

*A Critical Study of the Life of the
13th-Century Tibetan Monk U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal
Based on his Biographies*

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary Term, 2011

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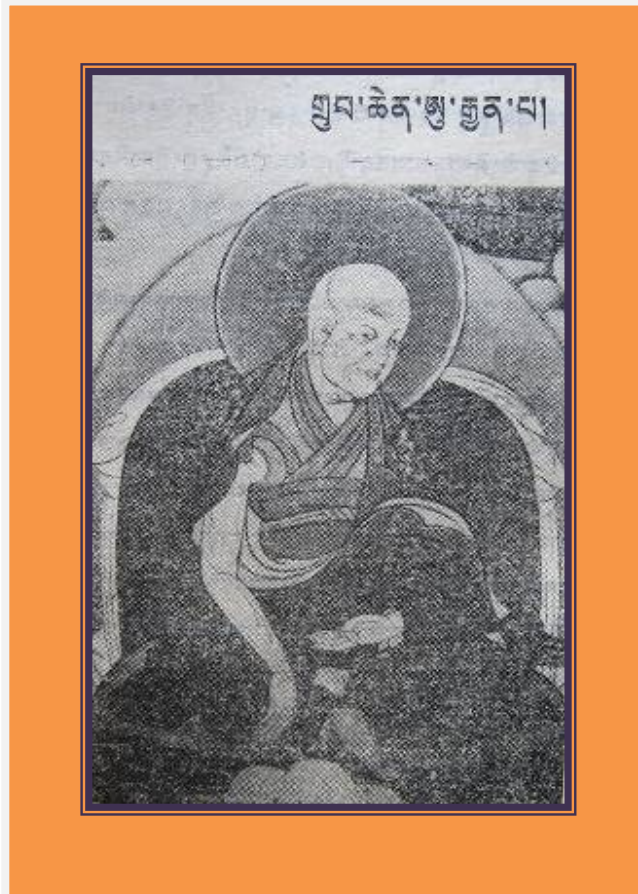
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Abstract

U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309) was a great adept of the bKa' brgyud school of Tibetan Buddhism, particularly renowned for his knowledge of the Kālacakra tantra and the unique teaching known as the Approach and Attainment of the Three Vajras (*rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*), said to have been given to him in his vision by Vajrayoginī (rDo rje rnal 'byor ma) in the Miraculous Land (*sprul pa'i zhing*) of U rgyan. He was the student of the 2nd Karma pa, who entrusted him with the Black Hat, which he passed to the 3rd Karma pa. He was also a great traveller who journeyed widely across and beyond Tibet. He met Qubilai Khan in the capital of Yuan China and visited sacred Buddhist sites in South India. He has been aptly described by van der Kuijp as "the great Tibetan yogi, thaumaturge, scholar, alchemist, and traveler".

Thanks to the availability of a large amount of hitherto unknown materials from eleven biographies, the thesis has put considerable weight on the bibliographical comparison and analysis of the different works in an attempt to establish the possible relationship between them. This is supplemented by summaries of the biographies, to give an overview of the protagonist's life in Part One of the thesis. Part Two consists of a critical study of the different phases and aspects of U rgyan pa's life in the unique historical, political and religious context of each phase, drawing materials from the corpus of biographies and in the light of other primary and secondary sources in Tibetan, Chinese and Western languages. In Chapter I, U rgyan pa's family lineage, childhood and early studies are discussed in order to find out how his innate propensities and early studies are represented as having influenced his character. In Chapter II, the account of U rgyan pa's journey to West Tibet and U rgyan is studied. A sixteen-stanza song in his own words epitomising this journey, supplemented by route maps, will be used as a framework to illustrate and reconstruct his journey to the Land of the Dākinīs. In Chapter III, the teachings he received and the subsequent transformation of his character and status, are explored. In Chapter IV, his career as a tantric master, his other pilgrimages and benediction trips, and his conflicts with various religious and political authorities, are examined. The materials will be scrutinised in the hope of separating as far as possible fact from fiction.



Gangs sjongs gso rig bstan pa'i nyin byed rim byon gyi mam thar phyogs bsgrigs, Beijing 1990.

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Dr Charles Ramble for initiating me into the fascinating world of Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, and for his tuition, guidance, supervision and support throughout the last five years. My deep gratitude also goes to the Tibetan and Himalayan Studies Unit of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, as well as the Oriental Institute and the University of Oxford for providing a prestigious platform for me to gain access to eminent scholars, top-class academic institutes, rare books and manuscripts, and closely guarded treasures of knowledge in both the Western and Eastern world. My heartfelt thanks go to Mr Tsering Gonkatsang for his inspiring and lively tuitions in the Tibetan language throughout my MPhil and DPhil courses; to Dr Ulrike Roesler and Dr Robert Mayer for their precious advice and guidance; to Dr James Benson for allowing me to attend his Sanskrit class for four terms; to Prof. Vesna Wallace for her *Vimalaprabhā* reading class; and to all my colleagues for their support and encouragement. I am greatly indebted to the late Mr Gene Smith for the Tibetan texts he gave me through Dr Ramble. I am also grateful to Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche for the private reading sessions and precious advice he kindly gave me. My sincere gratitude also goes to Wolfson College and my College Advisor Dr James Lewis for their great support throughout my stay in the College. Special thanks go to Geshe Changru Tritsuk Namdak Nyima, who has kindly and patiently assisted me in reading many of the Tibetan texts and answered my many questions in Tibetan culture over the last three years.

I owe a great debt to Prof. Tsering Gyelpo, Prof. Drongbu Tsering Dorje and Madam Dekyi Drolkar of the Tibet Academy of Social Science (TASS) in Lhasa; Mr Sherab Sangpo, Researcher of the Paltseg Institute of the Tibet University; Mr Sonam Tsedan, Editor of the Publisher of Tibetan Ancient Texts; Gushug Khamtrul Sonam, former Researcher of Tibet National Library; Khenpo Kun khyab, President of Kargyu Debate and Practice Society; as well as Mr Gelek Chophel, Ms Zhang Qiao and many others for their immense support and warm assistance during the time of my bibliographical research in Lhasa in summer 2009. I am also indebted to Prof. Tsering Thar and Prof. and Mrs Banban Dorje of The Central University for Nationalities of China, and Prof. Chen Chingying and Madam Huang Wenjuan of China Tibetology Research Centre, for their hospitality, assistance and precious advice during my 2007 visit to Beijing.

I am very thankful to Khenpo Rangdol of Kagyu College, India for the assistance provided by him and his family throughout my journey in Ladakh and Dehra Dun in summer 2008; to Mr Tashi Rabgias, the eminent Ladakhi historian, for enlightening me on the history of Ladakh; to Mr Nawang Tsering Shakspo of Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art in Leh, for his very helpful book on Nubra Valley of Ladakh; to Dr Christoph Cueppers, Director of the Lumbini International Research Institute (LIRI) for his hospitality and assistance; to Khenpo Tenpa Yungdrung of Triten Norbutse Monastery in Kathmandu for finding an excellent guide to escort me up the Trisuli Valley; and to Lotsawa Tony Duff for introducing to me the very efficient Tibetan word-processor and Tibetan digital dictionaries developed by himself; and to all unnamed institutes and individuals who have given me assistance, encouragement and support in every way in the United Kingdom and my hometown in Hong Kong, and during my trips to Beijing, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Ladakh and Dehra Dun.

Last but not least, I thank the Frederick Williamson Memorial Fund and the Oxford & Cambridge Society of Hong Kong for sponsoring the expenses of my field trips, which was great help to a self-financed student.

Introductory Notes

Transcription

U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal will be referred to as U rgyan pa throughout the thesis. Tibetan words are transliterated, following the Tibetan spelling, according to the Wylie system. For place names in the borderlands and in Tibet, Wylie transliterations will be used as far as possible except for a few, for example, Lhasa will be used instead of lHa sa and Mt Kailash instead of Gangs Ti se. For place names such as Indus and Ganges which are better known and understood in spellings other than the Wylie transliterations, the former will be used. Place names such as Nepal (Bal yul), Ladakh (La dvags) and Kashmir (Kha che) are also used for convenience sake, but it must be noted that the boundaries of their territories in the 13th century are very different from what they are today. Other place names in India and Pakistan, such as Bodhgaya, Kullu, Chandrabhaga and Beas, will be spelt as far as possible in the way they appear on conventional maps of India, rather than following transliterations from Hindi, Punjabi or Sanskrit. Also, Lotsava will be used instead of Lo tsa ba and its variants.

Sanskrit terms are written according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration system (IAST), and are basically italicised except for those very frequently used ones such as dharma, karma, yoga, yogin, yoginī, guru, ḍākinī, sūtra, tantra, stūpa, vajra, maṇḍala, Mahāyāna, Mahāmudrā and Kālacakra, etc.

Personal and Place Names

The spelling of the names of Mongol rulers and khanates follows as far as possible the *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (Christopher Atwood 2004).

Orthographic irregularities of personal and place names are noted in different biographies and even within the same biography. Please refer to Appendixes IV and V for the variations of selected personal and place names.

Folio Pagination

Folios of Tibetan text are referred to in accordance with their original pagination rather than the Arabic numbers added for the reprint. The recto page will be designated as 'a' and the verso 'b'. Square brackets [] will be used for inserting words that help improve the flow and coherence of the English translation from Tibetan text.

INTRODUCTION

The first idea of taking up this research project started in mid-2008 when *Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar*, published in modern book form in Tibet in 1997, was made available to me by my supervisor Dr Charles Ramble. U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309) was a great adept of the bKa' brgyud school of Tibetan Buddhism, particularly renowned for his knowledge of the Kālacakra tantra and the unique teaching known as the Approach and Attainment of the Three Vajras (*rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*), said to have been given to him in his vision by Vajrayoginī (rDo rje rnal 'byor ma) in the Miraculous Land (*sprul pa'i zhing*) of U rgyan. He was the student of the 2nd Karma pa, who entrusted him with the Black Hat, which he passed to the 3rd Karma pa. He was also a great traveller who journeyed widely across and beyond Tibet. He met Qubilai Khan in the capital of Yuan China and visited sacred Buddhist sites in South India. He has been aptly described by van der Kuijp as "the great Tibetan yogi, thaumaturge, scholar, alchemist, and traveler".¹

However, despite the historical and religious significance of U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal, his biography has not been given attention proportionate to his achievements. His life stories are only briefly mentioned in earlier historical and religious records² and modern publications³ while access to the manuscripts containing his biographies and written works is extremely exclusive.⁴ Tucci and van der Kuijp are among the very few Western scholars who have taken interest in his biography. Tucci's *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* owes its source materials about U rgyan pa to the manuscripts containing the incomplete biography of the 16th-century 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud master Padma dkar po,

¹ Van der Kuijp 2004: 299.

² For example, DRUGPA: 445–49, DTM: 94–97, DTN: 816–23 (Roerich 1949: 680–88), KPGT: 464–66 and LHORONG: 279–80,

³ For example, SORIG: 160–61 and the Chinese journal articles by Huang (2003) and Lu (2007 & 2008).

⁴ For example, despite that over a hundred texts, mainly about the teachings of U rgyan pa, composed by U rgyan pa himself or his disciples, are listed in the *ma* and *ra* sections of the two-volume 'Bras spungs catalogue (2004), these manuscripts are under the strict custody of and closely guarded by the 'Bras spungs monastery, and are currently inaccessible.

which Tucci discovered in the library of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh in 1930.⁵ However, as suggested by the title of the book, the focus of the study is on U rgyan pa's travel in the Swat Valley in today's Pakistan. Van der Kuijp's article "U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309), Part Two: For Emperor Qubilai? His Garland of Tales about Rivers"⁶ is a critical study of a series of episodes that took place in the 1270s before U rgyan pa wrote this geographic treatise to be submitted to Qubilai Khan. Works devoted to a critical study of the life of U rgyan pa based on his full-scale biographies seem to be unknown.

Tibet has a great tradition of travelling, and Tibetans—especially the yogins—were great travellers. The initial focus of my doctoral thesis was to reconstruct the pilgrimage and trade routes in 13th-century West Tibet and its contiguous regions through the contextualisation of U rgyan pa's biography. Six fieldtrips were made to Central Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan and Nepal between summer 2007 and summer 2009, to visit the most important places mentioned in the biography and to explore the geographical and religious significance of the regions. However, the digital images of ten more of his biographies, mostly hitherto unknown, of various lengths, styles and contents, were obtained in summer 2009. With this unexpected turn, the focus of the thesis then shifted to the critical study of the life of the hero based on these biographies; the subject of pilgrimage and trade routes has been relegated to just one of the chapters.

However, reading and understanding the details of the biographies of U rgyan pa, especially the full-scale versions, is not easy. Apart from the many vernacular expressions and unusual verbal forms, which probably prevailed in Southwest and West Tibet in the 13th to 14th centuries, the inconsistency and variations of personal names and toponyms (possibly due to dialectal divergence, erroneous transcription, orthographic arbitrariness or

⁵ Tucci 1940: 6 & 9, Note 9. "The full title [of the manuscript] being *C'os hbyung bstan pai padma rgyas pai ñin byed*. The biography of Orgyan pa is at p. 181."

⁶ Van der Kuijp 2004: 299 & 303. Part One is entitled "U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309), Part One: The Sources on His Life and the Autobiographical Notes on His Ancestry". However, Part Two was published first "for technical reasons" while Part One seems not to be among the list of articles published by van der Kuijp as of 2009. The materials were mainly taken from the 1997 Lhasa text and the Tibetan collection of manuscripts and blockprints of the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, and *Chos kyi rje rgyal ba auḍyan pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa rdzogs ldan bdud rts'i'i dga' ston, Dkar [sic] brgyud gser phreng* (Gangtok 1978).

diverse source materials) within the same version or between versions and editions, and the use of many religious terms have also increased the difficulty of correctly understanding the content and comparing the texts. Since the exact year, season and month of the incidents are only occasionally mentioned in the accounts, establishing a convincing chronology of U rgyan pa's life is quite a task.

As one would always expect from the *rnam thar* of a Tibetan religious practitioner, legendary and fantastic elements are part of the biographies of U rgyan pa. However, they are not profuse compared with the tantric hagiographies composed by the treasure discoverers.⁷ It is not the aim of this thesis to question U rgyan pa's religious experience. Besides, my lack of gnosis has dissuaded me from doubting whether a great tantric master like U rgyan pa had really met any great deities and be given teachings in his dreams and visions, or been ferried by the *ḍākinīs* to any celestial realms, or really owned any magical power. His religious and supernatural experiences and realisations will rather be taken at face value in order to appreciate fully the narratives and the spirit behind them. Since the first person is often used in the biographies, the texts are not replete with glorified and idealised terms lavishly used by most disciples presenting the life of their master.⁸

Various other scholarly writings devoted to the studies of Tibetan biographies, especially those of the yogins, have been consulted in an attempt to find a model for my thesis and the best treatment of the topic. Thanks to the availability of a large amount of hitherto unknown materials from eleven biographies, the thesis has put considerable weight on the bibliographical comparison and analysis of the different works in an attempt to establish the possible relationship between them. This is supplemented by summaries of the biographies, to give an overview of the protagonist's life in Part One of the thesis. Part Two consists of a critical study of the different phases and aspects of U rgyan pa's life in the unique historical, political and religious context of each phase, drawing materials from the corpus of biographies and in the light of other primary and secondary sources in Tibetan, Chinese and Western languages. In Chapter I, U rgyan pa's family lineage,

⁷ J. Gyatso 1998: 104.

⁸ *Ibid.*: 105.

boyhood and early studies are discussed in order to find out how his innate propensities and early studies are represented as having influenced his character. In Chapter II, the account of U rgyan pa's journey to West Tibet and beyond is studied. A sixteen-stanza song in his own words epitomising this journey, supplemented by route maps, will be used as a framework to illustrate and reconstruct his journey. In Chapter III, the teachings he received and the subsequent transformation of his character and status are explored. In Chapter IV, his career as a tantric master, his other pilgrimages and benediction trips, and his conflicts with various religious and political authorities are examined. The materials will be scrutinised in the hope of separating as far as possible fact from fiction.

It is my hope that this thesis will help throw light on the religious and political history of 13th-century Tibet.

PART ONE

THE BIOGRAPHIES

SECTION I

A Bibliographical Overview

The eleven biographies available to the present research project comprise one modern printed book and ten works compiled in traditional Tibetan-style *dpe chas* in digital format (pdf). The nature and colour of the materials on which the manuscripts were written are unknown. Figure 1 gives a brief idea of the relative lengths of the biographies.

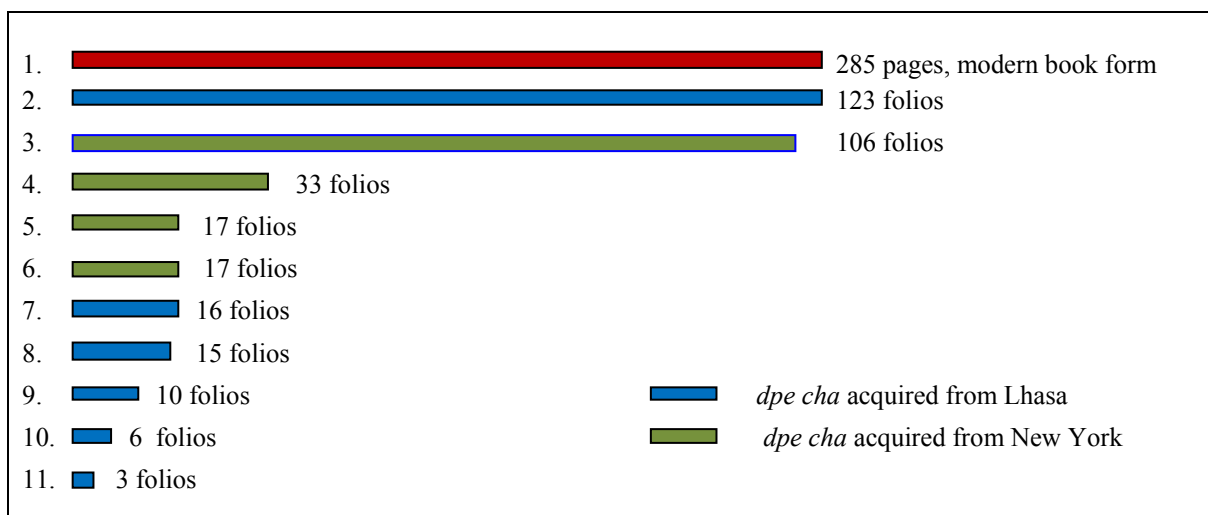


Figure 1: Relative lengths of the 1997 book and the ten *dpe chas*

No. 11 is attached to the end of No. 2, and No. 6 to the end of No. 3 as supplements. To facilitate the critical studies of U rgyan pa's life through analysis and comparison of the

different versions of his biographies, I have treated these shorter works as independent biographies. Thus a total of eleven biographies form the basis of the present research. In this thesis, the eleven biographies will be respectively referred to as A1-SO, A2-SO, A3-SO, B1-KM, B2a-ZM, B2b-ZM, C1-ZS, C2-CM, C3-DT, C4-NM and D-AN, with the suffix designating authorship:

SO	bSod nams 'od zer
KM	The 3 rd Karma pa
ZM	The 4 th Zhva dmar pa
ZS	Zla ba seng ge
CM	Chu mig pa Rin rgyal
DT	mDo stod pa gZhon nu ye shes
NM	sNyi mo ga pa
AN	Anonymous

Figure 2 represents an attempt to categorise the biographies and suggest the possible relationship between them. Due to the diversity of authorship,⁹ content and treatment, it is very difficult to derive a convenient way of categorising them. After many considerations, the eleven biographies by eight different authors (including one anonymous) and mostly unknown editors are divided into four groups, based on the proximity of their content and treatment of materials rather than authorship alone. The rationale of such grouping will be explained in the relevant subsections.

⁹ Mayer 2010 contains an interesting discussion on the traditional Tibetan notion of authorship. According to Mayer, traditional Tibetan literary work is a final product which contains "the input of more persons than the nominal 'author'", while in modern literary ideals, "the author is constructed somewhat heroically as an individual creative source."

Group A: Full-Scale Biographies

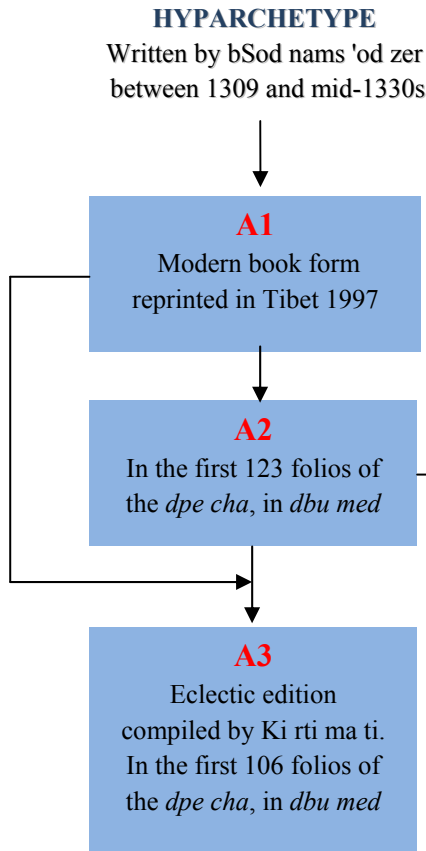
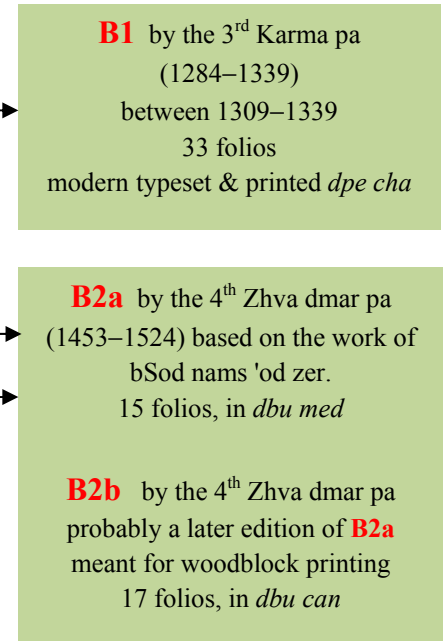
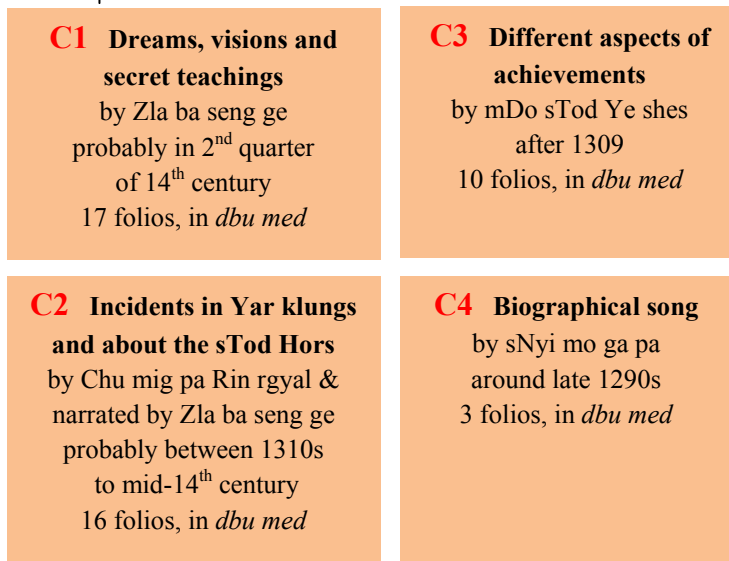


Figure 2: Proposed grouping of and relationship between the biographies

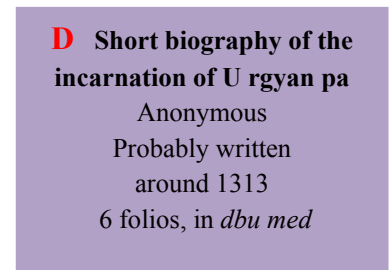
Group B: Condensed Biographies



Group C: Thematic Biographies



Group D: Biography of Incarnation



Group A

Biography A1-SO

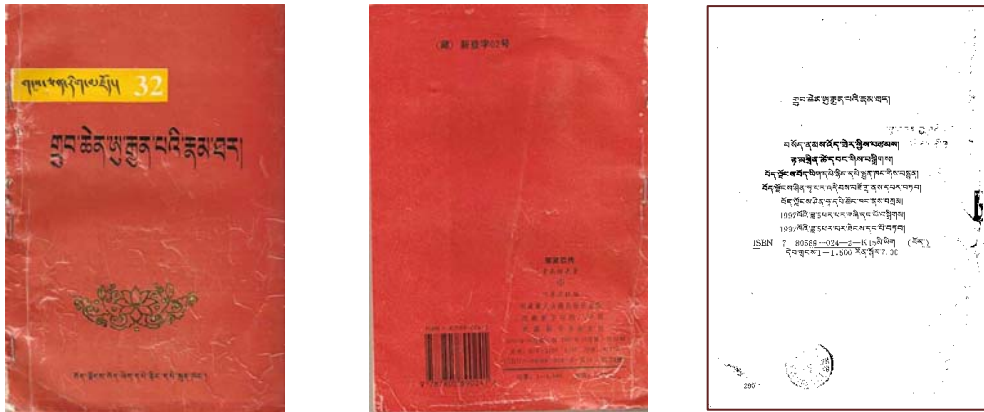


Figure 3: Biography A1-SO: front cover, back cover and last page

Bibliographical Features

- Book title: *Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar* (A Biography of the Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa)
- Manuscript title: *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba*¹⁰ (A Biography of the Glorious Eminent Guru Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa – A Stream of Blessings)
- Author: bSod nams 'od zer
- Editor: rTa mgrin tshe dbang
- Publisher: Bod ljongs Bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang
- Printer: Bod ljongs shin hva par 'debs bzo grva
- Distributor: Bod ljongs shin hva dpe tshong khang
- 1st Edition: May 1997
- Copies printed: 1,500

¹⁰ A1-SO: 1, line 1–2.

Typeface: *dbu can* script
Dimension: 20 x 14 x 1.2 cm
Pages: 150 book leaves. The text pages are numbered from 1 to 289
Remark: The main text is preceded by the Publisher's Note and a table of contents giving 38 headlines completed with page reference. The main text runs largely continuously with occasional paragraph breaks.

Acquisition

This book belongs to the *Gangs can rig mdzod* (Treasures of knowledge of the Snowlands) series of biographies published in Tibet in the mid 1990s. Since the book has been thoroughly edited¹¹ and reprinted in modern book form, and does not contain any picture of the original manuscript, I set off for Lhasa in summer 2009 in the hope of tracking down the latter. I found that mKhas dbang Khro ru tshe rnam Rin po che, provider of the original manuscript and Former Director of the School of Tibetan Medical Studies of Tibet University, had passed away a few years previously. Nobody, including his nephew, was sure whether that manuscript was sent back to his monastery in Sichuan, in private hands or among the many *dpe chas* bequeathed to the Medical School Library. This Library was consulted and its recently compiled manuscript catalogue browsed through, but that manuscript was nowhere to be found. The publisher was also consulted. The current Editor Sonam Tsedan, then the Assistant Editor, patiently explained to me that apart from the difficulty of locating the old documents after the removal of their office a few years earlier, they were not in a position to grant me access to view their record of that manuscript even if they still existed. In the absence of the original manuscript, the physical affinity and bibliographical relationship between this biography and the other versions are difficult to establish. All I can do is to rely on the content of the book to identify as many clues as possible to support my hypothesis.

¹¹ Near the end of the Publisher Note (no page number indicated) it is stated that abbreviations and numerals have been replaced by full words while suggested corrections of wrong spellings are enclosed in brackets on the right.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

The colophon of this biography states:

Although this Supreme Incarnate Precious One still had some other extremely amazing liberation accounts, taking into consideration they would not be able to enter the mind of sentient beings of this degenerated world due to their badly discursive thinking, *I (kho bo)* did not put them down.

Just by reading a little part of your life story, *I (bdag)* have become extremely devoted.

[May I] cross the ocean of endless transmigrations to reach the pure and Virtuous Three Realms expressed in the biography,

To seek support from the Immaculate Enlightened Glorious Guru.

*A Biography of the Eminent Guru Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa – a Stream of Blessings*¹² comprises the biographies written by **Lama** and other superior seniors, anecdotes heard by my excellent dharma friends and a little of my own witnesses. On compiling ninety verses epitomising its content,¹³ I, the Mendicant (bSod snyoms pa) **bSod nams 'od zer**, who had stayed at the feet of the Great Precious Lord for a long period, faithfully finish composing the biography at the Glorious sBud skra monastery.

May the merits acquired by writing this [biography]

Eliminate the darkness of ignorance of us sentient beings,

Fully develop our acquired knowledge

And remove the unknown and obscured.¹⁴

¹² The Tibetan title given here is slightly different from that appears in page 1 of the book: *Bla ma dam pa Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi chu rgyun ces bya ba*. It does not begin with *dPal ldan* and the 3rd last word is spelt differently.

¹³ As remarked by van der Kuijp in 2004: 301, the text is "a mixture of verses and prose, the latter being a commentary on the former." Fifteen of these verses constitute a song written in the first person by U rgyan pa, compiled in Biographies B2a-ZM and B2b-ZM.

¹⁴ A1-SO: line 10 of p. 288 to p. 289. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

It is clear that bSod nams 'od zer was the author or compiler while the names of the main contributors of source materials are unknown, though the name of that **Lama** is given in the colophon of A2-SO. bSod nams 'od zer was an important disciple of U rgyan pa. He was the fourth of the six most important disciples to whom U rgyan pa gave his unique teaching as mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po*.¹⁵ He was also the last of the four close disciples (*thugs kyi sras*) of U rgyan pa listed in the colophon of Biography B1-KM written by the 3rd Karma pa.¹⁶ Strangely, bSod nams 'od zer is not among the sixteen most famous disciples of U rgyan pa mentioned in the Publisher's Note of this 1997 book. It is quite inconceivable that the editor of this book should have overlooked his importance. As suggested by some other editorial remarks here and there in this book, I have but to agree with the remark made by van der Kuijp: "There are many places in the Lhasa text that are so manifestly at odds with Tibetan that it is safe to assume that the editor could not possibly have always understood his text."¹⁷

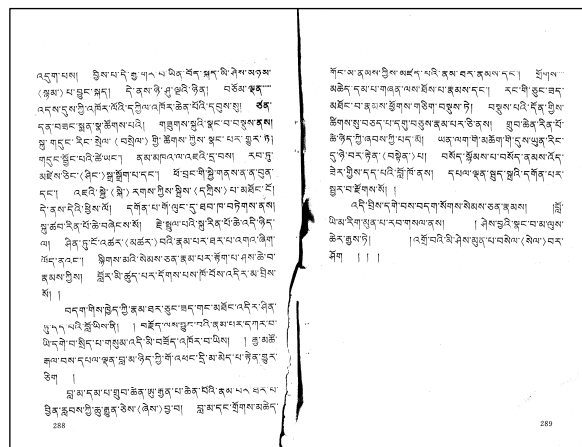


Figure 4: Biography A1-SO pp. 288–89 containing the colophon

So far I have not been able to find any personal information about bSod nams 'od zer. He seemed to be little involved in all the episodes except one in Biography A1-SO. The incident probably took place when U rgyan pa was around seventy years old. During an excursion, U rgyan pa and his students were caught in the rain. The line states that, "[U

¹⁵ DTNP: 823; Roerich 1949: 703.

¹⁶ B1-KM: 32b & 33a Colophon.

¹⁷ Van der Kuijp 2004: 305.

rgyan pa] and I and Slob dpon Zla ba seng ge, the three [of us] raced uphill."¹⁸ Of course we have to presume that the 'I' (*bdag*) refers to the author. This is the only incident in the entire book evidencing the physical proximity and close relationship between the author and the hero. The same incident is also found in the biography A3-SO containing an eclectic edition of the two versions of bSod nams 'od zer's long biography.¹⁹

Another possible incident about bSod nams 'od zer is found in the short thematic biography C2-CM written by Chu mig pa Rin rgyal. A certain 'bSod snyoms pa' (another name for bSod nams 'od zer) is said to have participated in a fierce fight between U rgyan pa's followers and the clan called Tsha mda' ba.²⁰ This probably happened in the last 10–15 years of U rgyan pa's life. It is very likely that bSod nams 'od zer was still a young man at that time, otherwise he would have been less likely to have joined the fight. He probably did not become the disciple of U rgyan pa until the latter was quite advanced in age.

His name is also mentioned in D-AN, the short biography of U rgyan pa's incarnation. It is said that when the boy was in his 4th year, bSod nams 'od zer was among the clerics of sBud tra who came to pay homage to the boy. Apart from these three incidents and the colophons bearing his name, no other information about him are found in the eleven biographies.

The Table of Contents of this book says that the 'Chapter' containing the colophon (*jug byang*) begins on page 288. From the editorial treatment as shown in the rest of this book, a new chapter usually begins with a new paragraph. Thus most likely the editor of this book believed that the colophon should begin from the second paragraph. Then comes the interesting question about the identity of the 'I' (*kho bos*) in the previous paragraph. I have included the last few lines of the previous paragraph in the above citation. At first glance, one naturally presumes that this 'I' (*kho bos*) and the 'I' (*bdag*) in the second paragraph both refer to the author bSod nams 'od zer. However, I prefer to be cautious and not to

¹⁸ A1-SO: 280.

¹⁹ A3-SO: 104a.

²⁰ C2-CM: 14a–b.

make any hasty presumptions. Some authors, compilers and editors did observe the practice of including or rewriting the old colophons in their works.²¹ It is not impossible that the earlier part of the colophon cited above is an old colophon and the *kho bos* actually represents another person such as Bla ma Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po (he is only mentioned as Lama in this colophon but his name is given in biography A2-SO), or some other contributor of source materials. It is hoped that more clues will come up in the future to throw light on this.

This long biography was probably written no later than the mid-1330s because the 3rd Karma pa (1284–1339) seems to have consulted the long biography written by bSod nams 'od zer when he produced his condensed biography B1-KM. The date of compilation of the present edition remains uncertain.

Relationship with Other Biographies

This will be discussed together with A2-SO and also under A3-SO.

²¹ Schaeffer 2009: 20–21 and Appendix 1 (p. 151): *Būton Rinchendrup's Letter to Editors*. Appendix 1 contains this remark of the great scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364): "Please instruct [them] to write new writer's colophons and not rewrite the old [colophons], even if they were written by patrons."

Biography A2-SO

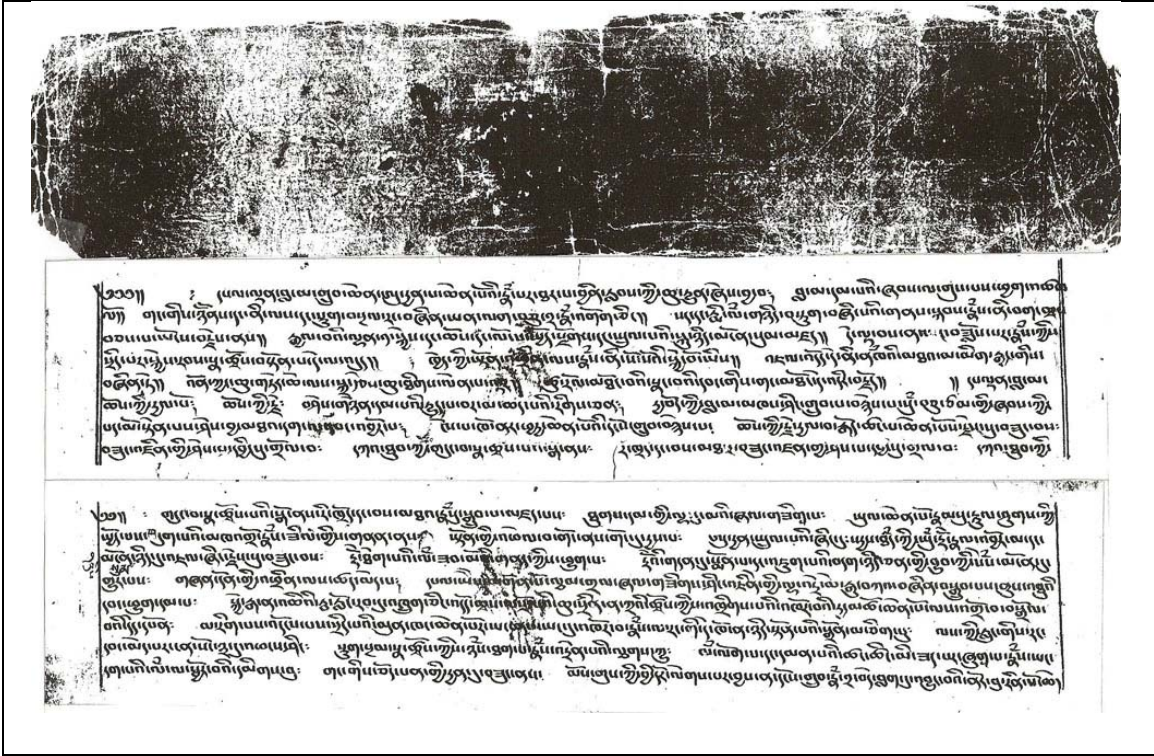


Figure 5: Biography A2-SO ff. 1a–2a

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *dPal ldan bla ma Grub chen U rgyan pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba*²²
 (A Biography of the Glorious Great Guru Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa—A Stream of Blessings)
- Author: bSod nams 'od zer
- Folio leaves: 123 double-sided folios
- Leaf size: 43 x 8.5 cm
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script. Irregularities: ff. 8–15 & 91–93 are written in a different hand using probably a different pen.

²² Found in the first line of *f.* 1b. The cover page is all dark and the title thus illegible.

- Layout: 8 rows in each text page. Irregularities: *f.* 61a (7 rows) and *f.* 93a (9 rows).
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *rgya nyer gsum gong la* (123a) are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folios. Irregularities: *f.* 15 has two double-sided leaves marked as *bco lnga* (fifteen) and *bco lnga 'og* (fifteen *bis*); *f.* 36 is missing; *ff.* 88 and 89 are in fact the same folio.
- Remark: The cover page is all dark, obscuring the title and page number.
The biography written by bSod nams 'od zer is found in *ff.* 1b–123a; *f.* 123b onwards belong to the biographical song C4-NM which was meant to be a supplement to the main text.
Mistakes possibly resulting from homeoarchy²³ appear at least twice, in line 8 of *f.* 1b and line 2 of *f.* 3a.

Acquisition

During my visit to Lhasa in summer 2009 in the hope of tracking down the original manuscript of the 1997 book, I had the good fortune to obtain as many as six more versions of U rgyan pa's biography. Thanks to the strong referral of the warm-hearted colleagues of my supervisor Dr Ramble in the Tibet Academy of Social Science (TASS), I was able to meet the eminent bibliographer Sherab Sangpo, Researcher at Paltseg Ancient Tibetan Texts Research Institute (hereafter referred to as Paltseg Institute) of Tibet University. He patiently answered many of my questions regarding place names in southwest Tibet and agreed to help me to find other versions of U rgyan pa's biography. Four weeks later, I received from him six biographies in digital (pdf) format. Biography A2-SO is the longest among them. I was told that the original copy was in 'Bras spungs monastery. Later on I browsed the *ma* and *ra* sections²⁴ of the 'Bras spungs catalogue but could not find this title there. It appears not to have been included in the catalogue.

²³ 'Homeoarchy' refers to eye-skip when the beginnings of two lines are similar, resulting in the same sentence being repeated, or a line being omitted, by the copyist.

²⁴ *Ma* is about the bKa' brgyud school and *ra* religious history.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

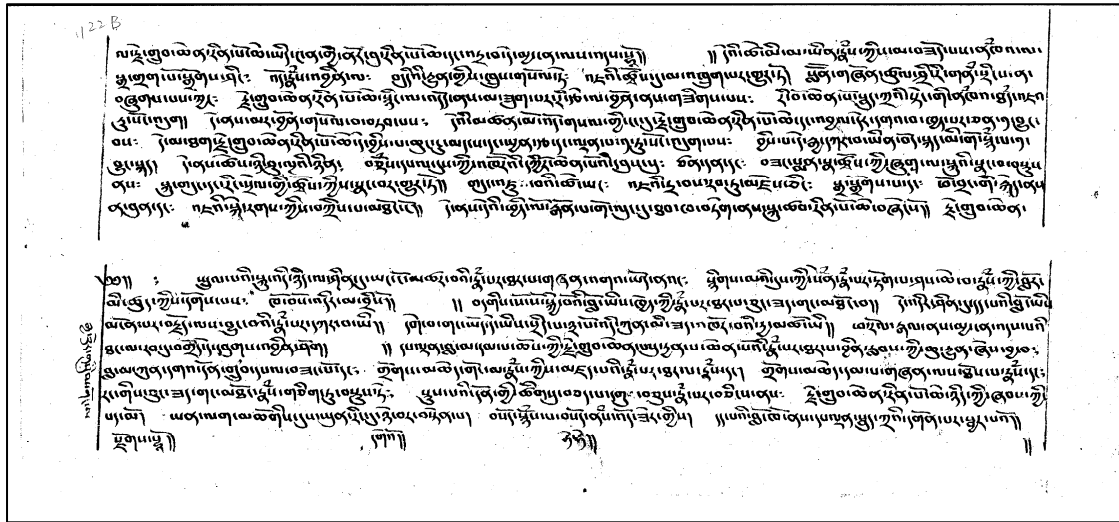


Figure 6: Biography A2-SO: folios containing the colophon

The colophon is basically the same as in A1-SO, confirming the same authorship and thus the same date, but at the same time sharing the same uncertainty over the identity of the 'T' (*kho bos*) in the first sentence. Only the latter half of the colophon is cited here:

*A Biography of the Glorious Guru Eminent Dharma Lord Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa—a Stream of Blessings*²⁵ is a collection of the biographies written by **Bla ma Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po** and other superior seniors, anecdotes heard by my excellent dharma friends and a little of my own witnesses. On compiling ninety verses epitomising its content, I, bSod snyoms pa bSod nams 'od zer, who had stayed at the feet of the Great Precious Lord for a long period, faithfully finish composing the biography at the Glorious sBud Kra monastery.²⁶

²⁵ The Tibetan title given here is slightly different from that appears in *f.* 1b of the manuscript: *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa chos kyi rje grub chen U rgyan pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba.*

²⁶ The entire colophon runs from the very end of the last line of *f.* 122b to line 8 of *f.* 123a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

Despite similarity in content, the two colophons in fact have over thirty variants in spelling, wording and expression. The four-line verse at the end of the colophon of A1-SO is absent here. However, the most noteworthy difference is that the name **Bla ma Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po**, one of the major contributors of source materials, is given. We will not know the identity of that Lama in the colophon of A1-SO without looking into this colophon.

While A1-SO has one single episode bearing witness to the direct involvement of the author in the life of U rgyan pa, this episode is absent (or omitted) in this biography.

As for the source material provider Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po, I am not sure whether it refers to the Chos rje Kun dga' 'od zer²⁷ (also known as Kun dga' bzang po, 1258–1316),²⁸ the incarnation of U rgyan pa's teacher rGod tshang pa, or the incarnation's younger brother Kun dga' don grub (1268–1328), also a notable figure but presumably without the Chos rje title.²⁹ Of course it is possible that Don grub is also among the long epithet given to the incarnation. In fact, the name Chos rje Kun dga' don grub is among the six foremost disciples of U rgyan pa mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po*. Undoubtedly it refers to the incarnation.³⁰ Furthermore, one of the four heart-sons of U rgyan pa given in the colophon of Biography B1-KM is **sNye mdo ba Kun mkhyen Kun dga' don grub**. Logically this can only be referring to the incarnation of rGod tshang pa rather than his brother.

The incarnation of rGod tshang pa was born in 1258 but according to *The Blue Annals*, he and U rgyan pa did not meet each other until 1282.³¹ Following his confirmation as the successor of rGod tshang pa, he became a principal disciple of U rgyan pa. Logically, he had more claim on recording the life accounts of his teacher than his brother, who was ten

²⁷ The name is given in A1-SO: 202, A2-SO: 84a and A3-SO: 72b.

²⁸ Roerich 1949: 972–74. See also Dict-BG: 3231, Year 1258; Chattopadhyaya 1993: 86, under Year 1258.

²⁹ Roerich 1949: 974; Dict -BG: 3232; Chattopadhyaya 1993: 90.

³⁰ DTN: 823; Roerich 1949: 703.

³¹ Roerich 1949: 974.

years his junior. However, I would rather leave the conclusion open at this point, in the hope that more evidence will come up in future to shed light on it.

Relationship between A1-SO and A2-SO, and their Relationship with Other Biographies

Despite numerous variations in spelling and wording, inconsistencies in the sequence of the episodes, as well as omissions and additions of lines and even passages, A1-SO and A2-SO are basically similar. There is little doubt that they share the same hyparchetype. However, the criteria in selecting the episodes in the course of redaction, the degree to which the two versions deviated from the archetype, whether one of them might actually be the hyparchetype, and which version preceded the other are questions yet to be answered. Mistakes possibly arising from homeoarchy appear at least twice in A2-SO,³² suggesting that it is likely to be an apograph.³³ However, since the original manuscript of A1-SO is not available, there is little opportunity for further exploration at the present time. A close comparison reveals that A2-SO has relatively fewer spelling mistakes, more correct grammar and possibly intentional omission of vulgar words.

For example, A1-SO contains an episode in which U rgyan pa tricked another yogin by transferring the smell of *chang* into his mouth. Amazed by this, the yogin asked U rgyan pa how he did it. U rgyan pa "is reported to have said, '[I] poured [the *chang* into you] via your rectum'" (*phongs nas blug pa yin yong gsung skad*). A2-SO recounts the same story in basically the same words but this particular sentence is absent.³⁴ Certain passages about U rgyan pa, for example the revenge-killing of dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po by one of U rgyan pa's protector spirits, and the skirmish between his people and dPon Kun dga' rgyal po, the Prefect of dBus, during U rgyan pa's visit to Lhasa, are not found in A2-SO.³⁵ It is not clear if the editor of A2-SO was trying to avoid these somewhat sensitive passages

³² A2-SO line 8 in *f.* 1b and line 2 in *f.* 3a.

³³ 'An apograph' is a scribe's copy of an exemplar.

³⁴ A1-SO: 179 and A2-SO: 74b.

³⁵ A2-SO: 186–87 and 201 do not have these two episodes.

which might have been humiliating or provocative to the Sa skya authorities. Many incidents about U rgyan pa's clairvoyant powers³⁶ are also absent in A2-SO. A clue to explain this is suggested in Biography B1-KM written by the 3rd Karma pa. The author explained that a Bla ma mDo sde told him that they were only hearsay and this lama himself had not witnessed them.³⁷ I wonder if Bla ma mDo sde was one of the providers of source material of B1-KM, but his name does not appear anywhere else. It is very likely that the editor of A2-SO has omitted these accounts for the same reason. He was probably hesitant about including doubtful materials.

For these reasons, in spite of the editorial rule-of-thumb that the earlier the version, the fewer the mistakes, I believe that A2-SO is an improved, and therefore later, version of A1-SO.

Though the present edition of A2-SO is likely to be just a scribe's copy, there is evidence of its being the basis, or largely the basis, of the three condensed biographies in Group B. Their possible relationship will be discussed under Group B. Evidence supporting the hypothesis of A3-SO being an eclectic edition of A1-SO and A2-SO will be discussed in the next subsection.

³⁶ These incidents are recorded in A1-SO: 246–74.

³⁷ B1-KM: 24b.

Biography A3-SO

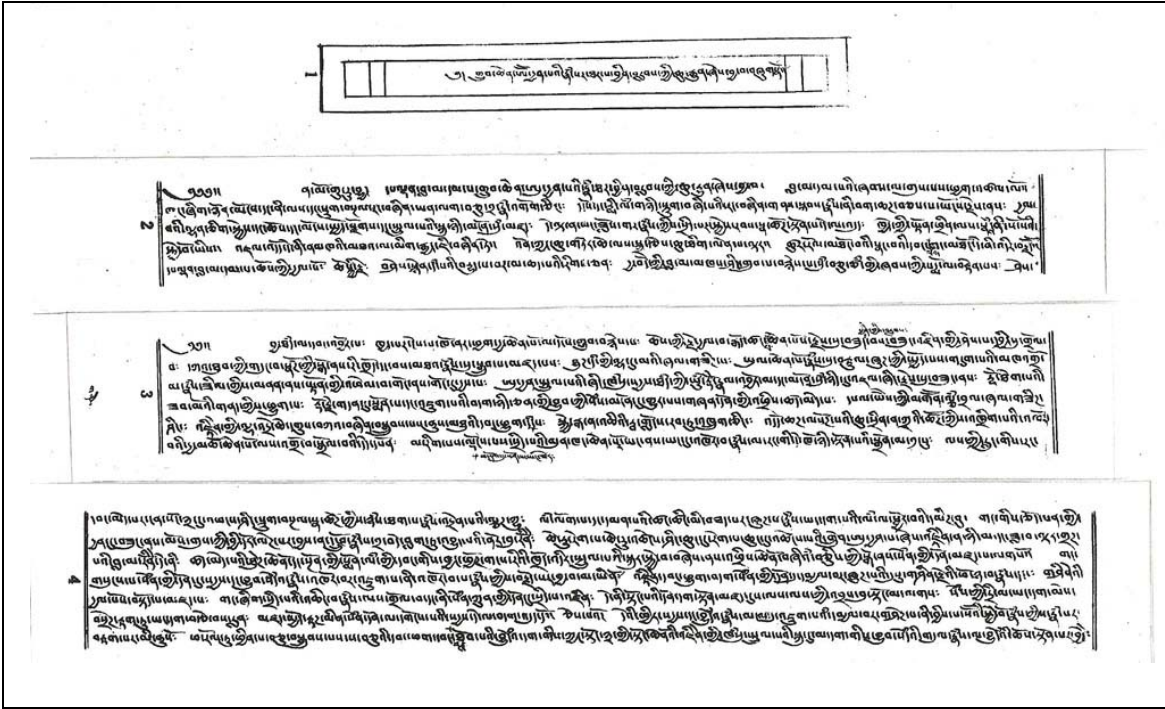


Figure 7: Biography A3-SO ff. 1a–2b

Bibliographical Features

- Title on cover: *Grub chen O rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba bzhugs so*³⁸ (A Biography of the Mahāsiddha O rgyan pa—A Stream of Blessings)
- Title in f. 1b: *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun bzhes bya ba* (A Biography of the Glorious Eminent Guru Mahāsiddha U rgyan pa—A Stream of Blessings)
- Author: bSod nam 'od zer
- Editor: Ki rti ma ti
- Folio leaves: 106 double-sided folios, but the biography written by bSod nam 'od zer ends in line 3 of f. 106a

³⁸ This title was probably meant to include the short account written by Zla ba seng ge compiled at the end of the work.

