2000, and Mathes 2008: 75-84 and 2011/12.

4 His charisma well outlasted his life. In his 1478 biography of the Jo nang pa scholar Dkon mchog bzang po (1398-1475), Blo gros rgya mtsho tells us that upon seeing a clay statue of Dol po pa, the young Dkon mchog bzang po was privy to a vision of uncountable images of Dol po pa himself that blazed forth from the statue's heart region; see Blo gros rgya mtsho 2008: 579-580. Later, Dkon mchog bzang po became Jo nang's fourteenth abbot.

in a fairly remote valley in Gtsang until its central position was superseded by what was to grow into the great 'Dzam thang monastic complex that is located in Amdo, in northern Sichuan Province.⁵

The textual and scriptural background of Dol po pa's novel hermeneutic of Mahayana Buddhism and how he developed his ideas have yet to be explored in full, although to date significant progress has been made in this direction. Needless to say, it is arguably not only texts and the results of intensive meditative practice that mattered when we try to come to terms with his and his followers' thinking. Indeed, an awareness needs to be cultivated of the fact that the authors of these treatises did not work in a vacuum for this has generally been sadly lacking in much of what has been written in recent years about fourteenth century Tibetan intellectual history. We must take into account their social, economic, and political background as much as our sources allow. It is important to remember that even if Central Tibet was bureaucratically managed by a foreign power, that is to say, it was under Mongol domination with the local support of Sa skya monastery in particular until the 1350s, the available biographical literature testifies to countless infighting that was the result of the competing interests of the landed aristocracy. And this was an ongoing problem among the various principalities that lasted to various degrees until the consolidation of political power under the Dga' ldan pho brang government in the mid-seventeenth century. The human and economic cost of this consolidation was considerable, but it heralded a noticeable decline in local disturbances. Like many institutions, Jo nang did not remain unscathed in these tumultuous times. Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364) writes in an entry for the year 1356 in his autobiography that the young and inexperienced armies of Chu mig and Rin spungs had mistakenly destroyed Jo [mo] nang and other monasteries.⁶ It thus seems to me that one needs to begin thinking about how to take into account, if this is at all possible under the present bibliographic situation with a steadily improving but still deficient access to Tibetan literary sources, the influences these very circumstances exerted on the Tibetan self-understanding of the period in question. What looms very large in the Tibetan religious literature of the fourteenth century, indeed much more so than what we find in the previous centuries, is the almost obsessive quest for a foundation (*gzhi*) and

5 For some photographs of what is left of Jo nang monastery and some of the meditation caves in its immediate vicinity plus photographs of other establishments of the Jo nang tradition, including the enormous 'Dzam thang monastic complex, see Jo nang mdza' mthun lo rgyus phyogs sgrig tshogs pa 2005 and, for Jo nang alone, the photographs in <http://www.jonangfoundation.org/sites> and in Stearns 2010: plates 3 and 5. For the history of 'Dzam thang, which Rin chen dpal (1350-1435), alias Ratna shrī, founded in 1425, see Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa 1992: 104 ff. Xu 1993 is an annotated Chinese translation of Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa 1992: 1-88.

6 Ta'i si tu 1986: 280-281 and 1989: 188. This event is not noted in Dol po pa's biographies or in any of the other studies I used for this essay. For the history of the myriarchy of Chu mig, see Everding 2005.

the modalities of the genesis of the experience of *buddha* that would be anchored in it.⁷ And this sudden upsurge should give us pause. One has to wonder whether this fact had anything to do with the uncertainty of the times, the occupation of the Tibetan area by the Mongols, the shifting sands of political fortunes, and the social and political instability caused by the various armed skirmishes that erupted with fearful frequency throughout Central Tibet. Aside from the religious and soteriological considerations of what makes liberation from the every day "natural attitude" and frustration that are embodied in *samsara überhaupt* possible, and the kind of causality that is at play here, a causality that eschews the so-called *satkāryavāda* of the non-Buddhist Indian Sāṃkhya tradition, but that nonetheless shows some interesting parallels, seems to have been of a special concern of many philosophers of the period. And this also appears to have everything to do with the causal unfolding of the foundation (*gzhi*) into a spiritual path (*lam*) that in the end leads to the sought-after result (*'bras bu*) for which, as in a feedback system, the foundation is its ultimate cause and for which it is in turn the cause for the foundation.

Interestingly, the bureaucratic practices of the period are already echoed in the titles of two of Dol po pa's short allegorical tracts in which he aired and explained religious themes.⁸ These are [I] the *Chos sku lhun grub rgyal po'i 'ja' sa* and [II] the *Bden gnyis kyi rnam dbye ba'i 'ja' sa*, which can be roughly rendered by *Edict of the Spontaneous Absolute King and Edict for Distinguishing the Two Realities*. It will be noticed that both contain the Mongol loanword *'ja sa* (< Mon. *ḡsaγ*), "edict." If this were not enough, the very opening lines of both unmistakably bear traces of the diction used in the opening lines of those edicts that were either directly issued by the Mongol court or by its Tibetan proxies on its behalf during the period that Tibet was under Mongol rule and occupation, that is, from roughly 1240 to 1368. Thus we read:

Tract I

Invocatio: *tshe ring bde gshegs snying po'i she mong [la/las]/ gtsang bdag bde dang rtag pa dam pa'i dpal la brten nas /*

Intitulatio: *chos sku mi rtog ye shes lhun grub rgyal po'i lung /*

Publicatio: *rnam rtog rnam shes bag chags dang bcas pa rnam la zlo ba /*

Invocatio: With the might of the eternal essence of one who has gone to bliss, based on the glory of the pure, the self, bliss, the holy eternal,

Intitulatio: An authoritative communication (*lung*) of King Non-conceptual ultimate and Spontaneous gnosis,

⁷ See, for example, Higgins 2013: 140 ff. in connection with early Rdzogs chen thought and Klong chen Rab byams pa (1309-1364).

⁸ For Dol po pa 2011: 7; 275-278, 279-289; see also van der Kuijp 2010: 111 for other examples.

Inscriptio: Notification for conceptual thinking and perceptual awareness with [their] impressions based on previous experiences (*bag chags, vāsanā*).

Tract II

Appreciatio: *ārya lo ke shva ray a / ma ni dha ra na mo /*

Invocatio: *chos dbyings bde ba chen po'i she mong la /*

Intitulatio: *'dus ma byas shing lhun gyis grub pa'i rgyal po chen po nged kyi lung /*

Appreciatio: Homage to the Noble Lokiteśvara, the one who holds the jewel!

Invocatio: With the might of the great bliss, [or: of the] reach and range (*dbyings*) of what is meaningful (*chos*),

Intitulatio: An authoritative communication of me, the great king of the non-construed and spontaneity,

D. Schuh was the first to analyze and discuss the structure of Tibetan edicts and quite perceptively applied to them the terminology borrowed from studies of kindred medieval European documents and edicts.⁹ This application has now become standard in subsequent studies of Tibetan edicts and I happily follow suit. Further, the edicts of the period definitely show an influence of Mongol chancellery practices and these two works are no exception. Thus the Invocatio of Tract I quite obviously echoes the Invocatio of its Mongol counterparts that often begin with :¹⁰

möngke tengri-yin kücün-dür yeke sujali-yin 'ihen-dür

The Tibetan for this would be :¹¹

tshe ring gnam gyi she mong la / bsod nams chen po'i dpal la brten nas /

And Tibetan ...*la [b]zlo ba* might reflect Mongolian *duyulya-*. In both pieces, Tibetan *lung* can reflect Mongolian *üge*. In addition, Tract II contains a host of such typical contemporary administrative titles as chancellor (*ching sang*< Ch. *chengxiang* 丞相), employee (*las kha* [read: *ka*] 'dzin pa), personal bodyguard (*res pa*, calque of Mon. *kesikten*), military commander (*du dben shwa*< Ch. *duyanshuai* 都元帅), governor (*dar kha che*< Mon. *daruyaci*), etc. That

⁹ Schuh 1977: 158 ff.

¹⁰ Poppe 1957: 46 ff., 67 ff.

¹¹ Schuh 1977: 165-167; for a survey of work done in this area, see Everding 2013: 219 ff.

having been said, none of these social and political circumstances will be discussed in this paper, for, arguably, such an inquiry would be premature if only in view of two basic facts: [1] many sources that have only recently become available have yet to be carefully gone through – after all, Tibetan Studies is a relatively new field of inquiry – and [2] no doubt more pertinent sources remain so far either unpublished or unknown.

Given these restrictions, in this essay, I merely propose to re-examine the dates of two of his more attention-grabbing works, namely, the *Ri chos* [*nges don rgya mtsho*], *Religion for Mountain Hermits* [: *An Ocean of Definitive Intent of the Buddha's Word*],¹² and the *Bka' bsdu bzhi pa'i don* [*bstan rtsis chen po*], *Intent of the Fourth Council* [: *The Great Reckoning of the Buddhist Teaching*]. It is not entirely clear whether both of these were in equal measure influential, for they are not often explicitly cited in the early literature of the Jo nang pa. And of these, the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* was no doubt more accessible to its intended audience in terms of structure and content than the rather turgid *Intent of the Fourth Council*, and thus seems to have carried more historical weight. It is quite the case that these two treatises have recently piqued the attention of several scholars and the increasing interest in the Jo nang pa tradition has done much to foreground them. But this upsurge in interest should not carry us away into thinking that their readership was widespread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They find only very sporadic mention in the available literature. And it should perhaps come as a curious surprise that neither are mentioned in the collected oeuvre of the great Jo nang pa scholar Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634/5), alias Tāranātha, including his autobiographical writings! At least they do not show up in the searchable version of the Dpal brtsegs edition that can be searched at brc.org.

The corpus of biographies that detail Dol po pa's life is as a rule very thin on dates, but the evidence that is currently available casts sufficient doubt on what has so far been said about the compositional history of these two tracts, most notably in the truly pioneering and impressive work of C. Stearns. But *pace* Stearns' contribution, one encounters a number of problems in the course of a re-examination of the literature that was available to him - this can now be supplemented by a perusal of the few newly published sources - that shed light on the question when Dol po pa might have written these two works. In what follows I offer some very

12 Hopkins 2006, Stearns 2010: 22, and others translated the phrase *ri chos* by the calque "mountain doctrine" – Chinese language studies of Dol po pa's work similarly render it by *shanfa* 山法; see, for example, Dpal 'bar rdo rje 2010. This translation has a long pedigree as was indicated in Meiszhall 1961: 4 who connected the translation of "Berg-Lehre" with A. Schiefner (1817-1879). Not found in the Tibetan canon, among the earliest occurrences of the term *ri chos* in titles are surely the ones for some of the writings of Phag mo gru Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170) and it seems to have first made its appearance in early Bka' brgyud pa circles. Although I have yet to come across an explanation of the expression in a Tibetan source, I believe that *ri chos* is short for *ri khrod pa'i chos*, that is, "a teaching/religion for the mountain hermit."

preliminary considerations and results that suggest that things are still quite murky where these questions are concerned. Forced by bibliographical circumstance, it will be readily noticed that, in this admittedly inconclusive essay, I address a number of apparent minutiae that may not seem all that relevant to the larger picture. However, it is my rather strongly held view that it is precisely these minutiae that will sooner or later take on a life of their own and will thus be of undoubted relevance when they begin to contribute in a meaningful way to the creation of an as plausible picture as possible of the way in which specific events and individuals have made their way through Tibetan intellectual history.

1. On the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*

Clearly the most accessible and influential of these two treatises is his undated *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. Hopkins' translation and Dpal 'bar rdo rje's translations and studies are milestones in the examination of the textual hermeneutics that Dol po pa pursued in this capacious treatise, and the extensive scholarship and labor they invested in their studies command our unqualified respect.¹³ It is in this work that Dol po pa may but only may have for very first time formulated in consummate detail the theoretical and scriptural foundations of his "great centrism" (*dbu ma chen po*). This entailed a complete re-evaluation of the whole of Mahayana Buddhism in which he used as an analytical tool a triadic arrangement consisting of a built-in and interactive teleology of foundation, spiritual path, and result, and their systemic interrelationship. To be sure, this general approach to Buddhist theory and practice had a long history in Tibet and earlier examples can be easily found. But his re-evaluation was unique and, if you will, iconoclastic, and we can assume that the several studies his disciples had written on this triad were indeed modeled on their master's work even if they did not thematize or expressly indicate their indebtedness to it, which is interesting in itself and absolutely worthy of further exploration. Following Dol po pa's biography by Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan (1319-1401), Stearns suggested that the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* "...was perhaps

¹³ The recent summary of this work in Mkhan Dngos grub dpal 2010a is noteworthy. Although this may very well be an error, a three-hundred and one-folio manuscript of a commentary on the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* is attributed to a certain Rgyal kham pa [= 'Kun dga' snying po, alias Tāranātha]; see Karma bde legs 2004: 2202, no. 000034. This work is not found in any of the available editions of Tāranātha's collected oeuvre.

completed even before the final consecration of the stūpa on October 30, 1333¹⁴ - actually the consecration took place on or shortly after October 18 of that year -, while Hopkins, citing but evidently misreading Stearns, goes so far as to say that it "...was completed well before the final consecration of the stupa."¹⁵ The stupa to which they refer is of course the famous Sku 'bum-stupa at Jo nang monastery, the proper name of which is Sku 'bum Mthong grol chen mo.¹⁶

There is nothing overtly discernable in the body of the text of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* that might betray the intellectual milieu in which it was written. Neither, for that matter, do any of the studies of his life by his disciples relate anything that is of particular relevance. But it is different with its colophon where Dol po pa provides some names of individuals with whom he was connected either in terms of them having requested him to write this work or to have financially supported him doing so. These are Bla ma Phyogs las rnam rgyal, who figures among those who had requested him to write such a work, and a certain Ye shes rgyal mtshan, who had financed the undertaking. Now the only Phyogs las rnam rgyal connected with him appears to have been Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po (1306-1386), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal, who himself was to become the sixth abbot of Jo nang from 1354 to 1360. His biographer Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan writes that after a protracted stay in Dbus, Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po went to Gtsang in late 1332 and first met Dol po pa while the master was circumambulating the great stupa. It is thus quite clear that the two only met subsequent to the construction of the stupa, and this detail is also echoed in the later capsule study of his life in Rigs Idan Rgyal ba Jo nang Dpal bzang po's (1419-1493) 1465 collection of biographies of Dol po pa and his main disciples.¹⁷ But there is a difference. Both have it that sometime in the late 1320s he went to Zhwa lu to study with Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), on which

14 See Stearns 2010: 322, n. 76, where he cites Gha rung pa Ms. 17a who dates the consecration to the tenth day of the first fortnight of the *smin drug*-month of the *dpal gdong* year, whereas Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po (?1283-?1363) has, in Dol po pa 2011: 1; 212, this very same date, the tenth day of the ninth month of the hen-year, albeit using not the Indo-Tibetan but rather the Sino-Tibetan equivalent for the day of the consecration or for one shortly before it. For Gha rung pa, see now Duoji Nyingcha 2014. Xie 2013: 401-412 is a Chinese translation of a shorter version of Gha rung ba's biography of Dol po pa that is found in Gha rung pa 2008a. There are some problems surrounding Kun spangs pa and his biography, which is the longest study of Dol po pa's life. Some of these will be discussed below, but for more details see my essay on him and his oeuvre in van der Kuijp forthcoming a.