- Leaf size: 38 x 8 cm
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 7 rows in each text page. Irregularities: *f.* 1b (5 rows); *f.* 2b (6 rows); *ff.* 41a, 65a, 81a, 97b and 98a (8 rows).
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gnyis* (2) to *x drug* (106) are written along the left margin on the recto side of the 2nd folio and from then onwards, while Arabic numerals running from 1 to 211 appear along the left margin of both recto and verso side of each folio. Irregularities: *ff.* 38 and 39 are in fact the same folio; *f.* 25 has two leaves, respectively marked as *nyer lnga* (twenty-five) and *nyer lnga 'og* (twenty-five *bis*).
- Remark: 37 (between *ff.* 2a and 106a) out of the 211 folios contain lines written in smaller characters, varying in length from just a few words to occupying almost three lines in the folio. From line 4 of *f.* 106a to the end of the manuscript is C1-ZS, the short account written by Zla ba seng ge, added there by the editor as a supplement to the main text.

Acquisition

This long biography was obtained from the Library of Congress in New York through the late Mr Gene Smith. The digital file came with a few introductory pages saying that the biography was "reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Slob-dpon Bsod-nams-bzan-po" and published in 1976 in Gangtok by one Sherab Gyaltzen Lama. The current location of the original manuscript is not mentioned.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

The entire authorship of this biography has been mistakenly attributed to Zla ba seng ge. The Text Scan Input Form (TBRC Vol. no. 2575 and TBRC Work no. 23940) of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center that accompanies the digital file of this biography states that the author is Zla ba seng ge. The Library of Congress Online Catalogue (LC Control No. 76905313) also states so. The misunderstanding is likely to have been caused by the colophon appearing in the last two folio pages, written by Zla ba seng ge for his work. In fact, his work—which occupies no more than 17 folios in the latter part of the biography—was meant to provide supplementary materials to the long biography by bSod nam 'od zer, as indicated in the short remark written by the editor in small characters following bSod nam 'od zer's colophon. It states, "These (the following) notes alongside this biography are the amazing oral accounts of an ocean (of knowledge), which are absent in this (the above) biography. Written by Ki rti ma ti."³⁹

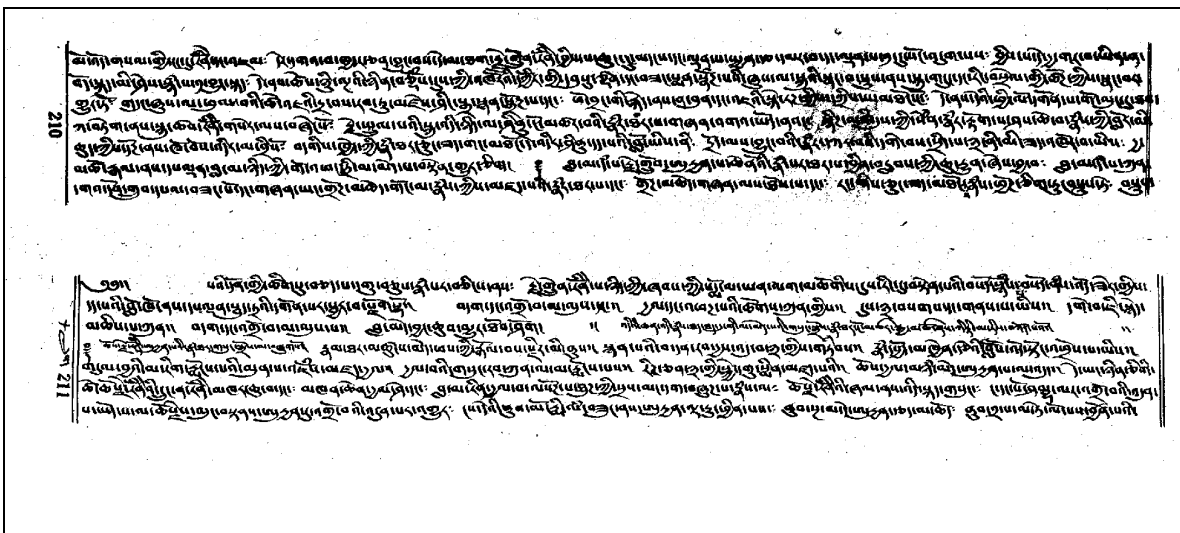


Figure 8: Biography A3-SO: folios containing the colophon

Van der Kuijp, who has consulted this Gangtok version of biography in writing his essay on a geographic treaty written by U rgyan pa, has made it very clear that the text combines the works of bSod nam 'od zer and Zla ba seng ge. In note 6 of his paper, he writes: "The

³⁹ A3-SO: 106a line 3.

text of BSOD extends from pp.1 to 211 (*ff.* 1a–105a) of the volume in which it was reproduced; pp.211-44 (*ff.* 105b–122b) is taken up by Zla ba seng ge's work....”⁴⁰

However, he did not mention that the whole text has been misattributed by TBRC and the Library of Congress to bSod nams 'od zer. His copy of this text is probably from a different source.⁴¹

The main text in this biography is believed to be an eclectic edition of at least two versions of bSod nam 'od zer's long biography, which will be discussed in the next subsection. As the colophon⁴² is nearly identical to the one in A1-SO and A2-SO, it is not repeated here. The identity of the editor Ki rti ma ti (Kīrtimati) is unknown.⁴³ His name is not found anywhere else among other biographies.

Since this biography also contains a short account believed to be written by Zla ba seng ge in the second quarter of the 14th century, it is probably reasonable to date it to the same or later period.

Relationship with A1-SO, A2-SO and the Other Biographies

Obvious instances of substantial redaction are found throughout the text from *f.* 2a up to *f.* 106—about one-seventh of the folios are found to contain lines written in smaller letters, varying in length from just a few words to as much as almost three lines in a single page. A few examples can be seen from the following scanned images:

⁴⁰ Van der Kuijp 2004: 301.

⁴¹ Van der Kuijp 2004: 316. He has not mentioned where did he acquire this 1976 Gangtok version, though he states that this manuscript “= twenty-three-folio handwritten dbu med manuscript, C.P.N. catalogue no. 004804(4) / 007005(4), 14b”. C.P.N. refers to the Tibetan collection of manuscripts and blockprints of the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing. He has read both and found that “There are several places where the readings of the two manuscripts of the same text do not agree.”

⁴² A3-SO: line 4 of *f.* 105b to line 3 of *f.* 106a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

⁴³ Van der Kuijp 2004: 305. He has also not identified this person.

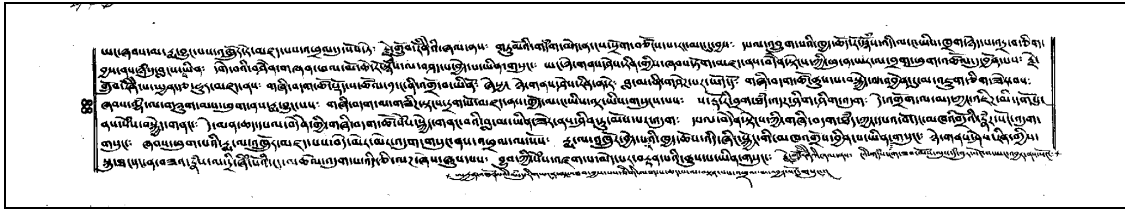


Figure 9: A3-SO f. 44b: smaller letters from end of line 7 to an extra line at the bottom

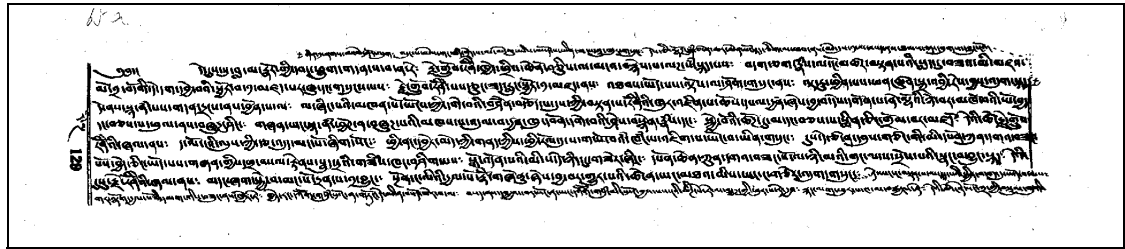


Figure 10: A3-SO f. 65a: a line of smaller letters at the top and from end of line 7 to the extra line 8

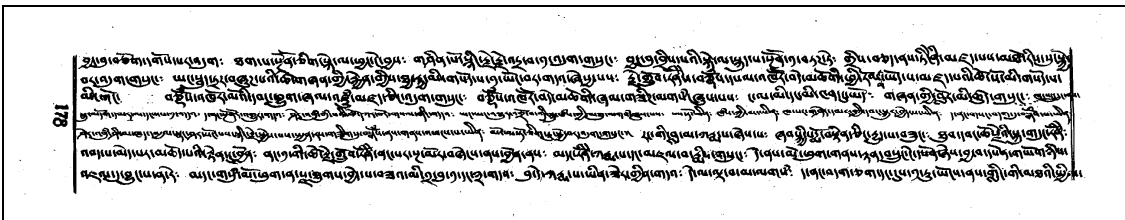


Figure 11: A3-SO f. 89b: smaller letters from end of line 3 to middle of line 5

With a few exceptions, the smaller letters were not meant to be interlinear notes to the main text; nor are they later additions inserted by the proofreader. Right from the beginning they were meant to be part of the main text, but comprise materials taken from a different edition. A close, line-by-line comparison of the text of this biography against the other two long biographies in the Group has revealed that the text written in normal-size letters in A3-SO bears a closer resemblance to A2-SO than A1-SO. It is quite sure that the main text is based on A2-SO, while the lines in smaller characters are taken from A1-SO. Obviously, the editor was trying to establish a new and more comprehensive edition using the more polished A2-SO as the base while supplementing it with episodes and passages existing **only** in A1-SO, probably an earlier edition. Van der Kuijp, who has compared the Lhasa text (A1-SO) with the Gangtok text (A3-SO) on a certain episode, makes such a

remark: "...the handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of Bsod nams 'od zer's work published in Gangtok has on the whole, but certainly not always, preserved much better readings."⁴⁴

In Table 1, all the thirty-seven pages containing lines with smaller letters are numbered in the left column under A3-SO. That *f.* 65a and *f.* 65b have shared one box is because the smaller letters in the latter are in fact the continuation of the previous page. So does *ff.* 98a–b. Corresponding folio numbers of A1-SO and A2-SO are put down in the next columns for the sake of comparison. The '✓' and 'x' in the table represent respectively 'yes' and 'no' to the question whether those lines or passages exist in the other two versions. The result is that A1-SO scores thirty '✓' while A2-SO only has three. In other words, it is obvious that A1-SO was consulted and its unique materials made use of to establish an eclectic edition of the biography.

However, the passage about U rgyan pa racing uphill, which is present in A1-SO but absent in A2-SO, also appears in A3-SO but in normal-size letters.

It is not sure whether this eclectic edition had been consulted by the biographies in the other groups. It is hoped that more light will be cast on this in the future.

⁴⁴ Van der Kuijp 2004: 305.

Table 1: A checklist of accounts written in smaller letters in A3-SO, and the availability of these accounts in A1-SO and A2-SO

A3-SO folio	A1-SO page		A2-SO folio		About
2a		x		x	A few extra words.
7b	18	x	9a	x	A short annotation.
8a	20	✓	9b	x	Details of studies at Bo dong E monastery.
13a	33	x	15b	x	Annotation for a speech of U rgyan pa.
15b	41	✓	18a	x	Striking the head of two brothers who scratched their scalp while listening to dharma.
22b	62	✓	26b	x	Asking blessing from a woman believed to be a <i>dākinī</i> .
26a	74	✓	32a	x	Details of food turning to ants and worms in Ra dza hur in U rgyan.
29b	84	✓	35b	x	A few words.
30a	86	✓	36*	?	Words said by a self-made yoginī. * Since <i>f.</i> 26 of A2-SO is missing, it is not sure whether the line is there.
37b	106	✓	45a–b	✓	Some of the smaller characters repeat what already exist in the text. Seem to be written to clarify the doubtful passage in the text.
41a	113	✓	48a	x	Performing miracle in brewing <i>chang</i> .
	113	✓	48b	x	Ruining the castle of the lake goddess.
	113-14	✓	48b	x	Pacifying the avenging lake goddess.
41b	115	✓	48b	x	A few words.
44a	122	✓	51b	x	Performing miracle by increasing the quantity of barley flour.
44b	123	✓	51b	x	Telling his disciples that he could mend the broken parts of a dead body and revive the person.
61b	174	✓	72a	x	Details of instructions given to the <i>Dzoki</i> practitioners after clearing their hindrances.
62b	176	✓	73a	✓	Restoring the two lines of a four-line verse.
65a-b	184	✓	76a	x	Recounting his former life as King of Li, being captured and tortured by the King of Gar log, and the former life of the 2 nd dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po and predicting that the latter would also have a tragic death at the end of this life.
66a	187	✓	77a	x	Admitting that dPon chen Kun gda' bzang po was killed by one of his (U rgyan pa's) protector spirits in order to avenge him.
72a	201	✓	83b	x	His people had a skirmish with the Prefect of dBus in Lhasa

					and defeated the latter.
73a	203	✓	84b	✓	The last three lines of a four-line verse, more similar in wording to A1-SO than A2-SO; probably for comparative purpose.
73b	205	✓	85b	x	Brief mention of a healing ceremony.
74b	208	x	86b	x	Performing miracle to turn the barley in a barrow into coins. Some letters are undecipherable.
81a	225	✓	95b	x	Details of U rgyan pa being tortured by the envoy of Qubilai Khan after refusing to go to the Yuan court.
83b	231	✓	97b	x	Recovering an underground treasure.
84b	234	✓	98b	x	A short line spoken by U rgyan pa to the envoys of Qubilai Khan.
86b	239	✓	101a	x	Saving the life of a woman who nearly died in childbirth.
89a	246	✓	104a	x	About his clairvoyance.
91a	251	✓	106a	x	About his clairvoyance.
95b	264	✓	112a	x	About his clairvoyance.
96a	265	✓	112b	x	A few words spoken by U rgyan pa.
96b	266	✓	113a	x	About his clairvoyance.
97b	269	✓	114a	x	Guiding the dead.
98a-b	270	✓	114b	x	Guiding the dead.
100b	276	✓	117b	x	Giving instruction on meditation to a yogin.
106a		x		x	Short remark made by the editor of A3-SO.

Group B

Biography B1-KM

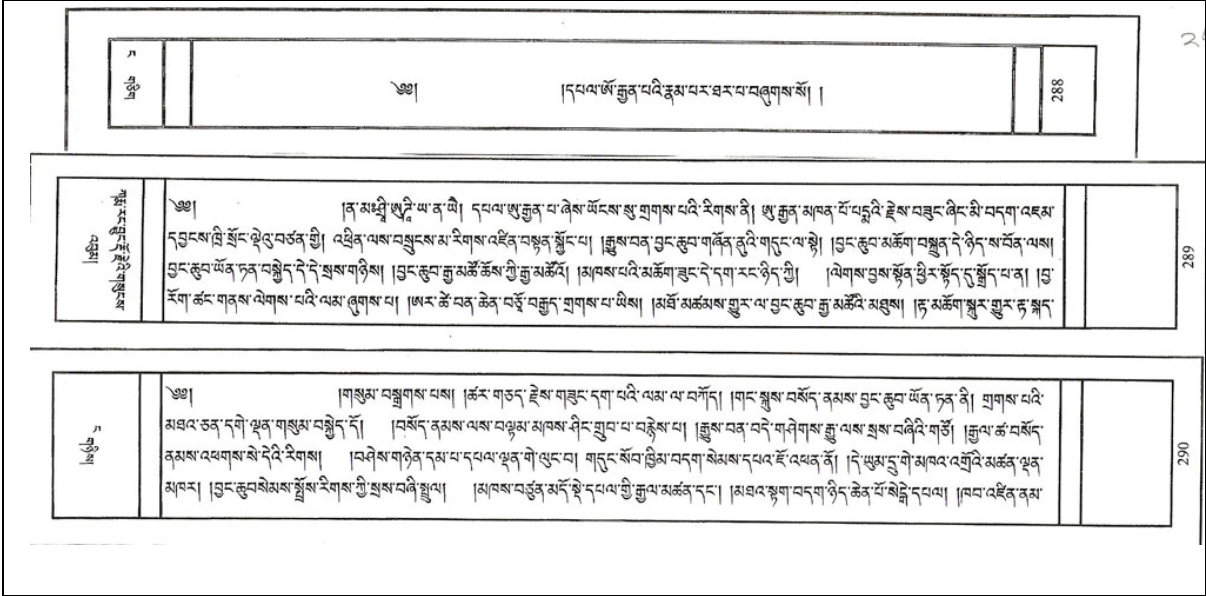


Figure 12: Biography B1-KM ff. 1a–2a

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *dPal O rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa bzhugs so* (A Biography of the Glorious O rgyan pa)
- Author: Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje
- Folio leaves: 33 double-sided folios, but *f.* 33b is blank
- Leaf size: 43 x 8.5 cm
- Script: Typeset in *dbu can* script and reprinted in *dpe cha* form
- Layout: 6 rows in each text page except the last one (3 rows)
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *so gsum* (33) are printed on the left margin on the recto sides, preceded by the syllable *nga* (denoting the volume of the *gsung 'bum*), while the left margin of the

verso shows *Karma Rang byung rdo rje'i gsungs 'bum*. Arabic numeral running from 288 to 352 appears on the right margin of both faces.

Remark: Mistake probably resulted from homeoarchy appears in lines 3–4 of *f.* 19a.

Acquisition

This biography is one of the three reprinted versions obtained through Gene Smith from New York. It constitutes part of the contents of *Karma Rang byung rdo rje'i gsungs 'bum* (Collected works of the [3rd] Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje). Apparently the text has been edited before typesetting.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

That this biography was written by the 3rd Karma pa in the early 14th century is hardly in doubt, though this is not stated in the colophon.⁴⁵ Neither does the colophon mention the origin of the source materials. One can only presume that, as in the case of A1-SO and A2-SO, this version also bears the collective memories of U rgyan pa's contemporaries and students including the author himself. Nevertheless, the colophon does give a list of the lineage of U rgyan pa's most notable students, probably up to the time when this biography was written. The author is noted as the first of the four heart-sons of U rgyan pa. This is followed by the names of U rgyan pa's Eight Intimate Disciples (*nye ba brgyad*),⁴⁶ Four Sublime Disciples (*mchog tu gyur pa bzhi*), ten students of the yogin sNyo dar ba and thirteen students of a certain dGe ba'i bshes gnyen. The list is very different from that given in the Publisher's Note of A1-SO.

⁴⁵ The colophon containing a list of fifty names runs from line 3 of *f.* 32b to the end of the text in *f.* 33a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

⁴⁶ In fact only seven names are listed.

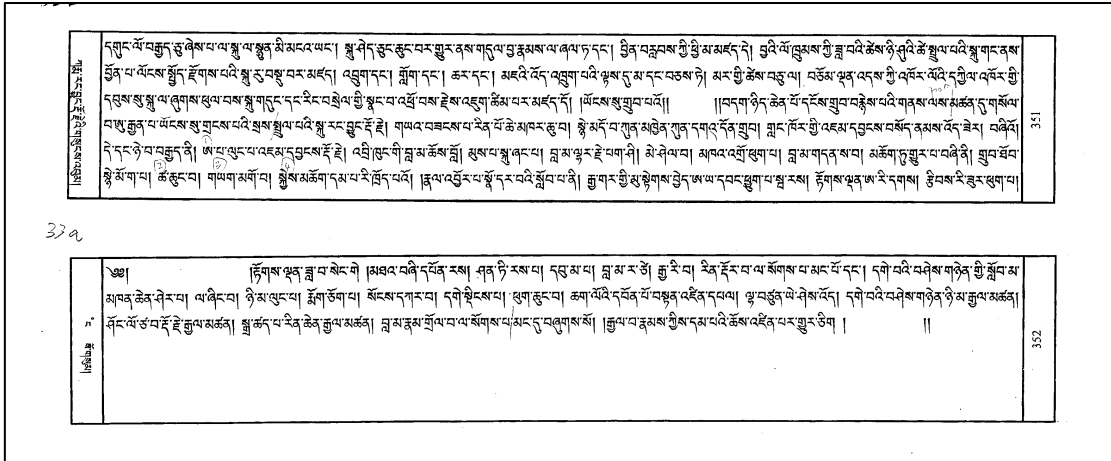


Figure 13: Biography B1-KM: the last two text pages

Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339) was born when U rgyan pa was fifty-four. In 1288 he was crowned with the Black Hat which the 2nd Karma pa had entrusted to U rgyan pa one year before his death. He was aged twenty-five when U rgyan pa passed away in 1309. However, the biography contains very few accounts of the author's personal encounters with U rgyan pa. Nor has it any detailed accounts of the meetings between U rgyan pa and the 2nd Karma pa. The biography is basically a comprehensive one recounting the life of U rgyan pa from birth to death, though the length is just about one quarter of that of A1-SO and A2-SO. All the episodes with a few exceptions can be found in the two long versions. It is very probable that it actually shares similar source materials with the two long biographies or is a condensed version of either one of the two.

The absence of the accounts of the author's own encounters with U rgyan pa is perhaps due to his being humble and did not think it appropriate to advertise himself in his teacher's biography. There is also good reason to believe that the author was very discreet in selecting the source materials of this biography. Like A2-SO, many accounts about U rgyan pa's miraculous powers of clairvoyance found in A1-SO are not recorded in this biography. The possible reason has been mentioned in the previous subsection. Apparently the author was quite conscious of the credibility of the accounts to be included in the biography he wrote.

Considering that the author of this work may have consulted the long biography written by bSod nams 'od zer, who might have taken some years to finish the account, I believe it is reasonable to date B1-KM to between the mid-1310s and mid-1330s.

Relationship with Biographies A1-SO and A2-SO

The conclusion that this biography is a derivative of A2-SO rather than A1-SO, as shown in the relationship chart, is based on a close comparison of the contents of the three. The life accounts in the two long versions are compiled in chronological order and apart from a few exceptions, basically follow the same sequence. The most prominent among those exceptions is a series of episodes about U rgyan pa revisiting his teacher rGod tshang pa and receiving teachings from the latter. To facilitate comparison, I have numbered these episodes in A1-SO chronologically from 1 to 8.⁴⁷ These eight episodes appear in A2-SO in a totally different sequence of 6, 3, 8, 1, 5, 4, 7 and 2.⁴⁸ Although B1-KM has only incorporated some of these episodes, the sequence is in accordance with that of A2-SO.⁴⁹

To further prove B1-KM's closer link to A2-SO, I have picked out most passages that exist only in A1-SO and the two passages that exist only in A2-SO, to see whether they exist in B1-KM. The '✓' and 'x' in Table 2 represent respectively 'yes' and 'no'. It is found that B1-KM does not contain any of those passages or parts of those passages that are **not** found in A2-SO. Of course we have to take into consideration that B1-KM, being a condensed biography, had to be highly selective and concise. However, the omission of so many episodes is quite unusual. For this reason, I believe that A2-SO is one of the main sources or even the basis of B1-KM, while not excluding the possibility that A1-SO was also consulted.

⁴⁷ A1-SO: 24–27.

⁴⁸ A2-SO: 11b–14a.

⁴⁹ B1-KM: 4b–6a.

Table 2: A checklist of accounts that exist only in A1-SO or A2-SO, and the availability of these accounts in B1-KM

A1-SO		A2-SO		B1-KM ⁵⁰		About
page		folio		folio		
20	✓	9b	x	3b	x	Details of U rgyan pa's studies in Bo dong E monastery.
25	x	12f	✓	4b	x	rGod tshang pa said U rgyan pa had no karmic connection with Śambhala but rather with U rgyan.
28	x	13a	✓	5b	✓	rGod tshang pa gave U rgyan pa a gold coin and asked him to make a wish. Seeing Bla ma dus 'khor ba Sang rgyas in a dream and receiving from him Kālacakra initiations.
41	✓	18a	x	8a	x	Striking the head of two brothers who scratched their scalp while listening to dharma.
74	✓	32a	x	13a	x	Details of food turning to ants and worms in Ra dza hur in U rgyan.
113	✓	48a	x	19a	x	Performing miracle of brewing <i>chang</i> .
123	✓	51b	x	20b	x	Telling his disciples that he could even mend the broken parts of a dead body and revive the corpse.
174	✓	72a	x	26a	x	Details of instructions given to the <i>Dzoki</i> practitioners after clearing their hindrances.
184	✓	76a	x	27a	x	Recounting his former life as King of Li, being captured and tortured by the King of Ggar log, and the former life of the 2 nd dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po and predicting that the latter would also have a tragic death at the end of this life.
187	✓	77a	x	27a	x	Saying that the dPon chen Kun gda' bzang po was killed by one of his (U rgyan pa's) protector spirits in order to avenge him.
201	✓	83b	x	28a	x	His people had a skirmish with the Prefect of dBus in Lhasa and defeated the latter.
225	✓	95b	x	29b	x	Details of U rgyan pa being tortured by the envoy of Qubilai Khan after refusing to go to the Yuan court.
231	✓	97b	x	29b	x	Recovering an underground treasure.
239	✓	101a	x	30b	x	Saving the life of a woman who nearly died in childbirth.
246	✓	104a	x		x	About his clairvoyance.
247	✓	104b	x		x	About his clairvoyance.
264	✓	112a	x		x	About his clairvoyance.
266	✓	113a	x		x	About his clairvoyance
269	✓	114a	x		x	Guiding the dead.
270	✓	114b	x		x	Guiding the dead.
276	✓	117b	x		x	Giving instruction on meditation to a yogin.
280	✓	119b	x		x	Racing uphill with his students

⁵⁰ The folio number given under this column suggests the possible location of the passage if it had not been omitted.

Biography B2a-ZM

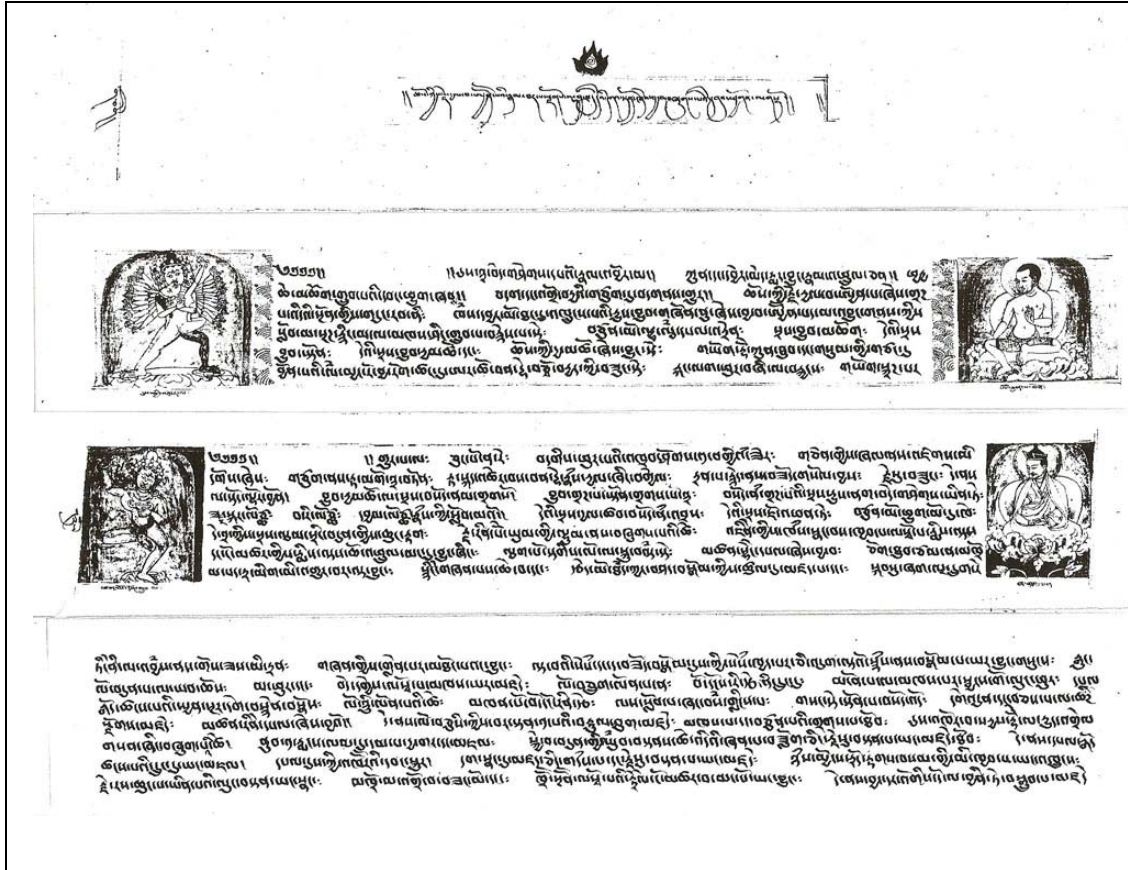


Figure 14: Biography B2a-ZM: the first two folios

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *Chos kyi s rje rgyal ba Au rgyan pa'i rnam thar rdzogs ldan bdud brtsi'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs lags s.ho* (A Biography of the Dharma Lord O rgyan pa – A Feast of Nectar of the Golden Age)
- Author: mKha' spyod dri med dpal ye shes
- Folio leaves: 15 double-sided folios
- Leaf size: unknown
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script. Irregularities: ff. 8–15 & 91–93 are written in a different hand, probably using a different pen.

- Layout: 7 rows in each text page except *f.* 1b (6 rows) and *f.* 15b (2 rows). The text of *f.* 1b is flanked by vertical ornate borders.
- Illustrations: The texts in *ff.* 1b & 2a are flanked by images of the saints and deities of the bKa' brgyud lineage. This might have been done by wooden stamps carved with images of these saints.
- f.* 1b left: Dus kyi 'khor lo (Kālacakra)
- f.* 1b right: Au rgyan chen po (Padmasambhava)
- f.* 2a left: Phag mo don grub ma (rDo rje phag mo)
- f.* 2a right: Zha nag can (The Black Hat One, probably referring to Dus gsum mkhen pa)
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *bco lnga* (15) are written along the left margin on both faces of the folios.

Acquisition

This short biographical account is one of the six biographies acquired through the Paltseg Institute. I was told the original copy was kept in 'Bras spungs monastery. However, I could not locate this title in the *ma* and *ra* sections of the 'Bras spungs catalogue. It is probably not included there.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

This valuable colophon gives the name of the author and discloses the sources from which this biography was compiled, and is worth quoting in full.

This biography of The Precious Lord is based on the many notes made by Bla ma sNye mdo ba and others, the Lord's own words and [also] largely on the biography written by Bla ma bSod nams 'od zer. I have summarised with devotion his wondrous external and internal qualities.

As for his extremely secret accounts, I have no confidence in elucidating them. For his detailed history, kindly look into the long and short versions of [his] travel accounts to O rgyan, the collection of [his] devotional songs and the long version of [his] biography. I am afraid that they are too elaborate to be incorporated here.

La ba (La ba pa),⁵¹ En dra bho ti (Indrabhūti),⁵² Kishna pa (Kṛṣṇa),
The yogins led by bDzra kirti (Vajrakīrti, or Ras chung pa)⁵³ and so forth,
The Genuine Ultimate Embodiment of Vajradhara,
And the Powerful Universal Monarch of Precious Melody.
[I,] the fortunate [disciple] of the Vajra Vehicle, in order to obtain their
care,
Have in this mountain hermitage in the Land of Snows,
Summarised the vast and profound liberation accounts of the Glorious U
rgyan pa
Into a concise biography.
May I forever lean on you, the Protector Guru.
Due to the quintessence of the Sublime Vajra Vehicle in the Land of
Snows,
The indestructibility of the union of clear light and great bliss
Becomes realised without hindrance in an instance.

A Biography of the Dharma Lord Au rgyan pa – A Feast of Nectar of the Golden Age has been written by mKhas (mKha') spyod pa dri med dpal ye shes in a secluded hermitage on the edge of the mountain range formerly visited by the Incarnate King.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See Stage Nine of U rgyan pa's journey in Chapter II of this thesis.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Ras chung pa was the disciple of Mi la ras pa.

⁵⁴ The colophon runs from line 3 of *f.* 15a to the end of text in *f.* 15b. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

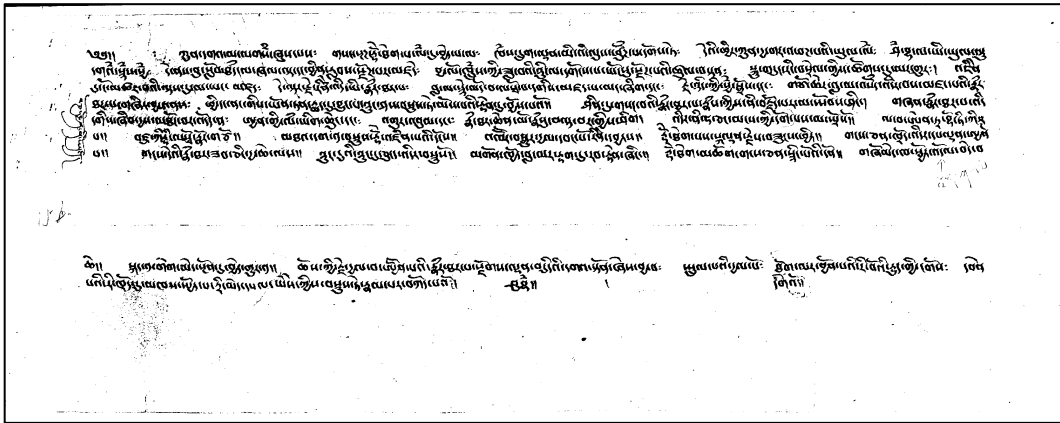


Figure 15: Biography B2a-ZM: the last folio

I was told by Sherab Sangpo of the Paltseg Institute that the author of this biography was the 4th Zhva dmar pa (Red Hat Karma pa). At first glance, the name mKha' spyod pa dri med dPal ye shes may have suggested the 2nd Zhva dmar pa (1350–1405) rather than the 4th Zhva dmar pa (1453–1524) as the former is called mKha' spyod dBang po while the latter Ye shes dPal bzang po.⁵⁵ "The more synoptic accounts of U rgyan pa's biography written and/or excerpted by Zhwa dmar II Mkha' spyod dbang po (1350–1405)..." from Gangtok mentioned by van der Kuijp probably refers to this biography.⁵⁶ In fact, mKha' spyod pa, an epithet of Avalokiteśvara,⁵⁷ could have been one of the many common additions in the long epithet adopted by or given to an accomplished practitioner. A vivid example is the incarnation of rGod tshang pa mentioned earlier under Biography A2-SO. Errors in identifying personal names are not uncommon.⁵⁸ Thus, this biography dates between the late 15th century and early 16th century. Nevertheless, it seems quite true that the 2nd Zhva dmar pa, who lived one century earlier than the 4th Zhva dmar pa, did have a stronger claim to write a biography of U rgyan pa.

⁵⁵ Perhaps it is for this reason that the Note which came with the digital file of B2a-ZM has put down mKha' spyod dBang po (the 2nd Zhva dmar pa) as the author.

⁵⁶ Van der Kuijp 2004: 303. The title of the manuscript given in Note 10 is slightly different from that of B2a-ZM but the same as B2b-ZM from Gangtok.

⁵⁷ Dict-THDL.

⁵⁸ Chattopadhyaya 1993:xvi.

According to the Zhva dmar pa tradition, before the 2nd Karma pa died he told his disciples that the future Karma pas would manifest in two forms.⁵⁹ The lineage of the Zhva dmar pa began from the time when the 3rd Karma pa fulfilled the prophecy by presenting a ruby red crown to his principal disciple mKhas grub Grags pa seng ge (1283–1349) and bestowed on him the title of Zhva dmar pa.⁶⁰ The 4th Zhva dmar pa Chos kyi grags pa Ye shes dpal bzang po was born in the Khams region. It is said that he was enthroned and named by the 7th Karma pa.

The name Bla ma sNye mdo ba mentioned in the colophon refers to Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po, the incarnation of rGod tshang pa and the chief provider of source materials for A1-SO and A2-SO. Although the colophon says that the biography was largely based on the [long] version written by bSod nams 'od zer, this biography was not exactly a condensed version of the latter. Compared with another condensed biography B1-KM, this one is not only much shorter, but also very selective about the episodes it chooses to reproduce. The first two-thirds of the content are chronological, though it does not end with the death of U rgyan pa. In fact the death of U rgyan pa was not recorded in the biography at all. This part also incorporates the full versions of a few devotional songs which are incomplete in A1-SO and A2-SO. The last one-third of the content is devoted to the narration of twenty episodes, mainly about U rgyan pa's clear visions and dreams, but at least twelve of which are absent in A1-SO and A2-SO.

Relationship with the Other Biographies

That this biography was largely derived from bSod nams 'od zer's long biography is indisputable. It is also very likely that the biography written by the 3rd Karma pa had also been consulted, which is suggested by the similarity of spellings used for certain place

⁵⁹ Yeshe Dronma 1992: 11. The passage says, "It was in the prediction of the 2nd Karmapa—Karma Pakshi—that 'future Karmapas shall manifest in two Nirmanakaya forms.'"

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 11–12.

names.⁶¹ As for its relationship with the nearly identical B2b-ZM, it will be discussed in the next subsection.

As mentioned above, the last one-third of the content (*ff.* 11a–13b) of this biography is mainly about U rgyan pa's clear visions and dreams, the majority of which are not found in bSod nams 'od zer's long biography but in the short account written by Zla ba seng ge attached to the end of A3-SO as a supplement. It suggests that these dreams and visions were either excerpted or condensed from Zla ba seng ge's work, or that they share the same source materials. If the first hypothesis proves true, the reason for not including U rgyan pa's lengthy esoteric teachings can probably be explained by what the 4th Zhva dmar pa had said in the beginning of his colophon: "As for his extremely secret accounts, I have no confidence in elucidating them." If the second hypothesis is confirmed, then the provider of the source materials has yet to be identified.

⁶¹ For example, the private residence of U rgyan pa is spelt as sBud tra in this biography. While B1-KM uses the same spelling, A1-OS and A2-OS respectively use sBud skra and sBud kra.

Biography B2b-ZM

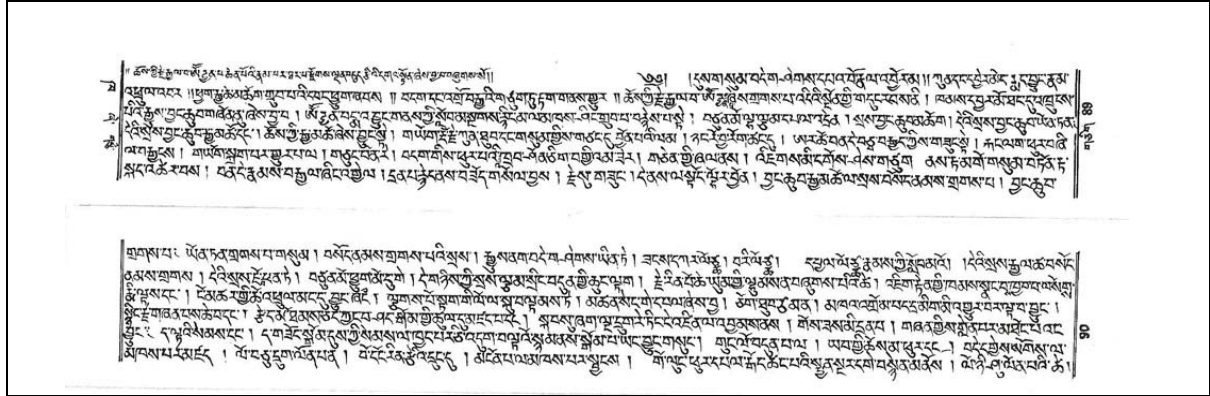


Figure 16: Biography B2b-ZM: the first folio

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *Chos kyi s rje rgyal ba Au rgyan chen po'i rnam par thar pa rdzogs ldan bdud brtsi'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so*⁶² (A Biography of the Dharma Lord Au rgyan pa—A Feast of Nectar of the Golden Age)
- Author: mKha' spyod dri med dpal ye shes
- Size: unknown
- Folio leaves: 17 double-sided folios. No title page.
- Script: Written in *dbu can* script
- Layout: 6 rows in each text page except the last one (4 rows).
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *zhe gsum* (43) to *nga dgu drug bcu tham pa* (59 & 60) and preceded by *kha* are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folios, while Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *bcu bdun bzhugs so* (17) are written in the right margin. Arabic numerals running from 89 to 121 appear on the right margin of both faces of the folios.

⁶² This title is written in smaller characters on the first line of the first folio.

Acquisition

This biography was acquired from the Library of Congress in New York through Gene Smith. The digital files came with an introductory sheet saying that this version was "reproduced from an incomplete manuscript preserved in Rumtek Monastery" and published by one Gonpo Tseten in 1978.

Rumtek Monastery in Gangtok, Sikkim was first founded under the guidance of the 9th Karma pa dBang phyug rdo rje (1556–1603).⁶³ The monastery was rebuilt in the 1960s by the 16th Karma pa (1924–1981).

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

This biography, written in *dbu can* script, is basically identical to B2a-ZM in content throughout, including the colophon.⁶⁴ In other words, it shares the same authorship, date and source materials of the latter. As for the date of the current edition, it will be discussed below.

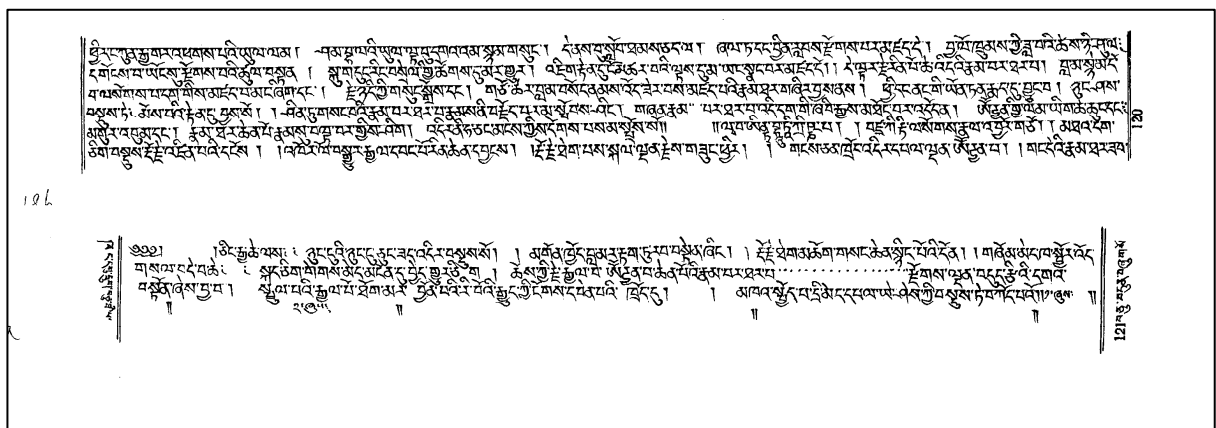


Figure 17: Biography B2b-ZM: the last folio

⁶³ Douglas 1976: 81. The 9th Karma pa dBang phyug rdo rje received an invitation from the King of Sikkim to visit the country, but since he was unable to make the journey, he sent a representative in his place. This lama founded three monasteries in Sikkim: Ralung, Potong and Rumtek.

⁶⁴ The colophon runs from line 2 of *f.* 18a to the last line of *f.* 19a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

Relationship with Biography B2a-ZM

Except for very minor spellings and wordings, the content of B2b-ZM is identical to that of B2a-ZM. Obviously these two texts are different *editions rather than versions* of the same biography written by the 4th Zhva dmar pa. At first glance, one might easily think that this edition is actually a woodblock print due to the use of *dbu can* instead of *dbu med* script and a neater presentation. However, on close examination we see a fine line across the head of every row. The line was meant to keep the written words in straight alignment. In other words, it is a written manuscript and not a print.

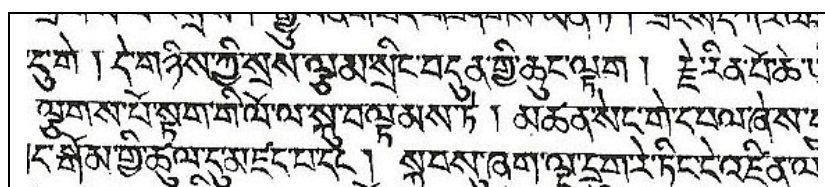


Figure 18: Detail of B2b-ZM f. 1a

However, I strongly believe that this manuscript was meant to be used in the preparation of woodblock engraving, a procedure in the production of woodblock prints. Compared with B2a-ZM, this version does contain fewer spelling mistakes while detailed numbers, including folio page number and section, are found on both margins (see pagination details under Bibliographical Features). These numbers strongly suggest that they were intended for efficient shelving and retrieval. Printing blocks accordingly numbered and shelved could be retrieved easily from the storeroom which might contain thousands or even tens of thousands of wooden blocks as in the case of the famous printing house in sDe dge in East Tibet.⁶⁵

Moreover, at the very end of the colophon there are two remarks reading: *1 zhus* (Initial proofread), written in a different hand, and *2 zhus* (2nd proofread), written in still another different hand, showing that the text had been proofread by two different people.

⁶⁵ Migot 1965: 166. Chapter XXV: 162–70 on Printing and Architecture.

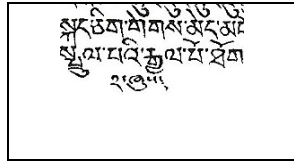


Figure 19: Detail showing 2 *zhus*

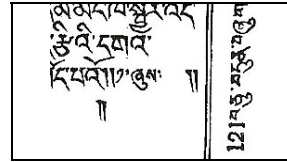


Figure 20: Detail showing 1 *zhus*

Woodblock printing or xylographic printing was practised in Tibet as early as the 13th century but the scale of production was very small. Among the earliest known Tibetan xylographic prints was the recently recovered Tibetan version of the *Condensed Kālacakratāntra* published by U rgyan pa during his visit to the Yuan capital Shangdu in around 1293.⁶⁶ However, it was not until after the printing of the Yongle Edition of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur in Nanjing in 1411 that woodblock printing began to flourish in Central Tibet.⁶⁷ The print sets offered by the Ming court to the eminent monk Kun dga' bkra shis and Sha kya ye shes, disciples of rJe Tsong kha pa, played an important role in the dissemination of this technology in Tibet.⁶⁸ Since then, printing of ancient texts flourished in the major monasteries in the Lands of Snow. Since the more angular structure of the *dbu can* script better facilitates engraving, it was widely adopted in writing up the master copies of the prints. Elaborate division of labour was soon introduced into the printing projects. Proofreading had to be certified afterwards.⁶⁹ It is even said that a written text would need to survive the scrutiny of three different proofreaders.⁷⁰ There were also

⁶⁶ See Chapter IV: VI of this thesis. The incident is also mentioned in Scheier-Dolberg 2005: 32.

⁶⁷ Schaeffer 2009: 10. See also Harrison 1993: 74–81 on the brief history of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur in the 14th and 15th century; Palmieri 1991: 82–90 on the history of Tibetan printing; Ehrhard 2000: 11–12 on Tibetan texts being printed in China proper and known under the name 'Mongol xylographs' (*Hor par ma*) in the beginning of the 14th century.

⁶⁸ Scheier-Dolberg 2005: 39.

⁶⁹ Schaeffer 2009: 149 "Appendix I: Būton Rinchen drup's Letter to Editors" states: "During proofreading, [the text] should be read out loud slowly and with clarity by the recitator, and the scribes should certify that reading with the certifier in between work [periods]. At the end of completed texts [the scribes] should write a full [record of certification]."

⁷⁰ Dung dkar 1997, as translated by Tsering D. Gonkatsang: III. The initial proofreader is responsible for crosschecking the accuracy of the words, pagination and chapter divisions between the original paper copy and the engraved woodblock print. The second one is responsible for checking the quality of handwriting and uniformity of letter size in the woodblock prints that have been proofread and crosschecked with the original copy. The third one is responsible for rechecking the woodblock prints that have been checked by the previous two proofreaders and looking for errors of omission or extra insertion of letters, quality control, amendment and corrections.

thangka artists responsible for drawing the master copies of the deities to be engraved at the start and the end of the textual volumes.⁷¹

It is useful to know the relevant steps in the preparation of printing blocks practised by the Tibetans in order to understand what role the manuscript of B2b-ZM could have played in the production of woodblock prints.

(a) *Application of the master copies.* The text is carefully written in *dbu-c'en* on sheets of thin Tibetan paper. Using a paste prepared with wheat flour (*gro-zib*) the carver sticks the pages, text downwards, on the printing blocks (*phar [sic]-sin*). Having dried them thoroughly either in the sun or by a fire, he takes one of the prepared boards and with a clean damp cloth carefully damps the paper on one side and so removes it, leaving the reversed lettering clearly showing. When the board is dry again, he rubs it lightly with a little mustard oil (*pe-k'an-snum*) which has the effect of showing up the letters clearly.⁷²

The 4th Zhva dmar pa (1453–1524) lived in a period when woodblock printing enjoyed great prosperity in Central Tibet. It is not sure whether this biography was specially written for printing but it is obvious that the text of this manuscript had been carefully edited, copied out by a scribe in *dbu can* script and then proofread twice by two different people. It is highly probable that it was actually a master copy or a scribe's copy in preparation for the next step of production—engraving of print blocks. Considering this, it seems not too far-fetched to propose that B2a-ZM written in *dbu med* is the unedited original while B2b-ZM is the edited version meant for woodblock printing, though it is true that there is no 'printing colophon' (*par byang*) at the end of the text to dedicate the merit of printing the text, as pointed out to me by Dr Ulrike Roesler.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Jest 1961: 84. The informant who told Jest about these procedures was the famous Pasang Khambache Sherpa, who went from East Nepal to a village near bKra shis lhun po in Tibet to learn the craft of wood-carving. See pp. 83–85 on materials (wood, paper and ink) and tools used in Tibetan woodblock printing.

Group C

Biography C1-ZS

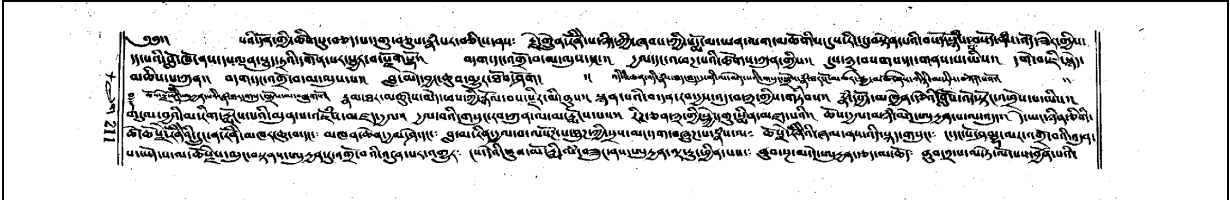


Figure 21: Biography C1-ZS: the first folio

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *Chos rje Rin po che U rgyan pa'i rnam thar gsung sgros ma bzhugs so*⁷³
(An Oral Biography of the Dharma Lord Precious One U rgyan pa)
- Author: Zla ba seng ge
- Editor: Ki rti ma ti
- Folio leaves: This biography begins from line 4 of *f.* 106a of A3-SO and continues through 17 double-sided folios until *f.* 122b.
- Leaf size: 38 x 8.5cm
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 7 rows in each page except for the last page (6 rows)
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *x drug* (106) to probably *rgya nyer gnyis byon* (122)⁷⁴ are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folio leaves.
- Remark: See Bibliographical Features of A3-SO for more information.

⁷³ In smaller characters in line 4 of *f.* 106a following the long biography of bSod nam's 'od zer and the short remark written by the editor.

⁷⁴ The words are too blurred to identify with certainty.

Acquisition

The discovery of this short work was a delightful surprise which took place after I finished reading the entire Biography A3-SO erroneously designated entirely to Zla ba seng ge. I had expected this long biography to be somewhat similar in content to A1-SO and A2-SO. However, it turns out to be one combining an eclectic edition of bSod nams 'od zer's long work, and attached to it, a unique short account written by Zla ba seng ge, containing the dreams, visions and the supposedly extremely secret oral teachings of U rgyan pa.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

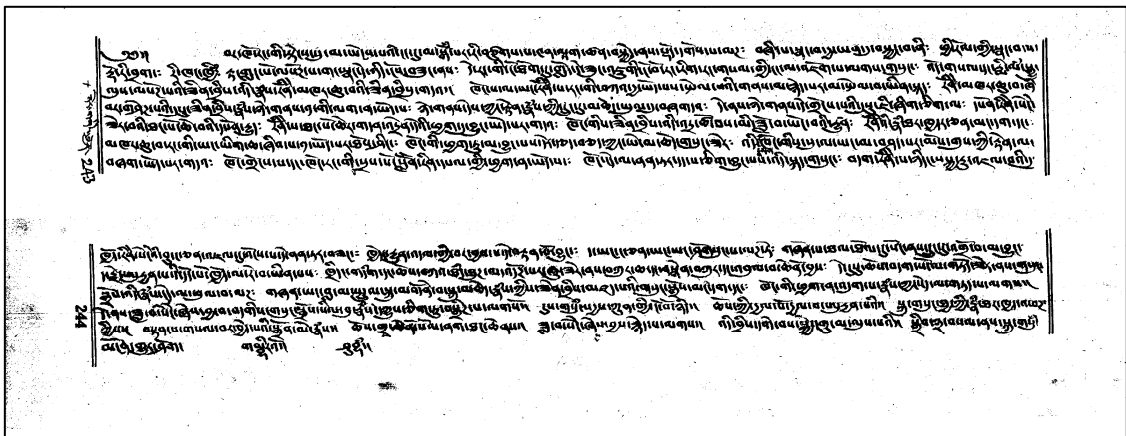


Figure 22: Biography C1-ZS: the last folio

The authorship and the origin of the source materials are disclosed in detail in the colophon written by the author himself.

These accounts about clear visions, dreams and the illusory body are from the notes of Rin po che mKhar chu ba. It was said that they bore the Lord's own command seal [of secrecy]⁷⁵ and were not meant for propagation, and

⁷⁵ Truntpa 1986: 134 & 218. A teaching bearing the command seal (*bka' rgya*) of the teacher is understood to be very secret, not to be revealed until a certain moment of time. Sometimes these teachings are passed on to a single disciple (*gcig brgyud*), along with a command seal.

therefore not published. After Rin po che mKhar chu ba passed away, the manuscript came to the hand of his attendant who placed it in front the statues as an object of worship. After the death of this attendant, for some time the manuscript was in the hands of dPon Rin chen seng ge who belonged to a lineage of lords in Thang po che.⁷⁶ He took the manuscript there. In order to protect such manuscripts from being harmed by inappropriate intrusions, he was said [to have told others that] he had heard of other rare and unpublished biographies of U rgyan pa as well as detailed accounts written by mKhar chu ba himself, but had acquired none of them. He did not tell anybody about his acquisition but just paid homage to it with devotion. After his death, the manuscript came into the hands of his son Slob dpon Rin dpal who has great faith in me. He said to me, "When I met the Lord (U rgyan pa) in Sa skya, he said, 'It's extremely good that you, the son of Rin chen seng ge, have come to see me. In the future do come again and again to see me.' I being young and muddle-minded had not visited him [afterwards]. Now I hope that you, the regent of Lord U rgyan pa, could give me guidance, precepts and scriptural teachings of all kinds." After saying this he rendered me service, paid me respects and presented abundant offerings. Then he said, "[May I] entrust this to the right owner [and] offer you the notes of the oral teachings." He also offered me many notes written by Incarnate Lama [and his] brother mGon chen ba as well as other notes in his own hand. Then I, Zla ba seng ge, compiled all these fragmented materials into one (biography). This exalted biography, epitomising the body, speech and mind of the Victorious Dharma King U rgyan pa, the embodiment of the Buddha of Three Times, is the lamp illuminating the dharma teachings. Written by Zla ba seng ge at the great

⁷⁶ Dict-BG: 1142. Thang po che is also known as Sol nag thang po che. Situated in 'Phyongs rgyas in Yar klungs region, it was one of the Thirteen Myriarchies. Ferrari 1958: 129 notes that the monastery there was founded in 1017 by a group of eight monks and later became the seat of a school of philosophy called Thang skor.

monastery of Sol nag thang chen⁷⁷ as a virtuous deed to remove without reserve the Three Obstacles of sentient beings to reveal the Three Bodies.⁷⁸

The author Zla ba seng ge was the fifth of the six most important disciples of U rgyan pa mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po*, referred to as rTogs ldan Zla ba seng ge.⁷⁹ He is one of the ten students of the yogin rNal 'byor pa sNo dar ba mentioned in the colophon of B1-KM, and seems to have been much junior to bSod nams 'od zer. Zla ba seng ge is also *not* among the sixteen most famous disciples of U rgyan pa given in the Publisher's Note of A1-SO. As mentioned before, his name appears once in A1-SO in association with bSod nams 'od zer and U rgyan pa. He joined them in an uphill race. This suggests that the author was probably among U rgyan pa's close disciples when the latter was elderly. He must have been quite young at that time, probably younger than bSod nams 'od zer. Since the colophon written by Chu mig pa honoured him as the narrator of the oral biography C2-CM, his name also appears on the title page of C2-CM.⁸⁰ Apart from these, Zla ba seng ge's name is *not* found in the biographies written by other authors.

The incident of Slob dpon Rin dpal meeting U rgyan pa is not found in any other biographies except C2-CM. The meeting took place in around 1282 during the former's tenure of office in Sa skya. His name is given as Rin chen dpal. When U rgyan pa visited Sa skya, Rin chen dpal came to see him.⁸¹ He must have been quite young at that time.

According to the colophon, the source materials are made up largely of the notes written by Rin po che mKhar chu ba. The name comes first among the six most principal disciples of U rgyan pa in *Deb ther sngon po*.⁸² In the colophon of B1-KM written by the 3rd Karma pa, gYa' bzangs pa Rin bo che mKhar chu ba was the third of the four heart-sons of U rgyan pa. According to the Publisher's Note of the book A1-SO, the first two of the most

⁷⁷ Sol nag thang chen is another name for Thang po che. See Ferrari 1958: 129.

⁷⁸ The colophon runs from line 2 of *f.* 122a to line 6 of *f.* 122b. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

⁷⁹ DTNP: 823; Roerich 1949: 703.

⁸⁰ C2-CM: 16a. His name is found in the colophon.

⁸¹ C2-CM: 3a.

⁸² DTNP: 823; Roerich 1949: 703.

famous disciples of U rgyan pa are called gYa' bzang Rin po che pa and mKhar chung ba. I suspect that mKhar chung ba is a variation or erroneous rendering of mKhar chu ba. Or, the two names are actually referring to the same person. mKhar chu ba appears twice in bSod nams 'od zer's long biographies. In 1270 he went from his seat gYa' bzang gdan sa⁸³ to sBud skra to request for teachings of *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub* from U rgyan pa, paying the latter one *sho* of gold for each chapter.⁸⁴ In 1282, U rgyan pa visited him at Khra 'brug gTsug lag khang,⁸⁵ and cured his chronic illness.⁸⁶ According to van der Kuijp, his name was mKhar chu ba Chos bsam 'od pa, fourth sPyan snga ba hierarch of the Phag gru lineage.⁸⁷ Ringu Tulku in his book says that "Kharchuwa (mKhar chu ba) was the nephew of Zazangwa Nup Duldzin",⁸⁸ but the identity of the latter is unknown. According to two other sources, he became the head of the gYa' bzang monastery in 1281⁸⁹ and died in 1298.⁹⁰

That mKhar chu ba was the major contributor of the source materials is further indicated in the text. In the beginning of this biography it is stated that "These (the following) oral accounts et cetera were from the many notes of mKha' (mKhar) chu ba."⁹¹ The contents of the next twelve folios are supposed to have been taken from the notes made by mKhar chu ba.

As for the Incarnate Lama and his brother mGon chen ba (*Bla ma sPrul sku ba mGon chen ba sku mched rnams*) mentioned in the colophon,⁹² I believe that they refer to Kun dga' 'od zer, the incarnation of rGod tshang pa, and his younger brother Kun dga' mgon po. The

⁸³ Dict-BG: 2617. g.Ya' bzang is situated in sNe gdong in Yar klungs. It was one of the Thirteen Myriarchies.

⁸⁴ A1-SO: 169, A2-SO: 69b and A3-SO: 59b.

⁸⁵ Dict-BG: 270. This is one of the earliest Buddhist temples in Tibet. It was founded by Srong btsan sgam po in the 7th century in sNe gdong in lHo kha.

⁸⁶ A1-SO: 205–206 and A2-SO: 85b.

⁸⁷ Van der Kuijp 2004: 306, Note 21.

⁸⁸ Trungpa 2007: 153.

⁸⁹ Dict-BG: 3233; Chattopadhyaya 1993: 95.

⁹⁰ Dict-BG: 3235; Chattopadhyaya 1993: 102.

⁹¹ C1-ZS: 107a. The original text reads: *gSung sgras 'di la sogs pa Rin po che mKhar chu ba'i zin dris (bris) mang dag cig snang*. Roberts 2007: 64 notes that *zin bris* is "a pupil's record of what may have been a single oral lecture."

⁹² A3-SO: 122b.

name of this younger brother is *not* mentioned in any of the eleven biographies, but according to *The Blue Annals*, Kun dga' 'od zer was the eldest of three sons; the middle one Kun dga' mgon po was seven years his junior and the youngest one Kun mkhyen Kun dga' don grub ten years his junior.⁹³ In the episode about U rgyan pa meeting the incarnation of rGod tshang pa for the first time (in 1282) in sNye mdo as appears in the three long biographies, it is mentioned that teachings were given to the sNye mdo ba brothers (*sNye mdo ba sku mched rnams*).⁹⁴ *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* in enumerating the principle disciples of U rgyan pa, also mentions "*sNye mdo ba sku mched*".⁹⁵ Therefore, I believe that Kun dga' mgon po and his younger brother were among the source material providers of this biography written by Zla ba seng ge. The youngest brother might have been involved as well because "*Bla ma sPrul sku ba mGon chen ba sku mched rnams*" might also mean "the Incarnate Lama, mGon po ba and *their* brother."

This biography owes its source materials to at least one more person whose name is not mentioned in the colophon. He is *Bla ma Shes rin*. The accounts from *f. 118b* onward were adopted from his notes.⁹⁶ Very likely the name refers to *Nye gnas Shes rin* (also as *Nye gnas Sher rin* or *dGe shes Sher rin*), the attendant of U rgyan pa. In the three long biographies in Group A, his name is frequently mentioned in the first half of the life account. His debut in A1-SO is found in p. 54 where he was among the listeners when U rgyan pa recounted the stories of his austerities in West Tibet before going to U rgyan. He appeared several times again asking U rgyan pa questions about the details of his stories. His name is mentioned in more than ten incidents between pp. 112–133. This corresponds to the period between 1259 and 1260 when U rgyan pa was practising asceticism in the mountains of bDe chen stengs in preparation for his first trip to Bodhgaya. However, Shes rin's name does not come up again in the rest of the book. U rgyan pa's stay in bDe chen stengs was only a very brief one. He returned from U rgyan in 1259 and went alone to Bodhgaya in the beginning of 1261. The long biographies seem to have suggested that

⁹³ Roerich 1949: 974.

⁹⁴ A1-SO: 202, A2-SO: 84a and A3-SO: 72b.

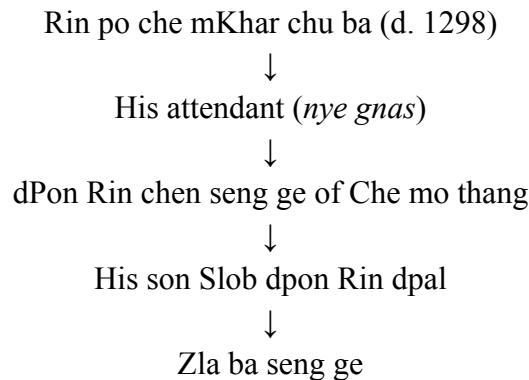
⁹⁵ KPGT: 433.

⁹⁶ C1-ZS: 118b. The original text reads: *Zin bris 'di Bla ma Shes rin gyis btab par snang*. (These [the following] notes were made by Bla ma Shes rin.)

Shes rin's service as the attendant of U rgyan pa was limited within this short period. Thus, those short notes by Shes rin are likely to have been written in the same period, i.e. 1259–1260. The content of his notes seems to substantiate with this. It is about some of U rgyan pa's early dreams and visions, and ends with the incident of U rgyan pa encountering Bla chen De khyim, the King of Mar yul in West Tibet, when the former was on his way back to Tibet from U rgyan in 1257–1258.

One Slob dpon Sher rin (also as Shes rab rin chen) is mentioned in the short biography about the incarnation of U rgyan pa. He headed an investigation team made up of thirteen people to go to north of sBud skra to verify the identity of the boy who claimed himself The King of U rgyan.⁹⁷ However, it is not sure whether this person was the same Nye gnas Shes rin of more than fifty years ago.

The account in the colophon also suggests that it might have taken long years for mKhar chu ba's notes containing the teachings of U rgyan pa to reach the hands of Zla ba seng ge.



Thus this biography was likely to have been written quite some years after the death of mKhar chu ba (1298) and U rgyan pa (1309) in the latter stages of Zla ba seng ge's life, when he had become quite established, probably towards or in the second quarter of the 14th century.

⁹⁷ D-AN:2b & 3a.

Relationship with Biographies B2a-ZM and B2b-ZM and Other Biographies

As mentioned previously under B2a-ZM, large part of the last one-third of its content about U rgyan pa's clear visions and dreams is not found in bSod nams 'od zer's long biography but rather in this short account by Zla ba seng ge. It is highly probable that the 4th Zhva dmar pa, who lived more than a hundred years later, had consulted this work and incorporated brief accounts of some of the dreams and visions into his own work, while skipping the lengthy esoteric teachings which he "had no confidence in elucidating".

This biography and the other three short biographies in Group C are very different from the previous two groups in the way that they focus on various aspects or some particular phases of U rgyan pa's life. The accounts were largely organised under certain themes or topics. While some authors in the Group are believed to have faithfully preserved the original form and style of the source materials, others had obviously reorganised the source materials for a thematic and analytical treatment. Each of the four short biographies in Group C has thrown light on different aspects of U rgyan pa's life from a different perspective, allowing us to gain deeper insight into the character, teachings and life of the hero, thus supplementing the inadequacies of the other long and condensed biographies.

Biography C2-CM

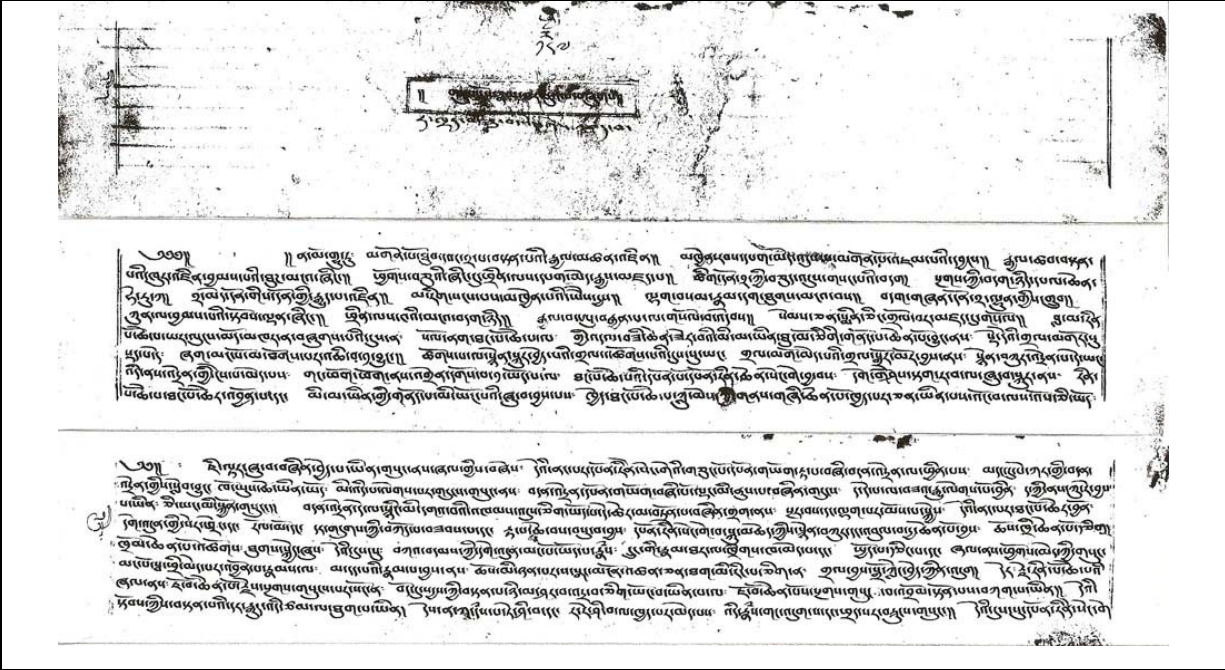


Figure 23: Biography C2-CM ff. 1a–2a

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *gSung sgros rnam thar chung ba bzhugs* (A Short Oral Biography)
- Author: Chu mig pa Rin rgyal
- Narrator: Zla ba seng ge
- Folio leaves: 16 double-sided folios
- Leaf size: unknown
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 8 rows in each text page except the last one (4 rows). The verso of the last folio is blank.
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *bcu drug byon* (16) are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folios.

Acquisition

This short biography with selected episodes of U rgyan pa's life account was acquired through the Paltseg Institute. The original manuscript was said to be in 'Bras spungs monastery but again the title is not found in the *ma* and *ra* sections of the catalogue.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

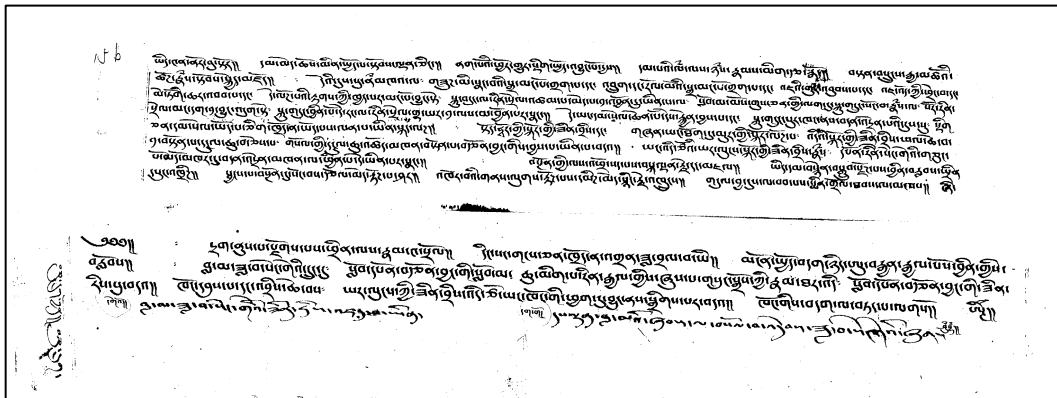


Figure 24: Biography C2-CM ff. 15b–16a

According to the colophon by the writer himself, the writer of this biography was Chu mig pa Rin rgyal while Zla ba seng ge was the narrator.

Those notes about the sTod Hvor (Hor) and other related accounts are said to be written mainly by an alchemist called **bsTon pa dNgul chu ba** who processed edible quicksilver. Those notes about travels in Yar longs (klungs) are likely referring to [U rgyan pa's] visit to mDo mkhar upon the invitation of the younger brother of dPon Rin chen seng ge.... (an 8-line verse praising U rgyan pa omitted)

I, **Chu mig pa Rin rgyal**, the student of **Slob dpon brTson byang**, entreated **Bla ma Zla ba seng ge** to narrate this part of the biography from my teacher's draft. My teacher was acquainted with **dBus pa**. He obtained most materials

about Yar lungs (klungs) from the latter, compiled them and gave them to me afterwards.⁹⁸

This biography is focused on U rgyan pa's visit to the Yar klungs region and his conflicts with the sTod Hor.⁹⁹ From the colophon we learn that the materials came from two main sources. The part about the hero's travel in the Yar klungs region, in particular in mDo mkhar, was obtained from an dBus pa by the author's teacher Slob dpon brTson byang, said to be an alchemist, but his name is not found in any other biographies. The author probably found it difficult to piece together the fragmented episodes and therefore went to Zla ba seng ge to seek supplementary information and entreated the latter to carry out a detailed narration of the text. The part about the conflicts with the sTod Hor was mainly adopted from the notes written by bsTon pa (Slob dpon) brTson byang.

Although the accounts given in this biography are very selective, they are basically in chronological order, starting from U rgyan pa's visit to the Yar klungs region in around 1282 to the year of his death in 1309. An episode found in Biography C1-ZS seems to have thrown some light on the possible identity of the dBus pa mentioned in the colophon. Folios 108a–110a in C1-ZS contain teachings on esoteric practice given by U rgyan pa "[in response to] the request of an dBus pa called dGe shes Kun rin".¹⁰⁰ This incident is placed between the episode of U rgyan pa having a vision of the sixty-two deities in the maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara¹⁰¹ (bDe mchog) (in around mid 1270s) and his benediction trip to the dBus region (in around 1282), probably accompanied by this dBus pa. When U rgyan pa was in dBus, dBus pa raised some more questions and U rgyan pa again answered him with another teaching.¹⁰² If this is the dBus pa mentioned in the colophon, he must have been quite an accomplished practitioner when he met U rgyan pa otherwise he would not have been qualified to receive esoteric teachings from the latter.

⁹⁸ The colophon runs from line 5 of *f.* 15b to line 4 of *f.* 16a. See Appendix I for the transcriptions of the original text.

⁹⁹ See Zhang 1994: 99–105 on sTod Hor. See also Appendix II for the synopsis of this Chinese article.

¹⁰⁰ C1-ZS: 108a. The original text is "dGe shes Kun rin zer ba'i dBus pa gcig gis zhus pas".

¹⁰¹ A tutelary deity of the mother tantra.

¹⁰² C1-ZS: 110b–111a.

Due to the strong presence of Zla ba seng ge in the realisation of this biography, it seems that someone afterwards believed that it was only fair to put Zla ba seng ge's name on the title page as well. This may explain why the line *Ri khrod ba Zla ba seng ges 'dzad ba* (by the Hermit Zla ba seng ge) was written in a different hand of more cursive style below the title on the title page of the biography. Maybe it is for the same reason that two lines written in a hand similar to that extra line on the title page were added to the very end of the entire text. They translate as "Draft narrated by Zla ba seng ge" and "Bla ma Zla ba seng ge prays at the feet of the Glorious Guru".¹⁰³

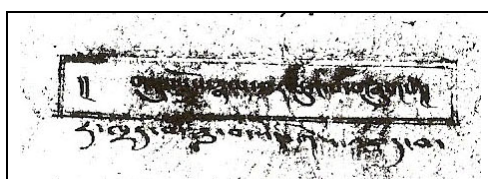


Figure 25: Detail of title page of C2-CM

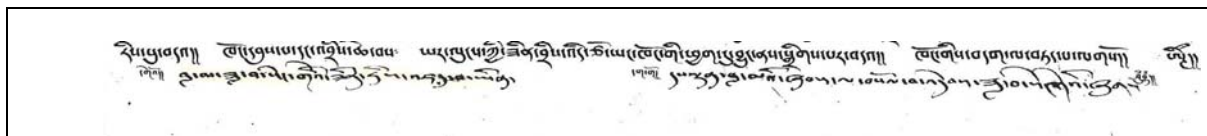


Figure 26: C2-CM: detail of the two extra lines at the end of the text

The *dag go* (certified fine) written in smaller letters on the last line suggests that the text had been proofread.

The author Chu mig pa Rin rgyal was probably much junior in age and lower in seniority than Zla ba seng ge. Nevertheless, this biography could still be safely dated to around the same period as C1-ZS in the second quarter of the 14th century.

¹⁰³ C2-CM: 16a. The original text reads: "*Bla ma Zla ba seng ge'i zin ris 'dzad pa yin*" and "*dPal ldan Bla ma'i zhabs la bsol bas 'debs Zla ba seng ge'i zhugs.*"

Relationship with Other Biographies

The accounts containing selective episodes about U rgyan pa's travel in the Yar klungs region, his conflicts with the sTod Hor and the clan of his sister given in this biography are largely absent from all other biographies. It seems that the source materials were not accessible to other authors. Thus, it is unique among the eleven biographies though the thematic treatment has secured it a place in Group C. So far I cannot see any significant relationship between this work and other biographies. It is hoped that more materials will come up in future to throw new light on this.

Biography C3-DT

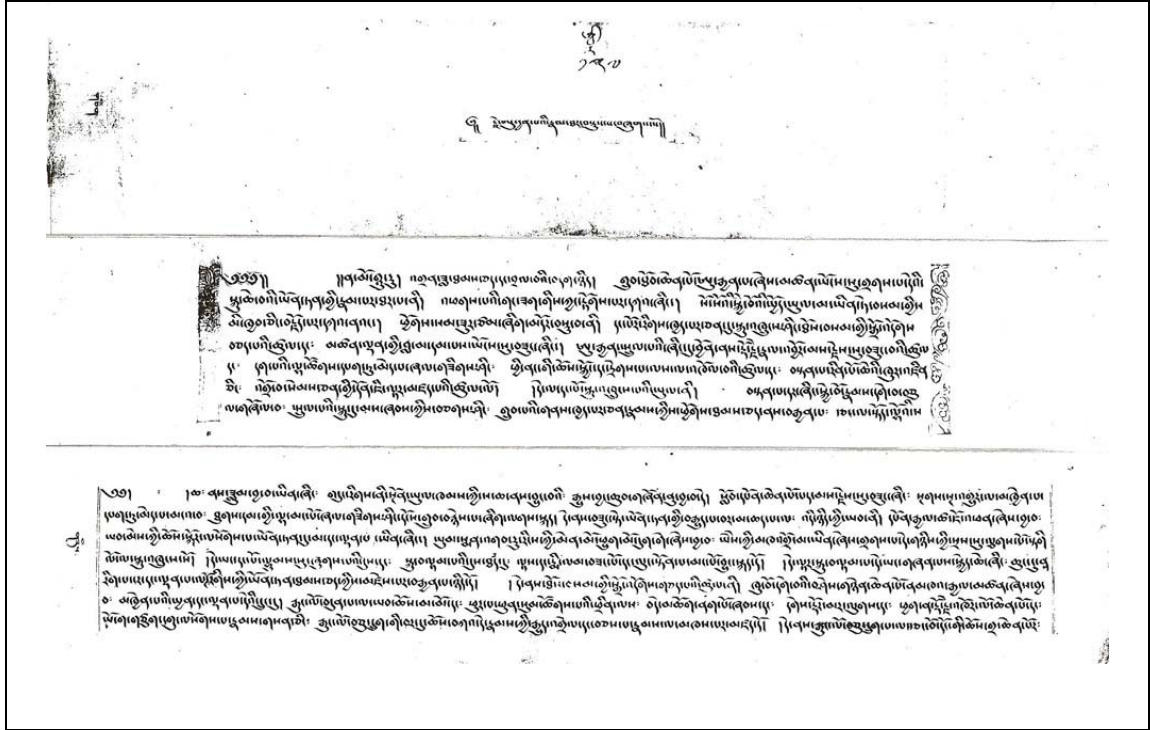


Figure 27: Biography C3-DT ff. 1a–2a

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *rJe U rgyan pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa bzhugs so* (A Condensed Biography of Lord U rgyan pa)
- Author: mDo stod pa gZhon nu ye shes
- Folio leaves: 10 double-sided folios
- Leaf size: 43 x 8.5 cm
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 7 rows in each text page. The verso of the last folio (*f.* 10b) is blank. The text on the verso of the first folio is flanked by vertical ornate borders. The space on either end of the text beyond the ornate border seems to have been reserved for inserting image of deity.
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *bcu tham pa bzhugs so* (10) are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folios.

Acquisition

This largely thematic biography was obtained from the Paltseg Institute. The original manuscript is kept in 'Bras spungs monastery. The title is listed in their catalogue in Section *phyi ra* 187, no.17667.¹⁰⁴

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

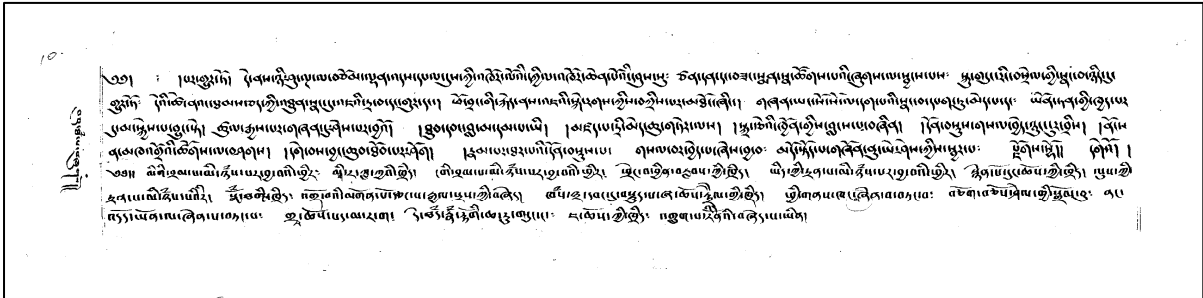


Figure 28: Biography C3-DT f. 10a, the last text page

The simple colophon written by the author mDo stod Ye shes is silent on the origin of the source materials.

Only a minute portion of the immaculate deeds of the Powerful and Supreme Guru has been written, like taking a drop of water as tiny as the tip of a strand of hair from the vast ocean. Should there be any mistakes in my summaries and expressions, I ask the pardon of the *dākinīs*. May enlightenment be attained through virtuous deeds. *A Condensed and Elucidated Biography*¹⁰⁵ is written by **mDo stod pa gZhon nu ye shes.**¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ DREPUNG: 1565.

¹⁰⁵ This is understood to be the title of the biography though it is somewhat different from what appears on the title page.

¹⁰⁶ The colophon is in line 3 and line 4 of f. 10a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

(The two verses following this colophon, cited from gTsang pa rgyal sras and 'Gyag pa min po che on various kinds of instruction manual [*khrid*], are not translated.)

The name of the author does not appear in any other biographies. There is no clue about his identity except that he was a native of mDo stod in the Khams-Amdo region, as suggested by his name. He could be a student of U rgyan pa or someone relatively insignificant among U rgyan pa's lineage of students.

Of the ten folios, the first two are devoted to a brief chronological account of U rgyan pa's life while the rest are devoted to exploring different aspects of his achievements, supported by examples drawn from different episodes of his life. The incidents, though brief, are basically found in the long biography written by bSod nams 'od zer. The colophon also suggests that the brief chronological account in the beginning of this short biography and other incidents cited in the latter part were condensed from a long biography. It is very likely that bSod nams 'od zer's work was used as the base, or even the sole base.

Considering this, this short biography could have been written after the publishing of bSod nams 'od zer's biography, not likely to be earlier than the mid 1310s.

Relationship with Other Biographies

As mentioned above, this short biography is likely to have acquired its source materials from bSod nams 'od zer's work though the treatment is a totally different one—a brief chronological account of the hero's life followed by a well structured and analytical treatise on the different aspects of his achievements. This unique treatment finds no similarity in all other biographies.

Biography C4-NM

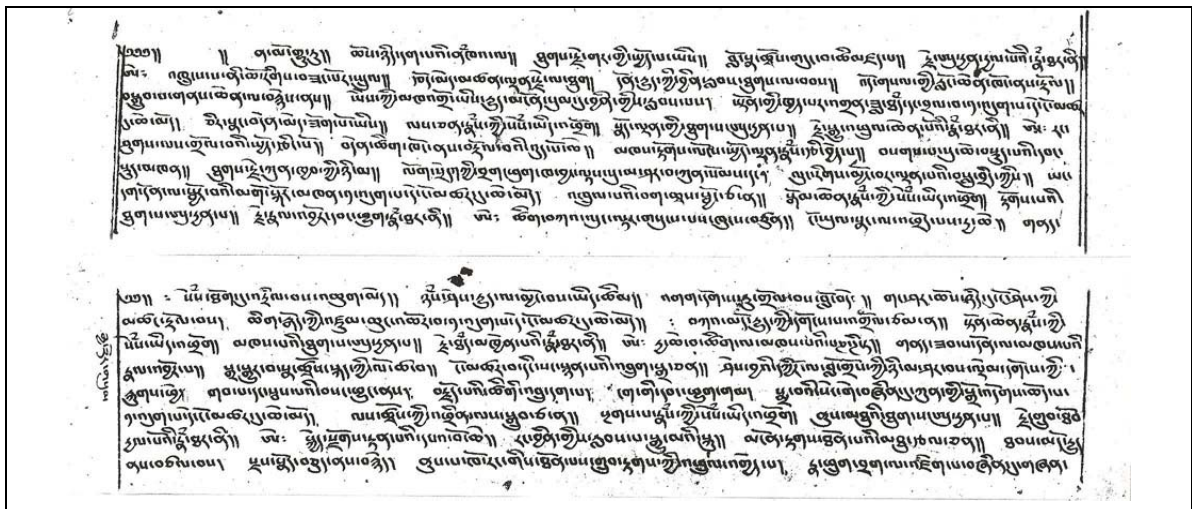


Figure 29: Biography C4-NM ff. 123b & 123c

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *Nga mtshar bco lnga*¹⁰⁷ (Fifteen Wonders)
- Author: sNyi mo ga pa
- Folio leaves: This biographical song begins from the verso of the last folio (*f.*123b) of Biography A2-SO and continues through 3 more double-sided folios
- Leaf size: 43 x 8.5cm
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 8 rows in each page except the last one (1 row)
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *rgya (brgya) nyer gsum* (123) to (probably) *rgya nyer lnga* (125)¹⁰⁸ are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folio leaves.
- Remark: There are two folios marked 123. They will be referred to as *ff.* 123a–d.

¹⁰⁷ The title of the song is not written in the beginning of the text but found in the very last line of the text in *f.* 125b.

¹⁰⁸ The words are too blurred to identify with certainty.

Acquisition

This short manuscript acquired through the Paltseg Institute is attached to the end of the long biography A2-SO. It contains a sixteen-stanza song about the fifteen amazing achievements of U rgyan pa. Please see previous subsection under A2-SO for detailed information about its acquisition.

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

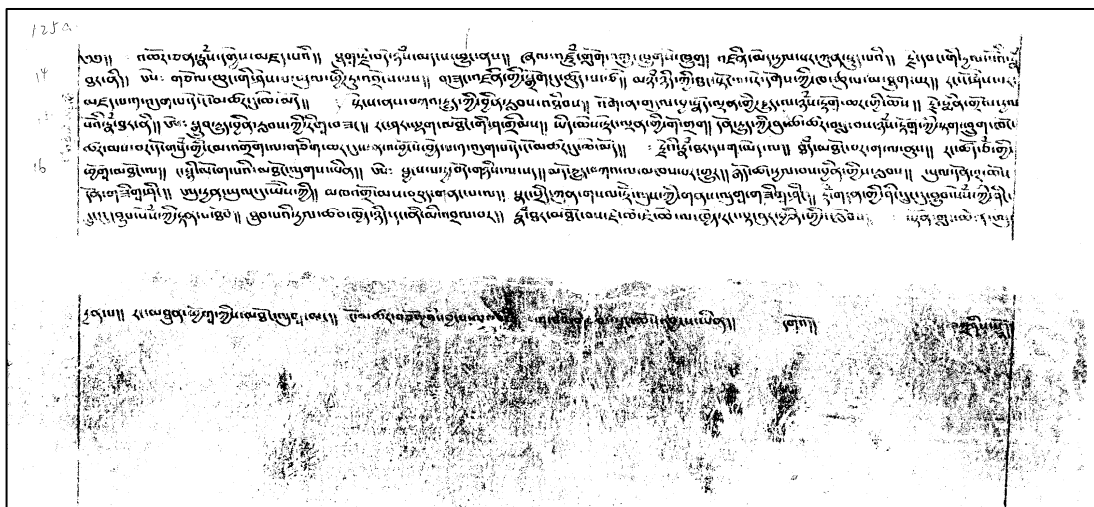


Figure 30: Biography C4-NM: the last folio

The authorship is disclosed in the colophon at the end of the song.

[Nevertheless,] his life stories are numerous.

How should we be able to see them all!

Writing just as much as I can perceive,

I, **sNyi mo ga pa**, have written from my own point of view.

(eight lines about U rgyan pa's achievements omitted)

May I not part with you, the Regent of the Buddha!

Upon reading your life story, I feel the blessings ever more intense as if
they were coming from you.

U rgyan pa, the one with prominent qualities—individual people may have diverse views of him.

This short melody called the *Fifteen Wonders* is a little Dharma song written by sNyi mo ga pa from his own point of view.¹⁰⁹

sNyi mo ga pa is probably the sNye mo ga pa among the lineage of disciples of U rgyan pa given in the colophon of Biography B1-KM. It also appears as Grub thob sNye mo ga pa among the sixteen famous students of U rgyan pa in the Publisher's Note in A1-SO. The authorship of this song is also indicated in all the biographies in Group A.¹¹⁰ According to A1-SO, the episode took place in Glang 'khor monastery in Ding ri when U rgyan pa was in his late sixties. The mountain hermits (*ri pa*) of bDe chen stengs came before him to sing the biographical song *Ngo mtshar bco lnga*¹¹¹ written by Slob dpon sNyi mo ga pa.¹¹² This suggests that the song was written around late 1290s.

Relationship with Other Biographies

Due to the thematic nature and verse form of this biographical song, it has been placed in Group C alongside the other thematic biographies. Although attached to the end of the long biography A2-SO written by bSod nams 'od zer after the death of U rgyan pa, this song was completed at least ten years before U rgyan's death in late 1290s. It is in fact among the source materials of the long biography. This song is also mentioned in C3-DT but the name of the author is not there.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ The colophon runs from line 5 of *f*:125a to end of text. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

¹¹⁰ A1-SO: 260, A2-SO: 110b and A3-SO: 94b.

¹¹¹ The title of the song in A1/A2/A3-SO is respectively written as *Ngo 'tshar bco lnga*, *Ngo mtshar can bcvo lnga* and *bCva lnga pa*.

¹¹² The name has the same spelling in A2-SO but as Slob dpon sNye mo ga pa in A3-SO.

¹¹³ C3-DT: 6a. The name of the song is written as *Ngo mtshar bcvo lnga rnam thar*.

Group D

Biography D-AN

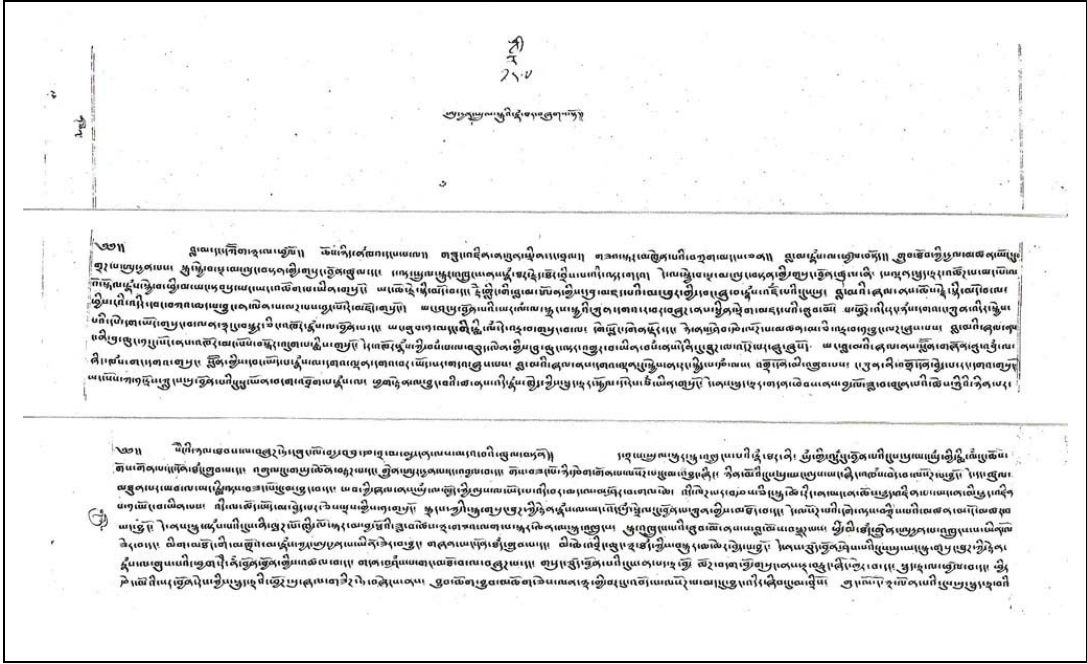


Figure 31: Biography D-AN ff. 1a–2a

Bibliographical Features

- Title: *U rgyan sprul sku'i rnam thar bzhugs s.ho* (A Biography of the Incarnation of U rgyan pa)
- Author: Anonymous
- Size: 43 x 8.5 cm
- Folio leaves: 6 double-sided folios.
- Script: Written in *dbu med* script
- Layout: 8 rows in each text page except the last one (4 rows). The verso of the last folio (f. 6b) is blank
- Pagination: Tibetan words running sequentially from *gcig* (1) to *drug bzhugs* (6) are written along the left margin on the recto sides of the folios.

Acquisition

This short biography of U rgyan pa's incarnation was obtained from the Paltseg Institute. The original manuscript is kept in the gNas bcu lha khang of 'Bras spungs monastery. The title is listed in their catalogue in Section *phyi ra* 187, no.17666.¹¹⁴

Authorship, Date and Origin of Source Materials

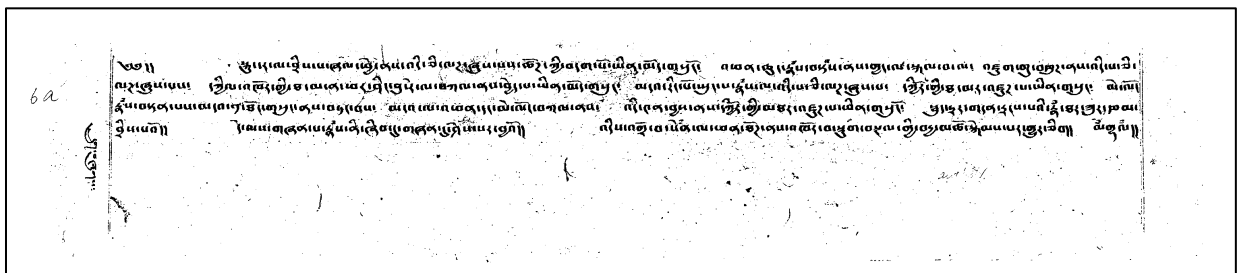


Figure 32: Biography D-AN: the last folio page

The colophon is concluded in just two lines, disclosing neither authorship nor origin of the source materials.

Just this much about the biography of sBud trar gdan drangs pa is written here. Please see other writings for a more detailed record. May this benefit sentient beings and dry up the ocean of sufferings caused by transmigration.¹¹⁵

sBud trar gdan drangs pa, The One being Invited to sBud tra, refers to the incarnation of U rgyan pa. The original name of the boy is not mentioned throughout the text. Judging from the content of this biography, which begins with the last prophecy of U rgyan pa and ends in the period when the incarnation was no more than three to four years old, the author was likely to be someone in the core who had actually witnessed most of the episodes and written down this short biography in early 1320s.

¹¹⁴ DREPUNG: 1565.

¹¹⁵ The colophon is found in the last 2 lines of *f.* 6a. See Appendix I for the transcription of the original text.

Relationship with other Biographies

This rare biography of his incarnation is an interesting supplement to the other life accounts of U rgyan pa. This biography has been placed in a separate group of its own owing to the apparent reason that it is largely the biography of another person, though this person was traditionally viewed as the incarnation and continuation of his predecessor. Please see Chapter IV: VII of this thesis for more comment on this.

SECTION II

Summaries of Biographies

Group A

Biographies A1-SO, A2-SO & A3-SO

Author: bSod nams 'od zer

Despite numerous deviations in spelling and wording, occasional addition and omission of a few lines or even an episode here and there, and minor sequential modification of some episodes, the three long biographies in Group A are basically similar. They consist of some ninety introductory verses, each summarising in chronological order a certain phase of U rgyan pa's life and prefacing a detailed account of it. Since the aim of this Section is to give a summary of the biographies rather than to identify all the variations, A1-SO will form the base of the summary. Please refer to Table 1 in Section I for the major variations of the content of these three biographies, and Table 3 in this Section for the page-by-page outline of A1-SO and corresponding pagination of content in full or part in other biographies except C4-NM and D-AN. There is no intention of unifying the spellings of the Tibetan personal names and place names. They will be spelt as they appear in individual texts. Please refer to Appendixes IV and V for variations of these names.