15 Stearns 1999: 22 and Hopkins 2006: 3. Later, Stearns 2010: 22 stated that it was written during the construction of the stupa. A splendid photograph of this stupa is given in <http://www.jonangfoundation.org/sites/great-stupa-mountain-hermitage>.

16 This structure must of course be distinguished from its namesake at Dpal lha rtse monastery in Sa dmar, the construction of which was initiated and supervised by Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po (1928-2002), and which was consecrated in 1996; see Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po 2011a for the entire story. Dpal lha rtse monastery is located due northeast of 'Dzam thang.

17 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 411-412 - this biography was written in 1387, one year after its subject's passing - and Rigs Idan 2004: 166-167.

occasion, as Rigs ldan perhaps tendentiously noted, he was not altogether impressed by what he was hearing, and that he left for Dbus only later to return to Gtsang.

Now the available recensions of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* can be divided into two different groupings, one where the colophon has annotations and one where there are none.¹⁸ Without telling his reader, Hopkins, in his translation, opted to omit mentioning that one of his recensions had these annotations. The colophons of the four editions read as follows:

*'di ni skyes bu dam pa rnams dang / chen po rnams kyi gtsug gi nor bur gyur pa mkhan chen jo gdan^a dpon slob rnams kyi gsung gis yang yang bskul ba dang / legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda sprod cing lung dang mngon par rtogs pa'i yon tan mang po dang ldan pa'i bla ma lo tsā ba^bi gsung gis bskul ba dang / gzhan yang bla ma phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba^cla sogs pa mkhas btsun bzang po'i yon tan dang ldan pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen mang po dang / rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dam pa bsam sdings cog pu pa^dla sogs pa...kyi gsung gis bskul ba dang / khyad par du bla ma ye shes rgyal mtshan^e pas brgya 'bul bzang po dang bcas pa'i bsnyen bkur gyis...*¹⁹

^a Dol po pa 2011: 1; 610, Dol po pa 2007: 412: Bsod nams grags pa; Dol po pa nd: 737: Rin po che Byang sems Bsod nams grags.

^b Dol po pa 2011: 1; 610: Blo gros dpal ba; Dol po pa nd: 737: Blo gros dpal.

^c Dol po pa 2007: 412: Glo bur ba Chos kyi rgyal mtshan.

^d Dol po pa 2011: 1; 611, Dol po pa 2007: 412: Dpal ldan Dbang phyug shes rab.

^e Dol po pa 1984: 595 has this name in small characters.

To be sure, the source of these annotations is rather obscure and one should of course hesitate to lend too much credence to them. But if we do take them seriously and as corresponding to fact, then we can surmise the following: J. Heimbels recently published an exhaustive study of the genesis and evolution of the so-called Jo gdan tshogs bzhi, that is, the four monastic communities that originated with the ordinations that issued from the Kashmirian master

18 Meisenzahl 1961: 26-27 describes two undated manuscripts, one of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* and the other of its undated topical outline (*sa bcad*); for the latter see Dol po pa 2011: 2; 1-18. The first has two miniatures, one of a Ngag dbang chos grags and the other of a Kun dga' bde legs. Their identification will no doubt lead to an approximate dating of this manuscript.

19 For his translation, Hopkins 2006: 40 primarily used the Gangtok witness of the text, which was published in 1976, Dol po pa 1992: 2, 25-707 and Dol po pa 1998: 3, 191-739, none of which contained these annotations, but he looked at other witnesses as well, including the "Beijing edition" of 1998, which does have these annotations. That said, the translation of the colophon in Hopkins 2006: 548-549 contains two oversights: instead of *jo gdan pa dpon slob* he read "Jo nang bas, masters and students" and he changed the singular *bla ma lo tsā ba* into "lama translators."

Śākyaśrībhadrā's (1127-1225) sojourn in Central Tibet. Jo gdan pa or Mkhan chen Bsod nams grags pa (1273-1353) was an abbot who belonged to the lineage of the so-called Chos lung community, and it was he who had in fact ordained Dol po pa in Zhwa lu monastery in 1312.²⁰ He may therefore very well be the Bsod nams grags pa in question. But "Bsod nams grags pa" is not a rare name in religion. Thus, on the other hand, it is perhaps more probable that he must be identified as Zhang ston Rgya bo Bsod nams grags pa (1292-1370), who figures in most later listings of Dol po pa's main disciples.²¹ While in Mtshur phu monastery in the mid-1320s, he had apparently heard Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) referring to Dol po pa's superior practices, which made him decide to look him up. Once they met, he reportedly did not leave the master's side for many years! A native of distant Amdo, Bla ma-Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal (1299-1354) was another disciple of Dol po pa and his immediate successor to Jo nang's abbatial throne after the master's rather sudden and still somewhat mysterious abdication in 1339. He remained on the abbatial throne until his passing in 1354 when he was succeeded by Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po. I know nothing about Bsam sdings Cog pu Dpal ldan Dbang phyug shes rab and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, Dol po pa's biographies do not mention his name anywhere. But Dol po pa's collected works does contain a very interesting reply to Bsam sdings' queries.²² Finally, it may be that not all copies of the text contained the above passage. For one, it appears that Meisezahl's manuscript does not appear to have it. What is more, the text concludes with the statement:

*blo ldan gzu bor gnas shing nges don chos nyid bsgoms pa'i nyams myong can ma yin
pa rnams la bstan du mi rung ba'i bka' rgya dam po yod pas de kho na bzhin mdzad
par zhu / ci ste de las 'das na dam tshig las 'das so //*

Since [this work] has the strict seal of being unsuitable to be shown to those intelligent ones who have no integrity and who do not have the immanent experience of having meditated on the very nature of what is the definitive meaning of the Buddha's word, I request that just that is done accordingly. So, were that transgressed, then the personal commitment [? to me] is transgressed.

This stricture may have contributed to what appears to be a fact, namely, the relatively limited dissemination of the text of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*.

20 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 193-194 and Heimbel 2013: 219-220, n. 187. [Nub] Chos lung is located not far from Rgyal rtse in eastern Gtsang or west (*nub*) of Dbus.

21 He is discussed in van der Kuijp 2016.

22 Dol po pa 2011: 12; 161-166. This work is undated and mentions only a certain official (*dpon*) with the name Don grub bzang po.

Stearns cites a series of verses, which, he argues, Dol po pa had written in commemoration of the construction of the stupa and "the connection" of "his realization of shentong [*gzhan stong*, vdK] and the teachings of the *Kālacakra Tantra*."²³ He signaled that these verses are found in the final volume of Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po's annotations to the Tibetan translation of the *Vimalaprabhā*.²⁴ The idea that they were written not by Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po but by Dol po pa stems from the fact that Gha rung pa as well as 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481) had identified him as their author.²⁵ He writes that in these verses - it should be pointed out that they do not mention *gzhan stong*, that is, the notion of extrinsic emptiness,²⁶ let alone Dol po pa's "realization" of it -, there is a couplet wherein Dol po pa insinuates that the stupa played a role in the composition of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. Stearns, following 'Gos Lo tsā ba's earlier interpretation of the couplet's second line, cites this key-couplet as follows [the insertion of personal pronouns in the translation are his and mine]:

lus kyis ka lā pa ru ma sleb kyang //
dad pa'i sems la rigs ldan zhugs sam ci //
shes rab gsum la blo gros sbyangs min yang //
lhun po bzhengs pas rgya mtsho rdol ba snyam //

Although I did not physically arrive in Kalāpa,²⁷
 I wonder whether a Kalkī has entered my faithful mind.
 Although my mind has not been trained in the three types
 of discriminative awareness,²⁸
 I think the ocean came forth by me having erected Meru.

Thus Dol po pa may very well have likened the stupa to the *axis mundi* Mount Sumeru and

23 Stearns 2010: 22, 322, n. 75 and 2010: 324-326, n. 91.

24 Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po 2008a: 456. There the reading *lhun po bzhengs la* is incorrect.

25 As cited in Stearns 2010: 322, n. 75, Gha rung pa's biography has *lhun po bzhengs pas*, and 'Gos Lo tsā ba 1976: 682 reads *brdol*, the perfective or future stem of *rdol*. 'Gos Lo tsā ba's statement is also echoed in the entry for the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* in A khu Shes rab rgya mtsho's (1803-1875) well known bibliography; see A khu 1963: 424, n. 11259.

26 For a useful survey of what is involved with this notion, see Mathes 2011/2012.

27 Kalāpa is of course the mythical capital of the mythical land of Sambhala/Shambhala, the alleged homeland of the *Kālacakra* corpus that is ruled by the equally mythical Kalkī hierarchs.

28 These are various triads of discriminative awareness, for which see Nor brang O rgyan 2008: 445-447. The triad referenced here is probably the one of well-known discriminative awareness that is derived from study (*śrutamayī*-), from reflection about what has been studied (*cintāmayī*-), and from meditating on what has been reflected upon (*bhāvanāmayī*-).

how its construction had brought about the "ocean" (*rgya mtsho*), which, in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's and Stearns' views, is an allusion to the subtitle of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. True, this is a pleasant and inspiring story, and it is quite possible that it was Dol po pa's intention to read it in this way. However, truth be told, there is absolutely no hard evidence that Dol po pa had written these verses at the time of the construction of the stupa and with the composition of his work in mind. Indeed, they may very well have been written much later as a retrospective and, if anything, the perfective stem *bzhengs* would suggest that he had written the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* after the completion of the stupa! All the evidence points to this fact. 'Gos Lo tsā ba's note is significant, since we know that he had made a close study of several of Dolpo pa's writings, including his *Religion for Mountain Hermits*.²⁹ Apparently, at one point in his life, in 1447, when he was fifty-five, the castellan-brothers of Brag dkar mo had asked him to assume the abbacy of Jo nang upon the passing of Jo nang Bka' bzhi pa, its recently deceased abbot.³⁰ He politely declined this offer. His disciple-biographers Smon lam grags pa and Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453-1524) do not exactly tell us why he did so, but it seems that his role in making preparations for Vanaratna's (1384-1468) last visit to Central Tibet had something to do with it. But there is more to this verse. It is also cited as a gloss at the end of a little work by Tāranātha on an offering ceremony to Vajrabhairava that is contained in the 'Dzam thang xylograph of his collected writings, the blocks for which were carved in the 1990s.³¹ There the verse in question reads somewhat differently³²:

lus 'di ka la pu ra^a ma sleb kyang //
dad pa'i sems la rigs ldan zhugs sam ci //
shes rab gsum la blo gros sbyang min yang //
lhun po bzhengs las rgya mtsho rdol ba snyam //

^a Read: *ka lā pa ru*.

Although this body did not reach Kalāpa,
 I wonder whether a Kalkī has entered my faithful mind.

29 Zhwa dmar IV 2004: 17, 23, 27, 128, where his studies of and reactions to some of Dol po pa's writings are noted.

30 See Smon lam grags pa (Ms. 56a) and Zhwa dmar IV 2004: 79, which is based on the former. The passage reads, grammatical warts and all: *brag dkar mo ba'i rdzong dpon pa sku mched kyis [kyi] jo nang bka' bzhi ba gshegs pa'i gdan sar spyang drangs na'ang ma phebs* [on fol. 33b, the original manuscript of Zhwa dmar IV's text has *thegs*] *pa yin /*.

31 Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po 2011b does not fulfill what its title promised, namely, to provide a catalog of Tāranātha's works, but 2011c does include numerous concluding prayers to the carving of blocks for his writings. For such a catalog, see Causemann 1994.

32 Tāranātha 2008: 12; 391.

Although my mind is trained in the three types of discriminative awareness,
I think the ocean came forth from me having erected Meru.

And the gloss identifies this as a prayer (*smon lam*) that was given by Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po! If so, then we have to read the last line as: "I think the ocean came forth from him having erected Meru."

At some point in his life as a mature scholar, Dol po pa wrote a fairly short, undated polemic work that bears the title *Gshags 'byed bsdus pa, Summary of an Inquiry*.³³ In the Beijing edition of his oeuvre, it is prefaced by a notice in which are detailed the positions on the afore mentioned triad of foundation, spiritual path, and result that had been taken by Master Dkon mchog bzang po and a Governor (*dpon*) Byang pa. This preface is found in a manuscript copy of the text, written in the *dbu can* script, that had apparently been located in 'Bras spungs monastery; it is absent in the 'Dzam thang xylograph of Dol po pa's collected oeuvre as well as in the 'Dzam thang manuscript edition of the same that was published by M. Kapstein.³⁴ The numerous times he refers to the views of "some Tibetans" or just "some" are a bit perplexing in terms of their anonymity and one is left wishing that he had made things just a bit more explicit. But the Dkon mchog bzang po in question is most probably the same as the one who, associated with Brag ram monastery, played an important role in Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po's meeting with Dol po pa in 1332 and who had himself requested Dol po pa for empowerments and authorization for the practice of the *Kālacakra*, perhaps sometime in the late 1340s.³⁵ I also suppose that the Byang pa ruler (*dpon*) is none other than Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (?1323-?1375) – *dpon* is often used as a short cut for *dpon chen*. The myriarch of Byang myriarchy and the successor of his uncle Yon btsun, he functioned as Grand-Governor of Sa skya in *circa* 1357 and again in *circa* 1364.³⁶ In 1344, the myriarch appointed Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po for the first time to the abbacy of his family's main monastery of Byang Ngam ring.³⁷ Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po held this position until 1354 when he also assumed the abbacy of Jo nang. But this proved too much for him and he soon handed the abbacies of Ngam ring and Jo nang to, respectively, Mkhan chen 'Phags pa and Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan. Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po himself wrote *inter alia* an undated commentary on the first *Sekoddeśa*–section of the *Vimalaprabhā* at his behest and, in addition, he embedded his patron's name in one of the concluding verses of his undated deliberations on the triad, foundation, path, and result, in connection with the *Kālacakra*'s

33 Dol po pa 2011: 7; 309-344.

34 Dol po pa 1998: 6; 369-401 and Dol po pa 1992: 5;435-471.

35 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 234.