Table 3: Page-by-page outline of Biography A1-SO and corresponding content in full or part in other biographies except C4:NM and D-AN

Page-by-Page Synopsis of A1-SO		A2-SO	A3-SO	B1- KM	B2a- ZM	B2b- ZM	C1- ZS	C2- CM	C3- DT
1	Title and merits of this biography; achievements of U rgyan pa.	1b	1b						
2	Achievements of U rgyan pa.	2a	2a						
3	His deeds and achievements; missions of Bodhisattvas in general.	2a,b	2b						
4	Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Ground.	2b,3a	2b,3a						
5	Buddhas have many different manifestations.	3a	3a						
6	Prophecy about birth of U rgyan pa.	3b	3b						2a
7	Ancestry.	4a	3b,4a	1b	1b	1a			2a
8	His early ancestor settles down in La stod lho.	4b	4a	1b	1b 2a	1b			
9	His great-grandfather and grandfather.	4b,5a	4b	1b	2a	1b			
10	His parents and names of his siblings.	5a,b	4b,5a	1b				8a	2a
11	Auspicious signs during conception and birth.	5b,6a	5a	2b	2a	1b			2a
12	Prediction made by his father and paternal uncle.	6a	5b	2b					
13	Shows unusual precocity.	6b	5b,6a	2b	2a	1b			
14	Loves meditation since childhood and can recall his former lives.	7a	6a	3a					
15	Age 6/7: learns with uncle. Age 15/16: enters Bo dong E monastery.	7a,b	6b	3a	2b	1b			2a
16	Age 15/16: well versed in both sūtras and tantras.	7b,8a	6b,7a	3a	2b	1b			2b
17	Encounters rGod tshang pa.	8a,b	7a,b	3a	2b	2a			
18	Continues learning with his elder brother.	8b,9a	7b	3b					
19	Age 19/20: ordained at Bo dong E.	9a	7b 8a	3b	2b	2a			
20	Learns various sūtras and tantras including the Kālacakra.	9b	8a	3b	2b	2a			
21	Goes to dBus to learn under a Kālacakra adept but the teacher leaves him half way.	9b 10a	8b	4a					2b

22	Being shown all his parents in his previous seven lives by Pha Dam pa.	10a 10b	8b 9a	4a	2b	2a			2b	
23	Less and less attached to parents emotionally.	10b 11a	9a	4a 4b						
24	Age 22/23: revisits rGod tshang pa after death of his father.	11a	9b 10a	4b					2b	
25	Learns with rGod tshang pa.	In different order in 11b-14b	In different order in 10a-12a	5a	2b	2a				
26	Being initiated into the Mahāmudrā.			6a						
27	Actualises the teachings he has learnt.			4b 6a	2b	2a				
28	Given Kālacakra initiation in a dream.			5b						
29	rGod tshang pa recounts how Vajrayoginī had entrusted him with sacred texts.			5a						
30	Learns the 'channel and energy' yoga; has auspicious dreams.			6a						
31	Very proud of his own achievements; regarded as successor of rGod tshang pa; dreams of Ras chung pa giving him teachings.	14b 15a	12a	6b	2b	2a				
32	Said to be an emanation of Ras chung pa and Cakrasaṃvara; has more auspicious dreams.	15a,b	12b	6b						
33	Has a prophetic dream; told by rGod tshang pa that they had been master and disciple for many generations.	15b	12b 13a	6b 7a						
34	Dreams of going to various Buddha-fields and then Bodhgaya; attains magical <i>siddhi</i> on waking up.	nil	13a,b	--	11b	12b				
35	Practises meditation earnestly.	15c	13b	7a						
36	Being told by rGod tshang pa he will excel his teacher in future; practises equanimity.	15c,d 16a	14a	7a						
37	Realises that all phenomena are but emptiness; feels unhappy when 'Gro ba bzang mo doubts the level of his practice.	16a,b	14a,b	7b						
38	rGod tshang pa bids him to practice for 12 years before trying to benefit other.	16b 17a	14b	7b 8a						
39	Enters into sacred commitment with 'Gro bzang.	17a,b	15a	8a	2b	2a				
40	Imposes strict rules of discipline on congregation attendants.	17b	15a,b	8a						

41	Enjoys his teacher's special favour.	18a	15b	8a					
42	A <i>sngags pa</i> pledges to assist his deeds.	18a,b	16a	8b	2b	2a			
43	rGod tshang pa wants him to stay by his side, and entrusts him with sacred texts.	18b 19a	16a,b	8b					
44	Others are jealous of him.	19a,b	16b	8b 9a					
45	Wants to go to Śambhala but his teacher disapproves of it.	19b	17a	9a					
46	Insists on going, which provokes his teacher.	20a	17a,b						
47	Commits suicide; his teacher asks 'Gro bzang to bring him back to life.	20b	17b	9a					
48	rGod tshang pa finally yields.	21a	18a	9b					
49	Performs austerity with two companions in the deserted regions.	21b	18a,b	9b	2b	2a			
50	Encounters the leaders of the Be re troops.	21b 22a	18b	9b					
51	Being interrogated.	22a,b	19a	10a					
52	Gets alms from Be re troops and other nomads.	22b	19a,b	10a					
53	Performs benediction for the nomads.	23a	19b	10b					
54	Saves the life of the son of the Be re leader.	23b	20a						
55	Spends 9 months in the Byang region and survives a severe winter.	24a	20a,b	10b					
56	Goes to Mt Kailash via Dol po; meets inhospitable 'Bri gung practitioners.	24b	20b	10b					
57	Gains superb understanding in tantric teachings; slighted by other practitioners.	24b 25a	21a	10b	3a	2a			
58	Expels demon in a temple; makes himself invisible to the dogs; travels with magical swift gait.	25a,b	21b	11a					
59	Pays homage to Lake Manasarovar and then goes to Pu rang gDong dmar.	25b	21b 22a		3a	2a			
60	Subjugates a territorial deity; goes to Ru thog; (next year) continues travelling westward.	26a	22a	11a	3a	2a			
61	Desires to go to U rgyan but a song from the sky dissuades him from going; continues travelling in N.W. India.	26b	22b	11a	3a	2b			
62	Preaches and meditates on the way.	26a	22b						

		27a	23a						
63	Arrives in Jalandhar.	27a,b	23a	11b	3a	2b			
64	Discusses dharma with other practitioners; attains worldly <i>siddhi</i> ; slighted again by others in a tantric feast.	27b 28a	23b		3a	2b			
65	Performs austerity in Jalandhar; insists on going to U rgyan despite inauspicious signs.	28a	23b 24a	11b					
66	Refuses to let his companion join him.	28b	24a	11b					
67	Goes with another companion; cares little for money.	29a	24b	12a					
68	Timid and afraid of bandits; breaks his teeth; healed by <i>dākinīs</i> .	29a,b	24b 25a	12a	3b	2b			
69	Determines to attain enlightenment in this very life; attacked by the <i>tīrthikas</i> .	29b 30a	25a	12a	3b	3a			
70	Encounters Sog po bandits; continues marching westward; kidnapped by Sog pos.	30a,b	25b	12b	3b	3a			
71	Survives Sog po attack; enters the land of the Sog po.	30b	25c	12b	3b	3a			
72	Passes near Kashmir and a mountain with huge salt mines; travels in the company of salt merchants.	31a	25c,d		3b	3a			
73	Passes some more cities and begs alms on the way; finally arrives at the gate of U rgyan.	31a,b	25d						
74	Harassed by spirits and demons for more than 70 times on the way.	31b 32a	26a	13a	3b	3a			
75	Remarks that River Sindhu flows through Bru sha and sTag gzig to U rgyan; has an illusion of the sky and the earth reversing.	32a	26a	13a	3b	3a			
76	Hides in a pigpen; crosses the Sindhu to the land of U rgyan which has recently been seized by Hor invaders.	32b	26b	13b					
77	Caught by people who mistake him for Hor; escapes after dark and joins a sTag gzig couple going westward.	33a	27a	13b					
78	Crosses the Sindhu (again); receives escort from some good people.	33b	27a,b	14a	3b	3a			
79	Continues marching towards U rgyan; passes through land with rich resources.	33b 34a	27b						

80	Reaches Mt Ilam in which there is a repository housing 84,000 titles of Buddhist texts.	34a,b	28a	14a	3b	3a			
81	Passes the ruins said to be the capital of King Indrabhūti; feels that he had been born there.	34b	28a,b						
82	Feels that he was Indrabhūti; scares away the evil ḍākinīs; recounts the legend of Mahāsiddha Kambala.	35a	28b	14b	3b	3a			
83	Being told he is Indrabhūti; explains to his attendant there are two Indrabhūtis.	35a,b	29a	14b	3b	3a			
84	Arrives in the capital of U rgyan; finds many ḍākinīs.	35b	29b	14b	3b	3a			
85	Saves his companion from being killed by bandits; says all women in the city know how to transform into different kinds of beings.	36a,b missing	29b	14b					
86	Meets a three-eyed woman and a woman with <i>swastika</i> sign on forehead.		30a	15a					
87	Begs food from the latter and benefits in his Mahāmudrā practice.	37a	30b	15b					
88	Has terrible illusions after drinking the soup given by a woman; afterwards realises the true nature of all phenomena.	37a,b	30b 31a	15b	3b	3a			
89	Free of conceptual thoughts; channel knots untied; being given the teachings of <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> by Vajrayoginī.	37b	31a	16a	3b	3b			
90	Wants his companion to receive the same but unsuccessful; believes that now he is on the par with, or even excels, 'Gro bzang.	38a	31b	15b	4a	3b			
91	Recounts the sacred sites in the four directions of Dhu ma tha la.	38b	31b 32a	16a	4a	3b			
92	Recounts other sacred features; meets women dressed like Tibetan nuns saying that they came from Tibet that very morning.	39a	32a	16a					
93	The temple built by Indrabhūtis has many ḍākinīs who go to Tibet in the morning and come here in the afternoon.	39b 40a	32b	17a	4a	3b			
94	Collects in the Cave of Kambala the skeletons of people killed by the Hors; recalls that he had been born in U rgyan.	40a,b	33a	17b	4a	3b			
95	Wants to stay longer in U rgyan but finally	40b	33a,b	17b					

	agrees to accompany his companion for a distance in his return journey.								
96	Travels along the trade route; helps solve the problem of the traders.	41a	33b	18a	4a	3b			
97	On the way to Kashmir, passes through valleys with rich resources.	41a,b	34a		4a	3b			
98	Arrives in Srinagar which is under Hor rule; discusses tantras with adepts.	41b	34a,b	18a	4a	3b			
99	Meets an adept in Kālacakra.	42a	35a		4a	3b			
100	Chased by the King's guards.	42b	35a,b						
101	Being caught but uses his wits to escape.	43a	35b						
102	Travels southeastward and reaches Avantipur.	43a,	36a		4a	3b			
103	Meets 500 women saying that they are going to assist him in Tibet; passes through Jalandhar; becomes renowned along the trade route.	43b 44a	36b	18a	4a	3b			
104	Feels that he has attained an undefiled body; believes it is his destiny to return to Tibet.	44a,b	36b 37a	18a	4a	4a			
105	Acquires the name of U rgyan pa; invited by the king of Mar yul to visit there.	45a	37a,b	18a			120a		
106	Demonstrates his <i>siddhi</i> ; does not accept the king's precious gifts.	45b	37b	18a, b					
107	Bestows sons to the king and ordains many monks.	45b 46a	38/39a		4a	4a			
108	Travels eastward with the king; has a vision of rGod tshang pa.	46a,b	38/39b	18b	4b	4a	121a		
109	Hears the news of his guru's death; declines the king's invitation to return to Mar yul.	46b 47a	38/39b 40a	18b	4b	4a	121a		
110	Disperses the gifts given by the king and continues travelling eastward.	47a	40a	19a					
111	Passes the gold mines; dreams of rGod tshang pa taking rebirth.	47b	40b	19a	4b	4a			
112	Remembers well the faces of the parents of rGod tshang pa's incarnation; expels a toad that intrudes into his mouth.	48a	40b 41a	19a					
113	Performs magic in straining <i>chang</i> ; conquers the Lake Goddess who tries to detain him at Mt rTa sgo.	48b	41a	19a					

114	Has pity on the Lake Goddess and restores her losses.	--	41b						
115	Sheep Year; arrives in rDo rje gling the former seat of rGod tshang pa.	48b 49a	41b	19b					
116	Finds the place deserted; dreams of rGod tshang pa telling him to go to Bodhgaya and the news of 'Gro bzang dying.	49a	42a	19b	5b	6a			
117	Stubbornly refuses to entreat 'Gro bzang not to die.	49b	42a,b	19b					
118	Shows regret after 'Gro bzang is dead; performs tantric feast with former companions; performs magic in straining <i>chang</i> .	50a	42b	20a					
119	Proposes to build a shrine in honour of rGod tshang pa.	50a,b	43a	20a					
120	Takes charge of building the shrine and erecting statues of rGod tshang pa; orders the dharma protectors to expel epidemic.	50b 51a	43a,b	20b	5b	6a			
121	Hears a voice saying that he is Virūpa, Kambala and Kṛṣṇacarya; leaves rDo rje gling.	51a	43b		6a	6a			
122	Performs austerity in bDe chen stengs; shows his power of clairvoyance.	51b	44a	20b					
123	Shows his <i>siddhi</i> in healing wounds; searches for cave in bDe chen stengs.	51b 52a	44a,b	20b					
124	Subjugates and binds the territorial deities with oath.	52a	44b	20b					
125	Has prophetic dreams; pacifies epidemics and shows his clairvoyance power.	52b	45a	20b					
126	Ponders over three possible places to benefit others; decides to stay in Tibet.	52b 53a	45a,b	20b					3a
127	Explains the reasons; dreams of a woman prophesising his life span; hears a voice saying that he is Ras chung pa.	53a	45b 46a	21a, b	6a	6a		8a 15a	
128	Prepares himself for the Bodhgaya pilgrimage; dreams of a woman giving him a magical formula for expelling epidemic.	53b	46a	21b					
129	Has a vision of the magical formula; performs thanksgiving ritual.	54a	46a,b	21b	6a	6a			
130	Epidemic prevails; demonstrates his <i>siddhi</i> .	54a,b	46b	22a	6a	6a			

131	Remarks that none of his followers has yet accomplished the Mahāmudrā; has a prophetic dream about going to Bodhgaya.	54b 55a	47a						
132	Interprets the dreams of his attendant Shes rin; removes Shes rin's defilement.	55a,b	47a,b						
133	Erection of rGod tshang pa's stūpa; departs alone for Bodhgaya; a deity in Nepal bids him to help expel the Turuṣka invaders.	55b	47b	22a	6a	6a			
134	Performs rituals to expel Turuṣka invaders at Bodhgaya; passes through Kathmandu; arrives in Tirhuti in India.	56a	48a	22b	6a	6a			
135	Encounters King Ram Singh.	56b	48b	22b	6a	6a			
136	Makes trouble in Hindu temples.	56b 57a	48b 49a	22b	6a	6a			
137	Pays homage at Bodhgaya; performs rituals to expel invaders	57a,b	49a	22b	6a	6b			4a
138	Worships the Bodhi tree with deep devotion; recalls rGod tshang pa's prophecy.	57b	49b	22b 23a					
139	Attains equanimity and removes self-attachment; eliminates apprehension of self; overpowers the Hindu god Gaṇesa.	58a	49b 50a	23a	6a	6b			
140	Gaṇesa promises to be his protector and gives him the Gaṇesa teachings.	58b	50a	23a	6a	6b		3b	
141	Wishes to be reborn to serve rGod tshang pa in heaven; joins other monks and spirits in expelling Sog po and Turuṣka invaders.	58b 59a	50b	23b	6a	6b			
142	Discusses dharma with others; stays in the Śītavana charnel ground.	59a,b	50b 51a	23b	6b	6b			
143	Saves his companions from being harmed by a lake demon.	59b	51a	23b	6b	6b		3a	
144	Subjugates the demon and binds him with oath.	60a	51b						
145	(Return journey) Dreams of a woman healing his ailed legs; walks over water surface and petrifies a tiger.	60b	51b 52a	24a	6b	6b			
146	Returns to Tibet via Kathmandu; time to benefit others; Bodhgaya is ruined by Turuṣka invaders.	60b 61a	52a	24a	6b	6b			
147	Says that he is Ḍombī Heruka; has a vision of Mañjuśrī; shows his telepathic power.	61a,b	52b		6b 12b	6b 13b			

148	Cares not for self-benefit; wears only a single cotton gown.	61b 62a	52b 53a						
149	Dreams of the 84 Mahāsiddhas of India and the sages of the bKa' brgyud lineage; feels that he is Kambala.	62a,b	53a	24a	6b	6b			3a
150	Erects a statue of rGod tshang pa; shows his clairvoyance power.	62b	53b		6b	6b			
151	Predicts that a marketplace at dGa' ldan will prosper.	63a	53b 54a						
152	Returns to bDe chen stengs; goes to gNya' lam to confront a dBu ma pa who slanders rGod tshang pa.	63b	54a		6b	7a			
153	Orders the sky to stop raining; petrifies and overpowers dBu ma pa.	63b 64a	54b		6b	7a			
154	Bares most part of his body yet no wasp dares to sting him; performs many actions benefiting others.	64a,b	54b 55a						
155	Has a vision of Vajravārāhī; performs benediction around Ding ri; donates all offers received to others.	64b	55a						
156	Gives empowerment and Mahāmudrā teaching to 300 people in Go lung monastery.	65a	55b	24b	7a	7a			
157	Predicts he will have at least 4 monasteries; claims that his knowledge of the <i>Kālacakrantra</i> is unexcelled.	65b	55b 56a						
158	Knows about others' previous lives; has a large following; gives teachings of <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> to qualified students.	65b 66a	56a	24b	7a	7a,b			
159	Says that giving such teachings to many students will jeopardise his health.	66a,b	56b	24b	7a	7b			
160	Prays to expel sTod Hor invaders; the leader of the sTod Hor troops dies on the way and the army retreats.	66b	57a	25a	7a	7b			
161	Dreams of swallowing Tibetan letters and then all conceptual thinking removed; gains success in many things after seeing Vajrarāvāhī.	67a	57a,b	24a	7a	7b			
162	Stays in sBud skra; being accused of killing dBu ma pa with black magic; claims that he has many <i>siddhis</i> in removing his enemies.	67b	57b		7a	7b			

163	Give empowerment to 3500 persons in sBud skra and has a vision of Avalokiteśvara.	68a	58a	25a	7b 11b	8a 12b			3a
164	Revives Buddhism in Mar yul and ordains many monks there.	68a,b	58a,b	25a	7b	8a			
165	Returns from Ru thog to sKyid grong; stays in Shel ri.	68b	58b		7b	8a			
166	Has a vision of Vajrayoginī taking him to the abode of Ras chung pa; says that he is Virūpa, Kambala and Indrabhūti; gives donations to restore the ruins in Bodhgaya.	68b 69a	59a	25b	7b	8a			3a
167	Continuously sends offerings and donations to Bodhgaya; gives Kālacakra initiations to over 500 people in sBud skra.	69a,b	59a,b	25b					
168	Has a vision of the deities of U rgyan; (Horse Year) gives teachings of <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> to mKhar chu ba.	69b	59b	25b					3a
169	Has a vision of the Buddha and attains eight worldly <i>siddhis</i> ; receives approval from Vajrayoginī to put down the Vajra Verse.	70a	60a	25b 26a	8a	8b		10a 10b	
170	Writes down the teachings and his <i>rtogs brjod</i> ; builds his residence in sBud skra but predicts that it will be destroyed.	70b	60a,b	26a					
171	Successfully dissuades Qubilai from invading Nepal; goes to Bodhgaya again.	70b 71a	60b	26a	8a	8b			7a
172	Passes through Bal po rdzong; overpowers the tax officers; buys an elephant at Tirhuti.	71a	61a	26a					
173	Welcomed by Gaṇesa at the Ganges; gives many offerings in Bodhgaya.	71b	61a,b	26a	8a	8b			
174	Clears the obstacles of the <i>Dzo kis</i> .	72a	61b	26a	8a	8b			
175	Visits sacred sites in South India and witnesses the ablution of the Buddha's relics.	72b	62a	26a	8a	8b			
176	Encounters many difficulties in the return journey; meets many Tibetan refugees in Kathmandu.	72b 73a	62a,b	26b	8a	8b			
177	Helps relieve the ordeal of the refugees.	73a,b	62b						
178	Pays tax directly to the king at Bal po rdzong; saves a woman who nearly dies in childbirth.	73b 74a	63a						
179	Tricks a paṇḍita by transferring the smell of	74a	63b		8a	8b			6a

	<i>chang</i> into his mouth.								
180	Has a vision of all the deities of the Cakra-saṃvara maṇḍala; offers his head to the deities.	74b	63b 64a	26b	8a	9a			3a
181	Has a vision of the lineage holders of Mahāmudrā.	75a	64a,b		8b	9a			3b
182	Receives initiations in Mahāmudrā and records the teachings in words; performs 'mind-arising' for many practitioners and gives them Kālacakra initiations.	75b	64b		8b	9a			
183	Demonstrates his <i>siddhi</i> ; invokes rain to put off mountain fire; says that the loosening of the channel knots in his body causes earthquake.	76ar	65a	26b 27a					
184	His residence at sBud skra is destroyed by dPon chen; recalls his former life in Li Kingdom.	76a,b	65a,b	27a	8b	9a			
185	Had been born in various countries; predicts the death of the dPon chen; his residence is restored by a Mongol prince.	76b	65b	27a	8b	9a			
186	Prefers to stay in Tibet to benefit others; the dPon chen is persecuted.	77a	66a	27a	8b	9a		6b	9a
187	Goes to Sa skya to meet 'Phags pa; welcomed by 'Phags pa but challenged by Sang gha.	77a,b	66a,b	27a					
188	'Phags pa tests his knowledge of the <i>Kālacakratantra</i> .	77b	66b 67a						
189	Appraises some renowned religious scholars in Tibet.	78a	67a						
190	Continues his benediction journey to Central Tibet; performs various <i>siddhis</i> and attracts a large following.	78b	67b	27a	8b	9a			
191	Fulfills the wishes of all people; gives generous donations; being offered a monastery; convinces a village to give up blood sacrifice.	79a	68a						
192	Predicts the conflicts between his people and another tribe.	79b	68a,b					7a 8a 13a	
193	Mediates the dispute between the (5 th) dPon chen and bSam yas rgyal po.	80a	68b 69a	27b					
194	The dPon chen dies after bSam yas rgyal po refuses to accept his apology.	80b	69a,b	27b					
195	Instructs others how to avoid evils in a	81a	69b	27b					

	fearsome region; shows his power of clairvoyance.								
196	Goes to mTshur phu monastery; settles disputes on the way.	81b	70a	27b					
197	The Karma pa foretells his arrival.	81b 82a	70b	27a	8b	9a			
198	Enjoys a grand welcome given by mTshur phu; explains to the Karma pa why he is late.	82a,b	70b 71a						
199	Being entrusted with the Black Hat of Karma pa.	82b 83a	71a	28a	8b	9a			
200	Enjoys great hospitality at mTshur phu.	83a,b	71b	28a					
201	Goes to Lhasa; has conflict with the men of the Prefect of dBus; scares away the Prefect.	83b	72a		8b	9a			
202	Preaches on the way; meets the incarnation of rGod tshang pa; visits bSam yas monastery.	84a	72a,b		8b	9b			
203	Horse Year. Inscribes the history of Buddhism at the corridor of bSam yas; visits the seat of Phag mo gru.	84b	72b 73a		8b	9b			
204	Slighted by Phag mo gru Rin po che; performs rituals on the mountain behind the monastery.	84b 85a	73a,b						
205	Visits Khra 'brug monastery in gYa' bzang; enjoys great hospitality.	85a,b	73b						
206	Gives Cakrasaṃvara initiations to 600 people; cured the chronic disease of mKhar chu ba; gives Kālacakra initiations in Yar klungs.	85b 86a	73b 74a		9a	9b			
207	Commissions the copying of Kālacakra commentaries and distributes them to the learned monks; fulfils his followers' wishes.	86a	74a,b					1b	4b
208	Worshipped by many followers; cures patients with Beating-Therapy; performs rituals to expel Hor invaders; subjugates an evil spirit in Thang po che; visits the Tubo tombs.	86b	74b					1b	
209	Goes south of Yar klungs; ordains many people in a market town.	87a	75a		9a	9b			
210	Preaches at Nyal, performs 'mind-arising' in dGa' ldan; appoints the mountain hermits of Tsari to perform rituals commemorating rGod tshang pa's death anniversary.	87b	75a,b						
211	Gives large amount of donations to the	88/89a	75b		9a	9b			

	mountain hermits of Tsa ri; foretells the conspiracy of the thieves.		76a						
212	Fearless of threats because gods and spirits are at his service.	88/89b	76a,b						
213	Restores the former monastery of Chag (Phyag) Lotsava; advises the caretaker not to involve in politics; criticises the Lotsava for saying that the rNying ma and Zhe byed teachings were perverted.	90a	76b						
214	Says that he has seen numerous texts of the New and Old Tantras in Nepal; admonishes the sNyal people on their burying of monasteries; recounts the legend of the Golden Stūpa consecrated by King Candragupta.	90a,b	77a		9a	9b	115a		
215	Convinces the Lo ro craftsmen to stop smelting metal Buddhist statues into handicrafts for sale.	90b 91a	77b		9a	9b	115a		
216	Says that a secret valley in Mon mtsho is similar to U rgyan; understands different dialects.	91a,b	78a		9a	10a			
217	Stays in Lake Ne ra region; spends the summer in Yar lha sham po; builds a monastery there.	91b 92a	78a,b		9a,b	10a			
218	Contemplates the past; wishes to spend the rest of his life in India; returns to La stod.	92a,b	78b						
219	Persuades the incarnation of rGod tshang pa to abandon the monastery and follow him back to La stod; performs benediction in sNye mo; dreams of the Karma pa giving him the Black Hat.	92b 93a	79a	29b	9b	10b			
220	Ends his benediction in Central Tibet and returns to sBud skra; understands that enemies and obstacles are inevitable in his life.	93a,b	79a,b						
221	Has endless enemies; shows his power of clairvoyance.	93b 94a	79b						
222	Enlightens practitioners with his <i>siddhi</i> ; converts some Hindu practitioners.	94a	80a						5b
223	15 Indian practitioners come to pay homage to him but he is away; being offered a monastery in gCung pa and foretells the building of monasteries there.	94b	80b						
224	Declines Qubilai Khan's invitations to go to	95a	80b	29b	10a	10b			

	Yuan China.		81a						
225	Tortured by the Mongol envoy Temür; manages to escape.	95b	81a,b					4b	
226	Accepts the invitation from another envoy; sets off for the Yuan capital in Dragon Year (1292).	95b	81b	29b	10a	11a		5b	
227	Performs benediction on the way.	--	82a						
228	Respectfully received by Mongol envoys in Lhasa.	96a	82a,b		10a	11a			
229	Entrusted with the mission of presenting the Longevity Water to the Emperor.	96b	82b 83a						
230	Receives a warm welcome in Tshal gung thang; sought refuge by a convicted officer.	97a	83a						
231	Prevented by the Sa skya authority to do so; passes through sTag lung; recovers underground treasures.	97b	83b						
232	Receives a big welcome in mDo Khams and Shing kun.	97b 98a	83b 84a	30a	10b	11a			
233	Honoured with grand welcome throughout the rest of the journey; passes through the vicinity of Ri bo rtse lnga.	98a,b	84a	30a					
234	Arrives in the Yuan capital and settles down in the palace.	98b	84b						
235	Presents the Longevity Water to the Emperor; relieves the Emperor's arm ailment.	99a	84b 85a	30a					
236	Applies Beating-Therapy but not allowed to perform acupuncture.	99b	85a,b	30a					
237	Performs ablution for the Buddha's relics; predicts that the emperor will not live long; slandered and ill treated by Sa skya priests.	100a	85b 86a	30a					
238	Teaches the ministers about dietetics; refuses to accept the Emperor's gifts.	100a,b	86a,b	30a					
239	Tells Qubilai he knows how to turn base metal into silver; saves a woman who nearly dies in childbirth; knows the previous life of a minister.	100b 101a	86b	30b					
240	Stays for two and a half months; insists on departing despite the Emperor's disapproval.	101a,b	86b 87a	30b					
241	Qubilai Khan provides him with escorts and	101b	87a	30b					

	facilities for the return journey and reprimands the Sa skya pas who slander U rgyan pa.			31a					
242	Refuses to take the Emperor's gifts except some snacks; hints that Qubilai Khan is not the emanation of Mañjuśrī.	102a	87b						
243	Visits Ri bo rtse lnga; revives a water spring; gives Cakrasaṃvara initiations to the <i>dGe bshes</i> and the Mi nya people; demonstrates his <i>siddhi</i> in straining <i>chang</i> .	102b	87b 88a		10b	11a			
244	Arrives in rMa chu river; greeted by many Mi nyag people who come to pay homage; arrives in sKyid rong.	103a	88a,b	31a	10b	11a			
245	Consecrates a meditation cave in sKyid rong; predicts the ceasing of one household lineage; consumes toxic meat but does not get harmed.	103b	88b 89a		10b	11a			
246	Helps the dead to take higher rebirth; shows his power of clairvoyance.	104a	89a		10b	11a			7b
247	Helps the dead to take higher rebirth; the colour of his face changes depending on which tutelary deity he invokes.	104b	89b						8b
248	Dreams of Karma Pakshi; meets his incarnation.	104b 105a	89b 90a		10b	11b			
249	Crowns the boy with the Black Hat; requests King Buddhasena to send him the Buddha's relics.	105a,b	90a		10b	11b			
250	Worships the relics with devotion for the rest of his life.	105b	90b		10b	11b			
251	Has a vision of himself turning into an Indian child; shows his power of clairvoyance; performs rituals commemorating rGod tshang pa's death anniversary.	106a	90b 91a						
252	Details about the rituals.	106b	91a						
253	Entrusted by a Mi nyag donor to send donations to Bodhgaya; shows his power of clairvoyance.	107a	91b						
254	Entrusted by other kings to send donations to Bodhgaya; goes to Sa skya.	107b	92a						
255	Removes the obstacles of his patron; expels the spirit threatening a woman's life; invokes rain to relieve drought; encounters the child he	107b 108a	92a,b					13b	7b

	bestowed to a woman.								
256	Performs exorcising rituals; orders the territorial deity to retrieve a runaway horse; foretells happenings.	108a,b	92b 93a						
257	Gives advices to Tsa ri monastery; trains domestic birds to do meditation.	108b 109a	93a		10b	11b			8b,9 a
258	Gives teachings in sBud skra; says that he is a 'seven-birthed (Brahman)'.	109a,b	93b						3a
259	Experiences no difference between meditation and post-meditation; gives precept on this; enlightens a practitioner.	109b	93b 94a						5a
260	Stays in Ding ri; listens to the song about his life written by sNyi mo ga pa.	110a	94a,b						6a
261	Gives teachings about Mahāmudrā to a disciple and shows his telepathic power.	110b	94b						
262	Searches for the entrance of a secret valley in gNya' lam.	111a	95a						
263	Expels the demon swallowing the moon; finds an underground treasure but realises that he is not destined to reveal it.	111b	95a,b						
264	Predicts others' fortune; listens to the mountain hermits singing his song; predicts that someone will write annotations for this song.	112a,b	95b 96a		14a	15a			
265	Explains about equanimity; restores the chastity of a nun.	112b	96a,b						
266	Instructs a nun how to avoid a predicted mishap; advises someone to donate all his properties to survive a disaster.	113a	96b						
267	Demonstrates how to transfer the smell of <i>chang</i> into other's mouth, and other <i>siddhis</i> ; says that his achievements are unsurpassed.	113a,b	97a						
268	Says that dying without attaining enlightenment is useless; shows his telepathic power; explains <i>ālaya vijñāna</i> .	113b 114a	97b		10b	11b			5b
269	Shows his clairvoyance and telepathic power.	114a,b	97b 98a						8a
270	Performs funeral rites and shows his clairvoyance power.	114b	98a						8a,b

271	Performs funeral rites and shows his clairvoyance power.	114b 115a	98b						
272	Refuses to give teachings to people who learn it to show off; shows his power of clairvoyance.	115a,b	98b 99a						
273	Tells somebody's fortune; gives teachings of <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> to his disciples; gives Kālacakra initiations to many followers.	115b 116a	99a						
274	Admits that he looks more sturdy when seated; stays in gCung pa; said to be a Bodhisattva of the Eighth Ground.	116a,b 117a	99b 100a						
275	Applies Beating Therapy to cure a patient.	117a,b	100b						
276	Enlightens a disciple by uttering an incantation; teaches a student how to focus the mind; conveys teachings through devotional songs.	117b	100b 101a						5b
277	Knows different languages and dialects; well versed in all religious teachings; has learnt with many Tibetan and Indian scholars; has translated various religious texts (from Sanskrit).	118a	101a,b	31b					
278	Annotates the <i>Kālacakrantra</i> ; listens attentively to others' teachings; commissions the copying of the Kālacakra commentaries and distributes them to the <i>dGe bshes</i> .	118a,b	101b						4b
279	Gives generous donations; has deep regards for the mendicants and the poor; continuously sends donations to Bodhgaya.	118b 119a	102a	31b					
280	Performs daily rituals devotedly; looks youthful; races uphill with his disciples.	119a,b	102a,b	31b					
281	His body is filled with constant bliss and inner heat; wears only a thin garment in winter; most of the time bares his body with perfect ease.	119b	102b	32a					
282	Has an amiable disposition but puts on a stern face on formal occasions; gentle like a child but harsh to those who abuse their status and power.	120a	103a						
283	Compiles a chart showing the medicinal ingredients mentioned in the <i>Kālacakrantra</i> ;	120b	103a,b						
284	Monkey Year (1308); in his 79 th year; stays in sKyid rong.	121a	103b 104a	32a					

285	Continues preaching; teaches his students <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> and <i>Chos drug</i> ; feels that his body becomes clumsy.	121b	104a,b						
286	Predicts his death; wishes to be reborn in India or Śambhala.	121b 122a	104b 105a		14b	15b		13b	9b
287	Bird Year (1309); feels weaker; passes away on the 20 th day of the 8 th month; a disciple living in Shri ri sees unusual signs over sBud skra from a distance.	122a,b	105a	32b					9b
288	This disciple dreams of U rgyan pa turning into an Indian boy; his body is cremated; the writer's colophon.	122b 123a	105b						10a
289	Writer's colophon.	123a	105b						

Group B

Biography B1-KM

Author: Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (The 3rd Karma pa)

This biography is basically an extract of bSod nams 'od zer's full-scale biography with nearly all the key episodes succinctly summarised in almost the same chronological order while showing closer resemblance to A2-SO in content. Thus, instead of repeating the summary here, I would like to point out some features unique to this biography.

Firstly, many legends about U rgyan pa's miraculous powers of clairvoyance and omniscience were omitted in this biography, probably out of consideration that they were only hearsays. Secondly, the episodes of the author's encounters with U rgyan pa were not mentioned at all, perhaps due to the author being discreet and humble, and did not want to advertise himself in his teacher's biography. Thirdly, there is one significant remark about U rgyan pa's eccentricity, which is absent in all other versions available. It is said that U rgyan pa did have high regard for conventions in his youthful days. It was after learning with rGod tshang pa and realising the quintessence of equanimity and nonduality that he began to act like a madman in the eyes of others. After receiving the highest tantric teachings in U rgyan, he became totally enlightened and completely free from the bondage of worldly conventions.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ B1-KM: 28b-29b.

Biography B2a-ZM & B2b-ZM

Author: mKha' spyod dri med dpal ye shes (The 4th Zhva dmar pa)

As discussed before, these two biographies basically share the same archetype derived from bSod nams 'od zer's long biography. Therefore these two editions have been treated as one in giving the following summary. The first two-thirds of the text is devoted to a very succinct chronological account of the hero's life, incorporating five devotional songs, four of which are either scattered or incomplete or not found in bSod nams 'od zer's long versions. The rest is a brief narrative of U rgyan pa's various visions, largely found only in the short biography C1-ZS written by Zla ba seng ge.

Summary of the last one-third of the biographies

Somewhere from here the text turns from chronological to a series of random episodes, mostly about U rgyan pa's dreams and clear visions. Before he actually set foot in U rgyan, he had dreamt of going there, where he saw Vajrayoginī and the Four Great Ḍākinīs, each giving him in verse form a precept about the essence of spiritual practice. He also had the visions of meeting various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in their respective buddha-fields and celestial realms. He meditated on his lama who then turned into his former teachers Dus 'khor ba Sangs rgyas rdo rje and Bo dong Rin rtse. In a dream, he went to Vaiśālī where the Ḍākinīs of the Five Classes sang him the Song of the Five Ḍākinīs. Before he went to the Yuan capital he met in a vision Mañjuśrī, who gave him precepts and a conch. He competed with another yogin in seeing celestial realms in their visions, and he managed to see clearly the abode of Indra on Mt Meru, and the abode of the great Indian master Śavari¹¹⁷ in Sri Parvata in South India. He also had visions of the emanation of the

¹¹⁷ Dict-ID. Śavari was one of the Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas in India.

Śambhala king showing him the way to Śambhala. While staying in the Asura cave¹¹⁸ he dreamt of going to Śītavana in India to see Tilopa.¹¹⁹ He sang the thirteen-stanza *Song of Thirteen No-Needs*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ It is not sure whether this is the Asura Cave (also known as Gorakhnath's Cave) in Upper Yanglesho in Nepal.

¹¹⁹ Tilopa was the 10th-century great Indian tantric master of Bengal who became the guru of Nāropa who was the teacher of Mar pa, the founder of the bKa' brgyud order. He was one of the Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas of India. See Schmid 1954: 54.

¹²⁰ AS-01: 264, AS-02: 112a and A3-SO: 96a only mention the title of this song without giving the words.

Group C

Biography C1-ZS

Author: Zla ba seng ge

Most dreams and visions recounted in this biography are mentioned very briefly in biographies B2a-ZM and B2b-ZM. The "extremely secret oral teachings" instructed by U rgyan pa, as said in the colophon, interpolating between these accounts, are not found in any other biographies.

Summary

The biography begins with a four-line verse eulogising the achievements of U rgyan pa. This is followed by U rgyan pa's dream of going to U rgyan after hearing rGod tshang pa's prediction.¹²¹ At first he could not see the inside of the celestial palace but after a while he could see it clearly. He also saw Vajrayoginī and four other dākinīs. Each of them gave him a precept in verse form about the essence of spiritual practice.

The following accounts were from the notes made by Rin po che mKhar chu ba. On the 3rd day of the Bird year (1261? or 1273?), U rgyan pa had a vision of the great Indian master Śavari in sKyid grong. He also had a vision of Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas,¹²² who told him to make offerings on the 15th day of the month because it was particularly beneficial. He did accordingly and had a vision of streams of light radiating from Vajrayoginī's heart and sinking into his.

¹²¹ According to the chronology suggested in bSod nam 'od zer's biography, this incident should have happened in around 1252 when he revisited rGod tshang pa after the death of his father. This prediction of rGod tshang pa is found only in A2-SO: 12a.

¹²² He was the founder of the tantra called Zhi byed (Pacification). He had been to Tibet about five times. See Ringu 2007: 146–47 for this tantra.

Then the account seems to jump back to the time when he revisited rGod tshang pa. U rgyan pa dreamt of meeting various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in various buddha-fields, and the sixty-two deities in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. The realisation of complete perfection and the experience of equanimity arose from him. In response to the question and request of dBus pa dGe shes Kun rin, U rgyan pa gave a deep teaching elucidating the essential difference of the two levels of truth—*don dam* and *kun rdzob*.¹²³ When his student insisted on knowing the difference between Mahāmudrā and the Six-Branched Practice, he explained their subtle difference on the level of 'superfactual truth' (*don dam bden pa*), and the difference in the details of practising these two yogas.

A student requested him to elucidate on the saying that all sūtras had to be cast away at the ultimate stage, and the reason why the Six-Branched Practice was still considered by some as a lowly and inadequate practice while it was known that different methods could be used to suit different practitioners. U rgyan pa explained to him that like the rainbow in the sky, all sūtras ultimately were but emptiness; having misconceptions in the Six-Branched Practice would hinder proper understanding of the Mahāmudrā.

A student asked why there was no magical illusion (*sgyu ma*) in Tibet. He explained that it was because there was no Vajra Land (*rDo rje'i sa*) in Tibet. When asked to explain what Vajra Land was, he said that this could not be disclosed to the ordinary people, and refused to say further. Then he started recounting some of his dreams. He had dreamt of going to Potala¹²⁴ where he saw Avalokiteśvara, many bodhisattvas and the chief sages of the bKa' brgyud lineage. He also dreamt of going to Vaiśālī and seeing the Ḍākinīs of The Five Classes.

A student told U rgyan pa that some practitioners of Mahāmudrā and the Six-Branched Practice criticised each other's practice as being ineffective in obtaining enlightenment, and the solution seemed not found in any text. U rgyan pa explained the answer in detail. Another student told him that he seemed to have witnessed in India the incident of a

¹²³ Dict-ID. *Don dam bden pa* (the superfactual truth, Sankrit *paramārtha*) and *kun rdzob bden pa* (the fictional truth, Sanskrit *saṃvṛitisatyam*) are the 'two levels of truth' taught by the Buddha.

¹²⁴ The mountain abode of Avalokiteśvara.

practitioner of the Six-Branched Practice fail in transmigrating his consciousness (*'pho ba*) when he died. U rgyan pa maintained that the Six-Branched Practice was not to be blamed if the practitioner was not accomplished enough in this practice.

While he was staying in dMyal (sNyal) in Lower Yar klungs, he had a vision of going to Ri bo rtse lnga (Wutaishan in North China) and seeing Mañjuśrī. When he was in Lo ro, he succeeded in stopping the craftsmen from smelting metal Buddhist images into personal ornaments for sale. After seeing the big stūpa in dMyal smad and recounting its legend to the local people, he had a vision of going to North India to see the Indian king Candragupta who consecrated this stūpa. On another occasion, he dreamt of Kun dga' bzang po, the 2nd dPon chen, bending down (*'dud gin*) [before] Bla ma Phyag na rdo rje.¹²⁵

He recounted his contests with the yogin Shag ras¹²⁶ in seeing the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven¹²⁷ in their visions. He managed to see clearly the abode of Indra on Mt Meru and the abode of the great Indian master Śavari in Sri Parvata in South India. His journey to Bodhgaya was obstructed on the way by the tax collectors (in Nepal) but he cleared the obstacles by meditation. The caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) of Bodhgaya urged him to stay but he declined in a twenty-line verse.

The following accounts were taken from the notes of Lama Shes rin. U rgyan pa had visions of the Śambhala king showing him the way to Śambhala. While staying in the Asura Cave he dreamt of going to Śītavana in Bodhgaya to see Tilopa. He visited the Mar yul King and travelled back with him. After hearing the news of rGod tshang pa's death on the way, he gave the King detailed precepts on how to practice Buddhism before the King went back to Mar yul. The biography ends with a colophon written by the author giving a detailed account of the origin of the main source materials.

¹²⁵ This Bla ma refers to the brother of Sa skya 'Phags pa. Van der Kuijp 2004: 316 notes that U rgyan pa "actually saw Kun dga' bzang po poison Phyag na rdo rje", based on a similar version of this biography from Gangtok.

¹²⁶ The name has the same spelling in B2b-ZM: 13b, but as 'Sha ka ras' in B2a-ZM: 12b.

¹²⁷ Dict-CBT: 60. "Trāyastriṃśa. The Indra heaven, the second of the six heavens of form. Its capital is situated on the summit of Mt. Sumeru...."

Biography C2-CM

Author: Chu mig pa Rin rgyal

This biography consists of several key episodes about U rgyan pa's visit to Yar klungs, his tactics in dealing with the sTod Hor and (sMad) Hors, his grudges with the Tsha mda' clan and his niece (or grand niece?) (*dbon mo*), interpolated by some minor scenes mostly not found in other biographies.

Summary

The text starts with a fourteen-line verse eulogising the great achievements of U rgyan pa. It then immediately presents the details of the first episode, which was only briefly mentioned in bSod nams 'od zer's long biography. During a benediction trip to Yar klungs, U rgyan pa was invited by Rin chen seng ge, Prefect of Thang po che, and his brother, to expel the evil spirit harming the place.¹²⁸ He subjugated the spirit and bound it with an oath. Seeing the misbehaviour of the bKa' gdams pa monks there, he criticised 'Brom ston pa¹²⁹ and preached to the monks. He saved the life of his companions from being harmed by a lake monster. His men ran into a skirmish with the Hor (Mongol) army in mDo mkhar. When he was summoned to the barracks, he went with his men, unarmed, and managed to overpower the Mongols with his ferocious manner and eloquent speech. When he refused to go to see Qubilai Khan, he was tortured by the envoy Temür. When the next invitation borne by a very diplomatic envoy arrived, he accepted it. When he was in the company of some Indian yogins during an earlier journey to India, he drove away a gigantic snake threatening them and afterwards taught the yogins the mantra to expel snakes.

Then unfold the scenes prior to the 1290 'Bri gung Rebellion. When the sTod Hor army led by Prince Rin chen invited by the 'Bri gung pa arrived in Tibet, U rgyan pa had no choice

¹²⁸ According to the chronology suggested in A1-SO: 208 (A2-SO: 86b & A3-SO: 74B), this happened in the Water Horse year (1282) when U rgyan pa was around fifty-two years old.

¹²⁹ Dict-ID. 'Brom ston pa (1005-1064) was the heart disciple of Atiśa and founder of the bKa' gdams lineage.

but to submit to him on behalf of the temporal and religious leaders of La stod. Tsha mda' ba, the clan his eldest sister married into, refused to do so and remained in opposition. U rgyan pa met Prince Rin chen but refused to supply him with militia to fight against Sa skya. His sister's daughter (or grand-daughter) Jo lcam dPal mdong, said to be a wicked woman by U rgyan pa, betrayed him and collaborated with Rin chen. Then dPon chen Ag len brought in the Mongol army led by Prince Temür Boqa¹³⁰ and defeated the 'Bris gung rebels. Since U rgyan pa had submitted to sTod Hor previously, he and his men were subjected to punishment. He was also being accused of offering dPal mdongs to Rin chen to gain favour. He was threatened with persecution but he went naked to the barracks of Temür Boqa, where he succeeded in defending himself and gaining the trust of the latter. However, the Sa skya authority remained hostile towards him.

He also refused to make peace with the Tsha mda' ba, and from then on they became deadly enemies. He subjugated the fierce bandit chief called gZig phrug in La stod. He also had a tense relationship with a headman sent (probably by the Sa skya authority) to rule mNga' ris soon after the arrival of the sTod Hor. A high official superintending mNga' ris summoned U rgyan pa for capital punishment because of U rgyan pa's earlier submission to the sTod Hor. U rgyan pa went to see him and successfully defended himself against the accusation.

U rgyan pa's people had frequent fights with the Tsha mda' ba over estates and harvest, causing large-scale bloodshed. Later on when bad fortunes fell on the Tsha mda' ba, U rgyan pa was accused of using black magic. The Sa skya pas tried to mediate but U rgyan refused to patch up the relationship. Conflicts persisted. Later the head of the Tsha mda' clan, dPon dPal dar ba, was killed by another clan.

In the Earth Bird year (1309) when U rgyan pa was in his 81st year,¹³¹ his health deteriorated and his enemy dPal mdongs also fell seriously ill. He had no more enemies confronting him. He told his disciples had she not betrayed him, he would have lived

¹³⁰ Grandson of Qubilai Khan.

¹³¹ Should be his 80th year.

sixteen years longer. An accomplished tantric practitioner called Lo bang ba from Shri ri said that if U rgyan pa's disciples could immediately find their teacher an enemy, U rgyan pa might live longer.¹³² U rgyan pa passed away in the end of that summer. Many unusual signs appeared.

The biography ends with a colophon written by the author giving the brief source of the materials and mentioning that Zla ba seng ge was consulted in compiling these materials.

¹³² rGod tshang pa had prophesied that U rgyan pa was destined to have many enemies, especially among his close relations, in this life. This seems to imply that the exhaustion of enemies signified the exhaustion of his life, and a feasible way to lengthen his life was to stop the exhaustion of enemies.

Biography C3-DT

Author: mDo stod pa gZhon nu ye shes

While the first half of this short biography gives a brief chronological account of U rgyan pa's life, the latter half is a thematic narrative of his achievements. The essentials of the content are outlined in the first folio, and a brief account of each of his achievements is given accordingly in the text.

Summary

About his ancestry and birth: U rgyan pa was born in the Iron Tiger year (1230) into a family in Nas zlum in La stod lho region in rTsang (gTsang) traceable to the ancestor rGyus (Rus) Byang chub gzhon nu, a student of Padmasambhava.

About his early education: In his 7th year he started learning sūtras and tantras with his uncle. In his 16th year he went to learn under Rin rtse at Bo dong Monastery. In his 20th year he was fully ordained and given the monastic name Rin chen dpal. In the next few years he learnt the three traditions of Kālacakra from various teachers.

About his authentic guru: He met his ultimate guru rGod tshang pa and obtained great blessings from him. Following his guru's prediction, he travelled to U rgyan the Miraculous Land.

About his miraculous visions: With the superb tantric teachings received in U rgyan, he became an adept endowed with extraordinary visions. He was said to be on a par with the great yogin Bīr ba pa (Virūpa)¹³³ and Brahma. He had visions of many deities and saints.

¹³³ Snellgrove 1967: 131. Tibetan rendering of Virūpa, one of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas who are regarded as the main propagators of the Buddhist tantric traditions.

About his magical power: Many *ḍākinīs*, dharma protectors, territorial guardians and non-human spirits in India and Tibet assisted him in altruistic activities. He subjugated many evil spirits and bound them under oaths to make them assist his endeavours.

About his activities in benefiting others: He made three trips to Bodhgaya.¹³⁴ Throughout the rest of his life he sent numerous offerings and donations to Bodhgaya for the restoration of temples and *stūpas*. He also made impartial offerings to restore many of the old monasteries in Central Tibet and to erect statues in the monasteries of *rGod tshang pa*. He commissioned the copying of the *Kālacakra* commentaries and distributed them to the scholars and his disciples. He effortlessly performed all kind of activities to benefit others.

About his omniscience and clairvoyance: He knew about his own and other people's previous lives, and could tell what others were thinking. He also accurately predicted forthcoming happenings. He made use of this magical power to tame and inspire others. Different means were used to enlighten and benefit people of diverse receptiveness under different circumstances.

About his other achievements: He successfully dissuaded Qubilai Khan from attacking Nepal. He saved many people from falling prey to evil spirits causing disease (*gdon*) and other pernicious gods and demons (*lha 'dre gdug pa*). He bestowed sons to parents and helped the dead to take rebirth in the higher realm.

About his death: Predicting his own death, he passed to disciples as much knowledge as he could and gave an audience to all the people for the last time. Then he passed away on the 20th day of the 8th month of the Bird year (1309).

The biography ends with a colophon indicating the authorship and two eight-line verses on various types of *khrid* (instruction manual) cited from the *bKa' brgyud pa* saints.

¹³⁴ The biography does not give further details. Only two trips are mentioned in the other biographies.

Biography C4-NM

Author: sNyi mo ga pa

The text consists of three parts: an introductory line, a song of sixteen stanzas eulogising sixteen aspects of U rgyan pa's achievements and a colophon in verse form. A summary of this song is provided in the Conclusion of this thesis.

The song is followed by a short colophon further eulogising the achievements of U rgyan pa and containing the name of the author.

Group D

Biography D-AN

Authorship unknown

Though it seems that U rgyan pa had told his disciples he wished to be reborn in either India or Śambhala, and after his death one of his disciples dreamt of him turning into an Indian boy who could not speak Tibetan, this biography suggests that U rgyan pa later on might have changed his mind and chosen to be reborn in Tibet.

Summary

The six-folio biography of the incarnation of U rgyan pa begins with a short supplication to the Buddha and the saints, followed by a brief account of U rgyan pa's prediction of his next life, probably given not long before his death. One day when he was making fire offerings in sKrang skya¹³⁵ in the Shangs area, he found the place extremely pure. He said three times to his disciples that he would be reborn there. He also dreamt of himself becoming a child and undergoing many rebirths. He passed away in his 82nd year.¹³⁶

Many other auspicious omens appeared to the parents-to-be and other people in sKrang skya, the place where they lived. The boy was born on the 3rd day of the 7th month of the Iron Dog year (1310).

When the boy (his name is not mentioned throughout the text) was in his 2nd or 3rd year, five nuns begging for alms in the nearby region on hearing about the incarnation of U rgyan pa, came to see him. He told them he was the King of U rgyan. When the nuns joked with him by saying that they would like to invite him to sBud tra, he immediately dashed

¹³⁵ If Shangs is gYas ru shangs, then it should be in rNam gling in gTsang.

¹³⁶ It is generally accepted that he died in 1309 in his 80th year.

towards the direction of sBud tra. Later this summer, another five nuns came to beg for alms. Without being told, he knew that they were from dPal ye, and showed special concern for them. Since then, many people including disguised ones, came from different directions to test him.

Then an investigation team made up of thirteen people arrived in the boy's place. He recognised the staff of U rgyan pa and segregated the monks and nuns (as U rgyan pa would have done).¹³⁷ Apart from showing small gestures typical of U rgyan pa's, and calling out the names of the latter's former personal attendants, he also demonstrated confidence that befitted a high lama in giving blessings to the visiting group, and his power of clairvoyance in predicting an unexpected visitor. He passed all the tests which required him to identify different people he had not met before.

In his 4th year, he received the high clerics of sBud tra, who came to pay him homage. More tests were put to him but he passed them one by one. Then it was beyond doubt that he was the incarnation of U rgyan pa. On hearing this, many people came to pay homage to him and to ask for his blessings. He performed all rituals in perfect procedures with unmistakable protocol. He also said that the 'Northerners'¹³⁸ would pay a reciprocal visit to sBud tra in the future. bSod nams 'od zer (former principal disciple of U rgyan pa) offered him a maṇḍala of gold. sNye chung ba, one of U rgyan pa's former disciples, came from rTsibs ri to see the boy and on meeting each other, the two renewed their former intimacy.

Then the boy was invited to sBud tra. He insisted on going to the small chamber formerly occupied by U rgyan pa, and to sleep there. He sent for 'his' dark mustard seeds¹³⁹ but was told that they were placed in the golden statue (of U rgyan pa). He recognised U rgyan pa's lute and started playing it. He also knew the function of the ceremonial arrows, and where they should be placed in the maṇḍala. The account ends here.

¹³⁷ In his early years with rGod tshang pa, in U rgyan pa was known for imposing strict rules in forbidding the nuns from sitting amongst the monks in the congregations. This is mentioned in A1-SO: 40, A2-SO: 17b and A3-SO: 15a.

¹³⁸ Since sKrang skya was said to be situated north (maybe northeast) of sBud tra, the people there were referred to as 'Northerners'.

¹³⁹ Dict-ID. Dark mustard seeds, *skye tshé*, were used in secret tantric rituals.

PART TWO

THE LIFE OF URGYAN PA RIN CHEN DPAL

PRELUDE

A Century of Turbulence — Tibet and Its Neighbours in the 13th Century¹⁴⁰

The 13th century is one of the most eventful and turbulent periods in the history of Tibet.

The assassination of Glang dar ma in 842 put an end to the Tibetan Empire. Although soon afterwards regimes were founded in West Tibet by the descendants of this king, Tibet was no longer a unified state. The dwindled and fragmented territories of Tibet were ruled by a number of principalities and many tribes with constantly fluctuating boundaries. Following the revival of Buddhism (*phyi dar*) in West Tibet in the beginning of the 11th century, Buddhist monasteries belonging to the 'New' schools namely the Sa skya, bKa' gdams, bKa' brgyud and its sub-lineages entered the political arena and joined the contest for power across the country.

By the 13th century, Tibet had already seen four centuries of fragmentation. In addition to suffering from internal restlessness caused by religious and political hegemony, Tibet also shared the fate of its eastern neighbours in being attacked and then overrun by the Mongols,

¹⁴⁰ The references for this section are too extensive and numerous to cite. See the Bibliography of this thesis for general and topical discussions on the subjects involved. Some of the scenarios will be discussed in the later chapters in relation to different aspects of the life of U rgyan pa.

and the fate of its western neighbours in being harassed by the Muslims from Central Asia. The rise of Chinggis Khan in Northeast Asia in the beginning of the 13th century and the subsequent founding of the Mongol Empire and its transcontinental khanates plunged large parts of Asia into misery. Song China, Tibet's largest eastern neighbour, since the beginning of the previous century had been struggling hard on its ever diminishing dominion to survive successive 'barbarian' encroachments—the Tangut Empire of Xixia (1038–1227, known to the Tibetans as *Mi nyag*), the Jurchen Empire (Jin dynasty, 1115–1234) and the Mongols. Finally, the Mongols destroyed Xixia on the northeast frontier of Tibet in 1227, devoured the Jurchen Empire occupying North China in 1234, marched into Central Tibet to carry out massacre and to burn down the monasteries of *Rva sgreng* and *rGyal lha khang* in 1240, annexed the Buddhist Kingdom of Dali (937–1274) southeast of Tibet in 1253, and completed the conquest of Song China (Southern Song dynasty, 1127–1279) in 1279. The further submission of Tibet to the Mongols under the lead of *Sa skya Paṇḍita* (1182–1251), head of the *Sa skya* school of Tibetan Buddhism, in 1247 is believed to have saved Tibet from still more devastating destruction by the Mongols. By the last third of the 13th century, Tibet and its eastern neighbours were all under Mongol rule.

Although the majority of the Mongols in the early 13th century, including Chinggis Khan, were followers of a shamanistic religion, and some others were Nestorian Christians, on the whole they were very tolerant towards other faiths.¹⁴¹ Some princes even embraced Tibetan Buddhism for political reasons. A mutual-benefiting patron-priest (*yon mchod*)¹⁴² relationship was developed between Mongol princes and the religious leaders in Tibet, especially the *Sa skya* school and the 'Bri gung sect of the *bKa'* brgyud school. The establishment of the Thirteen Myriarchies¹⁴³ in Central Tibet in 1268 further reinforced Yuan *Sa skya* rule. The 'Bri gung pa, who were actively engaged in the politics of Tibet in

¹⁴¹ Ermakov 2008: 101. The shamanistic religion is called *Bø Murgel* (Shazhan). See also Bergreen 207: 125 for the Mongols' religious tolerance.

¹⁴² Wylie 1977: 119. The term is the contraction of *yon bdag* (patron) and *mchod gnas* (priest), denoting a politically oriented relationship first developed between Qubilai and 'Phags pa of *Sa skya* school.

¹⁴³ Wylie 1977: 125. According to *Deb ther dmar po gсар ma* as given in Tucci 1971: 185, six of these myriarchies were in *gTsang*: *La stod lho*, *La stod byang*, *Shangs*, *Chu mig*, *Zha lu* and *mGur mo*; six were in *dBus*: *gYa'*, *Phag mo gru*, *Thang*, *rGya*, 'Bri khung and *mtshal*. The last one is *Yar 'brog*. *Sa skya* was not included.

the 13th century, inevitably ran into skirmish with the ascending Sa skya pa, especially after the latter were made political leader of Central Tibet with 'Phags pa being conferred the title of Guoshi (Imperial Preceptor) of Yuan China and the appointment of Sa skya officials as dPon chen (Great Governor) to oversee the secular affairs of Central Tibet in mid 1260s. Central Tibet became a battleground again when Mongol armies from Central Asia (sTod Hor) marched into the gTsang region to support the 'Bri gung Rebellion. The uprising was suppressed in 1290 by the Yuan Mongol armies (sMad Hor) in support of Sa skya regime. U rgyan pa, our hero, was also involved in this to some extent.

In addition to warfare, Tibet also suffered from famines and plagues, resulting in refugees fleeing Central Tibet to West Tibet and its southern neighbour—Nepal. Since ancient times, Nepal had been the gateway through which the Tibetans ventured into India for trade, and later, for pilgrimage as well. Nepal under the rule of the Malla dynasty in the 13th century was also far from peaceful. Its history of this period is replete with internecine struggles, raids from kingdoms of the Karnali region in West Nepal and the Turuška (referred to by the Tibetans as *Tu ru ka* or *Gar log*) from the Hindu Kush, and a series of natural calamities including plague, famine and serious earthquake. Fortunately, its relationship with the Mongols seems relatively amicable. The Sa skya monastery represented the Mallas court in dealing with Yuan China.¹⁴⁴

India, the largest country in Tibet's southern and western neighbourhood, and the sacred land to which for centuries Tibet looked up for religious and cultural inspiration, was shaken to the core when Muslim cavalry swept down from Afghanistan, crossed the Indus River and marched into Delhi in 1192. Until 1290, almost the entire North India, from Bengal to the Indus Valley, came under the rule of the Mamluk Sultanate. The invasion of Magadha (Middle Kingdom) by the Turuška allying with Bengal in 1203 almost wiped out Buddhism from India when many monasteries, including Vikramasīla Vihara, the last stronghold of Buddhism in India, were destroyed, and many monks killed. Neither had Chinggis Khan spared the Indian subcontinent. Though his army only reached as far as the west bank of the Indus in 1221, Mongol soldiers were left behind around the Indus, which

¹⁴⁴ Shaha 1992:48.

threatened the life of the local people and remained a thorn to the Mamluk rule. Occasional raids into North India by other Mongol troops and the Turuška from Hindu Kush continued throughout this century.

The 13th century was the last century of Hindu rule in Kashmir, the land known for its Buddhist scholar-monks who contributed greatly to the spreading of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in Tibet. This period saw not only political and economic decline of the Second Lohara dynasty, but also severe attacks from the Mongols, though the Mamluks did leave Kashmir in relative peace.

Despite such turbulence, trade continued between Tibet and its neighbours. So did pilgrimage to the south and the west outside of Tibet. Except for the Mongol khanates, U rgyan pa had visited all these neighbouring countries, either on pilgrimage or for benediction. The life of U rgyan pa, though less turbulent, is as eventful as the century in which he lived, as will be seen in the chapters that follow.

Table 4: Rulers of Tibet's Neighbours in the 13th Century

Year	Song and Yuan Dynasties ¹⁴⁵	Mongol Empire	Chaghatay Khanate	Delhi Sultanate ¹⁴⁶	Kashmir ¹⁴⁷	Nepal Malla Dynasty ¹⁴⁸						
1200	Song Dynasty	Temüjin Chingghis Khan r.1206–1227		Mamluk dynasty Qutb-ud-dīn Ībak r.1206–1210	Jagadeva r.1198–1212/13	Arti Malla r.1200–1216						
1206				Ārām Shah d.1211								
1220				Tolui (as regent) r.1227–1229			Shams-ud-dīn Īyaltimish d.1236	Rājadeva r.1212/13–1235	Abhaya Malla r.1216–1255			
*1230				Ögedei Khan r.1229–1241			Rukn-ud-dīn Fīroz d.1236 Raziyah d.1240 Mu'izz ud-dīn Bahrām d.1242	Samgrama-deva r.1235–1252				
1240				Töregene (as regent) r.1242–1246			Qara-Hüle'ü r.1242–1246					
1250				Güyüg Khan r.1246–1248			Yisü-Möngke r.1246–1251			Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd deposed 1246		
1255				Oghul-Qaimish (as regent) r.1248–1251			Orghina (regent for Mubarak-Shah) r.1251–1260			Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd d.1266	Rāmadeva r.1252–1273	Jayadeva r.1255–1258
1260				Möngke Khan r.1251–1259			Alghu r.1260–1265			Mubarak-Shah r.1265–1266	Jayabhīma-deva r.1258–1271	
1265				Yuan dynasty Qubilai r.1260–1294 Mongolian title Sechen Khan Chinese title Emperor Shizu			Baraq r.1266–1271			Ghiy ud-dīn Balban d.1286		
1270							Negübei r.1271					Jayaśiha Malla r.1271–1274
1275		Toqa-Temür r.1272		Lakṣmaṇa-deva r.1273–1286	Ananta Malla r.1274–1308							
1280		<i>Interregnum</i>										
1285		Du'a r.1282–1307	Mu'izz ud-dīn Kaiqubād d.1290									
1290			Khalji dynasty Jalal-ud-dīn Fīroz r.1290–1296	Simhadeva r.1286–1301								
1295	Temür r.1294–1307 Mongolian title Öljetü Khan Chinese title: Emperor Chengzong											
1300												
*1309												

*1230 & *1309 :Birth and Death Year of U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal

¹⁴⁵ Atwood 2004: 625–26 for the first three columns.

¹⁴⁶ Meyer 1907/09 v.2: 368.

¹⁴⁷ Hasan 1959: 32.

¹⁴⁸ Shaha 1992: 139.

The map originally presented here (Map 1: Tibet and Its Neighbours, 1234 AD. Based on An Historical Atlas of China, 1966, p.40) cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

The map originally presented here (Map 2: Asia under the Mongols, 1290 AD. Based on An Historical Atlas of China, 1966, p.43) cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

CHAPTER I

Family Lineage, Birth, Boyhood and Early Studies

All the long biographies in Group A and condensed biographies in Group B are basically congruous in their accounts of U rgyan pa's ancestry, family lineage, birth, boyhood and early studies. The page numbers of these accounts in different biographies can be found in Table 3. The spellings of personal and place names are basically those appear in A1-SO, the only published and relatively easier accessible version among the eleven biographies. See Appendixes IV and V for variations of personal and place names.

Early Ancestry and Its Association with the rNying ma pa

The ancestry of U rgyan pa can be traced back to the 8th century. His ancestors' close relationship with the rNying ma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism is obvious. Rus Byang chub gzhon, an early ancestor of U rgyan pa, was born in gYar thang of the Khams region. He was an accomplished practitioner of *sNgags rnying ma* (Old Tantra).¹⁴⁹ During the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 754–797), he was invited to the bSam yas monastery and received many teachings from Padmasambhava. Rus (also rGyus), believed to be a clan name, is prefixed to the names of some of the ancestors. gYar thang is probably gYer mo thang, an alternative name for mDo smad,¹⁵⁰ present-day Amdo region southwest of the Qinghai Lake and around the upper basin of the Yellow River.

His son Byang chub mchog had a son called Byang chub yon tan, who had two sons, both practitioners of *sNgags rnying ma*. Byang chub rgya mtsho, the elder one, practised the

¹⁴⁹ As opposed to *sNgags gsar ma*, the translations used by the later schools such as the bKa' gdams, Sa skya and bKa' brgyud.

¹⁵⁰ Dict-BG: 1384.

secret mantra of rTa mchog,¹⁵¹ while Chos kyi rgya mtsho, the young one, practised Phur pa (Vajrakīlaya).¹⁵² While they were travelling westward seeking tantric teachings, they were kidnapped in Myang smad¹⁵³ by eighteen monks, who wanted to sacrifice them to the dākinīs.¹⁵⁴ The elder brother then manifested as rTa mchog (Hayagrīva) and made the enemies fall unconscious with his powerful neighs. After recovering their senses, those monks promised to stop doing evil and pursue the right path. Afterwards the two brothers went to south gTsang¹⁵⁵ and settled down in Ti tung in 'Phrag rtse in La stod lho (Southern La stod), the area around the Phung chu (or Bum chu) river basin in present-day Ding ri county.¹⁵⁶ Then the elder brother married a nomad woman and had three sons. bSod nams grags se, the eldest of the three sons, had a son named (rGyus) Nag bde gshegs, who received teachings from the famous Lotsavas. He was invited to Go lung¹⁵⁷ by a patron who offered him land. He married a daughter of Pra lung and had four sons known as *rGya tsha mched bzhi*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Dict-ID. Also as *rTa mgrin*, referring to Hayagrīva, one of the eight main tutelary deities of Mahāyoga Tantra, and one of the *Khro bcu gcig* (Eleven Wrathful Ones) and *Khro bo chen po bzhi* (Four Most Wrathful Ones).

¹⁵² Dict-ID: A dagger-like ritual instrument usually associated with the practice of the tutelary deity called Kīlaya (or Vajrakīlaya). See Huntington 1975: 1–11, 24–25 on its association with the rNying ma tradition and the tutelary deity Hayagrīva.

¹⁵³ Dict-BG: 2128. Lower Myang (Nyang) River beyond rGyal rtse.

¹⁵⁴ Roerich 1949: 696 remarks that according to some authors, these eighteen monks (*Ar tsho ban de*) were the disciples of a 10th-century Indian paṇḍita called Prajñāgupta. They practised a corrupt form of Tantra, which involved kidnapping people and performing human sacrifices during tantric feasts.

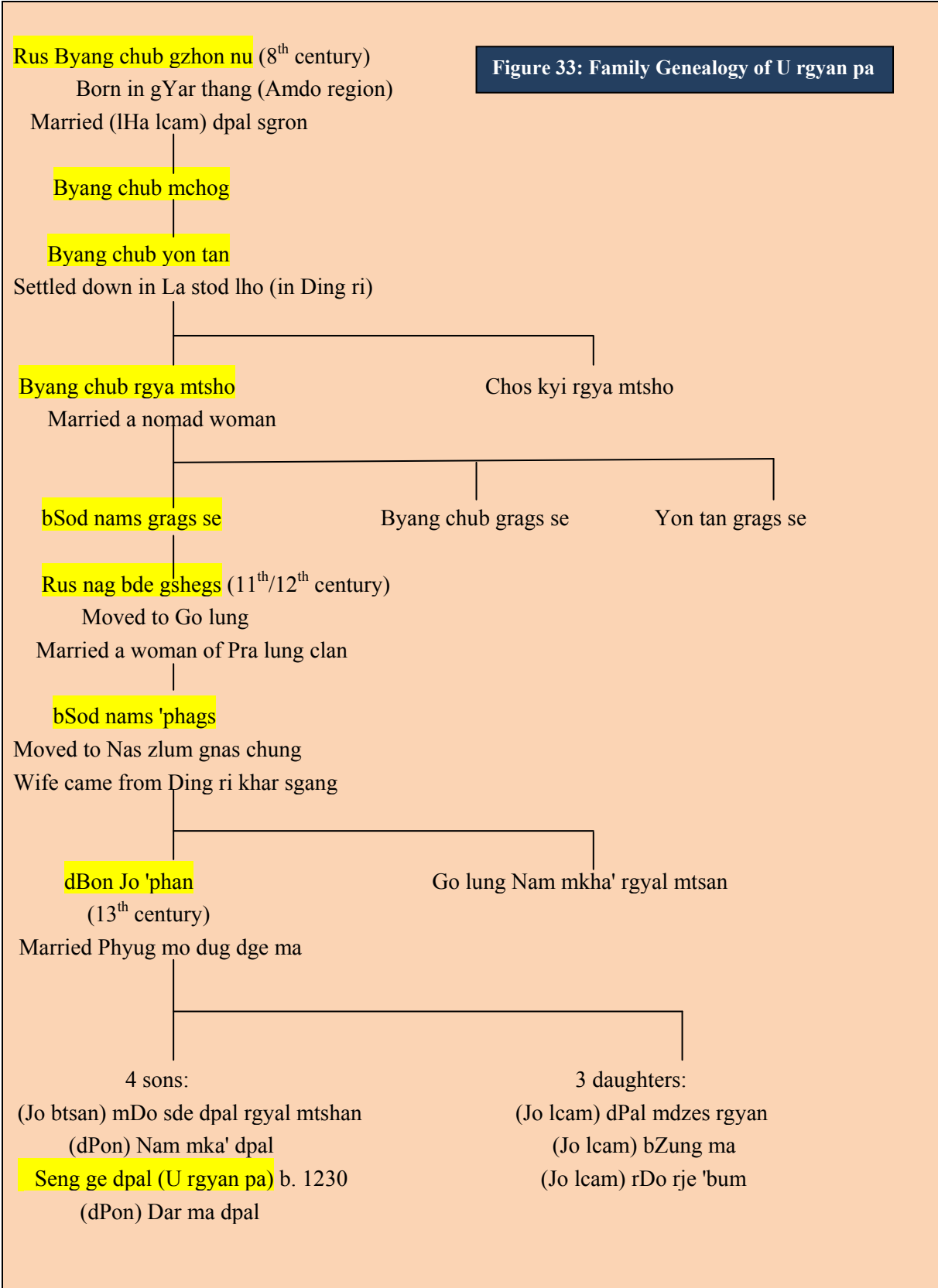
¹⁵⁵ Wylie 1970: 12 Note 4. gTsang and dBus are the two provinces of Central Tibet, with Lhasa and gZhis ka rtse (Shigatse) respectively as their principal cities.

¹⁵⁶ La stod lho was one of the Thirteen Myriarchies. See Tucci 1971: 191, Wangdu & Diemberger 1996: 3 and Everding 1997: 269–71. Ti tung and 'Phrag rtse cannot be located.

¹⁵⁷ Go lung is not found on maps. DRUGPA: 445 states that U rgyan pa was born in *Zur tsho'i Go lung*. Tucci 1940: 7 states that he was "born in Go lung in the territories of Zur ts'o". Modern maps show that Zur tsho is a large town on the bank of upper Phung chu in northeast gNya' lam. Ancient Zur tsho is probably a much larger territory while Go lung is likely to be part of this river valley.

¹⁵⁸ Pra lung is not found on maps but Verhufen's index shows that there is a place called Pra pa in southeast Tibet, at 97°–98°E, 28°–29°N. Incidentally, rGya tsha is located at its vicinity at 97°–98°E, 29°–30°N. Both places border on Yunnan in southwest China. It is interesting to note that according to Dict-BG: 535, *rGya tsha* also means "a person of mixed Chinese and Tibetan blood". Thus, *rGya tsha mched bzhi* might also mean "Four siblings of mixed Chinese and Tibetan blood". If Pra lung is really the same as Pra pa near the Chinese border, it is possible that it was a Chinese or partly Chinese clan.

Figure 33: Family Genealogy of U rgyan pa



U rgyan pa's Grandfather, Parents and Siblings

bSod nams 'phags, one of the four sons, learnt the Middle Path (Madhyamaka) and many new tantric teachings. He was invited by patrons to Nas zlum gnas chung in Go lung.¹⁵⁹ They offered him estates and asked him to be their resident lama. He married a girl from Ding ri khar sgang (location not identified) and had four sons. Two died prematurely and two survived. The elder one, known as Go lung Nam mkha' rgyal mtsan, became a monk. The younger one, dBon Jo 'phan, married Phyug mo dug dge ma, an extraordinary woman said to be a *Ye shes mkha' 'gro ma* (Dākinī of Wisdom). The couple had four sons and three daughters. U rgyan pa was the third of the four boys, and was originally named Seng ge dpal. His eldest brother (Jo btsan) mDo dpal rgyal mtshan was a master scholar (*dge ba'i shes gnyen*). The other two brothers were called (dPon) Nam mkha' dpal and (dPon) Dar ma dpal. His three sisters were called (Jo lcam) dPal mdzes rgyan, (Jo lcam) bZung ma and (Jo lcam) rDo rje 'bum.

Although it is mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po*,¹⁶⁰ *'Brug pa chos 'byung*¹⁶¹ and the condensed biography B1-KM¹⁶² that U rgyan pa was the **youngest** of four sons, *lHo rong chos 'byung*¹⁶³ and all the long biographies in Group A state that he was the **third** one. The following evidences are given by the long biographies:

1. Probably some years before U rgyan pa was born, an ascetic (*bya bral pa'i rtoḡ ldan*) predicted that dPon jo 'phan (U rgyan pa's father) would have four sons and "the **third**

¹⁵⁹ I was told by Sherab Sangpo of Paltseg Institute (Lhasa) that Nas zlum (or Na zlum) was somewhere west of the junction of the sMan chu and the headwaters of Bum chu. It is probably the place marked as 乃龙 (*pinyin*: Nailong) in the regional map of gNya' lam in *Xizang zizhiqu dituce* 2008: 81. gNas chung is probably a small place in Nas zlum.

¹⁶⁰ DTN: 817. "*Grub chen pa ni chung lhag yin*". Roerich 1949: 696 translates it as "The mahāsiddha was the youngest of them"—the youngest of the seven children. The names of his siblings are not mentioned.

¹⁶¹ DRUGPA: 445. "*chung shos Seng ge dpal yin*". The names of the two brothers before him are given as gZhon nu dpal and Mi chos pa, very different from those given in the long biographies in Group A.

¹⁶² B1-KM: 2a. "*mtha' stag bdag nyid chen po Seng ge dpal*." The names of his three brothers are similar to those given in the biographies in Group A.

¹⁶³ LHORONG: 717. "*gsum grub chen pa ni....*" The names of his three brothers are also similar to those given in the long biographies in Group A.

one would become an undisputed mahāsiddha" (*gsum pa ni rtsod pa med pa'i grub thob chen por 'gyur ro*)¹⁶⁴ This mahāsiddha undoubtedly refers to U rgyan pa.

2. Of the names of the four sons of U rgyan pa's parents, the youngest one is **not** Seng ge dpal (U rgyan pa) but dPon Dar ma dpal (*tha chung dPon Dar ma dpal zhes bya ba*).¹⁶⁵
3. When U rgyan pa was a little child, one day he and his "**younger brother** Dar ma dpal" (*gcung po Dar ma dpal*) were left at home while all the others went out to the field to help with the harvest.¹⁶⁶

The last evidence also suggests that U rgyan pa's family was probably among the *zhing 'brog pa* (farmers and nomads), engaging in both agricultural and pastoral activities, which was the predominant mode of economy in Central Tibet.

Birth and Boyhood

It is said that long before U rgyan pa was born, the *ḍākinī* of the place called Bar sga in sKyid rong in Mang yul,¹⁶⁷ predicted that in the future there would be a Bodhisattva called Rin chen dpal coming to the mountain called Ri bo shar gangs, to ripen and liberate numerous sentient beings.¹⁶⁸

Although none of the biographies mentions that U rgyan pa was born in Nas zlum (or Na zlum), it is said in the Publisher's Note of A1-SO that he was born in Na zlum in La stod

¹⁶⁴ A1-SO: 7, A2-SO: 3b and A3-SO: 3b.

¹⁶⁵ A1-SO: 11, A2-SO: 5a and A3-SO: 5a.

¹⁶⁶ A1-SO: 14 and A2-SO: 7a. In A3-SO: 6a.

¹⁶⁷ sKyid rong (or sKyid grong, present-day Kyirong county) is the area north of the Tibet-Nepal border about 80 km north of Kathmandu. The old town of sKyid grong is about 15 km north of the border on the bank of the Kyirong river. Dict-BG: 2055: Mang yul is the ancient name of the area extending from sKyid rong and Ngam ring in the gTsang region to Pu rang in south mNga' ris. See also Wylie 1970: 12 Note 6.

¹⁶⁸ A1-SO: 6, A2-SO: 3b and A3-SO: 3b. This prediction came true in around 1271. See Chapter III: II.

(*La stod Na zlum du sku bltams*).¹⁶⁹ As mentioned before, U rgyan pa's grandfather bSod nams 'phags, an accomplished Buddhist scholar, moved to Nas zlum, a region in Go lung in northeast gNya' lam. He probably settled down there and the family subsisted on farming and herding.

When U rgyan pa's mother conceived him, many good omens arose. He was born at dusk on a day when Mercury was overhead in the 8th Tibetan month in the Male Iron Tiger year (1230). The newborn baby was very healthy and extremely beautiful. He was called Seng ge dpal, the original name of U rgyan pa.

In his childhood, U rgyan pa already showed precocity and strong innate propensities towards Buddhism. He was intelligent and had great compassion towards all sentient beings. He shed tears when he saw other children injure small creatures, and would try to save and heal them. The games he preferred most were meditation and preaching. He often meditated for days without eating anything. Because of this, some people gradually took him for an idiot (*glen pa*). As a little boy, he already had a mind to explore Dharma to find out how one could be freed from transmigration (*saṃsāra*). He could recognise the *dākinīs* and recall significant episodes from his former lives. As he grew older his father wanted to find him a wife. He refused and went to his uncle to express his wish of joining the monkhood.

Early Studies

U rgyan pa studied in the rNying ma tradition with his paternal uncle (*khu po*) from childhood.¹⁷⁰ When he reached his 7th year, he had learnt both the Father tantras (*yab chos*) and Mother tantras (*ma mo*),¹⁷¹ including the Kīlaya tantra (*Phur pa*), the Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag

¹⁶⁹ A1-SO dPal skrun gsal bzhad. No pagination.

¹⁷⁰ Tucci 1940: 9 gives a different statement: "At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts'añ pa who had gone to Bhuṭa." One doubts its reliability.

¹⁷¹ Ringu 2007: 79–93. The Father tantras comprise the Guhyasamāja (*gSang 'dus*, Assembly of Secrets) tantra, Yamāntaka (*gShin rje*, Slayer of Lord of Death) tantra and Mañjuśrī tantra, while the Mother

po pa) tradition of the Cakrasaṃvara (*bDe mchog*) tantra,¹⁷² the Mar pa tradition of Hevajra (*Kye rdo rje*) tantra,¹⁷³ the Great Wheel of Vajrapāṇi (*Phyag na rdo rje 'khor lo chen po*) and nine major types of yoga practices. He had a strong memory; he could learn by heart whatever treatises that he only read or heard once. The Phur pa practice he learnt in his boyhood later on proved efficacious in removing many of his obstacles during the perilous journey of his long pilgrimage to West Tibet and beyond.

In his 16th year (1245), he thoroughly comprehended various tantric commentaries. In order to further explore the Buddhist doctrines, he travelled eastward to Bo dong E monastery¹⁷⁴ to study Buddhist canons at the feet of the great scholar and high lama Rin chen rtse mo, a renowned Kālacakra teacher.¹⁷⁵ Due to his innate propensities and unmatched intelligence, he comprehended without any effort the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*¹⁷⁶ (*Chos mngon pa kun legs btus pa*, Compendium of Abhidharma), the *Pramāṇa*¹⁷⁷ (*Tshad ma*, Logic) and the shorter commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*¹⁷⁸ (*Shes rab 'grel chung*). Soon he became a renowned expert in *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. He also explored the *Vinaya* Scriptures (*'dul ba lung*) and mastered the skill of exposition (*'chad pa*), debate (*rtsod pa*) and composition (*rstom pa*), the three activities of a learned person according to

tantras comprise the Cakrasaṃvara (*bDe mchog*) tantra, Hevajra tantra (*Kye rdo rje*) and the Kālacakra tantra (*Dus 'khor*).

¹⁷² Ringu 2007: 87. Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag po pa) was one of the three main Indian sources of the teaching of Cakrasaṃvara. Their teachings were translated into Tibetan. See also Bhattacharya 1932: 75.

¹⁷³ Ringu 2007: 89. Mar pa the Translator received the teaching of Hevajra tantra from Nāropa and passed these onto his students. This lineage is called the *Mar lugs*.

¹⁷⁴ Bo dong E monastery is located above bKra shis sgang in north lHa rtse county. Dict-BG: 1843: The monastery was built in 1049 by the bKa' gdams pa master Mu tra pa chen po. See Gyurme 1996:304 for details of its location

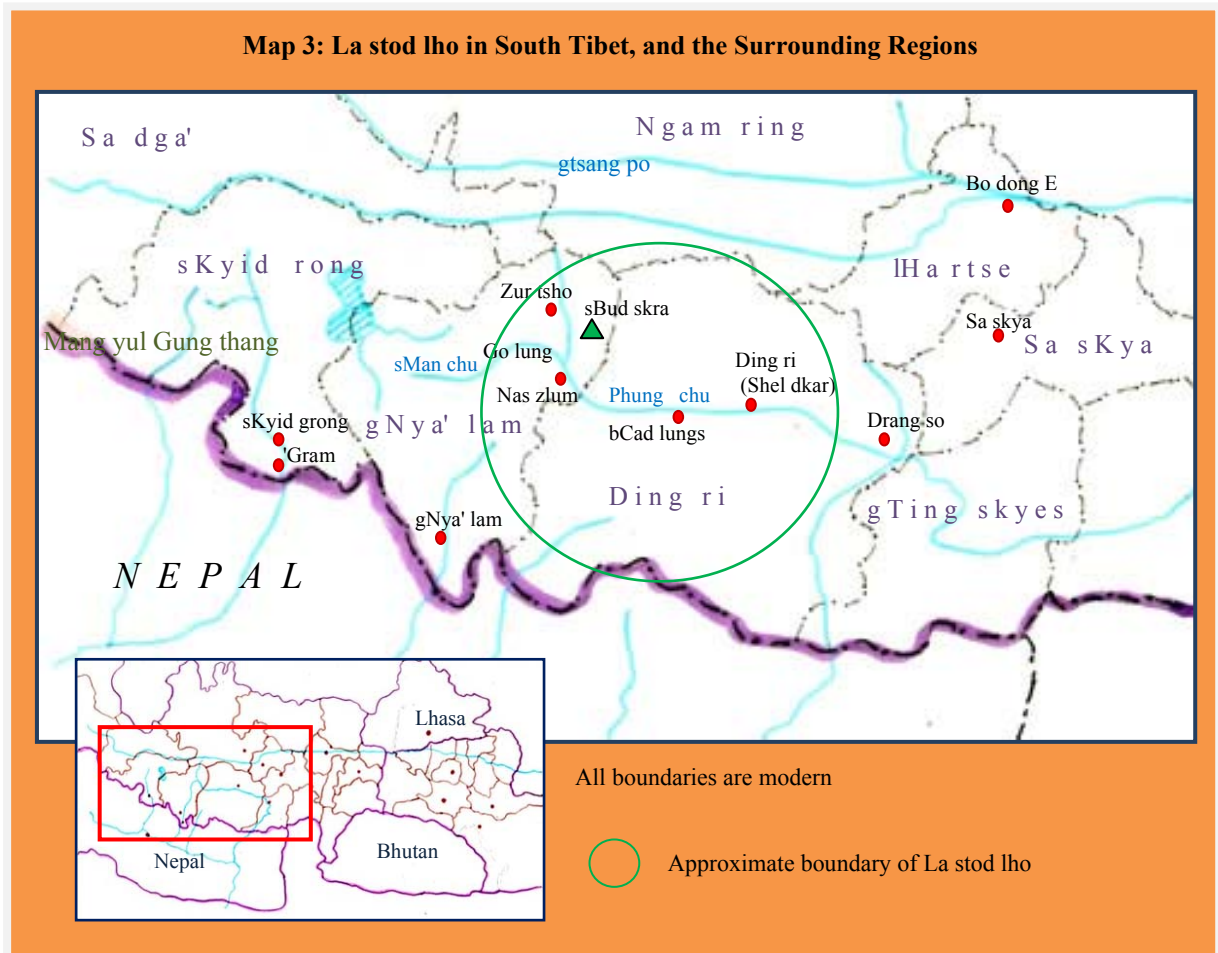
¹⁷⁵ Roerich 1949: 783 contains a short passage about his life. He was said to be one of the nine 'sons' of gNyal zhig and have obtained the exposition of the Kālacakra and all its hidden precepts from Bla ma Se mo che ba.

¹⁷⁶ Dict-ID: *Abhidharmasamuccaya* is one of the two compendia (*sdom rnam gnyis*) written by Asaṅga. Dict-THDL (Rangjung Yeshe): *Abhidharma* is "One of the three parts of the Tripitaka, the Words of Buddha. Systematic teachings on metaphysics focusing on developing discriminating knowledge by analyzing elements of experience and investigating the nature of existing things."

¹⁷⁷ Dict-ID: The study of epistemology and reasoning.

¹⁷⁸ Dict-ID: The training of supreme intelligence.

Indian tradition.¹⁷⁹ During an assembly, he was praised by a teacher (*ston pa zhig*) for knowing every doctrine and understanding everything,¹⁸⁰ in addition to his eloquent speech (*smra ba bzang pas*). He became a well known scholar well versed in the *piṭakas* (*sde snod*).



¹⁷⁹ Dict-ID: "The three activities of a learned person are explained as: 1) to be able to expound the essential meaning of dharma; 2) to cut off opposition by using that understanding in debate; and 3) to be able to make good compositions in any of the two fields of literature (worldly and transcendent)."

¹⁸⁰ The text reads: *chos mi shes zer ba yang med | blo rtsing zer ba yang med*.

Meeting rGod tshang pa

After learning under Rin chen rtse mo for some time, U rgyan pa "without any reason" (*rkyen gang med par*) felt the urge to go home. Incidentally, rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258), founder of the Upper Branch (s'Tod 'brug) of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud,¹⁸¹ was going from bDe chen stengs in gNya' lam¹⁸² to bCad lungs (sPyad lungs) in central Ding ri.¹⁸³ When he came to Go lung phu (upper valley of Go lung), he predicted that "a karmically destined person" (*gang zag las can*) was coming his way. As predicted, U rgyan pa passed that place later that day, and they met each other. U rgyan pa's hair quivered under the majestic power of rGod tshang pa, and great faith arose. Soon afterwards, probably after rGod tshang pa returned from his trip, U rgyan pa went to sBud skra to see him again. He took the novice vow (*dge bsnyen*) and became the disciple of rGod tshang pa.

Go lung, Nas zlum, bDe chen sdengs, sBud skra are places of great significance in the life of U rgyan pa; the former two being his birth place and the latter two the locations of his major monastic seat and residence in Tibet. However, since these names are already obsolete and cannot be found on maps, it is very difficult to identify their locations. The lack of a sufficiently detailed map of Tibet with place names marked in Tibetan is another problem.¹⁸⁴ Thanks to the hints given by Sherab Sangpo and some clues here and there in the biographies, the approximate and relative locations of these places at last become

¹⁸¹ Published biographies of rGod tshang pa are found in DTN: 796–803 (Roerich 1949: 680–88), LHORONG: 691–700 and DRUGPA: 441–44. Jamgon 1977: 71 makes the following incorrect statement: "Orgyanpa Rinchenpal (Orgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal, also known as rGod-tshang-pa or mGon-po rDorje, 1229-1309 or 1189-1258): founder of the Tod (sTod) branch of the Drugpa ('Brug-pa) Kagyud sect."

¹⁸² None of the eleven biographies states explicitly that bDe chen stengs was located in gNya' lam, the county bordering Ding ri on the east. However, DRUGPA: 443 mentions "sNya nam (gNya' lam) bDe chen stengs".

¹⁸³ bCad lungs (or sPyad lungs, is believed to be the small town marked 加龙 (*pinyin*: Jialong) on the southern shore of Phung chu southeast of the ancient seat of Ding ri in the regional map of Ding ri (p.79) in *Xizang Zizhiqiu dituce*. DTN: 802–803 (Roerich 1949: 686) states that rGod tshang pa stayed in sPyad in his 66th to 68th year.

¹⁸⁴ I attempted to look for such maps in Lhasa in summer 2009 but was told that they were not for sale. While some people told me to approach the Land Survey Bureau, some said this was not advisable. Fortunately I find that some maps of Tibet with place names marked in Chinese transliteration are quite useful. As for the Verhufen map, it is far from detailed.

clearer. That U rgyan pa had met rGod tshang pa in Go lung (Go lung pu) has helped reconstruct the routes of their travel and subsequently confirmed the locations of these places of significance. (See Map 3)

Go lung phu is believed to be not far away from the present town of Zur tsho in northeast gNya' lam. The headwater of Phung chu flows southward through this town, and further down is joined by the east-flowing sMan chu. Since U rgyan pa's homeward bound is described as "going up the west" (*yar 'byon*), he probably had travelled up the course of the Yar klungs gtsang po until he came to the junction of present-day Ngam ring, gNya' lam and Sa dga' counties. A southward turn would take him to the headwaters of the Phung chu. To go to Nas zlum, located west of the junction of the Phung chu and the sMan chu, U rgyan pa should have proceeded southward along upper Phung chu.

bDe chen stengs is geographically closely associated with sBud skra, which is identified with the high mountain that rises to 5,930 meters and marked in Chinese as 不扎不顿 (*pinyin*: Bu zha bu dun) to the east of upper Phung chu in a regional map of gNya' lam.¹⁸⁵ No hint at all except one in the eleven biographies has suggested that sBud skra is a high mountain. According to the long biographies, at the time of U rgyan pa's death, his student Slob dpon gZhon tshul who was staying far off in rTsibs ri in central Ding ri,¹⁸⁶ saw amazing signs in the sky above "the great mountain of sBud skra" (*ri bo chen po sBud skra*).¹⁸⁷ The name sBud skra also applies to the hermitage built in this mountain. Thus, one has good reason to believe that at the time when U rgyan pa was heading for the junction of the Phung chu and the sMan chu, rGod tshang pa was also descending the mountain of sBud skra from his hermitage bDe chen stengs and preparing to travel to central Ding ri down the course of the Phung chu. Therefore, Go lung phu is likely to be located half way between the town of Zur tsho and the junction of the two rivers (see Map 3).

¹⁸⁵ *Xizang Zizhiqu dituce* 2008: 81. Neither Tucci nor van der Kuijp has successfully identified the location of sBud skra.

¹⁸⁶ Gyume 1996: 314. rTsibs ri mountain range is situated in central Ding ri on the northern shore of Phung chu.

¹⁸⁷ A1-SO: 287, and with minor spelling difference in A2-SO: 122b and A3-SO: 105a.

It is believed that U rgyan pa first encountered rGod tshang pa and became his disciple in around 1245–1246, because later on when U rgyan pa revisited rGod tshang pa in his 23th year (1252), he said that he took the *dge bsnyen* vow in front of rGod tshang pa "seven years ago" (*lo bdun song*), i.e. around 1245. It is mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po* that rGod tshang pa spent nine whole years at bDe chen stengs and dGa' ldan until he reached his 67th year.¹⁸⁸ Since rGod tshang pa was born in 1189, these nine years are therefore 1246–1255. Thus, it is quite certain that their encounter took place in 1245–1246 around the period when rGod tshang pa was founding the mountain hermitage of bDe chen stengs in sBud skra in east gNya' lam.

While rGod tshang pa's power of clairvoyance (*mngon shes*) is evident in foretelling his meeting with U rgyan pa, the intuition of U rgyan pa and his irrational compliance with his intuition are in fact the key leading to their first encounter. U rgyan pa, now a fully ordained monk, could have dozens of reasons to persuade himself to resist the strong urge (*snying 'dod*) of going home but to stay in Bo dong E to continue his studies. Yet he had chosen to follow his impulse. At this early stage of his life, he was far from being a so-called Mahāsiddha (*grub chen* or *grub thob chen po*), but he seemed to have shared already these enlightened beings' disregard for rationality. Due to his innate inclinations, he possessed an extraordinary faculty with keen senses, in which 'reasoning' played little part but 'impulse' reigned. He was prompted by an impulse to drop his studies and go home, and this impulse later on proved to be a sign presaging the next important occurrence in his life.

rGod tshang pa was very pleased with this precocious and intelligent disciple, but U rgyan pa did not stay long in bDe chen stengs after taking the *dge bsnyen* vow. He returned home to be a lay practitioner and learnt under his eldest brother the shorter commentary of *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, the *Vinaya* Scriptures (*'Dul ba lung*) and other works in the

¹⁸⁸ DTN: 802–803 and Roerich 1949: 686.

Vinayapīṭaka ('*Dul ba'i sde snod rnams*), including *Las brgya rtsa gcig pa* (One Hundred Formal Procedures).¹⁸⁹

Ordination at Bo dong E

In his 20th year (1249), U rgyan pa took the full vow (*bsnyen rdzogs*) at Bo dong E amid other monks.¹⁹⁰ The ordination ceremony was presided over by Rin chen rtse mo, Zhang bsam gling pa and bSod nams 'od zer, who acted respectively as the Officiating Abbot (*mkhan po*), Master of Ceremonies (*las kyi slob dpon*) and Confidential Intercessor (*gsang ste ston pa*).¹⁹¹ He became a fully ordained monk and was given the monastic name Rin chen dpal.

He pledged to abstain from meat and to study a single system in the next twelve years. Afterwards, he studied the *Compendium of Abhidharma, Five Dharmas of Maitreya* (*Byams chos sde lnga*),¹⁹² *The Collection of the Six Reasonings*¹⁹³ (*Rigs pa'i tshogs drug*), the *Vinaya* and many other doctrines and commentaries. Rin chen rtse mo told him it was useless if one knew all other doctrines in the world but had no knowledge of the Kālacakra. After hearing only once from Rin chen rtse mo the Kālacakra of the 'Bro tradition (*'Bro lugs*), U rgyan pa developed a strong faith in this tantra. Then he went back to Go lung to learn the Chag tradition (*Chag lugs*) of Kālacakra from his eldest brother.

¹⁸⁹ Dict-THDL (Rangjung Yeshe): This was the work of Guṇaprabha (7th-century Indian master of the *Vinaya* tradition).

¹⁹⁰ Van der Kuijp 2004: 307 states that U rgyan pa "was ordained there (Sbu tra) as a fullfledged monk in 1249", which is incorrect. It is clearly stated in the biographies of U rgyan pa that he received full vow in Bo dong E (in lHa rtse) when he reached his 20th year (1249). Sbu tra is the variant of sBud skra.

¹⁹¹ The English translations are adopted from Snellgrove 1967: 133. Tucci 1940: 6 seems to have misinterpreted the text on this incident. He states, "At the age of twenty he was given various names, viz., that of mK'an po by Rin rtse of Bo doñ, that of Slob dpon by bSam gliñ pa of Zañ, that of gSañ ston by the Ācārya bSod 'od pa, and he fully realized the meaning expressed by these names." Since the original text is not available, it is difficult to tell whether it is the problem of the text or that of the translation.

¹⁹² Dict-ID: It refers to the group of five treatises written by Asaṅga that contain the teachings he received directly from Maitreya.

¹⁹³ Dict-ID: Yuktiṣaṣṭikā, a text on Middle Path written by Nāgārjuna.

Kālacakra and Śambhala

According to Vesna Wallace's in-depth study of the *Kālacakratāntra*, it is "an early eleventh-century esoteric treatise belonging to the class of Unexcelled *yoga-tantras* (*anuttara-yoga-tantra*)" and "was the last *anuttara-yoga-tantra* to appear in India".¹⁹⁴ Tradition has that the extant version of *Kālacakratāntra* is an abridged version of a larger tantra called *Paramādibuddha* taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni to Sucandra, the first king of Śambhala and an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, at the Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa in South India. Sucandra wrote it down and propagated it through his kingdom. The abridged version was written by Mañjuśrī Yaśas, the eighth king of Śambhala. *Vimalaprabhā* (Stainless Light), the most authoritative commentary on this abridged work, was written by Puṇḍarīka, the ninth king. According to Tibetan sources, Ācārya Cilupa from Orissa went to Śambhala and brought the teaching back to East India in the second half of the 10th century.¹⁹⁵ A goal of practising this tantra, as Wallace has pointed out, is to transform the corporeal wheel of time into the omnipresent and everlasting wheel of time, thus realising the unity of emptiness and bliss.¹⁹⁶ The text is divided into three levels focusing respectively on cosmology, energy channels of the body and yoga practices, and tantric initiations and visualisation of one's tutelary deities.¹⁹⁷ The teaching was first translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit in the beginning of the 11th century by Lotsava Gyi jo, and belonged to the class of Mother tantras. Later on the translations of different Tibetan translators gave rise to different traditions of Kālacakra (*Dus kyi 'khor lo*). The '*Bro lugs* (of 'Bro Lotsava Shes rab grags) and *Chag lugs* (of Chag Lotsava Chos rje dpal) that U rgyan pa studied were two of the major traditions.¹⁹⁸

For tantric practitioners initiated into the Kālacakra tantra, Śambhala is seen as a paradise.¹⁹⁹ It is believed to represent a hidden buddha-field, "which assists the whole

¹⁹⁴ Wallace 2001: 3.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 3, 4 & 6. See also Tenzin Gyatso the 14th Dalai Lama 1984: 59–63, Hopkins 1985, (Geshe) Lhundub Sopa 1985 and Wallace 2004.

¹⁹⁶ Wallace 2001: 103.

¹⁹⁷ *Tibetan Astronomy and Astrology*: 12.

¹⁹⁸ Ringu 2007: 91. See also Roerich 1949: 753–55.

¹⁹⁹ Tucci 1940: 3.

world when the time is ripe".²⁰⁰ According to the Kālacakra text, Śambhala does exist on earth. However, its location is remote and uncertain, and it is said to be extremely difficult to find, apart from the fact that it can only be reached and experienced by people with the right karma. Bernbaum has pointed out that over the centuries, a number of guidebooks have been composed in Tibet to aid people in quest of Śambhala, drawing on materials either from old texts or from the authors' own dreams and visions. However, many of them were either misplaced or lost. The most popular among the extant ones is the *Sham bha la'i lam yig* (Guidebook to Śambhala) written in the 18th century by the 3rd Panchen Lama, but the routes closely follow that of *Ka la par zhugs pa* (The Entrance to Kalapa [capital of Śambhala]) translated by Tāranātha from Sanskrit a century earlier. There is also a short one that dates at least to the 13th century. All these guidebooks seem to locate Śambhala to the part of Central Asia northwest of Tibet, around the Sita River in East Turkestan.²⁰¹ It is said in *The Blue Annals* that U rgyan pa's teacher Rin chen rtse mo proceeded to Śambhala at the age of fifty-one.²⁰²

Although U rgyan pa had become an expert in astrology and astronomy (*rtsis rnams*), he was not satisfied. He believed that the key revealing the secrets of Vajrayāna was hidden in the Kālacakra; to reveal the full meaning of this tantra, he must go to Śambhala, the birth place of Kālacakra tantra, or at least to travel around dBus and gTsang to find some great Kālacakra masters. Accompanied by two servants, he travelled to gTsang to visit Dus 'khor ba Sangs rgyas rdo rje and spent eleven months learning under him the tradition of *Tsa lugs* (of Lotsava Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa). The initiations and precepts he received were for *Vimalaprabhā* (commentary of *Kālacakratantra*) only, not for the full Kālacakra. He was told to go to U rgyan and Nepal in the future to explore the science of nutrition, alchemic ingredients and those medicinal herbs he had no knowledge of. When they were going through some very difficult parts in the *Paramādibuddha* (the longer tantra), the learning was interrupted because Dus 'khor ba was invited by his patron to go

²⁰⁰ Wallace 2004: xxi, in the Introductory Remarks by R. Thurman.

²⁰¹ Bernbaum 2001: 181–91. The guidebook, that dates at least to the 13th century, was found embedded in a larger manuscript by the German scholar Berthold Laufer. The text describes Beijing in the time of Mongol reign in China (see p. 183). For other references on Kālacakra and Śambhala, see also Biswanath 1999, Damdinsuren 1981, Hopkins 1985, Newman 1985 & 1996 and Tenzin 1985.

²⁰² Roerich 1949: 783.

to Upper gTsang po. U rgyan pa had thought that this teacher was as perfect as the Indian Mahāsiddha Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas, but now he was disillusioned because the teacher had abandoned him in pursuit of worldly fame and wealth. Grieving over his failure in finding an authentic guru (*mtshan ldan bla ma*), he shed many tears. He longed to go back to his parents and he prayed to Avalokiteśvara and Pha dam pa. That night, he met this Mahāsiddha in his dream. After being shown his parents from his seven previous lives, he gradually felt less attached to his parents of this life. Pha dam pa also told him that he would meet an authentic guru in the course of time.

The Authentic Guru

When U rgyan pa reached his 23rd year (1252), his father passed away. He revisited bDe chen stengs. At that time, the 63-year-old rGod tshang pa was probably living in seclusion in this mountain hermitage and is said to have stopped taking new disciples; all new disciples were dismissed and only some old ones remained. The attendant (*nye gnas*) Zhig po Byang dpal refused to let U rgyan pa see the guru. U rgyan pa protested and asserted that he was an old disciple who had taken his vow seven years previously in front of rGod tshang pa. At last rGod tshang pa was willing to see him. This incident suggests that his relationship with rGod tshang pa hitherto was far from a close one and he was quite a stranger to the close disciples of the latter.

As mentioned in Part One of this thesis, the sequence of a series of episodes from here onward in A1-SO differs from the other two long biographies in the same group.²⁰³ Noticeable differences are also found in the content. It is interesting to note the reason of U rgyan pa's subsequent visit. Biography A1-SO gives two possible reasons: 1) some people said that he told rGod tshang pa he wanted to go to Śambhala to find the answers to his queries in the Kālacakra, and since rGod tshang pa's yogins were known for having 'strong legs' (*rkang rgod pa*), he came to find companions for the journey; 2) other people said that he told rGod tshang pa he wished to learn meditation from him. However, A2-SO and

²⁰³ See subsection on Biography A3-SO in Part One of this thesis.

A3-SO simply state that he visited rGod tshang pa for the first reason. Another important difference is that A2-SO contains a few extra lines saying that rGod tshang pa told U rgyan pa, "[You] have no karmic connection with Śambhala. Since [you] have karmic connection with U rgyan, go there."²⁰⁴ The short biography C1-ZS about U rgyan pa's secret teachings also mentions about U rgyan pa telling his disciples that at first he wished to go to Śambhala, but that the prediction of rGod tshang pa made him change his mind, and that he then thought of going to U rgyan.²⁰⁵ However, C1-ZS does not tell whether U rgyan pa changed his mind soon afterwards or a long time later.²⁰⁶

U rgyan pa's stay in Bo dong E was a short one, and probably lasted for no more than a year. The biographies have no mention of his ever revisiting Bo dong E or seeing Rin chen rtse mo again in the rest of his life. There is also no mention of him visiting rGod tshang pa again after taking the novice vow seven years earlier. This visit, for whichever reason mentioned above, was certainly intended to be just a brief one. I believe that U rgyan pa had not considered rGod tshang pa a prospective authentic guru until now or soon afterwards, otherwise he could have come earlier. He probably did not see the value of rGod tshang pa until the latter seriously took him as a close disciple, particularly after the transmission of the Mahāmudrā teachings.²⁰⁷ While Rin chen rtse mo was only considered by U rgyan pa as a teacher of Buddhist doctrines, rGod tshang pa became his authentic guru, the most important person to a practitioner of Vajrayāna Buddhism.²⁰⁸ Thus they entered into the guru-disciple relationship unique of tantric Buddhism, in which the guru is considered an object of refuge superior to the Three Jewels themselves; his pronouncements and precepts are the dharma and his words are absolute truth. This

²⁰⁴ A2-SO: 12a. The text reads: *Sham bha la dang sngon gyi las 'brel med | Orgyan dang las 'brel sod pas der byon.*

²⁰⁵ C1-ZS: 106a.

²⁰⁶ This is important in determining whether he initially set off for his long journey thinking of going to U rgyan or to Śambhala.

²⁰⁷ Ringu 2007: 174. Mahāmudrā is rendered in Tibetan as *Phyag rgyas chen po*, (the Great Seal). "The Kagyu tradition came from Jetsun Naropa and Maitripa in India to Marpa Lotsawa in Tibet. This lineage is mainly connected with the tantras of Anuttarayoga."

²⁰⁸ Jamgon 1977: 123 states that "It is said that a disciple who is intensely devoted and reverent toward a fully qualified Vajrayana master with whom he has formed a sacred bond will achieve supreme and worldly siddhi without doing anything else."

relationship was also a predestined one. rGod tshang pa told U rgyan pa that they were guru and disciple from many of their previous lives.²⁰⁹

U rgyan the Miraculous Land

In the travel account of the 16th-century Indian ascetic Buddhagupta, U rgyan was identified as Uḍḍiyāna.²¹⁰ Aurel Stein points out that the ancient name of the country, Uḍḍiyāna, was transformed into Sanskrit Udyāna, the 'Garden'.²¹¹ Beal's translation of the 7th-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzhuang's travel account notes that U-chang-na is Udyāna,²¹² while Ji's Chinese commentary of this account notes that Wuzhangna (*viz.* U-chang-na) is the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit Udyāna and Uḍḍiyāna, etc.²¹³ Waddell also equates Udyāna with Uḍḍiyāna.²¹⁴ Thomas says that Udyāna is "a popular corruption" of Uḍḍiyāna,²¹⁵ while Lévi says that Oḍḍiyāna and Uḍḍiyāna, rather than Udyāna, are the correct ancient names for the Swat Valley.²¹⁶ Although Tucci has mentioned that it is generally accepted that Uḍḍiyāna (U rgyan) is located in Swat Valley in Pakistan,²¹⁷ a place very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia, there are different opinions. For instance, Bhattacharyya agrees that Udyāna was in the Swat Valley but remarks that it should not be equated with Uḍḍiyāna, and the latter is more likely to be in East Bengal.²¹⁸ He identifies Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa near Bengal because there is neither evidence of tantra in form of Vajrayāna ever flourished in Udyāna nor a single tantric image being discovered there, but such evidence and image are found in Orissa.²¹⁹ Another

²⁰⁹ Snellgrove 1957: 196. These were important features of tantric Buddhism.