36 Petech 1990: 145.

37 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 432-433.

**vajrayogamahāmudrā* practice,³⁸ a long work that he in fact had written in Ngam ring! Having freed himself from the burden of Jo nang's abbacy in 1358, he later, in 1366, once again assumed with some reluctance the abbacy of Jo nang as well as that of Bde chen monastery in Lha rtse, the latter at the request of Si tu, that is, Byang Ngam ring's myriarch.³⁹

At one point Dol po pa writes in his *Summary of an Inquiry* that, fearful of becoming prolix (*yi ge mang[s] gis dogs nas ma bris so //*), he did not expatiate on the many different conceptualizations of the individual parts of this triad, their inter relationship, and the very triad itself. This might, but only might indicate that he had yet to compose his *Religion for Mountain Hermits*, inasmuch as he could have very easily referred his reader to it had it been written prior to this time. Parenthetically, intriguing in this work are the references to and the rejections of certain claims made by an "All-knowing One", a Thams cad mkhyen pa.⁴⁰ One can only wonder who this might be. There are no doubt more, but offhand I know of at least two contemporaries who were so styled, one was Bu ston and the other was Dol po pa's name sake Shes rab rgyal mtshan, who was active in Tshal Gung thang monastery and was abbot of its Chos 'khor gling seminary from circa 1354 to 1367.⁴¹

We should also be somewhat surprised by the absence of any mention of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* in his long letter that he specifically addressed to the Byang pa myriarch, which is titled *Dpon byang pa'i phyag tu phul ba'i chos kyi shan 'byed, Analysis of Religion Offered onto the Hand of the Governor of Byang*.⁴² This "governor of Byang" must in all likelihood be identified as Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan who, once in a while accompanied by his family, had studied the Kālacakra corpus in particular with Dol po pa, on several occasions sometime between 1339 and 1344.⁴³ We do not know whether the myriarch ever reacted to this long letter, which arguably constitutes one of Dol po pa's major works in terms of length and detailed presentation of his key philosophical ideas. Dol po pa does not pull any punches in his opening remarks and the myriarch could hardly have been very pleased

38 Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po 2008b: 138 and 2008c: 330.

39 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 434-435. Earlier, on p. 424, his name is prefixed by the grand sounding but nonetheless lowly title of "the Great Instructor" (*ta'i si tu* < Ch. *da/daisitu* 大司徒).

40 Dol po pa 2011: 7; 323, 325, 327, 340.

41 Sørensen, Hazod and Tsering Gyalbo 2007: I; 232, II; 644.

42 Dol po pa 2011: 8; 1-217. Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428-1507) notes this "letter" in his replies to queries about his very own *Gser gyi thur ma, Golden Ladle*, a series of queries with his own replies anent Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) *Sdom gsum rab dbye, Analysis of the Three Vows*, that Skäl bzang rgya mtsho'i sde had addressed to him; see Gser mdog Paṇ chen 2013: 17; 378 where the governor is styled Great Yuan [National Preceptor] (*ta dben [gu shri]* < Ch. *dayuan [guoshi]* 大元 [国师]) Nam mkha' bstan pa. He had received this title from the Yuan court in the 1350s. As we have seen, the court also awarded him the title of "Great Instructor". For additional notes on him, see Everding 2000: Index, 720 sv. Tā dben and van der Kuijp forthcoming b.

43 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 424-426.

with Dol po pa making him aware that his remarks were "quite contradictory" (*shin tu 'gal*) or "beyond the pale of scripture's intention" (*gsung[s] rab kyi dgongs pa las phyi rol tu gyur pa*), or even that the passages he quoted did not exist in the texts he cited. Dol po pa notes three misquotes, which he uncharitably and intemperately glosses by: "Such a citation of many fraudulent scriptural passages is a very great sin." (*brdzun lung mang po 'dren pa 'di lta bu ni sdig pa shin tu che ba lags so //*).⁴⁴ The first of these is a quotation of two lines of verse, which the governor alleged were taken from Nāgārjuna's (2nd c.) *Mūlamadhyamakārikā*. Dol po pa rightly states that these are not found therein. But it turns out they are from a cognate treatise, namely, Candrakīrti's (7th c.) *Madhyamakāvatāra*, IV: 185cd, and for him to characterize this oversight as "evil" is, frankly, a bit over top and it is therefore difficult to shake off the suspicion that something other than a mere doctrinal disagreement was at play. Again, it is noteworthy that in the course of his argumentation Dol po pa does not once refer the myriarch to his *Religion for Mountain Hermits*, which would otherwise have fit very well thematically.

Without addressing this wrench in his narrative, Stearns cites a report in which is related that Byams gling Paṇ chen Bsod nams rnam rgyal (1401-1475) was of the opinion that Dol po pa had written the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* and other texts subsequent to the appearance of the new Jo nang translation of the *Kālacakra* corpus, that is, once again, *after* the construction of the stupa.⁴⁵ Much, much later, A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659) was one of the few scholars to give an approximate date for it. He writes in his large study of the history of the *Kālacakra* precepts of 1636 that Dol po pa had composed it sometime between the 1338 appointment of Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal to Jo nang's abbatial throne and his passing in 1354.⁴⁶ However, a less controversial *terminus a quo* of 1344 for the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* is provided by the Lo tsā ba himself, for he explicitly characterized it as one of his main sources while he was writing his *Ngo sprod gnas lugs gsal ba, Instruction: A Clarification of Ontology*, in that very year.⁴⁷ This could indicate that it was written sometime between 1338 and 1344, but only if Dol po pa had written it during the Lo tsā ba's tenure as abbot of Jo nang. Finally, Kun spangs pa's sole reference to the text occurs in an entry located between entries for a rat- and a hen-year. The pairs in question would be 1336 to 1345 or 1348 to 1357.⁴⁸ The first set of parameters would of course be a very good fit indeed even if we cannot be sure that these are not based on closely interrelated sources, rather than going back to different, independent witnesses. Lastly, Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan indicates that Dol po pa taught the

44 For the latter, see Dol po pa 2011: 8; 215.

45 Stearns 2010: 26-27.

46 A mes zhabs 2012: 25; 117.

47 Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal 2008: 88.

48 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 228.

Religion for Mountain Hermits to Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po and others shortly before 1339!⁴⁹

In the second edition of his work on Dol po pa, Stearns re-examined his earlier dating of Dol po pa's disciple Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal. Following the dating given by Rigs ldan in his collection of biographies of Dol po pa and his main disciples and the one found in Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa's (1920-1975) large history of the Jo nang tradition, who no doubt had relied on Rigs ldan, he initially suggested his dates to have been 1285 to 1379.⁵⁰ Now Nya dbon wrote a commentary on Dol po pa's undated *Bstan pa spyi 'grel zhes bya ba'i gsol 'debs*, *A Beseachment Titled General Comments on the Teaching* in which he cited the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*.⁵¹ As far as its publication history is concerned, Ri phug Blo gsal bstan skyong (1804-after 1877) uncovered the earliest evidence that printing blocks had been carved for it when, in 1874, he prepared a catalog for the blocks that were stored in the printery of Tāranātha's see of Rtag brtan dam chos gling monastery. Beginning with Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) and the decree of his Dga' ldan pho brang government in Lhasa, these blocks had been off limits for some two centuries! Ri phug's catalog registered the existence of printing blocks for the *Bstan pa spyi 'grel* in forty-three folios, even if these are there wrongly attributed to Kun spangs pa Thugs rje brtson 'grus!⁵² The text that is currently in circulation derives from printing blocks that were prepared in Bs[w]le dgon Phyogs rgyal gling or Thub bstan phyogs las rnam rgyal gling monastery in Rnga yul, which is located in northwest Sichuan. Kun dga' yon tan rgya mtsho (1818-1890) had founded this institution in 1880.⁵³

Nya dbon's commentary is dated a water-female-hen year. Earlier Stearns considered that 1333 was the water-female-hen year in question, but a re-examination of the text's afterword led him to change his mind, and he thus dated it one sexagenary cycle later, to 1393, which in turn led him to abandon the dates for Nya dbon that Rigs ldan and Ngag dbang grags pa had given.⁵⁴ Nya dbon's dates are problematic and they are in need of resolution. What we always need to bear in mind is that Tibetan literature often suffers from mistakes in dating events because reader-editors are wont to change the duodenary notation into the sexagenary one, so that there is always a possibility of discrepancies in dates by one or more factors of twelve. Fortuitously, it so happens that there is gloss that illustrates this at the end of the recent publication of Nya dbon's *'Od gsal rgyan gyi bshad pa yid kyi mun sel*, *Explanation of the Ornament of Radiant*

49 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 423.

50 Stearns 1999: 22; see also Rigs ldan 2004: 178-183 and Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa 1992: 38.

51 For a translation of this little tract with copious annotations from Nya dbon's commentary, see Stearns 2010: 119-129, 367-385. Gha rung pa 2008 is another commentary on the *Bstan pa spyi 'grel*, which he completed in 1396, but, oddly, it makes no mention of Nya dbon's earlier work.

52 Ri phug 1963: 30, no. 607.

53 For this monastery and the preamble to its construction, see Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa 1992: 516-521.

54 Stearns 2010: 22. Most probably unknown to Stearns, Shen Weirong had already proposed this date on an earlier occasion.

Light: Clearing Away Mental Fog. Written in Sa skya and dated the fire-female-hen year, that is, 1357, we read the following in a post-colophonic gloss⁵⁵:

*sa mo bya zer ba dpe mang pa na yod pa lo skor gcig gis 'phyi bas ma dag pa yin cing /
'di brtsams nas dbang phyug gi lo / me mo glang yan la / lo bzhi bcu zhe gcig song /*

The statement earth-female-hen year [1369], which is present in many manuscripts, is incorrect, since it is late by one duodenary cycle. Beginning with this, forty-one years have passed up to the year *dbang phyug* [or] fire-female-ox year [1397].

This gloss is prefixed by another gloss that follows immediately upon the colophon. It begins with *mdo rgyud* and ends with *thob shog /dge'o //*. The manuscript of this work that is available to me not only has a somewhat different reading of the gloss, but the gloss is also placed immediately after the colophon and is then followed by *mdo rgyud* etc.; it reads:

*sa mo bya zer ba dpe mang pa na yod pa lo skor gcig gis 'phyi bas ma dag pa yin
cing / 'di brtsams nas dbang phyug me mo glang yan 'das lo lo bzhi bcu zhe gcig song
/... 'od gsal rgyan rtse ba me bya lo... ?sa'i lo dang po nas mchan bu me glang lo
mdzad pa'i bar la lo zhi gcig song ngo // mchan gzhan /*

The statement earth-female-hen year [1369], which is present in many manuscripts, is incorrect, since it is late by one duodenary cycle. Beginning with this, forty-one years have passed up to the year *dbang phyug* [or] fire-female-ox year [1397]...the basic text of the '*Od gsal rgyan* fire-hen year [1369]... from ? the first earth-year up to the fire-ox year when the annotations were written, forty-one years have passed. Another note.

Thus this work should be dated 1357. It is therefore quite possible that Nya dbon's date of birth is to be pushed forward by twenty-four years, so that we obtain 1304 as the year of his birth. Rigs Idan states that he passed away at the age of ninety-four. If that number has any historical veracity, then the year of his passing would have to be 1397 and not 1379, as he would have it. A problem remains. In the preamble to the anonymous biography of Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags (1389-1442) of Rgyal mkhar rtse we learn that his father Nang chen Kun dga' 'phags (1357-1412), from 1376 to 1412 the ruler of Rgyal mkhar rtse, had given Nya dbon Rtse chen monastery as his personal see in 1371 and that he consecrated the "internal receptacle (*nang rten*) of the resting place" of the deceased Si tu (< Ch.*situ* 司徒) 'Phags pa rin chen (1320-1376),

55 What follows is based on Nya dbon 2010a: 44 and Ms. 52a-b.

the Nang chen's uncle, in 1377.⁵⁶ We learn from Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385-1438) biography of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419) of the 1420s and from 'Brug Rgyal dbang Blo bzang 'phrin las nman rgyal's 1845 biography of the same that young Tsong kha pa tried to study the *Abhidharmakoṣa* with Nya dbon in Rtse chen monastery, when he was nineteen years old, that is, in the summer of 1376.⁵⁷ He first studied Nya dbon's commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*– written in 1371 in Sa skya, it is extant in a print from the printing blocks, carved in circa 1900, that are housed in Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monastery – but then Nya dbon told him that he was unwell and referred him to his disciple [and later critic] Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413), who had just come to Rtse chen from Sa skya. A year later, in 1378, the Nang chen and Nya dbon invited Mnga' ris Chos rje to Rtse chen to give a series of lectures on the *Kālacakra*.⁵⁸ That is all. I have so far not found any reference to him subsequent to this year and Nya dbon either suffered from a debilitating illness until his death or he did in fact pass away in 1379, which puts the earlier argument in unrecoverable jeopardy!

Parenthetically, Shen made the interesting discovery that Dol po pa's *Bstan pa spyi 'grel* is also extant in an anonymous and undated Chinese translation, the *Zong shijiao men dao zhu* 總釋教門禱祝, that became part of a collection of Chinese translations of Tibetan tantric texts that is titled *Dasheng yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集, *Arcane Collection of Works on the Essential Path of the Mahayana*.⁵⁹ The fact that we have a Chinese translation that might date from the late Yuan or the early Ming dynasty is of indirect importance for our understanding of the colophon and the concluding verses that precede it. Stearns writes, "the work was requested from afar by a certain Tashi Dorjé, identified as the imperial chaplain of a Chinese emperor of the Ming dynasty."⁶⁰ The relevant portion of the colophon in the published text and the manuscript of this work states in part⁶¹:

bstan pa spyi 'grel zhes bya'i gsol 'debs kyi//
rnam bshad rnam dag lung gis brgyan pa zhig //

56 Anonymous 1987: 16, 18.

57 Mkhas grub 1982: 21 and 'Brug Rgyal dbang 1981: 127-128.

58 Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 439.

59 Shen 2013: 349 and 2015: 324-325. Among the many editions of the *Dasheng yaodao miji*, the Chinese translation of Dol po pa's little treatise may be found in Yu and Lu 1994: 437-444 and Shen 2012: 45-47 – my thanks go out to my doctoral student Mr. Sun Penghao, who kindly provided me with a copy of the anonymous Chinese translation of this little work. Mr. Sun drew my attention to the study of the Tibetan text and this Chinese translation by Zhang Linghui, my earlier student at Renmin University who is now pursuing a PhD at the University of Virginia, in Zhang 2012: 290-299. For a title catalog of the texts contained in the *Dasheng yaodao miji*, see now Shen 2015.

60 Stearns 2010: 115, 366, n. 397.

61 What follows is based on Nya dbon 2010b: 132-133 and Ms. 52b-53a. The book title, official titles and personal names are given in bold letters.

brtsams la bskur [Ms.:skur] zhes ta mi'i [Ms.: ta'i mi] rgyal po zhes //
rnam par grags pa'i sa bdag chen po yi //
sras mchogb sod nams chen po'i dpal gyis brjid //
sangs rgyas bstan la mngon par dad gyur pa'i //
bla yi mchod gnas shākya'i dge sbyong mchog //
phun tshogs yon tan du mas 'byor ba yi //
blo ldan bkra shis rdo rje zhes grags pas //
thub dbang na bza' 'os pa'i snam sbyar mchog //
skyes su bskur te ring nas bskul ba'i ngor //
rnam bshad yid kyi mun sel mchog 'di sbyar //

Thus we learn that he composed the commentary at the behest of "the supreme son of...the king of Ta mi" (*ta mi'i rgyal po...yi...sras mchog*) and that a certain Bkra shis rdo rje had made this request for the commentary from afar (*ring nas*). Bkra shis rdo rje was the chaplain (*bla yi mchod gnas*) of the "supreme son" of the Ta mi'i/Tai mi king." Now *ta mi'i* occurs in the line *brtsams la bskur zhes ta mi'i rgyal po zhes //*. On the other hand, the manuscript has *ta'i mi rgyal po*, where *ta'i* is definitely not Tibetan! In Tibetan manuscripts, the *bar tsheg*, the syllable-intermediate graph, is virtually indistinguishable from the graph for the final *ng*, so that *ta'i mi[ng]* might very well suggest Chinese *da[i] ming* 大明. If so, then he should be identified as the Hongwu 洪武 Emperor (1328-1398) and who this "supreme son" of his was is unclear, although we do know that one of his sons who later came to be the Yongle 永樂 Emperor (1360-1424) and several of his sons took a keen interest in Tibetan Buddhist tantric practice and ritual. Not altogether a rare name in religion, Ta'i si tu mentions a Bkra shis rdo rje, but it is very unlikely that he is the same as the one mentioned in the colophon.⁶²

All the published Tibetan versions contain the following verse that occurs at the very beginning of the text:

rtag brtan g.yung drung chos rje rin po che //
'phrin las mkha' khyab lhun gyis grub mdzad pa //
'khrul med nges gsang don dam gsal mdzad pa'i //
rton pa bzhi ldan bla ma'i zhabs la 'dud //

Be that as it may, this verse is most certainly an interpolation, since we find it neither in the commentaries by Nya dbon and Gha rung pa nor in the early Chinese translation. In fact, being obviously a reference to Dol po pa himself, it needs to be excised from the text and the

⁶² Ta'i si tu 1986: 378 and 1989: 286.

translation in Stearns in which the plural "precious Dharma lords" and "lamas" render the singular *chos rje rin po che* and *bla ma* must, if anything, be restored to their singular forms.

Finally, Stearns indicated without further comment that 'Ba' ra ba another one of Dol po pa's disciples, had been in written contact with Dol po pa a number of times and that he had met him in Chu bzang monastery, at which point 'Ba' ra ba had finally "realized the true import of his teachings. "He then refers to Tāranātha's undated chronicle on the *Kālacakra* transmissions to the effect that "...after establishing his viewpoint through discussion with many different scholars, Dölpopa composed his major works, such as *Mountain Dharma*."⁶³ This could mislead the reader into thinking that Tāranātha mentions 'Ba' ra ba in his work. He does not. And for that matter, neither is there any evidence whatsoever that Dol po pa had discussed his points of view with a number of his peers before he composed "his major works," including the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. A few indications of 'Ba' ra ba's connection with Dol po pa are briefly discussed below, but suffice it to point out at this juncture that he was definitely not the kind of dedicated disciple of the master as were, so it would appear, for example, Kun spangs pa, Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen, Nya dbon, Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po, etc., and that he was not in the least averse explicitly to part ways with Dol po pa on several significant matters of interpretation of scripture as he did, for one, in his monumental treatise on what constituted the definitive intent (*nges don*) of the Buddha's Word in the context of the essence of what has gone to bliss in connection with the Great Seal (*phyag rgya chen po, mahāmudra*).⁶⁴ As usual, things are much more complicated than they appear to be at first blush.

In his biography of Dol po pa, Kun spangs pa has an entry of the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* for the beginning of 1337 as well as one in which he mentions that before the master's passing his last act in this world had consisted in teaching it.⁶⁵ In the first we learn that:

*kho bo la sogs bu chen rnams kyis zhu ba phul nas / nges don rgya mtsho la sogs
mdo rgyud kyi 'grel pa mang po dang / bden gnyis rnam dbye'i bstan chos kyi bka'
[229] 'bum gsungs so // sa skya'i bla ma gzhi [read: bzhi] thog pa / kun spangs pa /
dpon chen rgyal bzang / byang pa siddhi / g.yag sde paṇ chen la sogs dbus gtsang gi
mkhas mchog mang po la khrid gsungs so //*

63 Stearns 2010: 24, 132, 324, n. 87 and Tāranātha 2008: 3, 350.

64 'Ba' ra ba 1970: V; 242-661 - the seven main sections of 'Ba' ra ba's major work on the subject all deal preeminently with the essence of what has gone to bliss, for which see the preliminary outline in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: V; 244-245. See further an outline of 'Ba' ra ba's disagreements with Dol po pa in Mathes 2008: 113-125, which is primarily based on 'Ba' ra ba's discussion of the relative merits of the positions Bu ston and Dol po pa had taken on the essence of what has gone to bliss in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 496-557. Mathes refers to this work as if it had two titles: *Dgongs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer* and as *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*. Bu ston's work on the essence of what has gone to/come from thussness on which 'Ba' ra ba based his interpretation for his treatise was translated and treated in some detail in Seyfort Ruegg 1973.

65 For what follows, see Dol po pa 2011: 1; 228-229, 278 and Dol po pa 1998: 1; 251, 299.

Having been petitioned by great sons as me etc., he spoke of many commentaries on sutras and tantras such as *The Ocean of Definitive Intent* and the? *bka' 'bum of the Bden gnyis rnam dbye'i bstan chos*.⁶⁶ He gave instructions to many of the finest scholars of Dbus and Gtsang such as Bzhi thog pa, that is, Sa skya monastery's lama, Kun spangs pa, Grand Governor Rgyal ba bzang po, Byang pa Siddhi, and G.yag sde Paṇ chen Brston 'grus dar rgyas (1299-1378).⁶⁷

Bzhi thog pa may be identified as Mkhas btsun Nam mkha' legs pa (1305-1343), the fifteenth abbot of Sa skya, and Kun spangs pa is perhaps Kun spangs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan (?1263-1347?)⁶⁸ and not the putative author of the biography, Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po. Rgyal ba bzang po was Sa skya's Grand-Governor for some three separate terms and played an important role in Central Tibetan politics and Byang pa Siddhi remains an unknown quantity, although he was to be accused of the murder of the aged Kun spangs pa.⁶⁹ And, finally, Dol po pa's writings include a brief reply to three questions about religious matters that G.yag sde Paṇ chen had posed him.⁷⁰

Fast forwarding to the end of 1361, a little less than twenty-five years later, he told his disciples that his *Religion for Mountain Hermits* was their auspicious teaching (*khyed rnam kyī chos skal*) and he appears to have begun teaching it to them on November 2, 1361. A little while earlier, his body was seen to have acquired an unusually bright hue and this luster was seen to be on the increase while he was lecturing on his work for three days at which point sounds came from the sky, a bright rainbow appeared, and it rained flowers. These omens heralded his imminent passing. And he passed away on November 4, 1361.

2. On the *Intent of the Fourth Council*

To most readers, the versified *Intent of the Fourth Council* is perhaps less accessible than the *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. And they can hardly be faulted. For this work consists of a

66 The phrase*kyi bka' 'bum*... is strange and I am not sure what to do with it. The title *Bden gnyis rnam dbye'i bstan chos*, *Treatise in which the Two Realities are Distinguished*, may refer to his *Bden gnyis gsal ba'i nyi ma*, which is contained in Dol po pa 2011: 7; 109-141.

67 Stearns 2010: 31 refers to this passage, but his identification of some of these men leaves something to be desired, if only because he did not take into account that the year in question was 1337.

68 For another person who "abandoned all" (*kun spangs pa*), see Hou 2014 on Kun spangs pa Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1353-1401).

69 For the last two, see Petech 1990: 145, Index, 158 and Rigs Idan 2004: 154. 'Ba' ra ba also notes his passing in his autobiography; see 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XIV; 211.

70 Dol po pa 2011: 12; 157-160.

long series of declarative statements-in-verse that are couched in a technical terminology that only the specialist would be able to contextualize and retrieve from Indic sources and from Dol po pa's own oeuvre. This complex and at first [and second] glance unsystematic work comes with his own commentary, which he followed up with a summary.⁷¹ Usually abbreviated to *bka' bsdu*, the literal 'meaning' of *bka'i bsdu pa* is "collection of the Word of the Buddha." It goes without saying that such a "collection" was a drawn-out process that was fraught with various complexities. Historically, it involved repeated acts of authentication of what constituted the historical Buddha's Word, the decision of which was decided by a council of elders with no doubt competing religious and economic interests. Dol po pa did not have to deal with such a council, but he clearly placed his work in the context of the three earlier councils during which, as is well known, the teachings of the historical Buddha were gradually, if posthumously, codified and authenticated. Another work, this one called the *Fifth Council (bka' bsdu lnga pa)*, was largely written in defense of Dol po pa's unprecedented ideas by 'Jam dbyangs grags pa.⁷² It would appear that as early as 1167 when Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) completed his *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo, Introduction to Buddhism*, and probably even earlier, the Tibetan tradition recognized only three councils, all of which were held in connection with Nikaya [or more pejoratively Hinayana] Buddhism, and this idea was continued in some quarters during the thirteenth century, as we witness, for example, in Mkhas pa Lde'u's chronicle of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism of the 1260s.⁷³ But Bu ston had briefly entertained the notion of the so-called "fourth council" in his own chronicle where he aligns this "council" with Mahayana Buddhism, even if this is not unproblematic, to say the least.⁷⁴ That notwithstanding, Dol po pa's *Intent of the Fourth Council* deals in staccato fashion with his reappraisal and reconstitution of Mahayana Buddhism. According to the colophons of the verse-text and the auto commentary, he had written these at the behest of none other than Bla ma dam pa. Unfortunately, these colophons, as is the one of his summary of the auto-commentary, do not contain any information *when* or *where* he might have composed these tracts, and, what is more, the colophon of his summary does not even mention Bla ma dam pa.⁷⁵ With the sole

71 Dol po pa 2011: 7; 1-36, 37-94, 95-108; for an introduction to and annotated translations of the first two works, see Stearns 2010: 132-134, 135-204, 205-311, 384-385. Mkhan Dngos grub dpal 2010b is a recent commentary on the verse text.

72 See 'Jam dpal grags pa 2008. Judging from the colophon, the author was evidently a disciple of Sa bzang Mati Pan chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1294-1367). A little oddly, it contains not even a nod at, let alone a single reference to, the *Intent of the Fourth Council*.

73 See, respectively, Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo 1968: 337/3-342/3 and Mkhas pa Lde'u 1987: 147-171. The three councils that were respectively held at Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, and Pāṭaliputra, are briefly recounted in Lamotte 1976: 136 ff., 276-300.

74 Bu ston 1971: 24; 812 and Obermiller 1932: 101-102.

75 Dol po pa 2011: 7; 95-108.

exception of the colophon of the undated Rgyal rtse xylograph of the auto-commentary, which states that Bla ma dam pa had given him "many good gifts such as horses, gold, etc.," (*gser rta la sogs pa'i gngang sbyin bzang*) as an incentive to write them, the colophons of all the other editions of this work only have it that Bla ma dam pa had given him "many good gifts" (*gngang sbyin bzang*). I thus suspect that the phrase *gser rta la sogs pa'i* is an interpolation. With some conviction, Stearns dated the composition of the first two to 1358 and states that they written when Dol po pa met Bla ma dam pa in Chos lung. This notwithstanding, he was of course quite aware that there are some serious problems with this date. But he underplayed them.

Let us now re-examine the evidence in part on the basis of the assumption that the presentations of Dol po pa's life that are currently available follow a rough sequential chronology, even when their authors are rather parsimonious where their dating of certain events are concerned. The three large-scale biographical studies that I use are the ones by Kun spangs pa, Gha rung pa, and Chos kyi mgon po's (?-?) 1376 *Dge legs nor bu'i 'phreng ba*-commentary on the versified study of Dol po pa's life by 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba Nor bu dpal ye shes (1313-1387), who is also known under his Sanskrit name Maṇikaśrījñāna.⁷⁶ Available in the 'Dzam thang xylograph of Dol po pa's collected writings, the title page of Chos kyi mgon po's work oddly identifies Maṇikaśrījñāna as a great Nepalese [= Newar] *paṇḍita*. This is patently wrong and is probably due to a confusion with the Newar artist Mañjuśrī, who was active in Central Tibet during this time and who had in fact been instrumental in the application of the Lañca script as part of the decorations of Jo nang's grand stupa.⁷⁷ Both Kun spangs pa and Chos kyi mgon po register his meeting with Bla ma dam pa in Chos lung, but only Gha rung pa provides the date of 1358, and this is apparently confirmed by Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo (1315-1379/80), who not only recorded in his biography of Bla ma dam pa that his subject stayed there in late 1358, but also that he had received the oral transmission (*lung*) of

76 Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po writes that the printing blocks for the 'Dzam thang blockprint of Dol po pa's oeuvre, which includes the biographies of Dol po pa by 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba and Chos kyi mgon po, were carved in 1998; see Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po 2011d: 144 and Chos kyi mgon po 1998. Earlier, in Tsha ba rong, King Nga shu tsa Tsho dbang drag rgyal, the re-embodiment of Tāranātha, had founded 'Chi 'pho nor bu gling monastery where he had printing blocks for an edition of Dol po pa's writings carved, but all came to naught when they were burned in 1966. The 'Dzam thang blocks were carved on the basis of xylographs from those very same blocks. A short biography of Maṇikaśrījñāna is found in Rigs ldan 1998: 501-505, where, however, the year of his birth is wrongly given as *sa mo glang*, 1289 or 1349; instead, it should be *chu mo glang*, that is, 1313!