²¹⁰ Tucci 1931: 688–89. According to this account, "The Sanskrit name of the place is Au ṭi ya ṇa, but in the original language is Or gyen; since the pronunciation of *ṭa* and *ra* is similar it becomes like Or-ya-na".

²¹¹ A. Stein 1929: 13.

²¹² Beal 1884: I:119, Note 1.

²¹³ Ji 2008: 271 (in Chinese).

²¹⁴ Waddell 1899: 380

²¹⁵ Thomas 1918: 311.

²¹⁶ Lévi 1915: 109.

²¹⁷ Tucci 1940: 1. This view is shared by Aris 1988: 24–25, Beal 1884: I: 119 and Ji 2008: 271. See also Tucci 1958: 279–80.

²¹⁸ Bhattacharyya 1932: 44.

²¹⁹ Bhattacharyya 1924: xxvii.

person who also identifies Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa is said to be Mm. Haraprasad Sastri.²²⁰ Lévi is said to have located Uḍḍiyāna "somewhere in Kashgarh" (Kashgar) in East Turkestan.²²¹ Chandra even believes that Oḍḍiyāna (*viz.* Uḍḍiyāna) was located in South India in "modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanci", one of the seven greatest metropolitan centres of Indian culture and a cradle of Buddhism.²²²

The pilgrimage route of U rgyan pa, as shown in the next chapter, clearly indicates that U rgyan was situated in Upper Swat Valley in present-day North Pakistan, rather than elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent. In the biographies of U rgyan pa, U rgyan is often referred to as 'The Miraculous Land' (*sprul ba'i zhing*). It was a place of great importance because it was known as the birthplace of Padmasambhava, the Land of the Ḍākinīs, the holy land for the rNying ma pa, and later on the bKa' brgyud pa. It was also considered as the cradle of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. Many Tantras were believed to have been first revealed here.²²³ While both Śambhala and Uḍḍiyāna are considered a kind of fairyland by Tibetan pilgrims, the former is more a land of myth and legend, and the latter a real place that exists on earth.

As already mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, to avoid possible confusion, the place name U rgyan will be used instead of Uḍḍiyāna throughout the thesis when discussing the life of U rgyan pa.

The Yogin and Meditator

rGod tshang pa told U rgyan pa to visualise his guru as the Buddha when he meditated, but U rgyan pa doubted the rationality of equating the two and could not do it successfully. Reading the mind of U rgyan pa, rGod tshang pa told him to visualise himself as Avalokiteśvara and then visualise his guru at the centre of his heart. U rgyan pa did as

²²⁰ Bhattacharyya 1932: 44.

²²¹ *Ibid.* Bhattacharyya says this, but Lévi 1915: 105–111 seems not to have mentioned this place name.

²²² Chandra 1979: 73–78.

²²³ Tucci 1940: 1–3.

instructed and successfully visualised his guru as the Buddha. This concept of understanding the guru as the Buddha is central to tantric Buddhism because one's own guru is the only means to awakening.²²⁴ This incident seems to suggest that until then U rgyan pa was not familiar with this kind of meditation which is fundamental and instrumental in esoteric practices. In other words, he became a real yogin (*rnal 'byor pa*) and meditator (*sgom chen*) only *after* revisiting rGod tshang pa and receiving teachings from this authentic guru. Previously, he was more of a Buddhist scholar than a tantric practitioner.

rGod tshang pa was deeply impressed by U rgyan pa's innate propensities. He gave him consecrations and precepts in Mahāmudrā. In the following few days, U rgyan pa saw clearly the real images of gods and demons. In some of those meditation caves formerly occupied by famous practitioners, he saw shadowy images enshrouded in mist. Because of his innate propensities, he made remarkable progress although he did not practise meditation often. rGod tshang pa then went through the *Kālacakratantra* in detail with him and explained the difficult parts to him. Great faith and devotion arose in U rgyan pa. rGod tshang pa also entrusted U rgyan pa with the scripture given to him by Vajrayoginī. He explained to U rgyan pa that when he was staying in rGod tshang in rTshib ri (in around 1226–1233),²²⁵ he had a vision of Vajrayoginī giving him a volume of scripture and asking him to eat it. He did as instructed and became knowledgeable of all the doctrines taught by the Buddha. Afterwards he received in his dream the Kālacakra consecrations from Vajrayoginī.²²⁶ According to Biography A1-SO, hence he also gave U rgyan pa consecrations of Kālacakra in the latter's dream. However, A2-SO, A3-SO and B1-KM relate that U rgyan pa dreamt of Dus 'khor ba Sangs rgyas rdo rje, his former Kālacakra

²²⁴ English 2002: 28. Understanding the guru to be the Buddha is important because, as stated in *Guhyasamayāsādhnamālā*, "The guru is the Buddha, the guru is the Dharma, and the guru is the Sangha. The guru is the glorious Vajradhara; in this life only the guru is the means [to awakening]. Therefore, someone wishing to attain the state of Buddhahood should please the guru." See also Snellgrove 1957: 175.

²²⁵ Roerich 199: 686.

²²⁶ The divine experience in rTsibs ri (Shrī ri) was a turning point in rGod tshang pa's life. DTN: 802 (1949: 683) states that after meditating in his hermitage in rGod tshang (on the southeast cliff-face) of Shrī ri, he went to practise *gsang spyod* (secret sexual yoga) in the mountains of La stod, and from thence on he was inseparable from [the blissful state of] Mahāmudrā. In fact, it was from rGod tshang he had acquired this.

teacher, and it was this teacher who gave him the Kālacakra consecrations in the dream.²²⁷ Afterwards, rGod tshang pa also taught U rgyan pa the yoga of internal channels and vital energy (*rtsa rlung*).

Dreams and Revelations

U rgyan pa had many auspicious dreams. Through his guru's interpretations of these dreams, U rgyan pa began to realise his own superiority. After having the dream that prophesised his realisation of the Mahāmudrā, he meditated according to rGod tshang pa's instructions and finally gained direct experience of the Mahāmudrā and the equanimity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. He was so proud of himself that he even imagined that he excelled Mahāsiddha Saraha²²⁸ of India. He thought, "Is the Great Brahmin Saraha [really that] great? Nobody is superior to me. What Saraha had realised is probably no better than this."²²⁹ He also dreamt of Ras chung pa giving him instructions in meditation postures (*lus gnad*), retention of seminal fluid (*kun rda byang chub sems g.yo ba med pa*)²³⁰ and other skills. On hearing this, rGod tshang pa told U rgyan pa his tutelary deity was Cakrasaṃvara, and alluded to U rgyan pa being the emanation of Ras chung pa, who was believed to be the emanation of Cakrasaṃvara. In a series of dreams, U rgyan pa saw himself riding the tiger, the lion, the elephant, and even the sun and the moon, revealing that he had attained a considerable level (*sa thob pa*) in the path of a yogin or a Bodhisattva.²³¹ He visited various buddha-fields and saw various Buddhas and

²²⁷ A2-SO: 13a, A3-SO: 10b and B1-KM: 28. A1-SO does not mention Dus 'khor ba at all in those episodes. DRUGPA: 447 also states that it was Dus 'khor ba who gave the Kālacakra consecrations in U rgyan pa's dream. LHORONG: 720 does not mention who gave the consecrations.

²²⁸ Schmid 1958: 33 contains a biography of this mahāsiddha. See also Jamgon 1977: 71 and Snellgrove 1954: 224 ff.

²²⁹ A1-SO: 31, A2-SO: 14b and A3-SO: 12a. The text reads: *Bram ze chen po Sa ra ha lhag gam | gzhan nga bas lhag pa med | Sa ra ha la yang 'di las hag pa'i rtogs pa yod de mi 'ong gongs pa byung gsungs.*

²³⁰ Dasgupta 1958: 134, 141–42 notes that non-emission results in intense bliss; *nirvāṇa* and incessant bliss are seen as one, which is the abode of both enjoyment and liberation.

²³¹ Dict-ID: *Sa bcu*. This might mean the levels of the path of a bodhisattva of Mahāyāna or a practitioner of Anuyoga. There are ten levels (*bhūmis*). Mullin 1997: 37 notes that dreaming of riding on the sun and moon signifies the eliminating of all obstacles to the practice of Dream Yoga, one of the Six Yogas of Nāropa.

Bodhisattvas in his dreams and visions. His dream of going to U rgyan is only mentioned in Biography C1-ZS, which says that he met the head of the Five Classes of Ḍākinīs, who gave him verses on yogic practice for altruistic achievements. His dream of going to Śambhala is mentioned only in three of the shorter biographies. He dreamt of asking the way to Śambhala and meeting the emanations of its king and queen, who showed him the way.²³² Now he was able to practise meditation in his dreams in the same way as when he was awake. He also realised the equanimity or Equal Taste of all elements (*ro snyoms*)²³³ and the emptiness of the nature of all things.

'Gro ba bzang mo the Ḍākinī

Ḍākinī, one of the most "important, potent, and dynamic images/ideas/symbols within all of Tantra",²³⁴ is a type of yoginī related closely with tantric ritual feasts in Hindu tradition.²³⁵ Later on in tantric Buddhism, the conception changed and Ḍākinī became a benign yet capricious heavenly being of female appearance, a spiritual helper, inspirer and ally of the tantric practitioners,²³⁶ and even "the supreme embodiment of the highest wisdom."²³⁷ The term is rendered in Tibetan as *mkha' 'gro ma*, which literally means 'sky-goer'. Ḍākinīs are especially associated with Uḍḍiyāna. They even form a new trilogy with the guru and the tutelary deity, which replaced the orthodox Three Jewels comprising Buddha-Dharma-Sangha.²³⁸ Many yogic biographies of Tibet have revealed that Ḍākinīs are integrally and intimately connected with the sexual symbolism of tantric ritual and practice; they were the yogins' consorts in the form of actual women or deities appearing

²³² B2a-ZM: 13a–b, B2b-ZM: 14b and C1-ZS: 118b–119a.

²³³ J. Gyatso 1998: 198 notes that the 'one taste' of appearance and mind is the realisation of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, which is engendered by the loosening of the channel knots around the central channel in practising fulfilment yoga. Snellgrove 1954: 228 cites the verse of Mahāsiddha Saraha: "Do not discriminate, but see things as one, Making no distinction of families. Let the whole of the three fold world become one in the state of Great Passion." Snellgrove notes that 'Great Passion' refers directly to the ritual of union.

²³⁴ Willis 1987: 57.

²³⁵ Snellgrove 1959: 135.

²³⁶ Willis 1987: 61, 62, 66.

²³⁷ Willis 1987: 58.

²³⁸ Snellgrove 1957: 175.

in the formers' visions, dreams and meditations. The most revered *dākinīs* in Tibet are Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī,²³⁹ the respective consorts of Cakrasaṃvara and Guhyasamāja.²⁴⁰ The majority of tantric yogins in Tibet were initiated into and followed the exposition and meditative practice of the system known as *Phag mo gzhung drug* (Six Texts of Vajravārāhī).²⁴¹

'Gro ba bzang mo was the consort of rGod tshang pa. She is also referred to as mKha' 'gro ma 'Gro ba bzang mo or simply 'Gro bzang, but very little information about her is found in the biographies of U rgyan pa. Although in popular Tibetan literature there is a famous personage of the same name,²⁴² it is not sure in what way the two had come to be related. According to *Deb ther sngon po*, rGod tshang pa first met 'Gro bzang in Jalandhar in India when she was presiding over a tantric feast (*tshogs 'khor*).²⁴³ She allowed him to join the feast, which he enjoyed tremendously and obtained great blessing.²⁴⁴ In *IHo rong chos 'byung*, she is said to be an important yoginī from U rgyan and she came to Tibet for the sake of assisting the endeavours of rGod tshang pa and his disciples.²⁴⁵ U rgyan pa also told his disciples there were four great yoginīs in Dhu ma tha la in U rgyan, and the one called So ni was 'Gro bzang.²⁴⁶ Another source reveals that a tantric feast was performed in a temple, where a group of very beautiful young yoginīs including 'Gro bzang danced and performed tantric rituals.²⁴⁷ She probably met rGod tshang pa in 1217.²⁴⁸ If she was in her late teens and early twenties in 1217, she should be at least fifty years old by 1252.

²³⁹ Trungpa 1986 : 255. Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī are aspects of the same deity. Vajravārāhī is marked by a sow's head protruding above her left ear. See also English 2002, Mitra 1999: 102–129 and Mukherjee 1999: 208–214.

²⁴⁰ Willis 1987: 68–71.

²⁴¹ English 2002: xxii, citing Roerich 1949: 390.

²⁴² Tucci 1940: 55, Note 55.

²⁴³ *Tshogs kyi 'khor lo* (Skt. *ganacakra*). Roy 1999: 228 states that in this kind of feast, "specific items of food and drink were consumed, and men and women were expected to engage in a variety of ritual/spiritual/sexual practices." Shaw 1994: 81 remarks that the feast "culminates in the performance of Tantric dances and music that must never be disclosed to outsiders."

²⁴⁴ DTN: 799 and Roerich 1949: 682.

²⁴⁵ LHORONG: 696.

²⁴⁶ See Stage Ten of U rgyan pa's journey in Chapter II of this thesis.

²⁴⁷ Tucci 1940: 90. Appendix: folio 47a, transcription of the biography of rGod tshang pa.

²⁴⁸ DTN: 802 (Roerich 1949: 686) states that he was in Ti se and Jalandhar until he reached his 29th year (1217). Vitali 2003a: 72 notes that rGod tshang pa travelled to Jalandhar after staying in the Kailash area for three years from 1214 to late 1216. Therefore he should have reached Jalandhar in 1217.

The relationship between U rgyan pa and 'Gro bzang is interesting. In her debut in the biographies of U rgyan pa, her name is prefixed with the epithet rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug (The Almighty Yoginī). It is said that one day she offered a palmful of fresh garlic bulbs (*sgog pa sngon mo*) to U rgyan pa and told him she went around collecting them especially for him; if he ate them he would obtain *siddhi*.²⁴⁹ However, U rgyan pa refused bluntly and went to tell rGod tshang pa about it. Hearing this, his guru admonished him and said that he should have eaten the garlic, which would be very beneficial to his practice.²⁵⁰ According to *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a famous Mahāyāna text, "the Yogin should always refrain from meat, onions, various kinds of liquor, allium, and garlic" because they were great hindrance to emancipation.²⁵¹ Since U rgyan pa had pledged not to eat meat for twelve years after his full ordination, he probably had also refrained from eating garlic. According to Willis, this kind of 'shock-therapy' is one of the 'plays' of the *ḍākinīs* in assisting the yogins to achieve *siddhi*.²⁵² The purpose of offering taboo food to U rgyan pa was probably to destroy his 'habit-forming thoughts', which is a major hindrance on the path to become a mahāsiddha. The story of Nāropa refusing to eat the fish offered to him by the emanation of Tilopa and thereby failing to destroy these thoughts provides another good example.²⁵³ An interesting incident related to eating garlic is mentioned in the later part of U rgyan pa's biography. Some ten years later (in the 1260s) when he was staying in bDe chen stengs, after eating a palmful of mountain garlic (*ri sgog*) his mind immediately became forgetful and unclear, a condition that was cured after he meditated on Vajravārāhī.²⁵⁴ This incident reveals that he no longer refrained from eating garlic, which probably began from the time after he was admonished by rGod tshang pa.

²⁴⁹ Bhattacharyya 1932: 85. *Siddhi* "may be defined as the attainment of super-normal powers of the mind, body or the sense-organs."

²⁵⁰ A1-SO: 35–36, A2-SO: 15c and A3-SO: 13b.

²⁵¹ Suzuki 1932: 220–21. However, Bhattacharyya 1932: 95 has also pointed out that in Vajrayāna Buddhism, "different rules were applied to practitioners of different grade, beginning with the strict observances of the Vinaya rules in the lowest rank to the stage of no restriction in the highest ranks."

²⁵² Willis 1987: 65–66. *Ḍākinīs* use different means and even tricks to inspire the yogins. They are described as 'playful', 'capricious' or even 'horrific' and 'terrifying'.

²⁵³ Guenther 1963: 35.

²⁵⁴ This incident is only mentioned in A1-SO: 160–61, not in other biographies.

Anyway, it seems that *The Lankāvatāra Sūtra* does have good reason in advising yogins to refrain from eating garlic.

'Gro bzang seemed to be quite concerned about the progress of U rgyan pa's practice. However, her remarks were not always welcome. One day she asked whether U rgyan pa was meditating on '*khor yug ma* (constant encircling [of clear light]).²⁵⁵ U rgyan pa said he was. Then she told him he was far from it. Obviously 'Gro bzang was trying to sabotage his self-satisfaction²⁵⁶ and to spur him²⁵⁷ or challenge his intellectual approach,²⁵⁸ but apparently it hurt U rgyan pa's pride. He called her demoness (*'dre mo*) in his heart but apparently he dared not rebuke her or was just too proud to consult her. He went to consult his guru instead. rGod tshang pa admonished him not to think too highly of himself at the present moment. In other words, this confirmed that 'Gro bzang's harsh remark was quite true. It is not sure whether U rgyan pa really believed that this foreign woman was a great *ḍākinī* from U rgyan, or whether he just saw her as one of his guru's consorts and a woman who often teased him; he might even have likened her to the kind of so-called *ḍākinīs* who often appeared as whores or dancing girls to the itinerant yogins. It is not known what her position was among the consorts of rGod tshang pa, but anyway U rgyan pa's attitude towards her was unfavourable and resistant, if not antagonistic.

Like most other *ḍākinīs*, 'Gro bzang also played the role of 'messenger', which instigated a 'turning-point' in U rgyan pa's yogic practice.²⁵⁹ One day, she told U rgyan pa the two of them were going to offer *Shang pa ring mo* to a tantric feast (*tshogs 'khor*). It is not sure what exactly the ritual is but it may possibly refer to the Shang pa lineage of the bKa'

²⁵⁵ The term is spelt as *khor yug ma* in A1-SO: 37 and A2-SO: 16b; and as '*khor yug ma* in A3-SO: 14b and K1-KM: 7b. LHORONG: 720 relates that after practising Mahāmudrā according to the instruction manual (*khrid*) given by rGod tshang pa, U rgyan pa experienced the constant encircling of clear light (*'od gsal 'khor yug tu snang*). This is probably a sign signalling the attaining of a certain level in Mahāmudrā practice.

²⁵⁶ J. Gyatso 1998: 243.

²⁵⁷ Willis 1987: 68 notes that one of the functions of the *ḍākinī* is to serve as the spur to help the yogin to accomplish the arduous path of tantric practice.

²⁵⁸ Campbell 1996: 38.

²⁵⁹ Willis 1987: 66.

brgyud school.²⁶⁰ However, U rgyan pa doubted whether she meant the confession ritual (*bshag pa*),²⁶¹ and thus hesitated. He seemed unwilling to perform this ritual with 'Gro bzang. The biographies have not stated clearly what his scruple was but it probably had something to do with the nature of the ritual. 'Gro bzang immediately sensed what he was thinking. Overwhelmed by humiliation and disappointment, she trembled. She told U rgyan pa it was her fault to have asked an unworthy recipient to perform the feast offering with her. U rgyan pa went to confess this to rGod tshang pa but the latter said he should go to beg the pardon of 'Gro bzang. The two daughters of 'Gro bzang also came to ask U rgyan pa the same. Then he went to see her. She was so distressed that he had to join his palms and repeat the confession liturgy thrice to obtain her pardon. Then they performed the ritual. The mountains in bDe chen stengs quaked and the trees fluttered.²⁶² The channel knots of U rgyan pa were untied (*lhod song*),²⁶³ and he was initiated into sacred commitment or *dam tshig* with the ḍākinī 'Gro bzang. *Dam tshig* (or *dam bca'i tshig*, Skt. *samaya*) is of great importance in tantric Buddhism but its meaning is very complex. Basically it is a solemn pledge made by a tantric practitioner, which creates a bond between the initiator and the initiated. Violation of this vow will lead to loss of devotion, protection, integrity and *siddhi*.²⁶⁴ According to Wallace, the tantric pledges of all the *Anuttarayogatantras*, including *Kālacakratāntra*, involve the transgression of social conventions and cultural boundaries, such as eating all kinds of meat, drinking liquor and

²⁶⁰ Ringu 2007: 180–81 states that the teachings of the Shang pa lineage are based in the Six Yogas of Niguma and the Mahāmudrā, with special association to the white and red forms of Vajrayoginī. Shaw 1994: 108 remarks that the Shang pa teaching is "a very advanced method even within the most esoteric class of teachings", because "it compresses the entire Tantric path into a powerfully streamlined technique." The practitioner is required to visualise Vajrayoginī and Cakrasaṃvara in sacred union.

²⁶¹ Katz 1979: 169 notes that *bshags pa* means 'confession' (Skt. *deśanā*). It is an important Vajrayāna ritual to remove errors or misdeeds (*ltung pa*, Skt. *āpatti*) of the initiated.

²⁶² See Footnote 593, Chapter III:III of this thesis for the reason of earthquake as explained by U rgyan pa himself.

²⁶³ J. Gyatso 1998: 256 remarks that loosening of channel knots is vital to the practising of fulfillment yoga. The knots strangling the psychic nerve channels of ordinary people have to be opened in order to allow the vital essence to enter the central channel and thus activating the *cakras* in the body. K. Gyatso 1991: 139 points out that to untie the knots completely before death, one needs the assistance of an 'outer messenger' or 'action *mudra*' (a real woman) to strengthen the experience of great bliss. Without this messenger, "it is impossible before death for meditation alone to cause the entire pervading wind to dissolve into the indestructible drop at the heart and thereby the attainment of the isolated mind of ultimate example clear light." See also Shaw 1994: 147.

²⁶⁴ See English 2002: 28, Jamgon 1994: 16 and Snellgrove 1957: 287–88.

keeping the company of women, in order to cultivate the perception of nonduality and to counteract the grasping of one's own social class and tradition.²⁶⁵ Thus, it is very probable that it was the transgressive nature of the ritual suggested by 'Gro bzang that had made U rgyan pa hesitate to comply with her request.

Apparently, U rgyan pa had submitted to 'Gro bzang after this incident. Until the time he left rGod tshang pa for West Tibet, no more unpleasant happenings had been noted between them. His dislike for her probably had not improved but he seemed to have managed to show respect for her overtly. Her teasing probably continued to spur him on to seek excellence and to surpass her in his tantric practices. Some years later when U rgyan pa was relating to his disciples the incident of receiving supreme tantric teachings from Vajrayoginī in U rgyan, he said, "[Previously], 'Gro bzang's spiritual accomplishment was not lower than mine; she [could] not overpower me [and] I probably [also could] not overpower her. [However], since I had eaten the food bestowed by that Ḍākinī (Vajragoyinī), my spiritual accomplishment became [very] high [and] I overpowered her."²⁶⁶ What he said betrayed his tensed relationship with 'Gro bzang. The well-intended 'plays' and 'spurs' used by 'Gro ba bzang mo had probably been misunderstood by U rgyan pa as deriving from the selfish motive of trying to dominate him.

U rgyan pa's dislike for 'Gro bzang lasted until her death, which occurred in 1259, one year after the death of rGod tshang pa. U rgyan pa had a vision of his guru telling him to go to see 'Gro bzang because she was departing (dying). From rDo rje gling in Bar 'brog,²⁶⁷ the last hermitage of rGod tshang pa, he went to her abode in the snow mountain Gangs Bu le,²⁶⁸ where she was living with her daughters and two other yoginīs. Their dramatic last

²⁶⁵ Wallace 2001: 120.

²⁶⁶ A1-SO: 90. The text reads: *Nga bas 'Gro bzang rtogs pa sma rgyu mi 'dug gsungs | mo nga'i dbang du mi 'du | nga mo'i dbang du mi 'du ba yin pa la | mkha' 'go ma des byin pa'i zas zos man bcad | nga nos rtogs pa mtho bar song nas | ngas 'Gro bzang dbang du 'dus te.* These lines with minor variations in spelling and wording are also found in A2-SO: 38a and A3-SO: 31b.

²⁶⁷ DTN: 802 (Roerich 1949: 686) states that rGod tshang pa spent his last two years in rDo rje gling in Bar 'brog.

²⁶⁸ Wangdu & Diemberger 1996: 47: Bu le gangs is one of the Four Great Snow Mountains in La stod lho according to *Shel dkar chos 'byung*. Note 141 states that the mountain is situated above the rGya mtsho la to the north of Shel dkar in Ding ri.

encounter is imbued with the mood of a black comedy. On seeing each other, they greeted by holding hands. After thanking U rgyan pa for coming to see her, she said, "[Although] rGod tshang pa had gone beyond the sorrows [of *saṃsāra*], his chief disciples who had numerous altruistic achievements are still alive; since your (plural) life and activities are in my hands, please say 'Don't depart!'" However, U rgyan pa answered, "I won't make [such] a request. Woman, whenever it's time to depart, just depart!" 'Gro bzang said, "Don't say this Slob dpon Jo btsun. Please say 'Don't depart!'" U rgyan pa repeated his previous answer. Instantly 'Gro bzang fell dead without any illness. Feeling very shocked, U rgyan pa went up to her and found that she was really dead. Then he joined his palms and said again and again his wish, "Woman, please don't depart! Please stay for the sake of benefiting sentient beings!" [Suddenly] she [opened her eyes] and stared at him, saying, "Too late! [I've] taken rebirth!" Then her beautiful and radiant skin turned yellow (truly dead).²⁶⁹ She was probably around sixty years old when she passed away.

Hence, U rgyan pa was held responsible for the death of 'Gro bzang!²⁷⁰ His antipathy towards her and his addressing her rudely as 'Woman' (*skyed mo*) has revealed that he had never truly respected her despite her being one of his important initiators and a great yoginī from U rgyan. According to the Vajrayoginī tradition, all women and female beings in the universe are the embodiments of this deity and thus should be respected, honoured and served without exception,²⁷¹ and by meditating on women as embodiments of Vajrayoginī and transferring their reverence for Vajrayoginī to all women, the yogin's ordinary views can be remedied and their vision purified.²⁷² U rgyan pa did not seem to be able to do so. His dual attitude towards the *ḍākinī*—seeing her as a divinity and the embodiment of wisdom on the one hand (as exemplified by the idealisation and

²⁶⁹ The episode is found in A1-SO: 117–18, A2-SO: 49b–50a and A3-SO: 42a–b. LHORONG: 139–42 contains a biography of the incarnation of 'Gro bzang. Her name was Kun ldan ras ma. U rgyan pa met her in about 1292–1293 when she was about thirty-four years old. Van der Kuijp 2004: 307 Note 23 states that "her female reembodiment, as recognized by U rgyan pa, [is] the first of its kind in Tibet." However, van der Kuijp 2005: 29 remarks that the lineage was short-lived and ended with this very incarnation.

²⁷⁰ LHORONG: 752 also states that since U rgyan pa did not entreat 'Gro bzang to stay, she died. Later on U rgyan pa said that the yoginī called Kun ldan ras ma was her incarnation.

²⁷¹ Shaw 1994: 41, citing Christopher George's translation of the *Caṅḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*.

²⁷² *Ibid.*: 42.

transcendentalisation²⁷³ of Vajrayoginī despite her manifesting as a lowly woman²⁷⁴) and an inferior person on the other (as seen from his attitude toward 'Gro bzang)²⁷⁵—represents an interesting complex developed amid male yogic practitioners of tantric Buddhism in Tibet.²⁷⁶ 'Gro bzang obviously saw her role as essential in bringing about the achievements of rGod tshang pa and his disciples, and believed that U rgyan pa had to continue to count on her to remove obstacles in his future altruistic career. It seems that she found no reason to live longer after the death of rGod tshang pa, except to assist U rgyan pa. One wonders whether the latter part of U rgyan pa's life story would have to be rewritten if 'Gro bzang had lived for ten or twenty years longer!

The 'Heart Son'

Pleased by U rgyan pa's unusual propensities and remarkable progress, rGod tshang pa saw him as his 'heart son' (*thugs kyi sras*) and successor of his sub-lineage of the bKa' brgyud order. He wished U rgyan pa could stay by his side because he believed that the latter's presence could remove the obstacles of his congregation (*'tshogs pa*).²⁷⁷ He predicted that U rgyan pa would be brilliant in every aspect, and would even surpass him in future. He also prophesied that U rgyan pa would have many enemies among his relatives and many obstacles in his life. However, he bade U rgyan pa to focus on practising for twelve years

²⁷³ These two terms are borrowed from Campbell 1996: 84.

²⁷⁴ DRUGPA: 448 states that the woman who was said to be the manifestation of Vajrayoginī and who gave him a bowl of soup which brought about the untying of his channel knots and hence enlightenment, was a *smad 'tshong ma* (a woman who sells her lower body, i.e. a prostitute). DTN: 820 states that she was a *smad 'tshong ma'i bu ma*; Roerich 1949: 701 translates it as "a prostitute's daughter". See also J. Gyatso 1998: 249 for the lowly status of some *ḍākinīs*.

²⁷⁵ Shaw 1994: 7 cites from a number of scholars to suggest that women were seen as a tool in tantric practices: "used as a means to an end" (D. Snellgrove), "participating solely to help bring about spiritual insights on part [*sic*] of the yogins" (H. Havnevik), "woman is means, an alien object" (K. Smith), "Tantric *yogins* employed them for the performance of sexual rituals" (L. Siegal), " Their attitude toward the woman is... she is to be used as a ritual object and then caste aside" (J. McDaniel), and "to act as female partners (*śakti, dūtī*) of the male adepts" (T. Goudriann), etc.

²⁷⁶ Campbell 1996: 147. "The monastic tradition emphasised the polluting aspect of women, and encouraged celibacy and physical distance from women. On the other hand, women were viewed as essential components to advanced Tantric practice, which addressed the understanding of man's being through his sexuality."

²⁷⁷ This is mentioned in A2-SO: 15c and A3-SO: 13a, but not in A1-SO: 33.

before attempting to practise altruism. He also advised him to establish karmic connection with monasteries, confess to the *ḍākinīs* when hindered by obstacles and perform exorcist rituals when harassed by evil forces.

Despite being considered the 'heart son' of rGod tshang pa and enjoying special favour bestowed by his guru, U rgyan pa seemed not a popular person in the congregation. Discord existed not just between U rgyan pa and 'Gro bzang, but also between him and other members of the congregation. It is said that there were a thousand yoginīs in bDe chen stengs, though the figure is likely to be an exaggeration.²⁷⁸ Three different sources have mentioned that rGod tshang pa had claimed that his yoginīs were *ḍākinīs* although they looked like ordinary women; they listened to his teachings in the daytime and went to perform circumambulation in Rva lung in the evening before going to U rgyan to take part in tantric feasts.²⁷⁹ U rgyan pa demanded rigorous disciplines among the practitioners and attempted to segregate the yoginīs from the yogins in the assemblies.²⁸⁰ According to the long biographies, when rGod tshang pa was giving teachings in an assembly, his male and female disciples pressed to the front, causing physical contact between them. Noticing such inappropriate (*ma mdzes pa*) physical contact which might lead to moral degradation, U rgyan pa put a long wooden stick across the assembly place and ordered the yoginīs to retreat to the far side of this demarcation. However, some impudent ones ignored his words and insisted on sitting in the front amid the men. They were beaten up by U rgyan pa,²⁸¹ another example of U rgyan pa's, or perhaps the average yogins', double standard towards the yoginīs. This certainly instigated resentment among many yoginīs and they subsequently sought revenge by placing dozens of obstacles on his way to enter the land of

²⁷⁸ The figure is probably an exaggeration because it has been mentioned that rGod tshang pa had dismissed most of his disciples and only the old ones remained. The female practitioners in rGod tshang pa's congregation are referred to as *ma jo, jo mo* and *sgom ma*. Although there might be nuns among them, the majority is believed to be yoginīs. DRUGPA: 444 refers to the male and female disciples as '*sgom ma dang grub chen*' when mentioning about the same episode.

²⁷⁹ LHORONG: 728, DRUGPA: 443–44, and MYC: 16. Roerich 1949: 680 and LHORONG: 69 mention that rGod tshang pa studied with gTsang pa rGya ras in Rva lung monastery.

²⁸⁰ DRUGPA: 444 notes that he was a *khrid gnyer* (team leader).

²⁸¹ The remark about his beating the *ḍākinīs* is mentioned only in B1-KM: 8a.

U rgyan. Dozens of them manifested as temptresses and approached U rgyan pa, probably trying to break his *dam tshig*.²⁸²

Neither was U rgyan pa popular among the male practitioners. He hit the heads of two brothers who were scratching their scalps while listening to rGod tshang pa's teaching, yet afterwards rGod tshang pa bestowed on him a gilt vajra as a token of endorsement. rGod tshang pa also asked U rgyan pa to sit by him during teachings and assemblies and said that he would pass to him his scriptures. rGod tshang pa's partiality toward him invited jealousy from other yogins. U rgyan pa was aware of the hostility towards him. When rGod tshang pa requested him not to go away but to stay by his side, he told his guru about his situation but rGod tshang pa assured him the partiality was a justifiable one. Thinking that U rgyan pa was a crafty person who tried to gain power by manipulating the guru and currying his favour, the other yogins ganged up to dissuade rGod tshang pa from keeping him. At the same time, the yogins tried to deter U rgyan pa from becoming the guru's personal assistant (*nye gnas*). U rgyan pa declared that it was rGod tshang pa who had requested him to stay, and he had no ambition of grasping power; if the others did not like him, he would leave because he did not depend on this for a living. Apparently the others stopped trying to drive him away, and U rgyan pa continued to stay in bDe chen stengs, abstaining from meat and alcohol and focusing on his study and practice.

Committing Suicide

However, the undercurrent of hostility and scepticism derived from jealousy and power struggle did not weaken, but continued to disturb U rgyan pa. Certainly he had refused to compromise. He felt sad and thought of leaving bDe chen stengs in search of Śambhala. His supplication for leave provoked his guru tremendously. rGod tshang pa thundered over him, which scared him so much that he had to stay low for a while. Perhaps part of the reason for rGod tshang pa's anger was that U rgyan pa dared to ignore his earlier prediction which said that he had no karmic connection with Śambhala. Yet U rgyan pa's

²⁸² DRUGPA: 444.

determination did not waver. rGod tshang pa certainly read his mind. In order to pacify him and to appease other disciples, rGod tshang pa attempted a creative way to solve the problem. He said he would disband the congregation for a short period, during which U rgyan pa could go home for a short break but afterwards he was expected to come back and stay on because his presence was beneficial to the congregation. However, U rgyan pa was bent on leaving. This time he changed his strategy; the supplication for leave was to go to Da rog.²⁸³ rGod tshang pa certainly read his mind again. He grew so angry that he flew into a rage and even tried to strike U rgyan pa with a hammer. He asked U rgyan pa why he was not willing to lengthen the life span of his guru, and why he still had to seek from elsewhere while his guru was already an enlightened being (*sangs rgyas pa*). This time U rgyan pa did not shrink back but confronted him firmly, saying that he himself was also an enlightened being. Seeing and hearing this, rGod tsang pa smiled and said, "Good omen!"

Absolute devotion to one's guru is the foremost pledge in the *dam tshig* made by a yogic practitioner in the very first stage when the guru-disciple relationship is formed. U rgyan pa had not only ignored rGod tshang pa's prediction and contradicted his wish, but also deprived his guru of the chance of living a longer life. Certainly he was unforgiveable according to the tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Undoubtedly U rgyan pa was a headstrong person, but his wilfulness had not reached such a degree as to allow him to contradict his guru further. He remained in bDe chen stengs.

It seems that the Equal Taste (*ro snyoms*) he had practised was unsuccessful in making him understand the empty nature of reality and freeing him from emotional disturbance. One day, distressed by the dishonesty of the fellow disciples, he decided to end his life and go to the Pureland. He performed the *'pho ba* (transference of consciousness) and ejected his consciousness out of his body.²⁸⁴ In other words, he committed suicide. In his article

²⁸³ For the location and significance of Da rog, see Stage Two of U rgyan pa's journey in Chapter II of this thesis.

²⁸⁴ Ringu 2007: 173 & 180 states that Transference of Consciousness (*'pho ba*) is one of the Six Yogas of Nāropa, the profound and quick path that actualises the wisdom of Mahāmudrā. See also Jamgon 2007: 202 and Mullin 1997: 37.

discussing Buddhism and suicide, Keown agrees that suicide is an important and controversial issue in Buddhist ethics.²⁸⁵ While some opine that suicide is not an ascetic act leading to enlightenment, and an enlightened being would not kill himself,²⁸⁶ it is also pointed out that passages in the *Nikāyas* have shown that the Buddha approved of suicide on the part of Arhats, "who have mastered self, can do what they please as regards the life and death of their carcass."²⁸⁷ This seems to suggest that the point lies in whether that person is an enlightened one. U rgyan pa undoubtedly believed that he was already an enlightened being, but his emotional instability betrayed that he was far from being one. Severing one's last link with the world is said to be justified only in the enlightened person who has already cut off desire and completed his work, and not for a desperate person who simply aspires to annihilation.²⁸⁸ To kill oneself in order to get rid of unpleasant situations is said to be a result of "craving for non-existence", one of the origins of suffering identified by the Buddha.²⁸⁹ One learns from the biography of Nāropa that this Mahāsiddha had also attempted suicide. It is said that after seeking in vain for Tilopa, Nāropa was so dejected that he thought of suicide in the hope of finding the guru in a subsequent life. Just when he was about to cut his veins with a razor, Tilopa appeared, and his admonition made Nāropa change his mind.²⁹⁰ Although the method used by U rgyan pa was a more sophisticated one and he also believed that he was not killing himself but just "transferring his consciousness" to the Pureland, he could not deny that he was also leaving the world because of disillusion. It is this escapist motive that sets him apart from the enlightened ones.

After being informed about the suicide of U rgyan pa, rGod tshang pa asked 'Gro bzang to bring him back. He told his guru he was reborn in a Pureland. rGod tshang pa admonished him that a bodhisattva did not aspire to be reborn in the Pureland, but rather in the most impure and miserable place, and had to pledge to disseminate the doctrines of Mahāyāna

²⁸⁵ Keown 1996.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, citing de La Vallee Poussin 1992. Suicide (Buddhist). In Hastings (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, pp.24–26.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, citing F.L. Woodward 1922. The Ethics of suicide in Greek, Latin and Buddhist literature. In *Buddhist Annals of Ceylon*, pp. 4–9.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, citing Lamotte 1965. Religious suicide in early Buddhism. In *Buddhist Studies Review*, p.165 ff.

²⁸⁹ Harvey 1990: 53.

²⁹⁰ Guenther 1963: 36.

Buddhism. He warned U rgyan pa not to say this kind of thing again. After hearing this admonition of rGod tshang pa, he changed his mind and did not think of ending his life again.

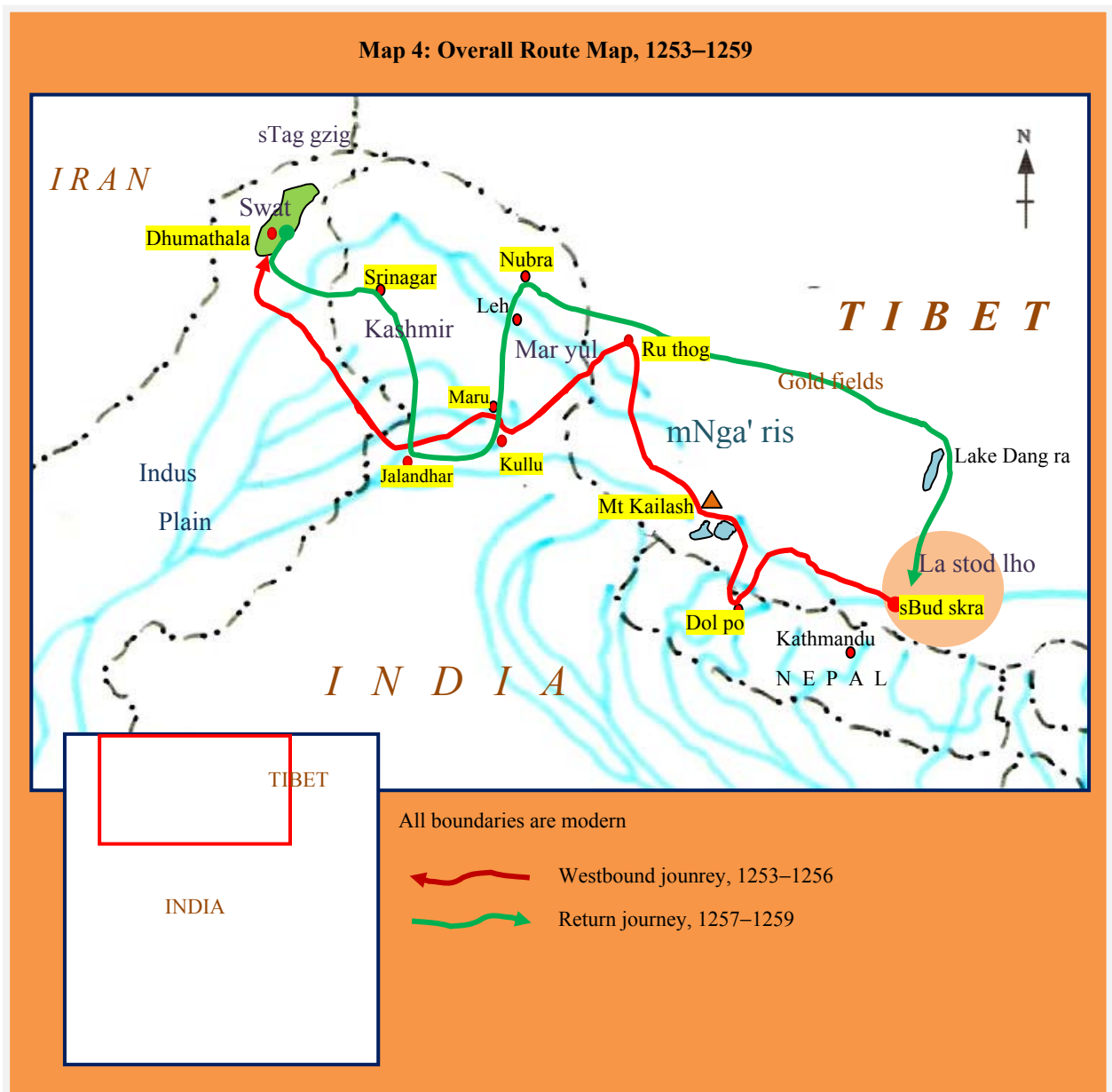
The Guru Yielded

However, U rgyan pa still felt the strong urge of going to Da rog (no mention of Śambhala any more). It is likely that he was just finding a pretext to run away from bDe chen stengs —another form of escapism. After so many unpleasant things had occurred to him, it is not surprising at all that he should have felt uneasy living and practising amid other yogins in the congregation. One believes that the boycott against him might have become even more intense than before. He made supplication to rGod tshang pa for the third time. Probably knowing that U rgyan pa would keep pestering him if he did not approve of it, rGod tshang pa did not object this time. He predicted that U rgyan pa would encounter many difficulties, but his good karma would be able to help him to overcome these difficulties wherever he went. He also told U rgyan pa about his auspicious dream, which foretold the great achievements of the latter.

Before U rgyan pa left for the lake of Da rog with two companions, rGod tshang pa offered various kinds of foodstuffs as their provisions. However, they declined the offer and only requested a shoot of fresh wheat ears. Then U rgyan pa and his companions set off.

CHAPTER II

A Journey to West Tibet and The Miraculous Land of U rgyan



The Great Traveller and Walker

During the six years from early 1253 to early 1259, driven by his burning desire to acquire the highest tantric teachings and supported by invincible religious faith, this young peripatetic ascetic with poor means, carrying hardly anything except probably a primitive *khur po*²⁹¹ and a walking stick, had traversed twice the West Tibetan Plateau and dozens of formidable mountains of the Himalaya and Karakorum range, crossed hundreds of high passes, forded or waded numerous rivers and streams, and penetrated many warfare-infested countries, between the elevation of 300–5,800 meters and a temperature ranging from below -30°C to over 40°C , and yet, surviving all imaginable and unimaginable hazards. He was travelling almost at the cost of his life. One cannot but admire from the bottom of one's heart his amazing physical and mental strength. Apart from all these hazards, he is believed to have walked all the way except on very rare occasions. If all destinations and stopovers are joined with a straight line and the distance added up, the total mileage is believed to be at least 4,650 km. However, if all ups and downs and detours are also taken into consideration, the total mileage might easily come to twice or even three times this distance—14,000 km. He is indeed a great traveller.

²⁹¹ Rockhill 1895: 717. A light wooden framework for holding baggage carried on the back of pilgrims.

Table 5: Overview of U rgyan pa's Journey to West Tibet and U rgyan

Stage	Season/Year	Major Destinations	Approx. mileage in km as on map
1	Spring 1253–Summer 1254	Lake Da rog in Byang, Lower mNga' ris	300
2	Summer 1254–Spring 1255	Dol po, Mt Kailash, Lake Manasarowa, Pu rang, Ru thog	300
3	Spring 1255–Autumn 1255	Kullu, Maru (Himachal Pradesh)	600
4	Winter 1255–Spring 1256	Kangra and Jalandhar (East Punjab)	400
5	Spring– Summer 1256	Chenab River (Central Punjab)	200
6		Jhelum River, the Salt Range	100
7		Ma la ko tra, (West Punjab)	200
8		Ra dza hur, Ka 'o ka, Lower Swat	100
9	Summer 1256	Mt Ilam, Upper Swat, Ra'i kha	100
10		Dhu ma tha la, Ka vo ka, Dhu ma tha la, Ra'i kha	100
11	Spring 1257	The return journey. Ra dza hur, Urasa	350
12	Spring–Summer 1257	Upper Jhelum Valley	150
13	Summer 1257	Kashmir Valley, Srinagar, Jalandhar	350
14	Winter 1257–Spring 1258	Mar yul, Nubra	450
15	Summer 1258–Spring 1259	Gu lang (gold-fields), Mt Targo & Lake Dangra	450
End	Spring/Summer 1259	Bar 'brog (La stod)	500
		Total Mileage:	4,650 km

Although the routes and itineraries of U rgyan pa's journey in Swat Valley have been discussed by Tucci in his *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*,²⁹² the overall picture of his entire journey is still blurred. There are many unanswered questions, especially about his journey outside West Tibet and the latter half of his return journey.

²⁹² Tucci 1940: 6, 9–10 notes that the writing is based on two biographies. (1) A short biography of U rgyan pa incorporated in *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i Padma rgyas pa'i nyin byad* written by the 'Brug pa adept Padma dkar po. (2) A rare and unique biography of U rgyan pa discovered by Tucci in 1930 in an old and incomplete manuscript preserved in the library of Hemis monastery in Ladakh. It is said to have contained many colloquial terms chiefly used in West Tibet and looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of U rgyan pa.

This chapter has drawn upon primary materials from U rgyan pa's various biographies and consulted many secondary materials from a wide range of sources (including maps) in an attempt to reconstruct and to map out the routes of his journey, as well as to dig up whatever might throw light on the political, religious and cultural scenario of the places along his route. The itineraries of U rgyan pa's travel are basically not difficult to follow. There are not many legendary and fantastic elements in his travel accounts. Although no exact year and date have been given, the time frame is not too difficult to define, thanks to the chronological treatment of most of his biographies. There are exaggerations, but these are relatively few. On the whole the travel accounts appear to be honest and informative.

The Renouncer's Song — A Journey in Fifteen Stages

A song concluding U rgyan pa's journey to West Tibet and U rgyan via North India in sixteen stanzas is found in the two editions of the biography written by the 4th Zhva dmar pa.²⁹³ With the exception of the introductory stanza, the song is also found scattered in the three long biographies in Group A, interpolated by more detailed narratives of the journey, with only minor variations in wording and spelling. It is said to have been sung by U rgyan pa at the end of his journey. Probably to save space on paper, the scribe omitted some lines or part of a line in the later stanzas, and denoted these omissions by the sign མ.

The journey spans a period of six years from early 1253 to early 1259. The song divides the journey into fifteen stages, each highlighting a destination and ended with "Certainly I am supreme among renouncers." Obviously U rgyan pa was very proud of himself being able to detach from worldly desires throughout the journey.

²⁹³ B2a-ZM: 4b–5b and B2b-ZM: 4b–5b.

Prelude

དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ཆེན་ཚོད་ཚངས་པ།
ཕ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྗོད་པ།
ང་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱིས་སྤང་པོ་མོ་རྒྱན་པ།
ཕྱོགས་མེད་གྱིས་རི་ལ་ཕ་ཡུལ་བྱས།
མཚན་ལྡན་སྤོ་མའི་རྗེས་སུ་བརྒྱབས།
ལུས་སྲོག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཏང་།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།

With the blessing of the All-Knowing Father
rGod tshang pa, [the emanation of] Vajradhara,
I, Au rgyan pa, the beggar of the Snowlands,
Wandered without fixed destinations, taking the mountains as my homeland.

With the blessings of an authentic guru,
I offered my body and life to pursuing the Dharma.
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Śambhala or U rgyan?

One of the long biographies mentions that rGod tshang pa predicted that U rgyan pa had no karmic connection with Śambhala but rather, with U rgyan.²⁹⁴ However, none of the biographies in Group A mentions that he was setting off for U rgyan! Of the three supplications for leave made to rGod tshang pa, the first one was to go to Śambhala and the last two to Da rog. The change of destination was probably to avoid contradicting his guru's prediction openly, thus hoping to gain a better chance of obtaining the guru's permission to leave. From then on, he had probably concealed from his guru his wish to go to Śambhala. In fact, it is not until he is in Jalandhar in India that his wish to go to U rgyan

²⁹⁴ In A3-SO: 12a only. C1-ZS: 106a does not cite the exact words of rGod tshang pa, but relates that later on U rgyan pa told his disciples that rGod tshang pa gave the prediction and then he changed his mind and thought of going to U rgyan. However, it does not say whether the decision was made immediately after hearing the prediction or sometime later from recalling this prediction.

is mentioned in the long biographies. Thus, one has good reason to believe that he was secretly thinking of searching for Śambhala in the initial stage of his journey, and that he only changed his mind sometime later. *The Blue Annals* mentions that "he obtained permission to go to Oḍḍiyāna from rGod tshang pa".²⁹⁵ This might also be true, because the permission given by rGod tshang pa could not have been for Śambhala.

Considering the popularity of the Kālacakra tradition and Śambhala legends in the 12th and 13th centuries, U rgyan pa had certainly heard many stories about going to Śambhala. The biographies do not mention whether he had consulted guidebooks. Even if these works were not accessible to him, he could still rely on the descriptions passed down by word of mouth according to Tibetan tradition, especially since his teacher Rin chen rtse mo at Bodong E monastery was said to have proceeded to Śambhala at the age of fifty-one.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Roerich 1949: 700.