77 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 212. A certain Gha tshan ācārya is another Newar mentioned on the same page. Various writings belonging to different literary and religious genres of 'Bri gung Lo tsa ba were recently published in the very capacious collection of writings connected with the 'Bri gung pa sect of the Bka' brgyud pa school; see 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba 2004. A collection of his writings on meditational practices connected with the *Kālacakra* corpus in particular was published in 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba 2010.

the *Intent of the Fourth Council* from Dol po pa.⁷⁸ The Lo tsā ba's dates are a bit problematic.⁷⁹ Happily, at least the issue of the year of his birth can now be resolved.⁸⁰ Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan writes that he was twenty-three years old when he was ordained a monk by a triumvirate that included Bla ma dam pa. If we take 1315 as the year of his birth, then this means that he must have been ordained in 1337. Bla ma dam pa was then three years older and was himself ordained only some six years earlier in 1331. The Lo tsā ba writes in his biography of Bla ma dam pa that the latter had invited Rgyal sras Thogs med bzang po dpal (1295-1369) to Sa skya's Bzhi thog Residence in 1345 and we find the very same in Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan's biography of the Lo tsā ba! We also read in the latter that the Lo tsā ba had written a commentary on his maternal uncle and mentor Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa's (1276-1342) *Brda sprod pa'i snying po gsal ba*, a précis of Sanskrit grammar, in 1344, the colophon in which it is stated that he wrote it in 1349. Kun spangs pa also mentions the Lo tsā ba in connection with instructions in the ritual surrounding "the medicine Buddha" (*smān bla, bhaiṣajyaguru*) that he and others had received from Dol po pa. The entry in his biography of Dol po pa suggests that this event should be placed sometime between 1337 and 1355.⁸¹ This detail is not recounted in his biography, but Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan does inform us that he had received a number of instructions from Sa bzang Paṇḍita/Paṇ chen [= Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen], and a not insignificant editorial note suggests that the copyist of the manuscript of the biography had inadvertently omitted the mention of Dol po pa and Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po.⁸² While no dates are given for these, the corrective note suggests that the former had instructed the Lo tsā ba in Abhayākara Gupta's (ca.1065-1125) *Phreng ba skor gsum*, the *Āvali-trilogy*,⁸³ and that he had given him the requisite empowerments for it as well as those necessary for *Kālacakra* practice. And Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po had apparently given him the transmission of Ghaṇṭa pā's (9th/10thc.) take on *Cakrasamvara* and also empowerments for the *Kālacakra* practice.

To be sure, the Lo tsā ba did not state that Bla ma dam pa had requested Dol po pa to write

78 Stearns 2010: 131-132, 384, n. 454 citing Gha rung pa Ms. 39b and Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo Ms. 36b.

79 His detailed 1441 biography by his disciple Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365-1448) states that he was born in the wood-female-hare year [1315] and that he passed away in the year don grub (*siddhārtha*) [= earth-sheep year = 1379]; see Zhwa lu 2011: 4, 128. Bya btang Padma gar dbang's study of the transmission of the *Sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud*, which he completed in 1538, gives the same year of his birth, but states that he passed away one year later in the iron-male monkey year [1380]; see Bya btang Ms. 62a, 65b. Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, the author of the religious history of Shel dkar of 1732, combines both and thus has 1315 to 1380; see Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 70, 72 where "1392" on p. 72 is a misprint for "1380". On the other hand, 'Gos Lo tsā ba 1976: 691, 692 offers water-female-hare year [1303] to the iron-male-monkey year [1380] as the Lo tsā ba's dates, and Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho 1987: 184-185 and others followed suit.

80 What follows is based on Zhwa lu pa 2011: 10, 15 and Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo Ms. 20a.

81 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 231.

82 Zhwa lu pa 2011: 58.

83 For different listings, see Stearns 1996: 138, n. 38.

this work! There is no question that Dol po pa met Bla ma dam pa in [Nub] Chos lung and they may have met there several times. But it is also likely that the Lo tsā ba was writing with second-hand knowledge of the alleged meeting of 1358, since we learn from his biography by Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan that, after Tā dben Byang pa, that is the myriarch of Byang, Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, had invited him to Gung thang, he went into a retreat (*thugs dam mdzad*) in Gyam from 1356 to 1359.⁸⁴ However, it appears that Kun spangs pa dates Dol po pa's meeting with Bla ma dam pa in Chos lung – he only has them meet twice in the entire biography – to a period that is much earlier than 1358. Indeed, the passage in question is sandwiched between entries for the fall of a rat-year and the sixteenth day of the fifth lunar month of the hen-year.⁸⁵ The first two hen-years prior to Dol po pa's passing in 1362 were 1357 and 1345, and the first two rat-years prior to the latest hen-year were 1348 and 1336. Hence, we can only consider two time frames, namely, the one that falls within 1336 to 1345 or the one of 1348 to 1357. Prior to the first entry, namely 1336, we learn that a Bla ma Kun dga' rgyal mtshan and Karma pa III had offered Dol po pa gifts and that, earlier, in the dog-year, the two Blo gros Lo tsā ba-translators – these are Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal and Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen – had completed their revision of the earlier translation of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* in the Bde ba can chapel and that Dol po pa had written a topical outline (*sa bcad*) of the *Vimalaprabhā* as well as a series of annotations to the same, the latter of which has yet to be recovered.⁸⁶ Kun spangs pa states that he had requested Dol po pa for these two pieces and his request for the topical outline is confirmed by its colophon.⁸⁷ This appears to be factual. He also writes that Dol po pa's two sisters and his younger half-brother Rdo rje rgyal mtshan appeared for a visit shortly after the presentation of the revised translations.⁸⁸ He then engages in the creation of history or myth, in which he himself may very well have believed so that it was history for him, for he then writes that these two ladies were wondrous manifestations (*sprul pa*) of the Nepalese and Chinese wives of Srong btsan sgam po (?-649), the founder of the Tibetan state and, beginning in the eleventh century, recognized as a re-embodiment of

84 Zhwa lu 2011: 65-66. Located due west of Shel dkar in Gtsang, Gyam was the birthplace of Dpang Lo tsā ba.

85 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 226-239.

86 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 225 and 214. His topical outline is found in Dol po pa 2011: 13, 189-264 and what was allegedly an incomplete manuscript of his annotations is contained in Dol po pa 2007a. Stearns 2009 briefly signaled some problems with attributing these annotations to him.

87 Dol po pa 2011: 13; 264.

88 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 190-191 lists three sisters Rin chen dbyangs, Bsod nams dbyangs, and Bsod nams lcam mo; for what now follows, see Dol po pa 2011: 1; 214-215.

Avalokiteśvara,⁸⁹ and that they and their brother were the subject of the following prophecy that in part ran as follows:

nga ni ma 'ongs dus kyi tha ma la //
ka yo ri la gdung rgyud brten nas kyang /⁹⁰/
dge slong kun mkhyen zhes pa'i mtshan grags 'byung //
da lta khri btsun o cung bsod nams lcām //
rin [215] chen dbyangs zhes de tshe sring mor 'gyur //

I, at the end of a time that has not yet come about,
Will emerge from a family line at Mount Ka yo,
Known under the name All-knowing Monk.
Will at that time be the sisters, Bsod nams lcām and
Rin chen dbyangs.

Earlier, Kun spangs pa had narrated Dol po pa's re-birth-story (*skyes rabs*) as King Srong btsan sgam po in which he included an interesting account of these two ladies and their activities in Central Tibet.⁹¹

89 Kun spangs pa elaborates in some detail, in Dol po pa 2011: 1; 234-236, who had recognized Dol po pa as the re-embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, an idea that is already prefigured in his elaborate narrative of the master's earlier re-embodiments in which the one as Avalokiteśvara figures as the fifth in a long series; see Dol po pa 2011: 1; 21-33. Avalokiteśvara is of course the patron-Bodhisattva of the Tibetan region in parallel with Mañjuśrī as China's patron-Bodhisattva.

90 Going from the rough to the granular, Kun spangs pa writes, in Dol po pa 2011: 1; 187, that Dol po pa was born in Dol po, which is part of Mnga' ris and now located in northern Nepal; more specifically, he was born in a circle-shaped area in which there were four villages: Rta nag, Nang khung, Phul chu, and Be cher; he was born in a house called Rnam dkar rol pa, located atop Mount Ka yo (*ka yo ri*), as white as Mount Kailāśa, which was located in Sum mda'. One wonders whether Mount Ka yo reflects Mount Ka ya go, which, albeit somewhat garbled, is also the name of sutra that is cited in Chos kyi mgon po 1998: 377. This must be the *Ga yā mgo ri'i mdo*, that is, the *Gayāśrīṣasūtra*, even if the cited passage is not found in the text in Bka' 'gyur 2006-2009: 49; 748-764, or for that matter in the entire Bka' 'gyur!

91 Dol po pa 2011: 152 ff. The passage dealing with the two princesses is found on pp. 153-161. On p. 161, he has Srong btsan sgam po pass away in the early morning of the tenth day of the horse-month [= the first lunar month] of the wood-male-tiger year [7654] at the age of eighty-three! A recension of the the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* has him pass away on the full-moon day of the first-spring month of the wood-female-ox year [7665] at the age of eighty-four; see Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 289. Further, the earliest narratives that deal with these two ladies in some detail is found in the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*; see Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 124 ff. and also Sørensen 1994: 197 ff. Allegedly uncovered by Atiśa, the original version of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* may be roughly dated to 1050, but this manuscript is no longer available. In his work on Buddhist chronology of 1442-1443, 'Gos Lo tsā ba informs us that many copies were made of the text, that many were corrupt, and that the original manuscript (*dpe ngo bo*) was apparently placed in an ossuary (*gdung khang*) of Bya yul [= ? the ossuary of the famous Bka' gdams pa master Bya yul pa Gzhon nu 'od (1075-1138)], presumably as an object of worship; see 'Gos Lo tsā ba 1466: 18b.

Now Bla ma Kun dga' rgyal mtshan mentioned above is possibly none other than Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1310-1358) of Sa skya's Lha khang Residence and the Imperial Preceptor at the Mongol court from 1331 to his passing in 1358. If so, then we must either push back the alleged date in question, or we must assume an inconsistency in the relative chronology of the biography, or this Kun dga' rgyal mtshan had sent these gifts from the Yuan capital in China, or we are dealing with another individual by the name of Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. Karma pa III left Central Tibet for the Yuan capital in 1336 and passed away in inland China. Thus, presupposing a chronological progression of the biography, then the dog-year in question can only be 1334. But we are not yet out of the woods. Stearns' dating notwithstanding, Dol po pa's writings contain some evidence to the contrary. In fact, Stearns himself notes "a troubling exception" to dating the *Intent of the Fourth Council* to 1358 in that Dol po pa had himself called attention to it in his very own piece in which he interpreted the largest sutra on the perfection of insight, the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, in accordance with the *Kālacakra*.⁹² This work consists of a synopsis of a series of lectures he had given to a very large audience from the third day of the *nag pa*-month to the eighth day of the *snron*-month of a sheep year. The text does not elicit the name of the location where he had lectured, but what it does do, and this is quite unusual in Tibetan letters, is that it provides us with a long list of names of the individuals who were in attendance. Citing Kun spangs pa,⁹³ Stearns suggests that the lecture took place at the well known retreat center of Brag Lha klu phug, in the vicinity of Lhasa, in 1355, but adds that "...the text...could have been written some years after the event..."In theory, several sheep-years might come into question, namely, 1331, 1343, and 1355, but the context in which it occurs in Kun spangs pa's work indicates that he considered it to have taken place in 1355. And he is no doubt correct. Thus we can calculate these lectures to have lasted from March 17 to May 19 of that year. While at Brag Lha klu phug, Dol po pa also wrote a ritual text anent the six-armed Mahākāla.⁹⁴ Of interest is that the listing of members of the audience suggests the absence of Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal – indeed, he had passed away on eighth day of the month *rgyal* (*pauṣa*), December 23, of the year *shing rta* [1354]– and that it does register that 'Ba' ra ba was present during these lectures.

Kun spangs pa registers essentially one episode before he mentions the one in which he narrates that Bla ma dam pa had invited Dol po pa to Nub Chos lung. This episode has to do with his connection with a Grags pa seng ge who was associated with Gnas nang of Mtshur

92 Stearns 2010: 384-385, n. 455; see Dol po pa 2011: 6; 482.

93 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 238.

94 Dol po pa 2011: 9; 329-334. He composed this little work on eighth day of the *tha skar*-month, the eighth lunar-month, of an unknown year at the behest of Blo bzang dpal ldan, who was apparently the representative of 'Bri gung monastery's abbot (*gdan tshab*), and his entourage. Thus, it may have been written in the early years of 'Bri gung's eleventh abbot 'Dzam gling Chos kyi rgyal po (1335-1421).

phu.⁹⁵ This Grags pa seng ge is most probably Zhwa dmar I Grags pa seng ge (1283-1349), for he built Gnas nang at the age of forty-nine. Though this is entirely circumstantial, it does point to an earlier date for Dol po pa meeting Bla ma dam pa in Nub Chos lung.

Now we have seen that Stearns held that 'Ba' ra ba was a disciple of Dol po pa. True, he was present during his lectures at Brag Lha klu phug, but that does not necessarily make him his disciple. True, he was in contact with Dol po pa and some of his students, but that also does not necessarily make him his disciple. What would constitute more pressing evidence *against* holding that he was Dol po pa's disciple is the fact that Dol po pa is not once mentioned by name in his large autobiography. We know from one of his works – see below – that he did meet Dol po pa at Chu bzang and that he actively took part in the controversies elicited by Dol po pa's writings and by those of some of his students with respect to the nature and ontology of the essence of what has gone to/come from thusness and the essence of what has gone to bliss, and the doctrinal classifications of those canonical works that purported to be, and that were in fact consensually held to be, the definitive intent of the Word (*bka'*) of the Buddha. But he appears to have done much of this from afar. All that being said, what clinches the issue is that he calls himself the "last", that is, the "lowest" disciple of both Bu ston and Dol po pa, in the aforementioned treatise in which he compares their hermeneutic positions.⁹⁶ Bu ston does appear in his autobiography⁹⁷ and one could argue that this indicates that while 'Ba' ra ba felt much closer to Bu ston than to Dol po pa, he strove to create an air of impartiality in his comparative study of their fundamental views.