²⁹⁶ Roerich 1949: 783.

Stage One: Lower mNga' ris

བྱང་མི་མེད་ཀྱི་ཐང་ལ་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱ་བྱིན།།
འཚོ་བ་ཚུ་རྗེ་ལྷ་གཉིས་ལ་བྱས།།
ཉ་ཤ་ཚོན་གསུམ་རྩས་ཁྱ་ཟོས།།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།²⁹⁷

I travelled in the deserted Byang regions for nine months,
Subsisting on water and pebbles,²⁹⁸
And soup prepared from fish bones,
And meat and claws [of dead animals].
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

1253—Byang and Lake Da rog

In around late spring and early summer of 1253, U rgyan pa set off from the mountain hermitage in bDe chen stengs with two companions by the name of dPon Srin po gdong pa and Pa tshab, carrying only a meagre amount of initial provisions. They went west to the islands of Da rog in the deserted Byang region in Lower mNga' ris and practised asceticism on the way. This Byang does not refer to the Byang thang in North Tibet in general. Vitali points out that the place name Byang (or Byang kha) appearing in some Tibetan documents of the 11th–15th centuries refers to the territory to the west of Mang yul Gung thang (also known as mNga' ris smad) in southernmost Byang thang. The location of the lake called Da rog (or Dar mtsho)²⁹⁹ on the eastern end of mNga' ris also confirms this. The Byang region is not as deserted throughout as U rgyan pa had suggested. According to

²⁹⁷ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 50, A2-SO: 21b–22a and A3-SO: 18b.

²⁹⁸ Of course pebbles are not edible. It is an expression often used in the biographies of yogins to denote starvation. For example, Ye shes mtsho rgyal, the female adept and consort of Padmasambhava, says in her biography: "For the entire year I had nothing to eat, not even a single grain of barley; for food I relied upon stones and for drink upon water." See Dowman 1984: 71.

²⁹⁹ Shown as Dar mtsho in Verhufen: 97, Coordinates: 86°–87° E / 31°–32°N. The lake is located in the western end of present-day gZhis ka rtse District.

Vitali, Byang was a strategic area controlling the lucrative bartering business between the high nomadic lands and the lowlands leading to the Gangetic plain, and "among all Byang-thang districts, occupation of Byang meant unique opportunities for trade."³⁰⁰ In other words, it was located on the major north-south trade route and should be quite prosperous a region. It is not explained why U rgyan pa had chosen to go to Lake Da rog in the deserted part of Byang. According to Bon legend, the island in Lake Da rog was once the meditation place of Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po, a very powerful tantric yogin and the royal priest of Lig mi rgya, the last king of Zhang chung.³⁰¹ It is not sure whether U rgyan pa's visit to this place was inspired by the legend of this great adept.

Be re Troops

After some time, Pa tshab gave up and left them. U rgyan pa and Srin po gdong pa continued their way westward. They went begging for alms in the camp of the Be re (also as Bi ri) troops but were suspected of being scouts of Be re's enemies. After proving themselves innocent, they were released and given ample food.³⁰² According to Chinese chronicles, the Be re (known as Baili in Chinese) were descended from an ancient tribe in the mDo smad region (See Map 1). The area was conquered by Srong btsan sgam po in the 7th century and later the Be re migrated southward to settle down around dKar mdzes in present-day Sichuan.³⁰³ It followed Tibet in submitting to the Mongols, led by Sa skya Paṇḍita in around 1247.³⁰⁴ Since the onslaught of the Mongols on dBus and gTsang in 1240, Tibet had been under constant military threat despite its submission to the Mongols. In the biography of rGod tshang pa, there are episodes about his performing rituals to expel the joint forces of Hor and Be re, who were advancing very close to Bar 'brog.³⁰⁵ Based on materials from *Yuanshi* (Annals of the Yuan Dynasty), Petech states that the

³⁰⁰ Vitali 2003:90.

³⁰¹ Snellgrove & Richardson 1968: 101.

³⁰² A1-SO: 51–52, A2-SO: 22a–b and A3-SO: 19a–b.

³⁰³ Chen 2006b: 414. Also Dict-THDL (Dan Martin): An ancient tribe, now situated in dKar mdzes county in Sichuan province.

³⁰⁴ BLG *Bar cha*: 28. See the letter written by Sa skya Paṇḍita addressed to the leaders of dBus and gTsang.

³⁰⁵ GOTSANGPA: 30a–32b.

'mysterious clan' of Be re apparently "had become auxiliary troops in the Mongol army."³⁰⁶ A later article of him dates the same expedition to around 1253.³⁰⁷ However, *Yuanshi* only mentions about sending a Ho-li-de to take charge of the Mongol and Han (China) forces in Tu-bo (Tibet) in 1251, and there is no mention of any attack.³⁰⁸ Bar 'brog was where rGod tshang pa spent the last two years of his life,³⁰⁹ i.e. 1256–1258. The Be re troops encountered by U rgyan pa in 1253 could have been the same Be re force that threatened Bar 'brog later on. In fact, the authority of the Mongols over Upper West Tibet was well established since 1250,³¹⁰ and Be re troops might have been despatched there as the Mongols' military outpost.

The Wandering Yogin

Now U rgyan pa joined the extensive subculture of yogins who wandered freely across Tibet sleeping in caves and living on alms.³¹¹ The exorcist practices learned from his uncle during his childhood and the yogic skills learned from rGod tshang pa area said to be efficacious in protecting himself and removing obstacles. He wandered around Byang for nine months. He survived all kinds of harsh conditions including snow blindness and a lack of drinking water. He had to swing a *damaru* skull drum to warn off the wild yaks, which had also gone blind in the snow.³¹² Thus, one might imagine him moving slowly through the heavy snow with a *khur po* on his back, a staff in one hand and a rattle-drum in the other. Despite such adverse condition, according to the song, he was proud of himself for being able to abandon the world.

³⁰⁶ Petech 1990a: 13, based on *Yuanshi* (YS 3.45).

³⁰⁷ Petech 2003a: 342. Petech 1983: 183 dates this incident to 1252–1253.

³⁰⁸ YUANSHI V.1: 45 *Juan san: Benji disan Xianzong* (Chapter 3: Biography of Xianzong [Möngke]).

³⁰⁹ DTN: 803 & Roerich 1949: 686.

³¹⁰ Vitali 2003a: 75.

³¹¹ J. Gyatso 1998: 121.

³¹² A1-SO: 55, A2-SO: 2a and A3: 20b.

Stage Two: Mount Kailash

ལུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གངས་སྐར་(དཀར་)གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཏི་སེར་བྱིན།།
རས་བ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་འི་ནང་དུ་བསྐྱོམ།།
ཚོས་སྤྲོད་ཀུན་ལ་མཁས་གྲུར་གྲུང་།།
མཁས་པའི་དྲེགས་པ་ང་ལ་མེད།།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།³¹³

[I] went westward to Ti se the King of snow mountains,
And practiced amid five hundred mendicants.
Although I became well versed in all dharma teachings,
I did not have the arrogance of the [accomplished] scholars.
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Summer 1254—From Dol po to Mount Kailash

It was probably spring or early summer 1254 when U rgyan pa continued westward. He went from Dol po to Ti se (Mount Kailash). Dol po is a remote region in Northwest Nepal. As described by Snellgrove, it is a high tableland dipping to the northwest, and its inner part enclosed by a horse-shoe of high ranges that opens to the same direction and drained by rivers that form the headwaters of the Karnali River. Winter in Dol po was long and severe, and the land snow-bound from October until April. Thus it "attracted few invaders despite battles and conflicts around its borders." In winter the Dol po villages sent their herds and flocks to the nomads in the Byang region, and the route between Dol po and Byang was open for most part of the year.³¹⁴ Therefore, it is believed that U rgyan pa, after wandering in the Byang region for the whole winter or part of the winter, entered Dol po either from north or from the valley of Lo (sMon thang) on the east. It is true that the

³¹³ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 58, A2-SO: 25b and A3-SO: 21b.

³¹⁴ Snellgrove 1967: 1, 4–6. Fürer-Haimendorf 1975: 227–28 also mentions about Dol po people sending their flocks of sheep to Tibet every October.

solitude and secluedness of Dol po have rendered it an excellent place for spiritual practise,³¹⁵ but probably its mysterious hidden valleys had also attracted U rgyan pa.³¹⁶

Going from Dol po to Kailash, U rgyan pa could have marched north to the Byang region and then turned westward up the valley of Yar klungs gtsang po, or exited Dol po through the northwest opening to the headwaters of the Karnali River, to approach Kailash from the south. It remains to be established which one of the two routes was taken by him.

By the time he arrived at Kailash, it was probably high summer. Since the legends and sacred geography of Mt Kailash and Lake Manasorawar have already been discussed by many scholars,³¹⁷ this chapter has no intention of exploring them but will focus on reconstructing the picture of U rgyan pa's pilgrimage. The biographies give no details about his visit to this sacred mountain. However, one can imagine that he must have done rounds of circumambulation and paid homage to every sacred site along the circuit. It is said that he visualised the divine abode of bDe mchog inside the luminous crystallised ice peak and came to realise the quintessence and correlations of the External, Internal and Other (*phyi nang gzhan*) Aspects of the Kālacakra, and subsequently composed the treatise *Phyi nang gsal ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* (Treatise Clarifying the External and the Internal).³¹⁸

Large numbers of practitioners gathered to meditate in the vicinity of Mt Kailash. On one occasion, U rgyan pa was slighted by some arrogant and pretentious yogins, who drove him to sit at the very back when he was participating in a Cakrasaṃvara ritual.

Vitali dates U rgyan pa's visit to Kailash to 1253 (Water Ox).³¹⁹ Since Huber mentions that U rgyan pa went outside of Tibet for the first time in 1254,³²⁰ he apparently also dates U

³¹⁵ Snellgrove 1967: 10: "...Dol po seems to have been primarily a land for the solitary meditation of lamasages, assisted by one or two chosen disciples."

³¹⁶ Bernbaum 2001: 72 tells a typical story of hidden valley, a type of treasure (*gter ma*), being found by a Dol po hunter in Mount Dhaulagiri located in southeast Dol po.

³¹⁷ For instance, Filibeck 1988, Hamsa 1934, Hedin 1925: 394–410, Huber & Rigzin 1999, Hugh 1905, Moorcroft 1937, Ramble 1996 and Sherring 1906: 258–90.

³¹⁸ This title is not among the titles of U rgyan pa's works recorded in the 'Bras spungs catalogue.

³¹⁹ Vitali 2003a: 76.

rgyan pa's visit to Kailash to 1253. According to the chronology established from the biographies of U rgyan pa,³²¹ it is quite evident that U rgyan pa's revisiting rGod tshang pa could not be earlier than 1252 because the visit is said to have taken place after the death of U rgyan pa's father in U rgyan pa's 23rd year, 1252.³²² Then U rgyan pa spent some time studying under rGod tshang pa and started his pilgrimage in the beginning of the following year, 1253. He spent nine months through the winter in Byang and went to Kailash in the following year, 1254. Apart from this, the itinerary of his pilgrimage, counting back from the death year of rGod tshang pa in 1258, also strongly suggests that he set off for pilgrimage no earlier than 1253.

Territoriality and Antagonism

While staying in the Kailash area, U rgyan pa was turned away by inhospitable 'Bri gung pa yogins residing at their three strongholds in lHa, Dang and rDzong.³²³

The absence of strong central authority for centuries in Central Tibet had seen the rise of antagonism between religious schools and sects. After Mi la ras pa, the hermitages around Kailash were occupied almost exclusively by the bKa' brgyud pas, especially the 'Brug pas and 'Bri gung pas, since the end of the 12th century. Despatched by the leaders of their sects, monks and yogins entered the area as individuals and in batches, resulting in a sort of colonisation of the mountain and then the lake shores.³²⁴ This can be appreciated as a means to transcend the confines of the local polities and to expand their territories in and beyond the physical world.³²⁵ Three batches of 'Bri gung pas were despatched to the Kailash,³²⁶ and they enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of mNga' ris skor gsum.³²⁷ In the

³²⁰ Huber 2008: 103.

³²¹ See Appendix III of this thesis for U rgyan pa's Chronology.

³²² A1-SO: 24, A2-SO: 11a and A3-SO: 9b.

³²³ Vitali 2003a: 76 notes that these three places are lHa lung, Dar lung and Nyan po ri rdzong.

³²⁴ Petech 1978: 315.

³²⁵ Aris 1988: 9.

³²⁶ Petech 1978: 315 states that the three batches were sent between 1206 and 1215. However, Vitali 2003a: 70–72 gives 1191, 1206 and 1215; the latter two caused by famines in Central Tibet.

³²⁷ Vitali 2003a: 73–74.

mid 1210s when rGod tshang pa was spending three years there, the antagonism of the 'Bri gung pas was already apparent, not only towards the Sa skya pas, who were rising in power, but also towards the 'Brug pas. They showed hostility to rGod tshang pa and turned him away.³²⁸ In 1240, Ögedei Khan appointed a governor to rule over West Tibet and granted authority over it to the 'Bri gung pa.³²⁹ By the time U rgyan pa travelled there, the 'Bri gung pa were exercising authority over the whole of West Tibet. Like his guru, he also became a victim of their territoriality, and experienced the same inhospitality.

Doubts in the Itinerary

There are confusions in U rgyan pa's itineraries in West Tibet. In the three long biographies in Group A and the condensed one written by the 3rd Karma pa, the interesting account of his visit in gDong dmar in Pu rang,³³⁰ one of the three kingdoms known as mNga' ris skor gsum in West Tibet, is given *after* the account of his visit to Kailash. The location of gDong dmar is thus important in determining by which route he travelled from Dol po to Kailash. Two gDong dmar are listed in Verhufen's Index. The one in South Nag chu is out of the question. The likelier candidate is about 100 km east of Kailash at the head of the river gTsang po.³³¹ In other words, it was *en route* to Kailash if U rgyan pa had travelled westward along the gTsang po after leaving Dol po. If this was the route, U rgyan pa should have visited this place *before* going to Kailash rather than afterward. In fact, after the account of Kailash and before the mention of Manasarovar and asking for alms at gDong dmar, there are a few abrupt lines about his going from Pu rang gDong dmar to the north gate of Kailash (Ti se byang sgo). The long biographies also mention that he took only half a day to reach Kailash.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*: 70–73.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*: 75. The post of the governor is called *gnam sa dpa' shi*.

³³⁰ It is also possible that the place should be referred to as Pu rang gdong dmar as a whole.

³³¹ Verhufen: 102. Coordinates: 82°–83°E / 30°–31°N, but the place name is not marked on Verhufen's map.

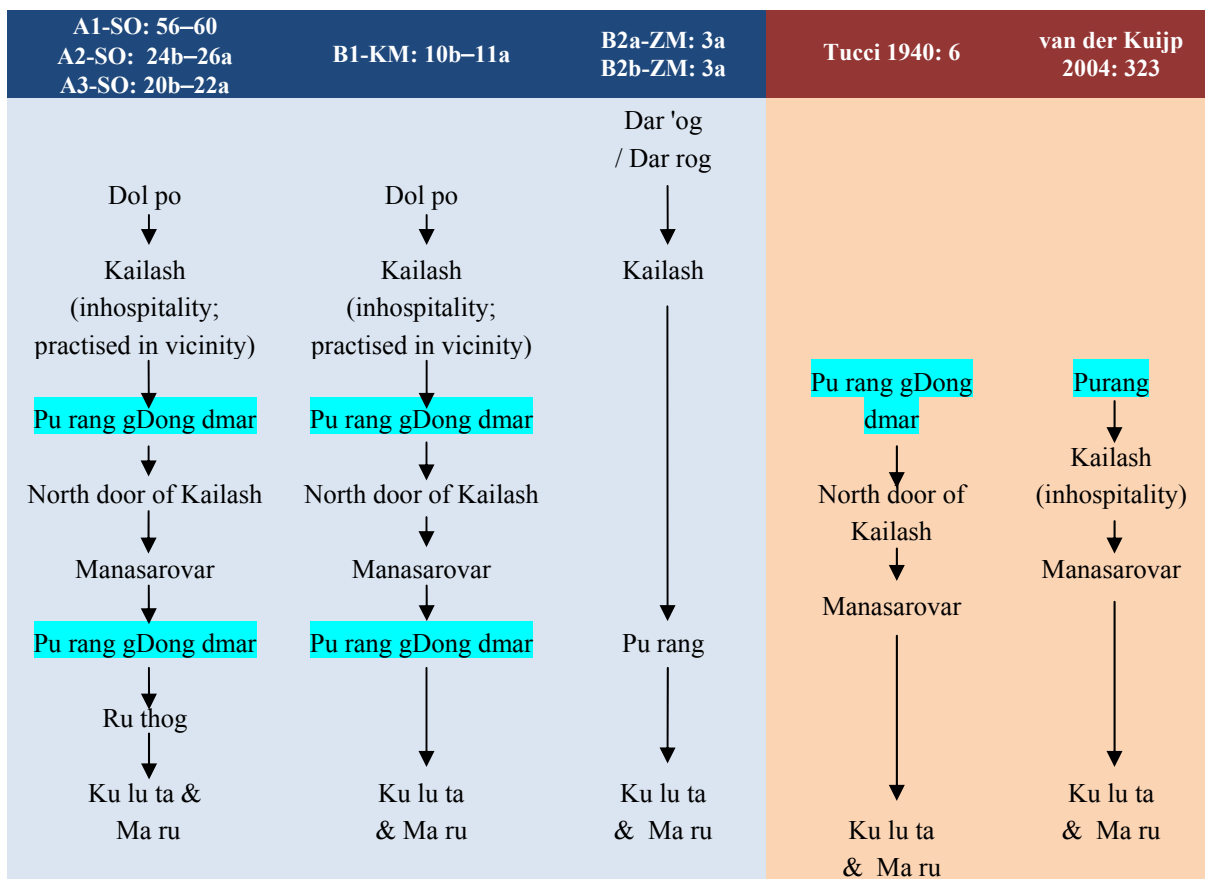


Figure 34: Problematic Itineraries of U rgyan pa in West Tibet

The questions are:

1. Why do these few lines appear *after* the account of Kailash and not *before* it?
2. If he did visit gDong dmar before going to Kailash, why it is said in the biographies that he went to gDong dmar (*again*) after visiting Manasarovar? Did he visit gDong dmar *twice*—the first time simply passing through it and the second time a special visit?

Biographies B2a-ZM and B2b-ZM written by the 4th Zhva dmar pa simply mention that he went from Byang region to Kailash and then to Pu rang and North India. Since gDong dmar is not mentioned, we might presume that this Pu rang refers to the territory of Pu rang kingdom in general. Tucci gives Pu rang gDong dmar *before* Kailash but in the footnote says that the location of the place is unknown. Van der Kuijp also mentions Pu rang (without gDong gmar) *before* Kailash. In my opinion, even if U rgyan pa did visit gDong dmar for a second time, it is only reasonable. Since the pilgrimage of Kailash was

of prime importance and there was probably a certain time constraint, the second visit to gDong dmar might be a real visit while the first one was only a stopover. It is hoped that new light will come up in future to help clarify the doubt.

mNga' ris skor gsum in the 13th Century

To have a better picture of U rgyan pa's travel in West Tibet, it is necessary to take a look into the political scenario of the region in the first half of the 13th century. Ever since the founding of the kingdoms of Mar yul, Pu rang, and Gu ge, collectively known as mNga' ris skor gsum, in West Tibet in the second quarter of the 10th century after the fall of the Tubo dynasty, the dominions of these three kingdoms were far from definite, and their boundaries kept changing as powers shifted.³³² In the initial years, according to most sources, Mar yul Kingdom comprised the area around La dvags (Ladakh), Pu rang Kingdom comprised roughly present-day Pulan county and stretched as far as Lake Manasarovar, while the land between these two kingdoms was ruled by Gu ge.³³³ For most part of the 11th centuries, Gu ge Pu rang had to resist the attacks of the Turuška and the Dards from Ladakh, and ended up in splitting into Gu ge and Pu rang. The 12th century saw the decadence of mNga' ris skor gsum, with Gu ge splitting into two antagonistic territories, and invaders coming from Central Asia (Hor Sog po) and the southeast borderland (Mon pa). The first half of the 13th century saw the influx of bKa' brgyud pa pilgrims to sKor gsum and wars between Ya rtse and Gung thang. The lands of Pu rang included "not only a greater Mar yul La dwags but also Gu ge".³³⁴ However, by 1250, four years before U rgyan pa went there, the Mongols extended their nominal suzerainty over West Tibet as far as Lartse in Pu rig (Lower Ladakh),³³⁵ while the rulers of Ladakh, Gu ge and Pu rang

³³² On the founding and vicissitude of these kingdoms, see Vitali 1996 & 2003a; Petech 1939, 1977, 1996 and 2003a; and Sørensen 1994: 451–53.

³³³ Sørensen 1994: 452–53, based on *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. See also Tucci 1956: 72–75.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*: 62–75.

³³⁵ sPu rig (or sPu rig) is located in Lower Ladakh, west and southwest of Leh. See Vitali 2003: 75. In present-day maps of Ladakh, the area between Ladakh and Kashmir is still marked Purig.

"maintained their principalities under the distant supervision or control of the Mongols and their vicars the Sa skya pa hierarchs."³³⁶

The place names of Mar yul and La dvags (Ladakh) are not intended to be interchangeable in this thesis, because the way they overlap or differentiate from each other is still unclear. Petech has pointed out the peculiar fact that the name of Mar yul (he puts Ladakh in brackets after Mar yul) is practically absent from *La dvags rgyal rabs*, "which mentions it only on a unique occasion.... Even the Chinese sources, although very well informed about Tibet and contain references also to Baltisan, seem to have no knowledge of Ladakh."³³⁷ In the Chronology of mNga' ris skor gsum established by Vitali, he mentions about the ruler of Pu rang taking up the title of "ruler of La dvags" as well sometime before 1215, and refers to this same person as "king of Mar yul".³³⁸ In another entry on the first and second quarter of the 13th century, the king of Pu rang is said to have succeeded his father on the throne of La dvags.³³⁹ Despite their being called 'ruler' and 'king', in fact they were overlords of Mar yul/Ladakh. This perhaps explains why their names are not among the rulers of Ladakh recorded in *La dvags rgyal rabs*.³⁴⁰

It was against such a backdrop that U rgyan pa arrived in West Tibet in 1254. According to the chronology established by Vitali, the kings (seemingly not the overlord) of West Tibet in this very year were—lHa btsun rDo rje seng ge as king of Pu rang,³⁴¹ La ga (likely to be of Dardic origin) as king of Gu ge Byang ngos³⁴² and Grags pa lde as king of Gu ge lHo stod and Ya rtse.³⁴³ As for the actual ruler of Ladakh, according to the genealogy of rulers established by Francke, Petech and Tashi Rabgias based on *La dvags rgyal rabs*, it points

³³⁶ Tucci 1956: 72, based on *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*.

³³⁷ See Petech 1939: 97.

³³⁸ Vitali 2003a: 72–73. Based on *'Bri gung Ti se lo rgyus*.

³³⁹ Vitali 2003a: 74.

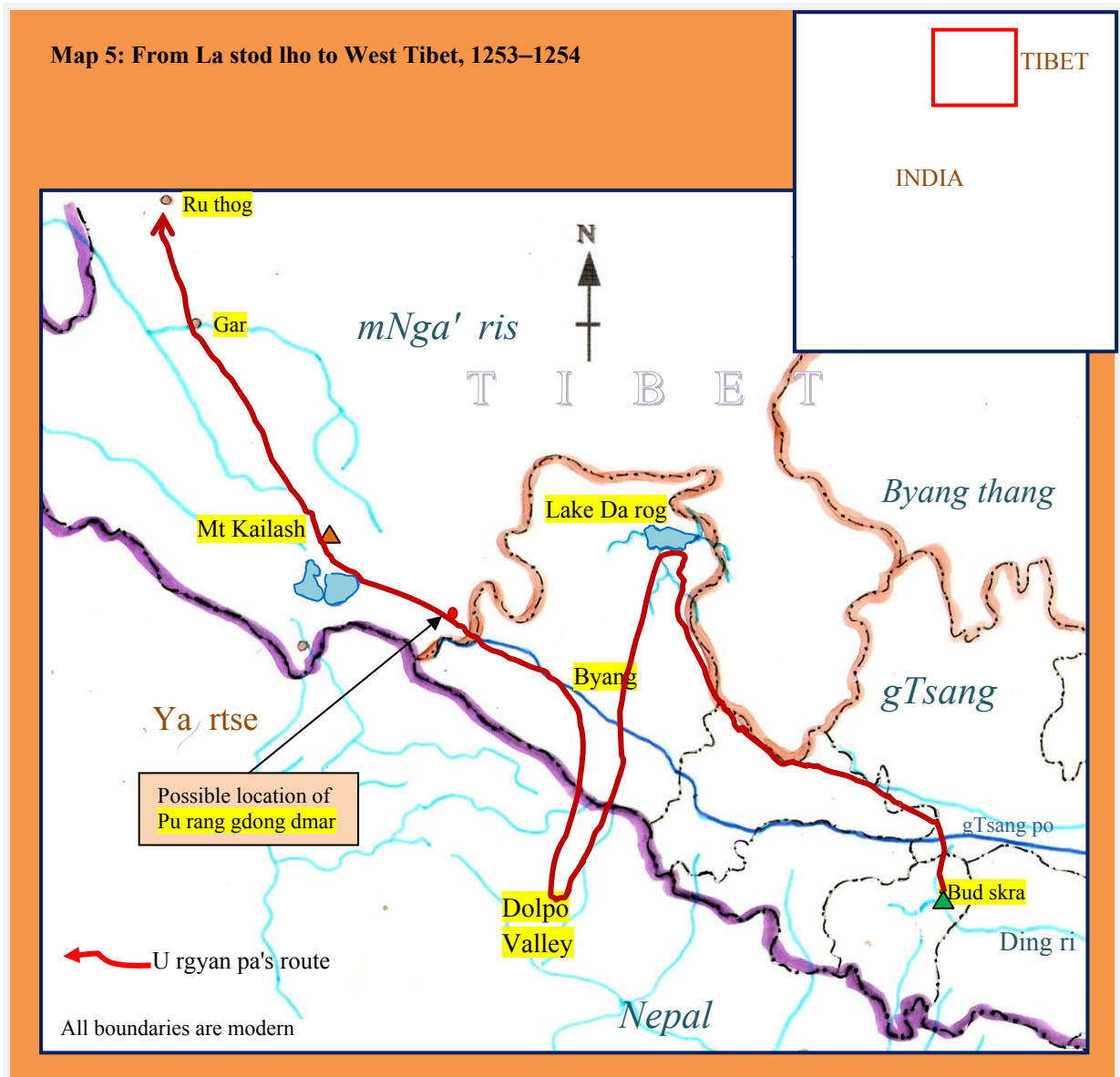
³⁴⁰ For more on history of West Tibet in English, see Francke 1907, 1914 & 1926; Petech 1939, 1977, 1978, 1996 & 2003a; Ramble 2008; Rizvi 1983 & 1999; Roerich 1949; and Vitali 1996 & 2003a.

³⁴¹ Vitali 2003a: 76. Tucci 1949: 41 Note 1 also states that at the time of U rgyan pa, Pu rang "was under independent chiefs of the lDe family."

³⁴² Vitali 2003a: 75

³⁴³ Vitali 2003a: 74–76.

to somebody called lHa rgyal.³⁴⁴ It is also interesting to note that none of the eleven biographies of U rgyan pa mentions the place names Gu ge and La dvags, while Pu rang appears only in association with gDong dmar, as Pu rang gDong dmar. All these appear to be quite confusing, and many puzzles are yet to be solved.



³⁴⁴ Francke 1926: 97 and Petech 1939: 166 date his reign to c.1230–1260, while RABGIAS: 105 (in Tibetan) gives 1250–1275, which is the same as in Francke's earlier work, 1907: 67.

Winter 1254 to Spring 1255—Ru thog and Mar yul

According to the long biographies, after refusing to be the resident lama of a noble household in Pu rang gdong dmar, U rgyan pa went northward to Ru thog and spent the winter there as the resident lama of a household.³⁴⁵ In the other biographies, the itinerary jumps from Pu rang to North India without mentioning Ru thog at all.

During the period before 1250, when rGyal stobs the King of Pu rang was the overlord of Ladakh and Mar yul, he "expanded the dominions of *his kingdom*. They extended as far as the area of Ru thog in the *east*, in the west, as far as the territories downstream the Seng ge kha' 'babs, where gold mines were located."³⁴⁶ (my italics) With Ru thog in the east, '*his kingdom*' is understood to be Ladakh/Mar yul (these two places are treated as equivalent during his reign) and *not* Pu rang. Thus, it is reasonable if Ru thog was seen as part of Mar yul by U rgyan pa, even if the Mongols had already been exercising overlordship over Ru thog since 1250. Although none of the biographies mentions that he had passed through Mar yul on his way to India, it is understood that he did. In fact, *Deb ther sngon po* does mention that he went to Jalandhar by way of Mar yul.³⁴⁷

To go to Ru thog in Mar yul, U rgyan pa most likely took the traditional route, firstly marching from the Kailash area on a 100-mile trek leading northward to Gar near the confluence of Seng ge gtsang po (Indus in Tibet) and Gar gtsang po, crossing deserted country and a watershed en route.³⁴⁸ Then another 200 miles northwest from here, and 8–10 days' march across "some of the wildest and most dreary landscape in the world"³⁴⁹ would take him to Ru thog at the eastern end of sPang gong mtsho (Pangong Lake) at the most elevated portion of the mNga' ris tableland.

³⁴⁵ A1-SO: 60, A2-SO: 26a & A3-SO: 22a.

³⁴⁶ Vitali 2003a: 74. 'The gold mines' here refers to the area yielding gold sand from the Shyok River (a tributary of the Indus River north of Leh) and *not* those gold fields east of Ru thog in Byang thang. See Cunningham 1854: 232. In other words, the western boundary of Ladakh/Mar yul extended to the Shyok River Valley.

³⁴⁷ DTN: 820 and Roerich 1949: 700. In Roerich's translation, 'Ladakh' is put in bracket after 'Mar-yul'.

³⁴⁸ Hedin 1909, Vol. II, p. 215. See also Tucci 1933: 133.

³⁴⁹ Sherring 1906: 155–56 notes that "The road from Gartok to Rudok is a matter of 8–10 days."

After spending the winter in Ru thog, U rgyan pa continued his journey westward, probably in late spring or early summer 1255. The biography of the early 20th-century Bonpo monk Khyung sprul 'Jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje, who had travelled to West Tibet and North India, contains a passage about his intended journey from the Kailash area to U rgyan.³⁵⁰ It says,

".... we would come back and then by way of Gar [Gartog] in mNga' ris go in the direction of Ru thog [Ruthog or Rutog] to establish spiritual connections with each of the places [on the way]. Then [we would go to] La dags [Ladakh], Seng pa [Sikh Punjab], Kha che [Kashmir], O rgyan [Swat or Uddiyana], Bru sha [Gilgit], and so forth...."³⁵¹

The route taken by U rgyan pa was likely to be similar.

Of the eleven passes leading from North India to Tibet (and *vice versa*) enumerated by Sherring, who ventured through the region in 1906, only these two join Ladakh to West Tibet:

1. From Srinagar in Kashmir, the route goes through Leh (capital of Ladakh) and up the Indus Valley to Gartok (Gar). It was used by the traders of Kashmir and Chinese Turkistan.
2. From Lahaul and Kangra district of the Punjab region, traders visit Rutog (Ru thog) by means of a pass between Hanle (in present-day Ladakh) and Demchok (in Gar county in Tibet).³⁵² This is an old branch of the ancient Ladakh-Tibet trade route.³⁵³

Since U rgyan pa set off from Ru thog and the next destination appearing on his itinerary is Ku lu ta, identified as Kullu in the contiguous area of Lahaul and Kangra in Himachal Pradesh, he apparently took the second route, traversing the gigantic Karakoram mountain range. In fact, this is also the intended route of the unrealised journey of the early 20th-century Bonpo monk Khyung sprul.

³⁵⁰ KHYUNG I:453. See also Kvaerne 1998 on Khyung sprul's pilgrimage in India.

³⁵¹ B. Li 2008: 102, cited/translated from KHYUNG I: 453.

³⁵² Both are villages at present-day border of Tibet and Ladakh. See Map 6.

³⁵³ Sherring 1906: 340.

Stage Three: Kullu and Maru

གངས་དེ་ནས་ཟླ་གཅིག་རྒྱབ་དུ་ལམ།
རི་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་གླ་རྗེ་ལ།
ལྷན་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དུག་ས་ལ་སྐྱེས།
དགོས་ཅུ་རྟའི་ནག་ཚལ་འཐིབ་པོ་ཡོད།
ངས་ལྡོ་པོ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཁྱེད་བ་མེད།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།³⁵⁴

From the Snow Mountains I marched westward for a month.

In the huge mountain Gha dhe la grew three hundred and sixty species of medicinal herbs.

In particular there was dense grove of *costus speciosus* (crape ginger).

I did not carry away even a grain of it.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Spring 1255—Entering India

U rgyan pa spent a month marching westward on the road after crossing the snowy Karakoram Range. This was his first time going outside of Tibet. By the time he set foot in present-day Himachal Pradesh, it was probably mid-1255. Huber notes this year as 1254 when he cites U rgyan pa's itinerary as an example of early Tibetan traveller to the *pīṭha* sites.³⁵⁵ Thakur, who has discussed U rgyan pa's journey in this part of India, dates the period to "around AD 1250".³⁵⁶

U rgyan pa arrived in Ku lu ta and then Ma ru, both known to be sacred places (*gnas* or *pīṭha*)³⁵⁷ corresponding respectively to the knees and big toes of the Vajra body.³⁵⁸ It is

³⁵⁴ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 62, A2-SO: 27a and A3-SO: 23a.

³⁵⁵ Huber 2008: 103.

³⁵⁶ Thakur 2001: 47.

³⁵⁷ Ramble 1996: 142–43. *gNas* refers to "sites with religious or political significance, natural or man-made, associated with saints, dwelled with deities, stated in canons or passed down as folklore."

³⁵⁸ Huber 2008: 90, Fig. 4.1: The twenty-four *pīṭha* in the *Samvara-maṇḍala*. See also pp. 86–103. In Buddhist Yoginītantras, *pīṭha* (Tib. *gnas*) are the abodes of the *ḍākinī* and *yoginī*, initiatory goddesses

said in the biographies that he marched in a day the distance that took an ordinary man seven days to traverse. Obviously there is some exaggeration here. Since he had spent one month marching, does that mean ordinary people will need to spend seven months to cover that distance? From the *rnam thar* of Tibetan monks and the accounts of earlier Western travellers, we learn about the amazing skill of 'speed walking' (*rlung 'gro*)³⁵⁹ or 'trance walking' (*rlung sgom pa*)³⁶⁰ reputedly practised by some monks or yogins. David-Neel and Govinda had claimed having witnessed this feat.³⁶¹ Even if I were not to doubt his (and his companion's) mastery of *rlung 'gro*, he would surely have used this skill only very occasionally, otherwise it would have taken him no more than five days and not a month to cover the journey!

Ku lu ta is identified as Kullu (or Kulu) in central Himachal Pradesh.³⁶² As for Ma ru, Tucci suggests Upper Chandrabhaga (Candrabhaga) Valley in Chamba, northwest of Kullu, while Lu gives a more definite location by identifying it with Maru-Wardwan (Kashmiri: Madivadvan), a narrow river valley about 160 km southeast of Srinagar, much discussed by Aurel Stein in his exploration of the ancient geography of Kashmir.³⁶³ According to Stein, the lower part of the valley is called Maru, and the higher part Wardwan. Tāranātha mentions that before the 13th century many centres for Buddhist studies were established in Maru.³⁶⁴ To go from Kullu to Maru, U rgyan pa probably had marched northward up Kullu Valley along the course of Beas River (Upper Sutlej), crossed a watershed and then descended on the upper course of Chandrabhaga River, where Maru was located. Thakur's

associated with and thought to be emanations of the principal Tantric deity who is the object of the meditational rite (*sādhana*). The network of twenty-four external *pīṭha* sites were seen by Tibetans as the *vajrakāya* or 'adamantine body', with corresponding internal projections, and is often "represented ritually as a psychocosmogram or maṇḍala with different planes or levels of reference". See also the travel account of Gendun Chopel in Huber 2000: 68–71 and Wallace 2001: 75–84.

³⁵⁹ Tucci 1940: 42.

³⁶⁰ Govinda 1966: 80.

³⁶¹ David-Neel 1967: 161–65; Govinda 1966: 80.

³⁶² Lu 2007: 53 (in Chinese), Thakur 2001: 47 and Tucci 1940: 41. See also Gendun Chopel's travel account in Huber 2000: 88–89.

³⁶³ Tucci 1940: 41; Lu 2007: 53, referring to M.A. Stein's Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir, in *Kalhana's Rajatarangini II* (1991), p.409 & 435.

³⁶⁴ Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 333; Dutt 1969c: 35.

identification of Maru with Udaipur in the State of Rajasthan in West India has few grounds.³⁶⁵

The ancient kingdom of Kullu with its capital in Nagarkot (Nargar) is said to be much larger than the Kullu District of today.³⁶⁶ It is believed to be the place transcribed in Chinese as Qu-lu-duo in the famous travel account of the 7th-century Chinese monk Xuanzhuang. According to the concise and interesting account given by Xuanzhuang, the Buddha had come to preach here and King Aśoka had built a stūpa in the place.³⁶⁷ Although Buddhism was declining in central and western Himachal (Kullu and Kangra), it flourished in the eastern part and reached a climax during the late 10th century as the entire trans-Himalayan region became a cradle of Buddhism during the 'second diffusion' under the patronage of the Gu ge kings.³⁶⁸ In fact, from the 11th to the 13th century, southeast Kashmir and east and central Himachal had been under political and religious influence of mNga' ris skor gsum to different extent at different intervals.³⁶⁹

Summer 1255—Meditating in a Mountain Retreat

It is not sure exactly when U rgyan pa gave up the idea of searching for Śambhala. It seems that now he was more eager to go to U rgyan. When he was in Kullu, a woman, whom he believed to be a ḍākinī, told him not to stay with his guru or any companions, but to stay behind in this place, and she would take care of his living. He did not care to listen to her. That evening when he was thinking of going to U rgyan, several ḍākinīs appeared in the sky and sang him a song, telling him that the Twenty-four Sacred Places of the Vajra body and all kinds of *siddhis* were accessible through meditation. Hearing this, he decided to postpone his journey to U rgyan and spent that very summer meditating in the big mountain called Gha dhe la (as Ghan rda la in Biography A1-SO) where there were many

³⁶⁵ Thakur 2001: 49.

³⁶⁶ Cunningham 1871: 120.

³⁶⁷ Beal 1884: I: 177; Ji 2000: 372–73.

³⁶⁸ Thakur 2001: 35.

³⁶⁹ Vitali 2003a: 60–78; Thakur 2001: 22–48; Hutchison & Vogel 1933: 478, 484–85.

medicinal herbs, five sources of sacred spring water and an accomplished Indian yogin proficient in expounding the Dharma. Tucci cannot locate this mountain³⁷⁰ while Lu suggests that the name is the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit *Candra*, probably referring to a mountain on the upper course of Chenab (Skt. Candrabhāgā).³⁷¹ The source of this river is in Lahaul and Spiti, combining the two rivers of Chandra and Bhaga. On studying the physical and district maps of Himachal, I suspect that this mountain is in the vicinity of Maru in northern Chamba District, and this might be the reason for U rgyan pa going to Maru. Spending the summer in a high mountain in northern Chamba, where the average altitude is above 3000 meters, was probably *a necessity* for U rgyan pa to escape from the summer heat in the relatively low-lying Kullu. Besides, heavy rain and high flood making rivers unfordable are probably factors further discouraging travelling in high summer.³⁷²

It is perhaps worth noting that this summer, when U rgyan pa was making good progress in his practice and putting an end to all his own negative thoughts, a thousand kilometers away in Central Nepal, a disastrous earthquake hit the Kathmandu Valley on 7th June and caused the death of one-third of its population. The news probably did not reach U rgyan pa until much later time, despite that news travelled fast along trade routes. King Abhaya Malla (r. 1216–1255) of Nepal was seriously injured and had to abdicate the throne to his son Jayadeva Malla (r. 1255–1258).³⁷³

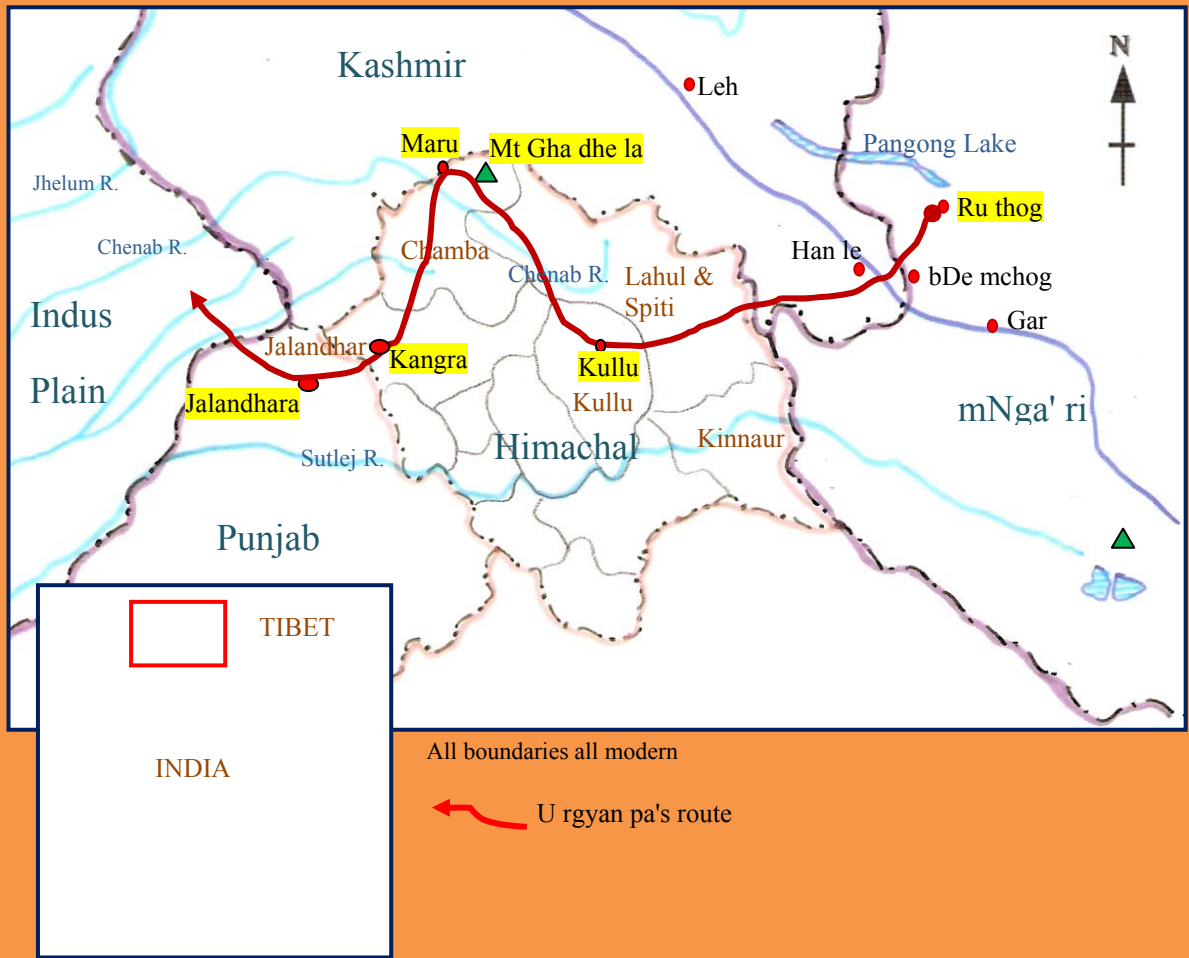
³⁷⁰ Tucci 1940: 42.

³⁷¹ Lu 2007: 56, though Ghan rda la and Candra do not appear to be that similar in sound.

³⁷² *Ibid.*: 203–204.

³⁷³ Shaha 1992: 47. See also Lévi 1905: 214–15 and Petech 1958: 90.

Map 6: Route Map from Ru thog to North India, 1255.



Stage Four: Jalandhar

རི་དེ་ནས་ཟླ་ཕྱེད་སྟོ་ཅུ་ལམ།
གནས་ཇ་ལན་རྣ་རའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནས།
ཟོང་འདོད་དགུ་འབྲུང་པའི་ཚོངས་དུས་ཡོད།
འོ་རྩིང་སྤྲུག་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཕྱིར་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།³⁷⁴

From this mountain (Gha dhe la) I marched southward for half a month.
In the palace of Dza lan dha ra was a bazaar with all kinds of commodities.
I did not carry away any fancy stuff.
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Winter 1255—Visiting Kangra and Jalandhar

Then U rgyan pa went to Jalandhar in the company of some Indian yogins. According to the song, travelling from the mountain Gha dhe la to the next destination Dza lan dha ra, identified as Jalandhar in present-day Punjab State,³⁷⁵ took half a month (but said to be "one month" in the long biographies) and a southbound route. The itinerary seems to have confirmed that both the mountain and Maru are situated in northern Chamba District. The ancient kingdom of Jalandhar is believed to have spread over the hill territories of Kangra and extended into the present state of Chamba on the north, and Mandi on the east in the time of Xuanzhuang. It existed as an independent state for many centuries before the Muslim conquest in the beginning of the 11th century.³⁷⁶ According to one tradition, the epoch-making Great Council of Mahāyāna Buddhism held in the end of the 1st century took place in Jalandhar.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 66, A2-SO: 28b and A3-SO: 24a–b.

³⁷⁵ Tucci 1940: 43 and Lu 2007: 55–56.

³⁷⁶ Cunningham 1871: 115–17.

³⁷⁷ Waddell 1899: 9 states that the council was held in Jalandhar towards the end of the 1st century AD, under the auspices of the Scythian King Kanishka (Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka) of North India. Another saying is that the Council was held in Kashmir. See Ahir 1993: 6 and Howorth 1927: 121.

Thanks to Biography B1-KM for telling us that U rgyan pa went to Jalandhar in winter of the same year.³⁷⁸ Obviously he was meant to trace the footsteps of his guru rGod tshang pa, who travelled to this place in around 1217. Very likely he had chosen to go there in winter to avoid the unbearable summer heat. U rgyan pa passed through a big town called Shri Na ka ra kro hre, identified as Nagarkot,³⁷⁹ the historical name of Kangra.³⁸⁰ Jalandhar is said to be rich in natural resources and all the women there were ḍākinīs. The text also mentions a shrine dedicated to Dza lan mu kha; when one looked at the face of this goddess, everything would blaze.³⁸¹ Certainly this refers to the famous Jwalamukhi Temple,³⁸² known for its natural flames.³⁸³ This shrine is said to be "north of that town" (*grong khyer de'i byang na*). Since this temple is situated 30 km south of Kangra rather than north of it, "that town" probably refers to the capital city Jalandhar rather than Kangra. According to the biography of rGod tshang pa appended to Tucci's book, it was in this temple rGod tshang pa first encountered the Ḍākinī 'Gro ba bzang mo in 1217.³⁸⁴

When U rgyan pa visited Jalandhar in 1255, some of the fifty Mahāyāna monasteries and three Hindu temples mentioned in Xuangzhuang's travel account might still have been there, although most of them could have existed only as remnants.³⁸⁵ U rgyan pa benefited greatly from practising in a cave of Nāgārjuna. One evening, he found that he could pass through objects without obstruction while walking in the town.

³⁷⁸ B1-KM: 11a. This is not mentioned in any other biographies.

³⁷⁹ Tucci 1940: 43 puts "viz., Nagarkot" after the Tibetan transliteration.

³⁸⁰ *Kulu and Kangra* 1958: 22. "In 1398 he marched on Kangra (then called Nagarkot) and defeated the ruler....". The 'he' in the line refers to Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni. Cunningham 1871: 118 also notes: "*Nagarcut* is Kāngra or Nagarkot, which is mentioned under the same name by Abu Rihān, who was present at its capture by Mahmud of Ghazni."

³⁸¹ A1-SO: 63. The text reads: *lha gdong pa stan [bstan] na thams cad me ru 'bar*.

³⁸² Thanks to my supervisor Charles Ramble for identifying this shrine with Jwalamukhi.

³⁸³ *Kulu and Kangra* 1958: 22. Jwalamukhi (the Goddess of the flaming mouth) is one of the most popular Hindu temples in North India. It lies 22 miles from Kangra. There is no idol of any kind inside the temple but the flaming fissure inside it is believed to be the mouth of the goddess.

³⁸⁴ Tucci 1940: 90. Appendix: folio 47a.

³⁸⁵ See Beal 1884: I: 175–76 and Ji 2000: 730–32 on Xuangzhuang's account of Jalandhar.

Pilgrim-cum-Trader

Apart from having rich natural resources, Jalandhar was a prosperous centre of trans-Himalayan trade, probably the largest trade centre so far seen by U rgyan pa. This explains why the song refers to "a bazaar with all kinds of commodities" in the palace. That the bazaar was operated in the palace also suggests that the royal house was actively involved in trade. Although it is a traditional practice for pilgrims to subsist on bartering on the way of pilgrimage,³⁸⁶ especially when stopping over at trade centres, U rgyan pa as an ascetic was probably reluctant to do so. Since in any case he had nothing to barter, he could only go begging for alms. When alms were nowhere to be obtained, he simply performed austerity. However, because he was not an Indian yogin and could not afford to contribute any facilities (*cha rkyen*) to a tantric feast assembly (*tshogs 'khor*) held at the charnel grounds of Lang gyu ra, the yoginī presiding over the ritual refused to let him join. This seems to suggest that other participants did have the means to contribute to the facilities. Perhaps some of them did join the bartering pilgrims, just to be pragmatic, or simply for survival.

Saddened by that unpleasant experience and some misbehaving religious practitioners, he felt a very strong urge to go to U rgyan. This is the second time in the long biographies that such wish was expressed explicitly. Finally he dismissed his companion dPon Srin po gdong pa and set off for U rgyan with another companion called dPal ye.

³⁸⁶ Dhammika 2007a. "To help pay their way, many pilgrims would buy goods in one destination to sell them in another."

Stage Five: Chenab River

གནས་དེ་ནས་ཞག་དང་ཉི་ཤུའི་ལུང་།
ཚུ་ཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ན།
ཚོས་ཀྱང་སྐྱོ་ཉེན་ལམ་ཕྱིན།
ངས་ཚོ་ལི་ཅིག་ཀྱང་བྱེད་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།³⁸⁷

From that sacred place (Jalandhar) I marched westward for twenty days.

One day's march to the east of River Dhan bha ga,

I passed through a plain the colour of the *rgya skyeg* plant.