There are several works in 'Ba' ra ba's oeuvre that are particularly relevant here. One of these is the questions he posed to a certain Dus 'khor ba Rdo rje snying po (?-1359).⁹⁸ Written at his residence in Brag in 'Ba' ra, a locale of Shangs, these questions are accompanied by a lengthy reply. The editor of his collected writings stated that the entire text consisted of

95 Dol po pa 2011: 1; 235-236.

96 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 557; see also above n. 64. He wrote this work while he resided in Lho yul Spa gro, that is, in what is now Paro, Bhutan, which he visited fairly frequently. His treatise is topically similar to Nya dbon 2006 and 2010, and to the very short tract of Gser mdog Paṇ chen 2013: 23; 67-69.

97 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XIV; 174-175, 265. Another indication of his respect for Bu ston in particular is of course his ode to the master that we find in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 25-28.

98 Titled *Dus 'khor ba rdo rje snying po la dri ba yi ger bskur ba*, it is contained in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 557-602. For Dus 'khor ba's biography, see Blo gros rgyal mtshan 2011, which was completed in 1361. Blo gros rgyal mtshan insists over and over again that Dus 'khor ba, a specialist in the *Kālacakra*, was a wondrous re-embodiment (*sprul sku*), but his work is singularly uninformative and what is more virtually contains no dates. He does mention in the section dealing with his subject's passing that Dol po pa had left for Dbus in a pig-year, which can only be 1359, and that Dus 'khor ba himself passed away on the eighth day of the special lunar month *smal po*, the eleventh month, that is, on November 28, of 1359; see Blo gros rgyal mtshan 2011: 266, 267. Dol po pa 2011: 12; 79-81 contains a brief set of instructions to this Dus 'khor ba. I have not come across the mention of this exchange or the other ones 'Ba' ra ba had with Dus 'khor ba in either 'Ba' ra ba's autobiography, nor in Dus 'khor ba's biography.

"Questions put to a follower of the school of Dol po pa," but this is only partly the case. The first page of the text (p. 558) consists of one short piece that forms a preamble to the letter that he sent to this Dus 'khor ba; there it is written, most likely by an editor, that:

*chos rje kun mkhyen dang rjes 'jug dang bcas pa rnam / grub mtha' spyi dang mi
mthun pa 'ga' re yod zer ba gsan pa dang / chos skad 'don pa gzigs pa dang / yig cha
'dra gzigs pa la the tshom 'ga' re 'dug pa las / 'di rnam bzhed gzhung mtshan nyid pa
yin nam min dgongs nas 'ba' ra'i brag la bzhugs dus / dus 'khor bar do rje snying po
la dri ba'i yi ge bskur ba 'di'o //*

He had heard⁹⁹ it said that the All-knowing Religious Lord [= Dol po pa] and his followers had some discord with the general philosophical position and he had some doubts when he witnessed the intonation[= ?use] of technical religious terminology (*chos skad*) and when he witnessed what appeared to have been instruction manuals (*yig cha*). On that basis, considering whether these are or are not textually substantiated claims,¹⁰⁰ this is the letter wherein he raised some questions that he sent to Dus 'khor ba Rdo rje snying po when he was staying in 'Ba' ra's Brag.

The actual text then begins on the next page. 'Ba' ra ba wrote this piece – he may have called it *Dris lan rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer* or *Dris lan rnam bshad nyi ma'i tsha zer*-, when he resided at his see of Don grub sdings in 'Ba' ra. And in the course of his annotated questions, he plainly states on not a few occasions that the positions taken by Dol po pa and his followers were not unproblematic in that they had far-reaching negative consequences (*ha cang tha*), often stood in contradiction (*gal ba*) with scripture, etc.¹⁰¹

In another work, he reacts with some irritation to the replies Dus 'khor ba had sent him earlier and it appears that Dus 'khor ba's tract to which he reacted was titled *Rnam dag lung gi phreng ba*, *Rosary of Pure* [or: *Correct*] / *Purifying* [or: *Correcting*] *Scripture*. His own work is titled, or was given the title, *Kun gzhi'i rnam shes dang / ye shes kyi rnam bzhag*, *Exposition*

99 The verbs *gsan*, *gzigs*, *dgongs*, and *bzhugs* are all honorific forms and it is therefore virtually impossible to assume that 'Ba' ra ba had written this preface himself! It is for this reason that I added third-person personal pronouns in my translation.

100 The not too common term *bzhed gzhung* also occurs in the third line of the first of the last three verses that form his concluding remarks: "...there were many dissimilar textual claims" (*bzhed gzhung mi 'dra mang byung*....).

101 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 565, 568, etc.

of the Perceptual Awareness and the Gnosis of the All-Ground,¹⁰² and with the same sentiment expressed above in note 97, its preamble states:¹⁰³

dus 'khor ba rdo rje snying po la stong gzugs bde gshegs snying por 'dod pa la sogs pa'i bzhed pa rnams dri bskur ba'i lan / rnam dag lung gi phreng ba zer ba bskur byung na 'ang / the tshoms^a ma chod pas / chos rje kun mkhyen pa kho rang la dri bar bya dgongs nas / dag pa ye shes kyi kun gzhi dang / ma dag rnam shes kyi kun gzhi spang bya blo^b bur ba gnyis / rnam pa thams cad tha dad par 'dod pa mi 'thad pa la sogs pa'i lung dang / rigpa'i^c bgag^d sgrub bo dong er sbyar ba 'di'o //

^a Read *tshom*. ^b Read: *glo*. ^c Read: *rigs ?pas*. ^d Read: *dgag*.

A reply sent to Dus 'khor ba Rdo rje snying po questioning the claims that "emptiness of images" (*stong gzugs*)¹⁰⁴ is the essence of having gone to bliss: Since his ['Ba' ra ba's] doubts had not been dispelled even when he was sent the *Rnam dag lung gi phreng ba*, thinking that one should ask the omniscient religious lord [Dol po pa] himself, this refutation and affirmation by means of scripture and reasoning that the claim that the all-ground of pristine gnosis (*dag pa ye shes*) and the all-ground of non-pristine awareness (*ma dag rnam shes*) with the adventitious stains that need to be eliminated are different in all respects, is incorrect, etc.,[the reply] was written in Bo dong E.

But what are we to make of the mention of Bo dong E when, at the outset of this work we are told that 'Ba' ra ba had written it Don grub sdings? I cannot answer this question. Suffice it to say that 'Ba' ra ba does write in his autobiography that he stayed several times in the Bo dong

102 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI, 602-637. Earlier, the relationship of perceptual awareness (*rnam par shes pa*, *viñāna*) and gnosis (*ye shes*, *jñāna*) had already been thematized by Karma pa III and Klong chen Rab 'byams pa; see Brunnhölzl 2007 and Higgins 2011 [2012], and lastly Higgins 2015. My translation of the title is based on the distinction made between the all-ground of pristine gnosis, the essence of what has gone to bliss (*dag pa ye shes kyi kun gzhi bde gshegs snying po*) and the all-ground of non-pristine perceptual awareness, that which whose adventitious [impurities] need to removed (*ma dag pa rnam shes kyi kun gzhi spang bya blo* [read: *glo*] *bur ba*) in the opening folio of this work that is contained in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 602-637. As already indicated by others, the notion of an all-ground pristine gnosis is reminiscent of, but by no means identical to, Paramārtha's (499-569) take on the untainted perceptual awareness (*amalaviñāna*) or untainted gnosis (*nirmalajñāna*), for which see, for example, the closely argued analyses in Radich 2008/2009: 47-100 and 2014. For the last and masterful word on *ālayaviñāna* [and *ālaya*], see Schmithausen 2014: 11-386.

103 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 602.

104 For this expression, see the preliminary remarks on emptiness *ad images of* in Stearns 2010: Index 457. For a detailed discussion, see 'Ba' ra ba 1970: V; 497 ff.

area.¹⁰⁵

More important is that Stearns suggests that the possessive pronoun *rang re'i*¹⁰⁶, "our," of "our [*Intent of the*] *Fourth Council* " (*rang re'i bka' bsdu bzhi pa*) that occurs in the phrase that follows the editorial preamble is indicative of the fact that 'Ba' ra ba had fully appropriated this work.¹⁰⁷ The phrase occurs in the following sentence:

*dag pa ye shes kyi bde gshegs snying po dang / ma dag pa rnam shes kyi kun gzhi
spang bya blo^a bur ba gnyis rang re'i bka' bsdu bzhi pa'i bka' yang dag pa dang /
dgongs 'grel gyi bstan chos rnam nas rang bzhin dbyer med par gsungs gda' ste /*

^a Read: *glo*.

The essence of what goes to bliss of pristine gnosis (*ye shes*) and the impure all-ground of perceptual awareness (*rnam shes*) with the adventitious stains that need to be eliminated are stated to be by nature indivisible in the true Word of our [*Intent of the*] *Fourth Council*¹⁰⁸ and the treatises that comment on the Buddha's thinking.

This statement is followed by a long series of quotations from scripture, both sutra, tantra, and we then read the following:¹⁰⁹

*...ces pa rnam kyi lung 'di dag dgongs pa can du byas nas / sgra drang thad par ma
byas na ni / lung khungs 'di dag gi mdo rgyud.bstan chos ni rang re bzhed pa'i dpang
por kyang gdan drangs pas / lung de dag kyang dgongs pa can du bgrod par gda' bas
lung dag la 'gal spong zhu 'tshal lo //*

105 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XIV; 14, 25, etc.

106 For the inclusive use of this pronoun, see Hill 2016: 247-248. Hill suggests that this use of *rang re* "may be characteristic of the Gung thang dialect. All of the examples of *rang-re* in the text occur in the speech of characters from Mi-la's home region of Gung-thang. Perhaps this distribution indicates that this pronoun is a dialect feature of Gung-thang. "But its use appears to be much more common. Courtesy of tbrc.org, a quick search through the writings of the Dge lugs pa scholar Gung thang pa III Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762-1823) – he was born in Mdzod dge in Gansu Province – indicates that *rang re* is similarly used in, for example, his piece that deals with meditating on the lama where he has *rang re ri bo dge lugs pa*, "we, Ri bo Dge lugs pa"; see Gung thang pa 2003: 4; 14, 21. And A kya Yongs 'dzin Blo bzang don grub (1740-1827), alias Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros, plainly states that irrespective of them being lexemes that occur in various dialects, '*u cag*, '*o cag*, '*u bu cag*, *rang cag*, *rang re*, *yu bu cag*, '*o skol*, '*am cag*, '*a cag*, '*a rung* [and *bdag cag*] are synonyms; see A kya 2011: 1; 133.

107 Stearns 2010: 132, 385, n. 457, citing 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 602.

108 For the relevant passages, see Dol po pa 2011: 7; 13 ff., 67 ff. and the translation in Stearns 2010: 158 ff., 247 ff.

109 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 65.

If these aforesaid scripture citations were not taken in a straightforward literal sense, having taken them to have implied intentions (*dgongs pa can*, *ābhiprāyika*),¹¹⁰ since the sutras, tantras, and commentarial treatises of these scriptural passages were cited as witnesses of our position (*rang re'i bzhed pa*), I beseech you that you remove the incompatibilities, since those scriptures, too, veer to having implied intentions.

What this and the earlier piece imply is that he preferred for reasons best known to himself to ask Dus 'khor ba about Dol po pa's views rather than anyone else, including Dol po pa who must have still been alive at the time. This is rather curious.

Now Stearns drew attention to another relevant tract in 'Ba' ra ba's "minor" writings in which he responded to what some eight, not nine, disciples of Dol po pa, and possibly Dol po pa himself.¹¹¹ In his preamble, the editor of this work calls it the *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*, the *Sun's Radiant Light*, and sets the stage for this work with a preamble written in the third-person. The text that immediately follows this preamble then states in part:¹¹²

bla ma dam pa rnams dang yi dam gyi lha tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo //

*yongs kyi dge ba'i bshes gnyen bstan 'dzin gyi skyes bu dam pa / chos rje kun mkhyen
pa'i bu chen rnams kyi snyan du / sgom chen po rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos zhu ba /*

*kho bo cag gis / chos rje kun mkhyen chen po khyod kyi slob ma dag la / theg chen
gyi lugs la grags pa'i chos skad dang mi mthun pa 'di dag thos te /*

*dag pa ye shes kyi kun gzhi zhes bya ba / bde gshegs snying po / gzhan spang bya
'khor ba'i chos kyi stong pas / dang po nas spangs rtogs kyi yon tan dang ldan pa'i
sangs rgyas su 'dod pa dang / ma dag [638] pa 'khor ba'i kun gzhi zhes bya ba / rang
gi ngos bos stong pas / gzhi ma grub pa / kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa zhes / kun gzhi*

110 To partly cite and partly paraphrase Broido 1984: 12, 18-21 this term (Skt. *ābhiprāyika*) refers to passages in which the intention can be understood only by considering the implied state of affairs or implicit basis (*dgongs gzhi*). For further remarks on these two terms, see also the essay in Seyfort Ruegg 2010 that was first published in 1985.

111 Stearns 2010: 24, 323, n. 86. Subtitled *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* as are many of his writings, the first line of this work suggests that it is a reply to questions by eight disciples of Dol po pa, but its preamble states that it is a reply to nine of them; 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 637. The mystery is solved by the colophon on p. 709, where Dol po pa is mentioned together with the following nine individuals: Bla ma Lo tsā ba Blo gros rgyal mtshan, So Paṇḍita 'Jigs med grags pa, Dus 'khor ba Rdo rje snying po, Bla ma Gzungs dpal mgon po, Slob dpon Blo mchog, 'Dul tshad pa Skyor mo lung pa, Slob dpon Bsod nams grags pa Cha rgyu ba, Slob dpon Blo gros rgyal mtshan Gsang phu ba, and Bla ma Smon lam mchog.

112 For what follows, see 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 637-639.

gnyis su bzhed cing / de nyid rang bzhin mi cig par bzhed do zhes pa dang / ...

Homage to the holy lamas and the assemblage of tutelary deities!

A petition by the great meditator Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po for the ear of the great sons of the full spiritual friend, the holy individual who upholds the teaching, the all-knowing religious lord [Dol po pa] :

All-knowing religious lord, we heard these inconsistencies with the religious diction that is known in the Mahayana position among your disciples,¹¹³ that is, they claim ('dod) [1] that the so-called pristine all-ground of gnosis is the essence of what has gone to bliss, *buddha* which has the primordial (*dang po nas*) qualities of being free from limiting obstacles (*spangs*) and endowed with liberating understanding (*rtogs*) by being empty of the other features (*chos*) of samsara that are to be rejected and [2] that since the so-called the non-pristine all-ground of perceptual awareness is empty of itself, it has no basis and is called the perceptual awareness of the all-ground. It is said that [?you] having claimed (*bzhed*) two kinds of all-ground, [?you] claimed (*bzhed*) that these are essentially not identical...

Writing that he was of two minds (*vid gnyis*) on these issues, 'Ba' ra ba asks what the basis of the intention (*dgongs gzhi*) of these allegations might have been? After he had received a reply to his letter with questions to Lama Dus 'khor ba Rdo rje snying po, his doubts were still not removed. Thus, when he met a monk with name Shes rab rin chen,¹¹⁴ he gave him a tract titled *Rnam dag lung gi gter mdzod* for Dol po pa himself. Finally, before we get to the substance of the *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* or the *Rnam dag lung gi gter mdzod – Nyi ma'i 'od zer* has the lexical feature of being a subtitle and I hypothesize that this treatise's full title was *Rnam dag lung gi gter mdzod nyi ma'i 'od zer* - we learn that he had felt that these disciples were merely espousing nonsense (*bab chol smras par zad*) and that when he finally met Dol po pa in Sa skya Chu bzang and had a discussion, he was freed of his doubts (*vid gnyis las grol bar 'gyur*).

113 I have thought hard about how to translate the phrase *chos rje kun mkhyen chen po khyod kyi slob ma dag*, without creating "a problem" for the obvious addressees of this petition, but I have not been able to solve it.

114 A Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen is mentioned by Kun spangs pa in Dol po pa 2011: 1; 233 as having offered him some five *yug* of silk (*dar yug*) and as having prayed that he would be reborn as his attendant (*zhabs drung*). Dol po pa 2011: 12; 167-169 contains Dol po pa's undated instruction to him in the transmission of the *Kālacakra*. On the other hand, one has to wonder whether he is identical to the Shes rab rin chen of Stod lung, who is mentioned in his little work in which he sought to interpret the largest sutra on the perfection of insight in accordance with the *Kālacakra*; see Dol po pa 2011: 6; 480.

It is true that, as this work makes clear and as Stearns had suggested, he was to a good degree influenced by and indebted to some of Dol po pa's ideas. Indeed, the latter by and large formed the crucible in which not a few, but certainly not all, of 'Ba' ra ba's writings were forged. Yet, 'Ba' ra ba not infrequently took issue with some of these ideas. One particular instance is his explicit disagreement with a claim Dol po pa made in his *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. The passage in question occurs in his *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* and has to do with the temporal relationship between eliminating, over time, the adventitious defilements that prevent one's spiritual realization and the accumulation and acquisition of liberating merit and gnosis that enable this very spiritual realization to take place until the point of Buddhahood is reached and the essence of what has gone to/come from thusness and/or the essence of what has gone to bliss is fully manifest; he states¹¹⁵:

chos rje nyid kyi nges don rgya mtshor /

*don dam pa'i tshogs [651] bsags pas^a ni /don dam pa'i bden pa las^b / gdod nas rang
bzhin gyis tshang ste /¹¹⁶*

*ces pas / thog ma nyid tshogs gnyis bsags par gsungs so // de 'dod na / de ltar lam
'bad pa don med du 'gyur ro // de 'dod na ha cang thal lo //*

^a Read: *pa*. ^b Read: *la*.

Because it is said in the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* of the Religious Lord himself that:

The gathering of [both] ultimate accumulation[s] is, on the ultimate level, naturally complete from the very beginning...,

he stated that the two accumulations had been gathered at the very outset. If that were alleged, then to strive for them on the path is meaningless. If that is alleged, it has

115 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI, 650-651. This work must be seen as a sympathetic but also at times as a quite critical reaction to Dol po pa's views. A little farther down in the text, in 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XI; 667, 700, he again cites the *Religion for Mountain Hermits* for criticism.

116 The passage in Dol po pa 1984: 182, 1992: 2; 206, Dol po pa 1998: 3; 347 and Dol po pa 2011: 2; 182 reads: *...don dam pa'i tshogs gnyis bsags pa ni / don dam pa'i bden pa la gdod nas rang bzhin gyis tshang ste /*, and my translation follows this. See also Hopkins 2006: 187-188. As far as I am aware, the idea expressed in this quote is not found anywhere in the canonical literature!

farreaching consequences.

There is yet an additional instance where Dol pa pa refers to the *Intent of the Fourth Council*. At the end of his reply to a query by a certain Master (*slob dpon*) Blo gros seng ge, in which he enclosed copies of his undated *Kun gzhi'i rab tu dbye ba*, *Analysis of the the Ground of Everything*, and *Stong nyid kyi rab tu skye ba*, *Onset of Emptiness*, he explicitly suggests that the addressee take a look at his *Fourth Council*.¹¹⁷ Not insignificantly, he also severally mentions his *Religion for Mountain Hermits* in this work, and meticulously states in the colophon that he had written this reply in Jo nang on the tenth day of the eleventh month of a/ the serpent year. This date can only correspond to November 18, 1341 or November 9, 1353.

Finally, in his work on the *Kālacakra* that I cited earlier, A mes zhabs writes, again independent of the known biographies of Dol po pa, that Dol po pa had gone to Nub Chos lung at the age of seventy [= sixty-nine], that is, in 1360, where he met Bla ma dam pa to whom he then "gave" (*gnang*) the basic text of the *Intent of the Fourth Council* and his autocommentary (*rtsa 'grel*).¹¹⁸ In this very same year, A mes zhabs continues, he appointed Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan abbot of Jo nang – he was the monastery's seventh abbot and held this position for three years – and met the military commander (*du dben shwa*) Dharmakīrti, who had given him an edict (*lung*) of sorts and gifts from the Yuan imperial court. In his autobiography, Ta'i si tu mentions the presence of a certain Dharmakīrti who was a president (*dben shri* < Ch. *yuanshi* 院使) of presumably the Bureau for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs of the Yuan government in entries for the end of 1358 to 1360 as well.¹¹⁹ One wonders whether they are one and the same individual.

Well, tenacious reader, now that you have gone through this essay, it is easy to grant that not much concrete can be harvested from it. Indeed, we are all still somewhat in the dark about the year in which Dol po pa composed his *Religion for Mountain Hermits*. But the evidence that is so far available suggests that he composed it sometime between 1334/1336 and 1338, in any event *after* his construction of Jo nang's grand stupa. As for his *Intent of the Fourth Council*, matters are much more complicated. We have two witnesses that state that he had written it in 1358. One of them was Gha rung pa, who, even if he were not a stellar scholar as his writings would suggest, was one of his own disciples. The other was Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo, who, in his biography of Bla ma dam pa, had evidently not written this on the basis of what he himself had witnessed. From where or from whom he had taken this item, we do not know. What is also somewhat perplexing is that of the handful of biographical studies of Bla

117 Dol po pa 2011: 12; 330-343. Tāranātha's *Stong nyid kyi rab tu dbye ba khyad par du 'phags pa* in Tāranātha 2008: 36; 209-224 is no doubt connected with this little work.

118 A mes zhabs 2012: 25; 117.

119 Ta'i si tu 1986: 309 ff., 343 and 1989: 217 ff., 251.

ma dam pa,¹²⁰ the treatment of the Lo tsā ba's life is the only one to mention this. However, strong evidence in Dol po pa's own writings do lead us to believe that he had put this work on paper before the end of 1353 and that this work might even predate the end of the year 1341! Thus, as stated, in spite of these findings, we are still somewhat roaming in darkness. Be that as it may, we do find some solace and respite in the belief that it is not unlikely that further sustained delving into the biographical literature of fourteenth century Tibetan lama-scholars will ultimately shed additional light on the questions that are raised and that are not raised in this essay. Ta'i si tu's observation about the destruction of Jo nang in the late 1350s, explains why Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan quickly glosses so quickly over the years 1354 to 1366 in his biography of Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po where he notes some administrative-cum-economic issues connected with being an abbot, and why Dol po pa spent much of this time in Dbus.¹²¹ Social, spiritual, scholarly, and even economic connections among individuals run criss cross through the Tibetan landscape. A case in point would be the notice in 'Ba' ra ba's autobiography that he had studied in Jo nang when he was a very young man – and he may have met Dol po pa there - and that Bla ma dam pa's "testament" (*bka' chems*) recorded that the great scholar from Sa skya had bequeathed him Snye thang chos rdzong, his personal monastery in Dbus.¹²² No doubt more such notices can be gathered once one has carefully combed through the relevant biographical literature that would provide further pieces to the various mosaics of the social and intellectual networks that make up the turbulent religious and political history of fourteenth century Tibet.

Bibliography

- A khu Shes rab rgya mtsho. 1963. *Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig don gnyer yid kyi kunda bzhad pa'i zla 'od 'bum gyi snye ma*, in *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part 3, ed. L. Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 503-601.
- A khya Yongs 'dzin Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros. 2011. *Collected Works*, vols. 2. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams. 2012. *Collected Works*, vols. 46, ed. Si khron bod yig dpe rnying myur skyob 'tshol sgrig khang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying dpe

120 These are discussed in van der Kuijp forthcoming b.

121 See Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 2011: 432-435 and Dol po pa 2011: 1; 235 ff.

122 See 'Ba' ra ba 1970: XIV; 14, 397; the first reference is given in the third person!

skrun khang.

Anonymous. 1987. *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar*, ed. Tshe ring don grub. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. 1970. *Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism. The Collected Writings of 'Ba'-ra-ba Rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang*, vols. XIV. Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltzen and Ngawang Lungtok.

Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]. 2006-2009. vols. 109, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Blo gros rgya mtsho. 2008. *Dpal ldan bla ma dkon mchog bzang po'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i ljon shing rgyas byed*, in Sa skya pa'i bla ma kha shas yi rnam thar dang sa skya pa'i bla ma min pa kha shas kyi rnam thar, vol. 2. Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 557-728.

Blo gros rgyal mtshan. 2011. *Chos rje bla ma dus 'khor bar do rje snying po'i rnam[s] par thar pa yon brtan [read: tan] kun gyi[s] ter [read: gter] mzdod*, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs, vol. 53, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 221-280.

Braarvig, Jens. 1993. *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra, vol. II, The Tradition of Imperishability in Buddhist Thought*. Oslo: Solum Forlag.

'Bri gung Lo tsā ba Nor bu ye shes dpal bzang po. 2004. *Collected Works*, in 'Bri gung chos mdzod chen mo, vol. Wi [50], comp. Ra se Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan. Chengdu.

—2010. *Ngo sprod rgyud gsum gsal byed* [and other writings], in Jo nang dpe tshogs 29, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Broido, Michael M. 1984. "Abhiprāya and Implication in Tibetan Linguistics." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 12: 1-33.

'Brug Rgyal dbang Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal. 1981. *'Jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar*, ed. Tshe brtan Zhabs drung et al. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Brunnhölzl, Karl. 2007. *Luminous Heart. The Third Karmapa on Consciousness, Wisdom and Buddha Nature*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Bstan 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]. 1994-2008. vols. 120, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan. 2011. *Chos rje phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar*, in Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs, vol. 50, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 391-459.

Bu ston Rin chen grub. 1971. *The Collected Works of Bu ston [and Sgra tshad pa] Collected Works, Parts 26*, comp. L. Chandra. Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

Bya btang Padma gar dbang. Ms. [Manuscript]. *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor las paṇ chen sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje sum gyi bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar*

- dad pa'i rnga chen*, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project Reel no. L 451/6; Running no. L 4703.
- Causemann, Margret. 1994. "Der 'Dzam-thaṅ dkar-chag der gesammelten Werken des rJe-btsun Tāranātha," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 24: 79-112.
- Chos kyi mgon po. 1998. *Chos rje kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar bde chen gsal sgron*, in *Jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i gsung 'bum*, vol. Ka [1] ['Dzam thang xylograph], 347-469.
- Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan. 1984. *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos dang bsdus don*, Bir: D. Tsondu Senghe, The Bir Tibetan Society, 19-598.
- 1992. *The 'Dzam-thang Edition of the Collected Works (Gsung-'bum) of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa shes-rab rgyal-mtshan* [manuscript], vols. 10, ed. M. Kapstein, Delhi: Shedrup Books.
- 1998. *Jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i gsung 'bum*, vols. 8, 'Dzam thang xylograph.
- 2007. *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho zhes bya ba mthar thug thun mong ma yin pa'i man ngag*, in *Jo nang dpe tshogs 1*, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 3-446.
- 2007a. *Dus 'khor 'grel mchan phyogs bsgrigs*, 6-7. (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang).
- 2011. *Gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vols. 13, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.
- no date, *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho zhes bya ba mthar thug thun mong ma yin pa'i man ngag*, in *Jo nang dpe rnying thor bu*, vol. 5. no place, no publisher, 1-739/740.
- Dpal 'bar rdo rje. 2010. "Shanfa liaoyi hailun suoyin fojiao: zanghan yiwen bijiao 《山法了义海论》所引佛教经论：藏汉译文比较，Part 1," *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学 1, 52 – 59.
- Duoji Nyingcha. 2014. *Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan as a Scholar and Defender of the Jo nang Tradition: a Study of His Lamp that Illuminates the Expanse of Reality with an Annotated Translation and a Critical Edition of the Text*, PhD diss. Harvard University. [See also Rdo rje snying lcags]
- Everding, Karl-Heinz. 2000. *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang: Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt in Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts, Teil 2, Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH.
- 2005. "Chumig: Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Chu mig khri skor und seiner heiligen Stätten," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34, 99-126.
- 2013. "Gyantse 1440. Der Steuerbefreiungserlass (*dar-rgan*) des rGyal rtse Fürsten Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags aus dem Jahre 1440 in Edition, Übersetzung und Analyse," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 42, 219-317.
- Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan. 2008. *Bstan pa spyi 'grel gyi 'grel bshad de nyid rnam nges*, in *Bstan pa spyi 'grel gyi 'grel bshad dang theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa*, in *Jo nang dpe tshogs 30*, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo

- gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1-64.
- 2008a. *Kun mkhyen dol po pa'i rnam thar rgyas pa las slar yang bsdus pa*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 30, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 343-350.
- Ms. [Manuscript]. *Chos rje jo nang pa kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rtogs brjod*, fols. 57.
- 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal. 1466. *Rtsis la 'khrul pa sel ba*, unpublished Rgyal bzangs smon mkhar xylograph in 49 fols.
- 1976. *The Blue Annals/Deb gter sngon po*, comp. L. Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Griffiths, Paul J. 1994. *On Being Buddha. The Classical Doctrine of Buddhahood*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan. 2013. *Collected Works*, vols. 26, ed. Rdzong sar khams bye lnga rig thub bstan slob gling. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.
- Gung thang pa III Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me. 2003. *Collected Works*, vols. 11. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Gunther, Herbert V. 1975. *Kindly Bent to Ease Us, Part One: Mind*. Emeryville: Dharma Publishing.
- Heimbel, Jörg. 2013. "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadra," in *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andia: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH), 188-241.
- Higgins, David. 2011[2012]. "A Reply to Questions Concerning Mind and Primordial Knowing: An Annotated Translation and Critical Edition of Klong chen pa's *Sems dang ye shes kyi dris lan*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 34, 31-96.
- 2013. *The Philosophical Foundations of Classical Rdzogs chen in Tibet. Investigating the Distinction between Dualistic Mind (rnam shes) and Primordial Knowledge (ye shes)*, Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 78. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.
- 2015. "How is Consciousness (*rnam shes*) related to Wisdom (*ye shes*)? The Eighth Karma pa on Buddhist Differentiation and Unity Models of Reality," *Studia Religiosa* 48.
- Hill, Nathan W. 2016. "Some Tibetan First-Person Inclusive Pronouns," in *From Bhakti to Bon. Festschrift for Per Kvaerne*, ed. H. Havnevik and Ch. Ramble. Oslo: Novus Press, 241-248.
- Hopkins, Jeffrey. 2006. tr. and ann., *Mountain Doctrine. Tibet's Fundamental Treatise on Other-Emptiness and the Buddha-Essence*, ed. K. Vose. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.
- Hou Haoran. 2014. "The Biography of Kun spangs Rin po che ye shes rgyal mtshan. An Early Informative Source of the Skyu ra Clan at 'Bri gung." in *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域

- 歷史語言研究集刊 / *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*. No. 8, edited by Shen Weirong, 261-311. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.
- 'Jam dpal grags pa. 2008. *Bka' bsdu lnga pa mtha' bral dbu ma chen po'i grub mtha' rab gsal*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 16, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 307-381.
- Jo nang mdza' mthun lo rgyus phyogs sgrig tshogs pa. 2005. Edited by Jo nang pa'i gdan rabs mdor bsdus drang srong rgan po'i zhal lung. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Kapstein, Matthew. 1992. *The 'Dzam thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan: Introduction and Catalogue*. Delhi: Shedrup Books.
- 2000. "We Are All Gzhan stong pas: Reflections on *The Reflexive Nature of Awareness: A Tibetan Madhyamaka Defence*, by Paul Williams," *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 7, 105-125.
- Karma Bde legs. 2004. et al. comp., *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, Smad cha [2]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. 2010. "The Tibetan Expression 'bod wooden door' (*bod shing sgo*) and its probable Mongol Antecedent," in *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 / *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions* [Wang Yao Festschrift], edited by Shen Weirong. Beijing: Kexue chu-banshe, 3: 89-134.
- 2016. "On the Life and Oeuvre of the Jo nang Scholar Zhang ston Rgya bo Bsod nams grags pa 1292-1370." *Journal of Tibetan and Himalayan Studies* 1, 17-31.
- forthcoming a. "On the Life and Oeuvre of the Jo nang Scholar Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po (?1283 to ?1363)."
- forthcoming b. "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part Two*," *Zangxue xuekan* 藏學學刊 /17, 2017.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1976. *Histoire du bouddhisme Indien. Des origins à l'ère Śāka* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain).
- 1988. "The Assessment of Textual Interpretation in Buddhism," in *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. D.S. Lopez, Jr., .Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 11-27.
- Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal. 2008, *Ngo sprod gnas lugs gsal ba*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 16, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 39-89.
- Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo Ms. [Manuscript]. *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 75 fols.
- Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho. 1987. *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed lhag bsam rab dkar*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, Gangs can rig mdzod 4. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1-251.
- Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2008. *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within: Gö Lotsāwa's Mahāmudrā Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga*, in *Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

- 2011/2012. "The gzhan stong Model of Reality," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 34, 187-223.
- Meisezahl, Rudolf O. 1961. *Alt tibetische Handschriften der Völkerkundlichen Sammlungen der Stadt Mannheim im Reiss-Museum*. Kopenhagen: Munksgard.
- Mkhan Dngos grub dpal. 2010a. *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho'i bsdus don nges don mdzes rgyan tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs*, in Kun mkhyen dgongs rgyan, vol. 2. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- 2010b. *Bka' bsdu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa lung rigs gter mdzod nges gsang tshangs kun gsal thub bstan mdzes rgyan*, in Kun mkhyen dgongs rgyan, vol. 1. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po. 1982. *Rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs* [based on the Sku 'bum monastery blockprint]. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Mkhas pa Lde'u. 1987. *Mkhas pa lde'us mzdad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., Gangs can rig mdzod 3. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.
- Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po. 2008a. *Phyogs las rnam rgyal gyis* [read: gyi] *mchan gyis gsal bar mdzad pa'i rgyud 'grel las ye shes le'u*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs, vol. 20, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 149-457.
- 2008b. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa dri ma med pa'i 'od kyi mdor bsdus dang po'i bshad sbyar nges don snang ba*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs, vol. 21, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 61-139.
- 2008c. *Rdo rje rnal 'byor phyag rgya chen po gzhi lam 'bras gsum gyi ngo sprod yang dag don gsal*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs, vol. 21, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 141-331.
- 2010. *Bde gshegs snying po'i rgyan gyi 'khrul 'dzoms*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 22, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1-116.
- Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa. 1992. *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba'i sgron me*, ed. Bstan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims et al. Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyo shes rig dpe skrun khang.
- Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po. 2011a. *Mchod rten mthong grol chen mo'i dkar chag dad gsum bskyedpa'i nor bu'i rgyan phreng*, Collected Works, vol. 5, ed. Brtse Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 257-308.
- 2011b. *Jo nang tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag tshig phreng don zab yid bzhi nor bu'i rgyan phreng*, Collected Works, vol. 5, ed. Brtse Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1-139.
- 2011c. *Jo nang bla ma rnam gsum gyi gsung 'bum dang yab sras sogs kyi gsung shing*

- dpar gyi par byang smon tshig phyogs btus*, Collected Works, vol. 5, ed. Brtse Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 158-256.
- 2011d. *Kun mkhyen gsung 'bum dkar chag*, Collected Works, vol. 5, ed. Brtse Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 140-144.
- Nor brang O rgyan. 2008. *Gangs can rig brgya'i chos kyi rnam grangs mthong tshad kun las btus pa ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi lde mig chen po*, Stod Cha [Vol. 1]. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.
- Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal. 2006. *Gzhi lam 'bras gsum las brtsams pa'i dris lan yid kyi mun sel*, ed. 'Bras Rab 'byams pa Dkon mchog chos kho. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- 2010a. 'Od gsal rgyan gyi bshad pa yid kyi mun sel, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 32, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1-44. (Ms.), 'Od gsal gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel, fols. 53.
- 2010b. *Bstan pa spyi 'grel gyi rnam bshad dgongs pa rnam gsal yid kyi mun sel*, in Jo nang dpe tshogs 32, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros et al. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 45-133.
- Ms. [Manuscript]. *Bstan pa spyi 'grel zhes bya ba'i gsol 'debs kyi rnam bshad dgongs pa rnam gsal yid kyi mun sel*, fols. 53.
- Obermiller, Eugène. 1932. tr., *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu ston. II Part. The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz.
- Pasang Wangdu and H. Diemberger [with G. Hazod]. 1996. *Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho. Shel dkar chos 'byung, History of the "White Crystal"*, tr. with facs. edition of the Tibetan text. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Petech, Luciano. 1990. *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan-Sa-skye Period of Tibetan History*, Serie Orientale Roma LXV. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Poppe, Nicolas. 1957. *The Mongolian Monuments in Ḥp'ags-pa Script*, ed. and tr. J. Krueger, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Band 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Puṇḍarīka. 1994. *Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka*, vol. III, ed.V. Dwivedi and S.S. Bahulkar, in *Rare Buddhist Texts Series-13*, ed. Samdhong Rinpoche et al. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- Radich, Michael. 2008/2009. "The Doctrine of **Amalavijñāna* in Paramārtha (499-569), and Later Authors to Approximately 800 C.E.," *Zinbun* 41, 45-174.
- 2014. "Ideas about 'Consciousness' in Fifth and Sixth Century Chinese Buddhist Debates on the Survival of Death by the Spirit, and the Chinese Background to **Amalavijñāna*," *A Distant Mirror: Articulating Indic Ideas in Sixth and Seventh Century Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Chen-kuo Lin and M. Radich, Hamburg Buddhist Studies, 3. Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 471-512.
- Rdo rje snying lags. 2016. "The Early History of the Jo nang Tradition and the Scholarly

- Environment of Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan." *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学 1: 21-58.
[See also Duoji Nyingcha]
- Ri phug Blo gsal bstan skyong. 1963. *Rje btsun tārānātha'i gsung 'bum dang / gzhan yang mkhas grub du ma'i gsung 'bum par khyer zla ba bsgril mdzad pa phun gling par khang du bzhugs pa'i dkar chag*, in *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part 1, ed. L. Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 18-33.
- Rigs Idan Rgyal ba Jo nang Dpal bzang po. 1998. *Chos rje kun mkhyen chen po yab sras bco lnga'i rnam thar nye bar bsdus pa ngo mtshar rab gsal*, in *Jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i gsung 'bum*, vol. Ka [1] ['Dzam thang xylograph], 471-541.
- 2004. *Chos rje kun mkhyen chen po yab sras bco lnga'i rnam thar nye bar bsdus pa ngo mtshar rab gsal*, in *Dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo jo nang pa'i lugs kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 143-209.
- Schmithausen, Lambert. 2014. *The Genesis of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. Responses and Reflections*, Kasuga Lectures Series 1. Tokyo: The International Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Schuh, Dieter. 1977. *Erlasse und Sendschreiben Mongolischer Herrscher für Tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatie*, Monumenta Historica Tibetica III, Diplomata et Epistolae, Band I. St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Seyfort Ruegg, David. 1973. tr., *Le traité du tathāgatagarbha de Bu ston Rin chen grub*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. LXXXVIII. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 2010. "Purport, Implicature, and Presupposition: Sanskrit abhiprāya and Tibetan dgongs pa/dgongs gzhi as Hermeneutical Concepts." in *The Buddhist Philosophy of the Middle. Essays on Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka*. Boston: Wisdom Publications: 194-211.
- Shen Weirong. 沈卫荣. 2012. ed., *Dasheng yaodao miji pingzhu* 大乘要道密集評註 [*Arcane Collection of Works on the Essential Path of the Mahayana*], vol. 4. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- 2013. "Dasheng yaodao miji and Studies in Tibetan Buddhist History of the Tangut Xia, Mongol Yuan, and Ming Dynasties," in *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 / *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*, no. 6, ed. Shen Weirong. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 331-360.
- 2015. "《Dasheng yaodao miji》 pianmu jiedi 《大乘要道密集》篇目解題 [A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arcane Collection of Works on the Essential Path of the Mahayana]," in *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 / *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*, no. 8, ed. Shen Weirong. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 297-331.
- Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo. 1968. *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, in *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum* [Sde dge xylograph], vol. 2, comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 318/3-345/3

- [Nga, 263a-317a].
- Smon lam grags pa. Ms. [Manuscript]. *Mkhan po rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa gzhon nu'i zhal snga na kyi rnam par thar pa skyes mchog mdzad pa*, 73 fols; available from tbrc.org, work number 26618.
- Smon lam rgya mtsho. 1989. ed., *Bka' chems ka khol m*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Sørensen, Per. K. 1994. *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies, An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 128. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Sørensen, Per. K., G. Hazod and Tsering Gyalbo. 2007. *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, vol. I and II. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Stearns, Cyrus R. 1996. "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian Mahāpaṇḍita Vibhūticandra," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, 127-171.
- 1999. *The Buddha from Dolpo. A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 2009. *Dolpopa's Elusive Kalachakra Annotations*, Blog dated 2009.1.28 in jonangfoundation.org.
- 2010. *The Buddha from Dölpo. A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltsen*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.
- Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan. 1986. *Drung chen rin po che'i brda yig*, in *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, Gangs can rig mdzod 1, ed. Bod yig dpe rnying rtsom sgrig khang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 374-386.
- 1989. Ibid., in *Ta si byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 282-295.
- Tāranātha. 2008. *Gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vols. 45. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.
- Yu Zhongyan 俞中元 and Lu Chengyong 魯鄭勇. 1994. ed., *Dasheng yaodao mijipingzhu* 大乘要道密集評註 [Annotations on the Arcane Collection of Works on the Essential Path of the Mahayana]. Xi'an: Shaanxi sheying chubanshe, 437-444.
- Xie Haoyue 谢皓玥. 2013. "Tianzhuang suozao Jonang Duoboba zhuanji yizhu 天幢所造觉囊朵波巴传记译主 [An Annotated Translation of the Short Biography of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan Composed by Lha'i rgyal mtshan]," in *Han Zang foxue yanjiu: wenben, renwu, tuxiang he lishi* 汉藏佛学研究: 文本, 人物, 图像和历史 [Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, Figures, Images, and History], ed. Shen Weirong. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 397-413.
- Xu Decun 许得存. 1993. tr., *Juenangpai jiaofa shi* 觉囊派教法史 [History of the Jo nang pa

Religious Teachings]. Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe.

Zhang Linghui 张凌晖 . 2012. "Duoboba sheluo jiancan banzangbu he tade 《Zong shijiao men dao Zhu》 朵波巴摄罗监灿班藏布和他的《总释教门祷祝》 [Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan and his *Bstan pa spyi 'grel*]," in *Wenben zhongdelishi: zangchuanfojiao zai xiyu he zhongyuande chuanbo* 文本中的历史：藏传佛教在西藏和中原的传播 [*Text Histories: The Spread of Buddhism in Western and Central Tibet*], ed. Shen Weirong. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 284-300.

Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes. 2004. '*Gos lo gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam thar*', ed. Ngag dbang nor bu. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan. 2011. *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. Yi [= 54], ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1-135.

◆ Author: Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, Professor, Harvard University.