I did not carry away even a bit of them.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Early Spring 1256—Chenab River and Indus Plain

After spending the winter in Jalandhar, U rgyan pa continued his journey westward in 1256. Most likely he had set off in early spring before the weather became unbearably hot in the Indus Plain. He marched for twenty days and reached an expanse of woodland on the east bank of Dhan bha ga, identified as Candrabhaga (Chandrabhaga) by Tucci.³⁸⁸

Chandrabhaga refers to the upper reaches of Chenab (Moon River), a major tributary of the Indus. The name is derived from its being the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga Rivers emerging from the uplands in Lahaul-Spiti. Marching westward (perhaps then northwest) for twenty days would have taken U rgyan pa to the middle reaches of Chenab in the northeast of present-day Pakistan. It is very likely that U rgyan pa was conveyed across the river on inflated buffalo skins known as *dhrés*, as vividly described by Cunningham in 1846.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 70, A2-SO: 30a and A3-SO: 25a.

³⁸⁸ Tucci 1940: 44.

³⁸⁹ Cunningham 1848: 201 and 1854: 166–67.

Map 7: Territories under the Control of the Mamluks in the 13th Century.
A Historical Atlas of South Asia 1992, p.147, Pl. h.

The map originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Bandit and *Mu stegs*, Sog po and Mamluk

Bandits were a major threat on the road while travelling in North India. After leaving Jalandhar, despite travelling at night to reduce the risk of being harassed by bandits, U rgyan pa still felt frightened and agitated.³⁹⁰ Perhaps because of this, he fell down a gorge (probably in the dark) and broke his teeth badly. It is said that the *ḍākinīs* came to heal him and taught him the magic to deal with diseases and injuries. They led him by the hand and he marched on at an amazing speed, and accomplished in one day the distance that took others half a month to cover.

On the way to Chenab, at one time he prayed and recited mantras to dissolve the malicious plot of some evil *mu stegs*, who conspired to kill him. The term *mu stegs* is the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit term *tīrthika*, which throughout Buddhist history is used to refer

³⁹⁰ A1-SO: 68, A2-SO: 29a, A3-SO: 24b. The text reads: *thugs shin tu 'tshub pa zhig byung*.

to "those who actively follow a path which is not consonant with that prescribed by the Buddha".³⁹¹ In Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, *tīrthika* is used to refer to the Hindus.³⁹² It seems that throughout the biographies of U rgyan pa, this term also refers to the Hindus. Not all *mu stegs* he met were hostile; only some were. In the later stage of his life, some *mu stegs* even became his followers.

On another occasion, he was nearly killed by four savage Sog po horsemen, who kidnapped and tortured him (probably intending to make him their slave). Here the term Sog po appears for the first time in his long biographies. Sog po is a generic term used in Tibet around the 13th century for Islamic states and people of Central and West Asia, and might refer to different people in different times.³⁹³ In this episode it probably refers to the Mamluks. Mamluks were soldiers of slave origin. Since a military career was often the path to wealth and political advancement in mediaeval Muslim world, over time, Mamluks became a powerful military caste in various Muslim societies. The history of Mamluk invasion to the Indian subcontinent can be traced back to the early 11th century when Mahmud of Ghazni (Sultan Ghazni) of the Ghaznavid dynasty from Persia and Transoxiana raided deep into the Gangetic Plain. However, he had no attempt of asserting a permanent rule in India. The next one and a half centuries saw relative peace on the frontier. At the end of the 12th century, Muhammad of Ghor (Central Afghanistan) began campaigning in India again. He defeated the Hindu rulers of Delhi in 1192 and swept across North India as far as the mouth of Indus. Upon his death in 1206, his kingdom was divided into many parts by his Mamluk generals. One of the generals became king of Delhi, thus initiating the Mamluk dynasty in India. The Mamluk Sultanate (1206–1290) was the first of five unrelated dynasties which held sway as ruler of the Delhi Sultanate from the beginning of the 13th to the early 16th century. When U rgyan pa was travelling in North India, the Delhi Sultan was Nasir ud din Mahmud (r. 1246–1266). He is known to

³⁹¹ Dict-ID. It also notes that it is difficult to find an equivalent English term.

³⁹² Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 314 & 320, for example.

³⁹³ See Yang 1994 (in Chinese), and Appendix II of this thesis for the English synopsis. See also Rachewiltz 1983: 281–83 on Turco-Mongol relations in the 13th century.

be very religious, often engaged in saying prayers and aiding the poor and the distressed, while state affairs were largely entrusted to the Deputy Sultan.³⁹⁴

Map 7 shows that the entire Gangetic Plain and Indus Valley were under the control of the Mamluks in the 13th century. In early 1256 when U rgyan pa ventured west from Jalandhar into the middle reaches of the Indus, he should have felt increasingly strongly the presence of the Mamluks, as suggested by his being harassed by Sog po horsemen near the east bank of the Chenab River. The soldiers of Muslim armies, known for their rapid movement, were cavalrymen with hand-weapons and formidable bows and arrows, who spent their whole lives in the field.³⁹⁵ The ferocity and brutality of the Sog po horsemen encountered by U rgyan pa is indicated by the reference to them as *kla klo rnams* (barbarians) in the biographies.³⁹⁶ U rgyan nearly died of their torture but at last managed to regain consciousness and scare them away, thanks to his training in yogic breath.

Indus Plain

150 km west of Jalandhar, near the Ravi River is the city of Lahore, a regional capital of the Iranian Ghurid State in the 12th and 13th century. The place is not mentioned in the itinerary, suggesting that a northwesterly rather than a westerly route was taken by U rgyan pa. By the east bank of the Chenab he marched through a stretch of woodland the colour of *rgya skyeg* (*skyegs*), probably indicating a profusion of this maroon-coloured medicinal plant.³⁹⁷ Walking for one day from a place called Indra ni³⁹⁸ on the east bank of the river, he came to 'Bar mi la, and then Sil ba. These three place names are unidentified. Then he came to a place of the Sog po (*Sog po'i yul*), whose name he had forgotten. "Thence on, the land of the Indians mixed with that of the Sog po. Some places are said to be Sin rdu

³⁹⁴ On Mamluk invasions to North India, see Johnson 1996: 80–81; Kulke & Rothermund 1990: 162–69, Schwartzberg 1992: 194–95 and Wheeler 1950: 65–66.

³⁹⁵ Johnson 1996: 81.

³⁹⁶ A1-SO: 69, A2-SO: 30a and A3-SO: 25a.

³⁹⁷ Dict-BG: 528 & Dict-THDL. rGya skyegs is a maroon-coloured medicinal plant with lac insects living on it. The resin can be used as dye and the dregs as sealing lacquer.

³⁹⁸ Tucci 1940: 44 puts "(viz., Indranila)" after the place name but does not locate it.

(Hindu)—with Indians [only]. Some are said to be *Mu sur men* (viz., Musulman)—with Sog po [only]. Some have both."³⁹⁹ This tells us that U rgyan pa was now entering the part of the Indus Valley where the presence of Muslims was strongly felt.

For a Tibetan, travelling in the lowland in this chaotic region of the Indian subcontinent in the mid-13th century might have demanded much more hardship and much greater courage, wits, perseverance and incentive than battling with the formidable landscapes and hostile weather of Tibet and the Himalayan ranges. In addition to surviving a totally alien climate, diet and culture, U rgyan pa also had to survive the inhospitality of the inhabitants, bandits and heretics, and to defend himself from falling prey to the brutality of the Muslim armies.

³⁹⁹ A1-SO: 71. Original text reads: *Sa de man chad rgya gar dang sog po 'dres pa'i yu du 'dug ste | yul la la Sin rdu zer ba rGya gar kyi sa cha yod | la la na Mu sur men zer ba sog po yod gsungs | la la na gnyis kar yang yod gsungs*. Similar lines with minor variations in spelling and wording are also found in A2-SO: 30b and A3-SO: 25c.

Map 8: U rgyan pa's Journey in Punjab and Indus Plain in Spring 1256.
Adapted from *Oxford School Atlas* 2000 edition, p. 8.

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The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.



**Another Map of the Same Region,
Showing the Salt Range.**
Adapted from *Oxford School Atlas*, 2000
edition, p. 6.

Stage Six: Jhelum River

ཕུ་དེ་ནས་ལྷོ་གཅིག་རུབ་དུ་ཉེ།
ནུ་ཉི་ཚེ་རི་བོ་ཡོད།
ངས་རྟོག་པོ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཁྱེད་བ་མེད།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁰⁰

From that river (Chenab) I marched westward for one month.

There were salt mines in the Na'u ti Mountain.

I did not carry away even a grain of salt.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Salt Mountain and Salt Trade

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa, after marching westward for *five days* from the Chenab River, came to another big river, which was said to have flowed down from Kha che (Kashmir). Certainly this refers to the Jhelum River, another major tributary of the Indus, with most of its lower course running almost parallel to the Chenab. However, it is said in the first line of the above stanza that it took him *a month* to reach the next destination. The Chenab and the Jhelum are only around 80 km apart. Certainly it does not require a month's time to march from the former to the latter. Spending five days traversing the plain between the two rivers is much more reasonable.

On the west bank of the Jhelum River there was a big city called Pra ho ra, governed by a Sog po called Ma ling kar. Another day's march took U rgyan pa to Na bu tre, a mountain rich in mineral salt, which was taken to Kashmir, U rgyan, Ma bo (possibly Malot)⁴⁰¹, mGo dznya ra (possibly Gujrat),⁴⁰² rDo ku ra (unidentified) and Jalandhar. The city is said to have a population of seven million, which is certainly an exaggeration.

⁴⁰⁰ This stanza with major variation in the first line is found in A1-SO: 72, A2-SO: 31a & A3-SO: 25d.

⁴⁰¹ Tucci 1940: 44. He suggests Malot (80 km south of Islamabad) for Malo'o.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.* Tucci suggests Gujrat (120 km north of Lahore on the right bank of Chenab River).

The map of India and Pakistan does show a huge Salt Range to the west of the Jhelum River around 200 km northwest of Lahore (see Map 8). Na bu tre is likely to be the local name of the mountain. Pra ho ra therefore should be located on the narrow strip of lowland running northeast-southwest between the Jhelum and the Salt Range. Tucci suggests that it was in the vicinity of Pindi Dadan Khan, formerly one of the biggest salt markets.⁴⁰³

To reduce the risk of being harassed by bandits, U rgyan pa travelled in the company of the salt merchants on big roads linking big marketplaces on the trade routes. It is said that road condition was good and food was easy to procure.

⁴⁰³ Tucci 1940: 45–46 notes the name of the city as Brahora, thus *viz.* Sra ho ra / Pra ho ra (the Tibetan letters *ba*, *sa* and *pa* are very often indistinguishable in handwritten *dbu med* script). The mountain is given as Nalcugri.

Stage Seven: West Punjab

དེ་ནས་ཞག་གསུམ་རུབ་དུ་ལམ།
མཁར་མ་ལ་ཀོ་ཏི་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ན།
རིན་ཆེན་མུ་ཏིག་འབྱུང་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྒོ།
སྤོ་ཅི་བོ་ཆེ་ས་ལ་སྤྱོ་བ་ཡོད།
ངས་ནི་ཅི་ཡང་ལྷོ་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་ཅེ་ལག།⁴⁰⁴

Then I marched westward for three days.

In the city of mKhar Ma la ko tri (Ma la kot),

"The Gate of the Ocean that Produces Precious Pearls",

Many medicinal herbs grew on the ground.

I did not carry away any of them.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

A Trade Centre

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa marched from the salt mountain for *one* day first to reach a place called Bha tro la, and then another *one* day to the fortress called Ma la ko tra (Ma la ko tri or Ma la kot), which was known as "The Gate of the Ocean that Produces Pearls" (*mu tig 'byung ba'i rgya mtsho'i sgo*). There was a temple built by rGyal po Hu la hu. In fact, the stanza is still talking about the places around the salt mountain near the Jhelum River. Thus, it is possible that Bha tro la is just another variation of Pra ho ra, Sra ho ra, and Bhahola, all referring to that big city on the west bank of the Jhelum River. The itinerary might thus be understood as:

⁴⁰⁴ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 73, A2-SO: 31b and A3-SO: 25d.

(Bank of Jhelum River)
 ↓ 1 day
 Salt mountain
 ↓ 1 day
 Bha tro la / Sra ho ra / Pra ho ra / Bhahola
 ↓ 1 day
 Ma la ko tra

Thus, it took altogether **3 days** to travel (from the bank of Jhelum River) to mKhar Ma la ko tra, which matches the itinerary given in the first two lines of this stanza.

Tucci suggests that Ma la ko tra is just another Tibetan rendering for Malot because the latter is known for its temples, and might also be a trade centre "importing goods from the sea and the Indus mouth", which explains why it was called "The Gate of the Ocean that Produces Pearls."⁴⁰⁵ Since U rgyan pa was travelling on a major trade route, it is only reasonable that the towns he passed through were engaged in trade to different extents.

As for the temple said to be built by King Hu la hu, it is not sure whether the name really refers to the Mongol prince Hüle'ü. Hüle'ü (1217/8–1265) was the grandson of Chinggis Khan and founder of the Il Khanate in Iran. In this very year of 1256, he was despatched by Möngke to lead a massive army to West Asia. He seized Alamut in 1257 and conquered Baghdad in 1258.⁴⁰⁶ It is not likely that he had been in Punjab before 1256 and built a temple there. Tucci believes that the temple was a Hindu one, as proved by the statement of the 17th-century Tibetan traveller sTag tshang ras pa that the temple was destroyed by the Moghuls.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Tucci 1940: 46.

⁴⁰⁶ Rossabi 1988:20-21.

⁴⁰⁷ Tucci 1940: 46.

Stage Eight: Approaching U rgyan

གོང་ཁྱིམ་དེ་ནས་སྐྱ་གཅིག་ལུབ་དུ་ལམ།
ལྷ་ཡིན་རྒྱ་ཆུ་ལ་བའི་ལུབ་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས།
ཀ་འོང་ཀ་ཡི་གོང་ཁྱིམ་ན།
རྗེས་སེན་རྒྱ་ར་འབྲུང་བའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཡོད།
ངས་གྱི་གང་ཡང་ཁྱིམ་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁰⁸

From this city (Ma la ko tri,) I marched westward for one month.

On the other side to the west of River In dhu

In the city of Ka 'ong ka was a palace of carminium.

I did not carry away even a tiny bit of it.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Late Spring or Early Summer 1256—The Gates to U rgyan

Now U rgyan pa was about to set foot on the land of U rgyan. In this chapter I have no intention of exploring in detail the historical, geographical and religious significance of U rgyan, which has already been much discussed by many scholars.⁴⁰⁹ According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa marched from Ma la ko tra (possibly Malot) for five days towards the northwest to reach a town called Ru ka la, and then another four days to reach another one called Ra dza hur, located on the east bank of the big river Sindhu (Indus River). Spending all together **nine days** travelling from Ma la ko tra near the Jhelum River to the bank of the Indus River (about 180 km) is much more convincing than the 'one month' stated in the first line of the above stanza.

Ra dza hur is said to be one of the Four Gates leading to U rgyan; the other three gates were Ni li ba, Pu sho ri and Ka vo ka. The Indus River to the west of Ra dza hur is said to

⁴⁰⁸ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is also found in A1-SO: 78, A2-SO: 33b and A3-SO: 27b.

⁴⁰⁹ See Chapter I of this thesis.

have sprung forth from Seng ge'i khog pa behind Mt Kailash, passed through Mar yul, Zangs dkar (Zanskar), Pu reg (Purig/Kargil), Bru sha (Gilgit),⁴¹⁰ sTag gzig and then U rgyan. sTag gzig (or Ta zig) is generally understood as the ancient name of Persia,⁴¹¹ but in Bon tradition, sTag gzig was "the land where the Bon religion originated" while Zhang zhung was "the land to which it was transmitted".⁴¹² Although it is believed to have had a large territory in Central Asia, its exact extent has long been a topic of discussion.⁴¹³ The course of the Indus River given here has at least indicated that in the time of U rgyan pa, the region located between Gilgit and upper Swat Valley was called sTag gzig.

On their way to the shore of the Indus, U rgyan pa and his companion had the illusion of the sky and earth turning upside down, due to something faulty in their breathing practice (*rlung shor ba*). There were Sog po horsemen passing by and singing along. They dared not venture further but had to hold fast to each other to return to the outskirts of Ra dza hur, where they stayed in a pigpen trying to cure their problem. Muslim armies in North India were notorious for their practice of destroying Hindu temples in their conquered regions and forcing the local people to convert to Islam. Since pigs are considered unclean animals, and raising pigs and eating pork are strictly forbidden in their religion, the presence of pigpen in the outskirts of the town suggests that Muslim rule was probably less strict in the suburban area, and some local people were able to live their own way. It was wise of U rgyan pa to hide in a pigpen, even though the hygiene conditions must have been disgusting, to avoid being harassed by Muslim soldiers.

Hor and sTag gzig

The next day they went to the ferry pier (*gru kha*). They insisted on crossing the river to the west bank despite being warned that they might be killed on the other side by people who mistook them for Hor. Lu suggests that the ferry pier on the west bank of the Indus

⁴¹⁰ Tucci identifies Pu reg with Kargil and Bru sha with Gilgit (see Tucci 1940: 48). Present-day Zanskar has become part of the Kargil district.

⁴¹¹ Dict-BG: 1021.

⁴¹² Dagkar 1997: 687.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*: 690–91.

was probably in present-day Ohind (also spelt as Waihand or Hund) on the west bank of the river, just above Attock, about 28 km northeast of the junction of the Kabul River and the Indus. Many scholars believed that the army of Alexander the Great had crossed the Indus at this point on invading Punjab.⁴¹⁴ If the *gru kha* mentioned in the itinerary does refer to this one, Ra dza hur, the Gate of U rgyan, was apparently located on or near the site of the ancient city of Taxila. The city was the capital of the Taxila Kingdom and an important trade centre at the time of Alexander the Great and King Aśoka.⁴¹⁵ According to the biographies, the region upward from this point of the Indus is said to be the land of U rgyan. In other words, in U rgyan pa's time, the name U rgyan was not confined to the Swat Valley.⁴¹⁶ However, this remark in the long biographies is followed by another contradictory remark saying that "It is said that other than rDo ma thal na, other places are not called U rgyan."⁴¹⁷ It seems that people of different regions had a different understanding of the boundary of U rgyan.

The valley east of the junction of the Indus and the Kabul was the meeting place of three great trade routes in ancient times: one coming from Hindustan and East India, another one from Western Asia through Bactria, and the third one from Kashmir and Central Asia through Srinagar. The region from Peshawar Valley and Bunar Valley up to the Swat Valley was where Gandhara Buddhist art flourished from the 1st to at least the 3rd century.⁴¹⁸ In the days of U rgyan pa, this area was probably still prosperous, suggested by the frequent mention of trade centres and marketplaces along his route.

That Mongols (Hor) were found on the west bank of the Indus and met with hostility by the local people was an aftermath of Chinggis Khan's attack of Punjab in 1221, in pursuit of Jalal ad-Din, an Afghanistan prince fighting for the Khwarazm Empire of Central Asia. However, Iltutmish managed to keep the Mongols from crossing the Indus. Nevertheless,

⁴¹⁴ Lu 2008: 56.

⁴¹⁵ See Marshall 1918 and Wheeler 1950: 36–47 on history of Taxila.

⁴¹⁶ According to the Chinese chronicle *Beishi* (Annals of the Northern Dynasties [386–618]), the domain of the ancient kingdom of Wuzhangna (U rgyan) bordered on Congling (Hindu Kush) on the north and India on the south. See Ji 2000: 271 Note 1, and Beal 1884: I: 119 Note 1.

⁴¹⁷ A1-SO: 76, A2-SO: 32b and A3-SO: 26b.

⁴¹⁸ Marshall 1960: 107. "...Gandhāra art had run most of its course from the first to the third century A.D."

the troops left by Chinggis Khan in the Punjab remained a thorn in the side of the Sultanate of Delhi throughout the 13th century.⁴¹⁹ In 1241, Mongol armies invaded the heart of the Punjab region and sacked Lahore.⁴²⁰ It is confirmed in the long biographies that "At that time, the country of U rgyan had just been conquered by the Hor". Thus, it is not surprising that people in the town of Ka la pur on the other side of the Indus took U rgyan pa and his companion for Mongol scouts and hit them with stones.

They met a nomad couple carrying a baby boy. They were sTag gzig people in U rgyan, but now fleeing for their homeland (in the north between U rgyan and Gilgit, as discussed earlier) to escape the Mongols.⁴²¹ They told U rgyan pa that the Mongols had killed many of their people, and those alive were badly tortured.⁴²² They let U rgyan pa join them for a certain distance. U rgyan pa helped carry their baby on the way. Others took him for sTag gzig people and did not find trouble with him.

The Four Gates

One day's travel from the Indus took U rgyan pa to Bha so ba, most likely to be Peshawar,⁴²³ the capital of present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, and the site of the ancient kingdom of Gandhara, one of the earliest Buddhist centres.⁴²⁴ Of the Four Gates to U rgyan—Ra dza hur, Ni la ba, Pu sho ri and Kao vo Ka—mentioned earlier in the biographies, U rgyan pa had now passed the first one Ra dza hur on the east bank of the Indus, identified as near Attock close to the junction of the Indus and the Kabul. As for the second one Ni la ba, it is not mentioned again in the biography and therefore we have no idea about its relative location. The third one Pu sho ri is very likely

⁴¹⁹ Kulke & Rothermund 1990: 168. See also Ratchnevsky 1991: 132–34.

⁴²⁰ Jaques 2007: 561.

⁴²¹ Tucci 1940: 49 notes that the couple was running away from the Turks. Since the term Hor rather than Sog po is used in the biographies, I believe that the couple were talking about the atrocities perpetrated by the Mongol army left behind by Chinggis Khan.

⁴²² A. Stein 1929: 72 remarks that there are splendid grazing grounds in Upper Swat. It is perhaps for this reason that some sTag gzig nomads came south to Swat.

⁴²³ Lu 1980: 56 also identifies this name with Peshawar. This name is not mentioned in Tucci's book.

⁴²⁴ See Wheeler 1950: 48 on Buddhist sites in and around Peshawar.

to be a variation of Bha sa ba, identified as Peshawar, further west from Ra dza hur. As for the fourth one Ka vo ka, it is yet to come. Tucci suggests that Ni la ba (as Nila in his book) might be the same as Nīla on the Soan river to the east of Pindi Gheb.⁴²⁵ The spot is around 60 km north of the Salt Range. U rgyan pa might have passed through it *before* reaching Ra dza hur. If this is indeed the place, the sequence of the Four Gates should be Ni la ba, Ra dza hur, Pu sho ri and Ko va ka.

Another day's march took U rgyan pa to a place called Bha sa (unidentified), and still another day to Ka ko ka, probably a variation of Ka vo ka and thus, the Fourth Gate. The town Ka vo ka (also as Ka ko ka) was rich in carminium, and the people there were virtuous and well off. The Prefect (*dpon po*) of the place honoured U rgyan pa with a big feast and accompanied him for one day to go to Bho ne le, identified by Lu as Buner,⁴²⁶ situated south of Swat and is divided from Swat by a "boldly serrated and abundantly wooded range".⁴²⁷ In Bho ne le, the Prefect issued him a document (*yi ge*) bearing the command: "*Mi dang 'di sa cha 'di'i bar du skyol*" (Escort [this] person with this [document] up to this place), to make sure that he was safely escorted up to rDo ma tha la. Obviously he was a local Rāja, most likely a Hindu, but a civil one with high regard, perhaps even admiration, for Buddhist pilgrims who had overcome great difficulties to travel from Tibet to this part of the Indian subcontinent.

⁴²⁵ Tucci 1940: 47.

⁴²⁶ Lu 2008: 56.

⁴²⁷ A. Stein 1929: 72.

Map 9: The Four Gates of U rgyan, in the Indus Valley South of Swat
Adapted from *Oxford School Atlas 2000* edition, p. 8.



Route of U rgyan pa

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Ka vo ka, 4th Gate of U rgyan.
Suggested location.

Peshawar, 3rd Gate of U rgyan.

Ni la ba, 2nd Gate of U rgyan.
Suggested location.

Ra dza hur, 1st Gate of U rgyan

Stage Nine: Mt. Ilam and Upper Swat

ས་དེ་ནས་ཞག་བདུན་རུབ་དུ་ལམ།
ལ་རག་ལ་རྣ་ཨི་ལོ་ལ།
རྒྱན་འབྲུམ་གྱི་ནག་འཚལ་འཐིབ་པ་ཡོད།
ངས་རྣམས་ལ་ཞེན་པ་བྱས་པ་ཡོད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴²⁸

From that place (Bho ne le) I marched westward for seven days

To Kha rag kha in Mount I lo,

[On the mountain] there was a thicket of vineyards.

I had no desire for material substances.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Mid-Summer 1256—Mt. Ilam

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa continued his journey and reached Sing nga bo.⁴²⁹ Then he crossed a small mountain pass (*la chung gcig*) and marched for another day to reach Ka rag ka,⁴³⁰ which was rich in cereal crops and fruits, and endowed with a great variety of vegetations and animals. Lying by the river sGo dar ma 'bar ba, probably a tributary of the Swat River, to the east of this place was the sacred mountain I lo spar pa, referred to in the biographies as the long holiest of all mountains in 'Dzam bu gling and growth place of all species of medicinal herbs and the home of many enlightened yogins. It is identified as Mt Ilam or Ilamparvata.⁴³¹ In the mountain there was a magnificent divine abode housing 1,084 kinds of Buddhist scriptures, said to be guarded by wrathful deities

⁴²⁸ The stanza has an additional line after the 2nd line in A1-SO: 81, A2-SO: 34b and A3-SO: 28a, saying there are animals (deer) playing in deer park.

⁴²⁹ This name appears as Siddhabhor (probably because the Tibetan letters *nga* and *da* are often indistinguishable in handwritten *dbu med* script) in Tucci 1940: 50. Its location is uncertain.

⁴³⁰ The small mountain pass and Kha rag kha are not mentioned in A1-SO: 79, but found in A2-SO: 33b, A3-SO: 27b and B1-KM: 14a. In B1-KM. Tucci 1940: 50 Note 42 remarks that Ka rag ka must be a village in the proximity of the Karakar pass (north of Buner Valley).

⁴³¹ Lu 2008: 57–58, A. Stein 1929: 27, Tucci 1940: 51 and Gendun Chopel's travel account in Huber 2000: 90–91.

and worshiped by numerous ḍākinīs. U rgyan pa entered the place and was able to see almost all the scriptures.

Map 10: Upper Swat Valley. Adapted from *Folk Tales of Swāt*, 1968.

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Mt Ilam is a holy mountain associated with the Buddha,⁴³² and seen as the Meru of Swat.⁴³³ It is not sure for how long U rgyan pa had stayed here, but afterwards, another two and a half days' march took him to Ra'i kha, which is said to have the remnants of the capital of King Indrabhūti. Ra'i kha was divided into two towns, with about sixty and forty households respectively. It is said that there were many flesh-eating *ḍākinīs* in the form of tigers and leopards. U rgyan pa felt that he had been born in this place and the capital actually belonged to him in his former life. For Ra'i kha, Tucci suggests the important archaeological site Saidu.⁴³⁴ (See Map 10) According to Stein, "Saidu, situated some 3,300 feet above the sea, occupies a delightfully open position at the foot of a wooded spur descending from an outlier of Ilam and dividing two pretty side valleys."⁴³⁵ One wonders if these two side valleys might not be the sites of the two towns of Ra'i kha mentioned in the biographies.

Indrabhūti and La ba pa (Kambalapāda)

There were at least two Indrabhūtis associated with U rgyan—the first one is the 7th-century Siddha King of Uḍḍiyāna and according to some Tibetan sources, the spiritual father of Padmasaṃbhava and a great tantric guru; the second one the late 9th-century king of Uḍḍiyāna.⁴³⁶ The first one, in particular, is paid great homage by the rNying ma and bKa' brgyud lineages. Bhattacharyya even claims that this Indrabhūti was the founder of Vajrayāna Buddhism, though this is pointed out by Katz as exaggeration.⁴³⁷ It is related in the biographies that some years later, U rgyan pa explained to his attendant Shis rin that there were two Indrabhūtis, and Shis rin was probably [the emanation] of one of the two. Then Shis rin said that he believed himself to be the younger one.⁴³⁸ In other words, U

⁴³² Huber 2000: 92–93.

⁴³³ Tucci 1977: 27.

⁴³⁴ Tucci 1940: 51 refers to A. Stein 1929: 65–71 on the archaeological significance of Saidu.

⁴³⁵ A. Stein 1929: 65.

⁴³⁶ Bhattacharyya 1932: 74, Katz 1979: 169, Schmid 1958: 44 and Tucci 1940: 52. See also PADMA: 87–97 on Indrabhūti's relationship with Padmasaṃbhava.

⁴³⁷ Katz 1979: 169 and Bhattacharyya 1924: 159.

⁴³⁸ A1-SO: 83, A2-SO: 35b & A3-SO: 29a.

rgyan pa was supposed to be the emanation of the older one, that is, the more important one.

The biographies go on to relate that there was a Buddhist temple built by Indrabhūti north of Ra'i kha, called Ma gha la or. U rgyan pa did not visit that town but just looked from afar. If Ra'i kha is proved to be Saidu, Ma gha la or certainly is the city Manglāor to the northeast of Saidu in Map 10.⁴³⁹ A woman told U rgyan pa that he was King Indrabhūti.

After fording a south-flowing stream near Ra'i khar, U rgyan pa came to the temple associated with the legend of La ba pa (Kambalapāda), one of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas in India. He is said to be a contemporary of the 9th-century King Indrabhūti.⁴⁴⁰ According to *The Blue Annals*, he was the person who discovered the Yoginītantras in U rgyan, and he travelled to Tibet in the 10th century.⁴⁴¹

First Visit to Dhu ma tha la

From Ra'i kha U rgyan pa marched for half a day (*nyi ma phyed*) to reach Dhu ma tha la, the core of the Miraculous Land of U rgyan, one of the Twenty-Four Sacred Places, corresponding to the heart of the Vajra body. It is considered to be the abode of Vajrayoginī, mother of all Buddhas of the Three Times. Dākas and dākinīs gathered like clouds. There were about five hundred households. All women knew magic and claimed themselves yoginīs. The skin colour of the men and women of the place was different from other people in general. In the front part of the city there was a small temple with a self-arisen sandalwood statue of the goddess called Mi gha dhe ba.⁴⁴² Later in the biographies,

⁴³⁹ Tucci 1940: 52 gives Mangalaor. Gendun Chopel's travel account in Huber 2000: 90–91 states that the city called Mangalwar mentioned by both U rgyan pa and sTag tshang ras pa is "the village of Mangawar (i.e. Maṅgalapura)". A. Stein 1929: 76 notes that Manglawar is equivalent to Meng-chieh-li (as Mungkie-li or Mungali in Beal 1884: I: 121), the capital of U rgyan noted by Xuanzhuang. Deane 1896: 655–56 notes that Minglaur (Manglāor) was the same as Mungali, the capital of U rgyan at the time of Xuanzhuang.

⁴⁴⁰ Schmid 1958: 50.

⁴⁴¹ Roerich 1949: 731 & 753.

⁴⁴² As Maṅgaladevī in Tucci 1940: 54.

it is said that this image was moved here from a small piece of triangular-shaped land in the river east of the city due to the Hor invasion.⁴⁴³

When U rgyan pa was begging for alms in Dhu ma tha la, many yoginīs scattered flowers onto him and dabbed vermilion on his forehead. He saved his companion dPal ye from being killed by robbers. He refused a woman who offered herself for him to enjoy, and chased her away with a stick. The next day the woman came with a companion to scatter flowers on him and offer him incense, in praise of his chastity. He also saw a girl with three eyes. A woman calling herself a self-made yoginī demonstrated magic to a Sog po trader. U rgyan pa benefited greatly from eating the food given by her, especially in his practice of the Mahāmudrā. He believed that the woman was the consort of Indrabhūti.

Tucci believes that Dhu ma tha la is present-day Udegrama (as Uḍīgram in Map 10) on the east bank of the Swat River to the northwest of Saidu (suggested site of Ra'i kha).⁴⁴⁴ The prosperity and wealth of the Swat Valley in the ancient times is undoubted, testified by the great number of its monasteries.⁴⁴⁵ Down to the time of Aurel Stein, the region around Udigram still enjoyed great prosperity, as seen in its neighbouring town Mingora, which was said to be a commercial emporium packed not only with people from Upper Swat, but also with Kohistani and other people from the valleys on the headwaters of the Swat River. These people "were easily recognizable by their Dard feature...."⁴⁴⁶ According to A. Stein, these Dard people were the original population of Swat, which explains why U rgyan pa had found the local people distinct in appearance. The mention of Sog po trader also suggests that the city was probably frequented by Muslim caravans from Central Asia.

Where in U rgyan did U rgyan pa Receive Vajrayoginī's Teaching?

⁴⁴³ See Stage Ten of this chapter.

⁴⁴⁴ Tucci 1940: 53 Note 51 proposes that Orgyan=Uḍḍīyana=Udegrama. A. Stein 1929: 60 also explains the possible relation of these names. See A. Stein 1929: 53–61 on the detailed description of the geographical features of this place. See also Gendun Chopel's travel account in Huber 2000: 88–89.

⁴⁴⁵ Tucci 1958: 280, probably citing Beal 1884: I: 120. There were 1400 monasteries in U rgyan in the 7th century. Also see Ji 2000: 270.

⁴⁴⁶ A. Stein 1929: 63.

Then U rgyan pa went to a town called Ka ka la. After taking the soup (*thug pa*) given by a woman,⁴⁴⁷ he had full realisation of the true nature of all phenomena. She emanated as Vajrayoginī and gave him the highest tantric teachings known as *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub* (Skt. *sevāsadhana*. Approach and Attainment of the Three Vajras).⁴⁴⁸ Afterwards he asked his companion to beg food from that woman as well but her servant refused to give him any.⁴⁴⁹

The name of the town Ka ka la and the related episode jump up amid the narrative of U rgyan pa's visit in Dhu ma tha la. At first glance one easily presumes that the town was part of Dhu ma tha la or situated in its vicinity. However, the proximity of its spelling to other place names previously mentioned in the biographies has raised the doubt of whether these names might not be referring to the same place, given the strangeness of the itinerary. In an attempt to find out more clues, all possible variations of this place name have been grouped and listed, and their spellings analysed in Table 6. The following conclusions have been gathered:

1. Ka he ka (highlighted in yellow) appears in both Group I and Group II. This suggests that the place names in I and II refer to the same place.
2. Ka vo ka / Ka bo ka in Group I and Kaboka in Group III (highlighted in blue) virtually share exactly the same pronunciation. Thus, it is highly probable that place names in I and III also refer to the same place.
3. Ka'o ka (highlighted in green) is found in all three Groups. Thus, it is evident that all place names listed in Table 6 virtually refer to *one single place* (whatever the spelling)—the Fourth Gate (the last gate) leading to U rgyan, in Lower Swat.

⁴⁴⁷ LHORONG: 726 notes that the name of the woman was Sa mutra pu ṣa. DRUGPA: 448 states that this woman was a *smad 'tshong ma* (a woman who sells her lower body, i.e. a prostitute).

⁴⁴⁸ See Chapter III of this thesis.

⁴⁴⁹ A1-SO: 88–89, A2-SO: 37a–38a, A3-SO: 30b–31b and B1-KM: 15b–16a.

Table 6: Possible Orthographic Variations of a Place Name in U rgyan

Spellings found in different Biographies of U rgyan pa	Spellings given by Tucci's book (1940)	Context / Location
I. Ka vo ka (A1: 73) Ka bo ka (A2: 31b) Ka 'o ka (A3: 25d) Ka he ka (B1: 13a, 13b)	Kacoko (p. 47)	Said to be Gate of U rgyan in the biographies. Location <u>unknown</u> .
II. Ka ko ka (A1: 78) Ko sa ka (A1: 78) Ka'o ka (A2: 33b twice, A3: 27a twice) Ka he ka (B1:13b, 14a)	Kaboko (p. 50) Ka'oka (p. 50)	A town—one day's march up north from Bho ne le (Buner). Location: <u>Lower Swat</u> .
III. Ka ka la (A1: 87, A3: 30b, B1:15b) Ka ka ma (A1: 88) Ka'o ka (A2: 37a) Ka la ka (A3: 30b) Kā ka ma (B1: 15a) Ka 'ong ka (B2a: 3b, 5a; B2b: 3a, 5a)	Kaboka (p. 55)	A town in U rgyan, where U rgyan pa received the highest Tantric teaching from Vajrayoginī. Location <u>unknown</u> .

Tucci has pointed out that Kaboka (in Group III) must be a variation of Kacoko (in Group I). However, he is not sure whether Kaboko (in Group II) is the same as Kacoko, and he has not located Ka'o ko at all.

Another clue that further supports this conclusion is found in U rgyan pa's description of Vajrayoginī on receiving teaching from her. She is said to have emanated a light of bright red colour, like that of carminium (*sindhu ra'i mdog ltar dmar zhing dvangs pa*).⁴⁵⁰ Incidentally, the town which was one of the Gates to U rgyan, was known for producing this mineral.

⁴⁵⁰ A1-SO: 89. This line with similar wording is found in A2-SO: 37b, A3-SO: 31a and B1-KM: 15a.

It is mentioned in the later part of the biographies that U rgyan pa stayed in U rgyan for a total of five months, probably until end of 1256. From the relatively detailed account of his visit in Dhu ma tha la, one believes that he had spent quite a long while there, continuously or intermittently. It is probably during one of those intervals that U rgyan pa traced his own steps to go to Ka'o ka (or whatever the variations) in South Swat, and went up to Dhu ma tha la *again* after receiving the secret teaching.

U rgyan pa's narrative of the sacred sites around Dhu ma tha la only comes after that of his extraordinary experience in Ka'o ka. Presuming that the narratives are chronological, one could easily imagine why he had to go back to Dhu ma tha la once again. It is because he had yet to visit most of the sacred sites in its vicinity. The quest for the highest Tantric teaching from Vajrayoginī herself must have been on the very top of U rgyan pa's agenda. On hearing that Vajrayoginī had emanated as an anonymous woman in a certain town, of course he could not wait to get there to search for her, while paying homage to other sacred sites could be done later. After all, as Tucci has said, "It was the attraction of meeting the *dākinīs* that persuaded a Tibetan *siddha* of the 13th century (and others after him) to leave his country and to undertake a perilous journey to Swāt."⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Tucci 1977: 70.

Stage Ten: The Miraculous Land of U rgyan

ས་དེ་ན་ཞག་བཞི་རུབ་དུ་ཕྱིན།།
དོ་རེག་པ་མེད་པའི་རུབ་ཕྱོགས་ན།།
ཚུ་གོ་ཏ་རྣ་ར་འི་བྱང་གི་ཕྱོགས།།
གངས་ལ་ཀ་འདས་གོའི་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ནས།།
གནས་མོ་རྒྱན་སྤུལ་པའི་ཞིངས་འཁམས་ཆགས།།
གནས་གསུམ་གྱི་མཁའ་འགོ་མི་གཟུགས་བརྒྱངས།།
ཟག་མེད་བདེ་བའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཅན།།
ངས་འདོད་ཡོན་ཆེད་དུ་བརྒྱང་བ་མེད།།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁵²

From that place (Dhu ma tha la) I marched westward for four days.

West of the "Stone Without Touch"

To the north of River Ko ta bha ra

And east of the snow mountain Ka 'das ka

Was Au rgyan The Miraculous Land.

Dākinīs of the Three Places assume human forms,

Enjoying inexhaustible bliss and sensual pleasures.

I did not have desire for earthly pleasures.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Around Dhu ma tha la

Then the narrative jumps back to Dhu ma tha la. It is said that there were four great yoginīs in this city, namely So ni, Ga su ri, Ma tam gi and Sa ta si. U rgyan pa told his disciple later on that So ni was in fact the ḍākinī 'Gro ba bzang mo (consort of rGod tshang pa). Although it is said in the Yoginī tantras that the *pīṭha* of U rgyan is "located on the 'mind wheel' of the maṇḍala and corresponds to the right ear in the adamantine body scheme of

⁴⁵² This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 94, A2-SO: 40a and A3-SO: 33a.

the *Samvara-tantra* tradition",⁴⁵³ the biographies do not mention this. According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa marched westward from Dhu ma tha la for four days to the "Miraculous Heavenly Land of O rgyan (U rgyan)" (*gnas O rgyan sprul pa'i zhing khams*),⁴⁵⁴ which lied in the snow mountain Ka ma rde ba west of the boulder called rDo reg pa med pa (Stone Without Touch) and north of the river Ko tam bha ra. The mountain was said to be the abode of yoginīs. The blue colour wrathful deity in the Ka ma pa Cave was believed to be Cakrasaṃvara. East of Dhu ma tha la was the cemetery called A bhir sma sha na (Skt. *śmaśāna* = cemetery), one of the Eight Cemeteries (*Dur khrod brgyad*).⁴⁵⁵ There were dākinīs in the form of boars, poisonous snakes and so forth. There were also sacred trees and stone images of deities. East of the cemetery was the mountain Shri par pa ta (Śrī Parvata), the principal of the twelve sacred mountains in the Indian subcontinent, and known for its production of sandalwood. On the western end of this mountain was a south-flowing river called Ma gha la pa ni (Maṅgalapāṇi).⁴⁵⁶ The triangular piece of land in the middle of this river formerly had a sandalwood image of Man gha la de bi (Skt. Maṅgaladevī), which was moved to a small temple in Dhu ma tha la (mentioned earlier) after being burnt down by the Hor (Mongol) armies.⁴⁵⁷ The stūpa northeast of Dhu ma tha la⁴⁵⁸ is said to be one of the Eight Stūpas (*mchod rten brgyad*).⁴⁵⁹ (See Figure 35)

⁴⁵³ Huber 2008: 103. Huber wonders why this is not mentioned in U rgyan pa's itinerary.

⁴⁵⁴ A1-SO: 94, A2-SO: 40a and A3-SO: 33a.

⁴⁵⁵ Tucci 1977: 25 notes that "according to Buddhist tradition the most famous cemeteries (*śmaśāna*) were eight; Uḍḍiyāna itself was famous for its eight graveyards"; and it was a tradition of Swat to bury the bones of the dead without the flesh, but bodies of *sādhus* and criminals were exposed in lonely places, frequented by yogins for meditation.

⁴⁵⁶ Tucci 1940: 56 suggests that the word is the Tibetan rendering of Sankrit *maṅgalapāṇi*, which means 'auspicious water'.

⁴⁵⁷ This image (as Āryabhattacharika in Tucci 1940: 56) is the same image worshipped in the temple in the forth part of Dhu ma tha la, mentioned earlier in Stage Nine of this chapter. The burning of this temple is mentioned only in Biography B1-KM: 17a.

⁴⁵⁸ Tucci 1940: 56 Note 59 suggests that the stūpa might be in Tirāt. A satellite map shows that Tirat is situated further up the Swat River, on the west bank, southwest of the town Madyan (see Map 10).

<http://www.maplandia.com/pakistan/n-w-f-p/swat/tirat/>

⁴⁵⁹ Dict-ID: Also as *mchod rten cha brgyad*, the eight types of stupas are representations of the enlightened mind of a buddha. They are the Stūpa of the Sugata, Stūpa of Enlightenment, Stūpa of The Dharma Wheel, Stūpa of Miracles, Stūpa of Descent from Heaven, Stūpa of Repairing Schisms, Stūpa of Complete Victory and Stūpa of *nirvāṇa*.

Among the large number of yoginīs performing tantric rituals in front of this goddess in the temple in the forth part of the city, there were some women in Tibetan-style fringed skirt (*sham bu*) and a fur-lined cloak used to be worn by nuns/yoginīs (*ma jo sle thul*) in Tibet. They said they came from Tibet that very morning. Although they were likely to be just ordinary Tibetan pilgrims, U rgyan pa had probably associated them with those yoginīs in the congregation of his guru rGod tshang pa.

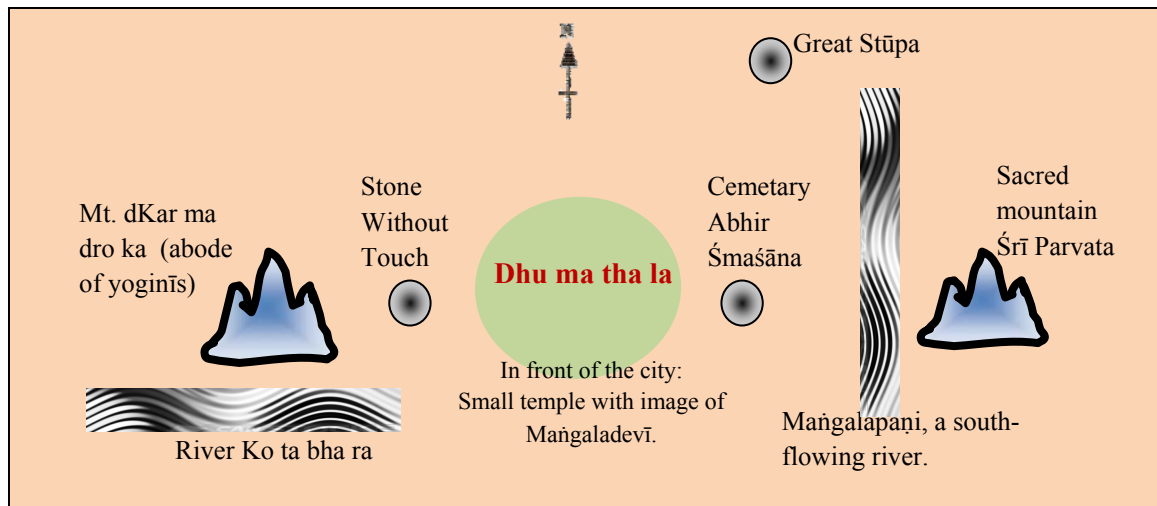


Figure 35: Relative Location of the Sacred Sites in and around Dhu ma tha la

It is not random that U rgyan pa had mentioned the boulder called rDo reg pa med pa (Stone Without Touch). Biography B1-KM contains an episode about a prophecy given to U rgyan pa when he was twenty years old by a yoginī who had been protecting him throughout his journey. She told him not to practise altruism in the next twelve years until he was thirty-two years old, and he would benefit greatly if he meditated under the boulder called rDo reg pa med pa.⁴⁶⁰ It was in 1253 that U rgyan pa (twenty-three years old) left rGod tshang pa to go in search of Śambhala. If the prophecy was indeed given in this year, the changing of U rgyan pa's mind mentioned in Biography C1-ZS⁴⁶¹ probably occurred in the very initial period of his long pilgrimage, if not immediately after rGod tshang pa made the prediction.

⁴⁶⁰ B1-KM: 17b.

⁴⁶¹ C1-ZS: 106a.

Visiting Ra'i kha Again

Then U rgyan pa slept for a few days in a big temple built by Indrabhūti at the Gate of U rgyan. This 'Gate' is likely to be Ra'i kha (identified as Saidu). Earlier in the biographies (see Stage Nine of this chapter), it is said that north of Ra'i kha, where the remnant of Indrabhūti's capital was found, there was a Buddhist temple built by this king in the town called Ma gha la or. As mentioned before, this town is identified as Manglawar (Manglāor). Although Ra'i kha was not among the Four Gates to U rgyan, it certainly can be considered as an entrance to Dhu ma tha la, which was within half day's march. U rgyan pa did not visit this temple on his way to Dhul ma tha la, and only did so *after* visiting the sacred places in and around this city.

According to the long biographies, when he was staying in this temple, there were ḍākinīs gathering in the sky. In the morning they went to rDo rje gling (seat of rGod tshang pa) to listen to rGod tshang pa's teachings, and in the afternoon they came back here to relate his teachings to others. Obviously, U rgyan pa believed that these ḍākinīs were also those yoginīs gathering around his guru.

It is said that by now he had stayed in U rgyan for three months. His subsequent visit to the cave of La ba pa further suggests that he was in Ra'i kha, where there was a temple dedicating to this Mahāsiddha. While he was staying there, he collected the skeletons of people killed by the Mongols, and meditated on them, which further attests to the atrocities committed by the Mongols in the region. Altogether he stayed in U rgyan for five months.

While quite a number of sites or monuments associated with the Buddha and his legends have been recorded in detail by Xuanzhuang in his travel account of U rgyan,⁴⁶² none

⁴⁶² For instance, the spot east of Manglaor, where Buddha had practised patience and endured the dismemberment of his body; the great mountain northeast of Manglaor, where Buddha converted the Dragon King; the great forest south of Manglaor, where the Buddha had left his footprint; and the stūpa housing the Buddha's relics, built by Uttarasena rāja. See Beal 1884: I: 119–34 and Ji 2000: 270–98.

seems to have been mentioned by U rgyan pa. It is true that Buddhism in the Valley had further deteriorated since the 7th century, apart from vast destruction wreaked by the Mongol and Muslim invaders. However, since some of these relics are still extant today,⁴⁶³ it would have been surprising if U rgyan pa had not paid homage to them or to the sacred sites during his five-month stay in U rgyan. The striking Buddhist relic described by Stein as "the colossal image of a seated Buddha some thirteen feet in height" in Manglawar⁴⁶⁴ should not have been missed by U rgyan pa, but the biographies have no mention of it. Is it possible that U rgyan pa, aftering obtaining that extraordinary teaching from Vajrayoginī in Ka 'o ka, was so absorbed in his practice that most of the sacred sites of the Valley had escaped his attention?

⁴⁶³ When Lu visited Swat in 1996, the boulder with the footprint of the Buddha was preserved in the Swat Museum while the stūpa built by Uttarasena rāja seemed still existed. See Lu 2008: 58.

⁴⁶⁴ A. Stein 1929: 77. The place is written as Manglawar.

Stage Eleven: The Return Journey

གནས་དེ་ནས་ལྷོ་གཞིག་ཤར་དུ་ལམ།
དུར་ཁྲོད་གཏུམ་གྲགས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ཆ།
འབྲུ་བདག་པོ་མེད་པ་སུ་དགའ་བྱིས།
ངས་རྒྱལ་བྱེ་ཚམ་ཡང་བྱིར་བ་མེད།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁶⁵

From that place (Ra'i kha) I marched eastward for one month.
South of the terrifying charnel ground, the corns had no owners.
People might carry them away as they pleased.
I did not carry away even a single grain.
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Spring 1257—From U rgyan to Urasa

It was probably the beginning of 1257. U rgyan pa's companion dPal ye wanted to return to Tibet. U rgyan pa wished to stay but dPal ye begged him to accompany him down south to at least as far as Ra dza hur, the [First] Gate to U rgyan. At last U rgyan pa changed his mind and agreed to leave U rgyan together. Then they travelled in the company of the caravans and hence, along the trade route.

According to the long biographies, the next destination was dBur sha (also Ur sha).⁴⁶⁶ The name is believed to be the Tibetan rendering of name of the ancient land of Urasa or Urśar,⁴⁶⁷ part of present-day Hazara region in northeast Pakistan. From the early 12th century onward, invasions by the Ghaznavides and their successors had caused many inhabitants of Swat to flee to Hazara.⁴⁶⁸ Cunningham notes that "It (Hazara) is mentioned in the native chronicle of Kashmir as a mountainous district in the vicinity of the valley, ...included all the hilly country between the Indus and Kashmir, as far south as the

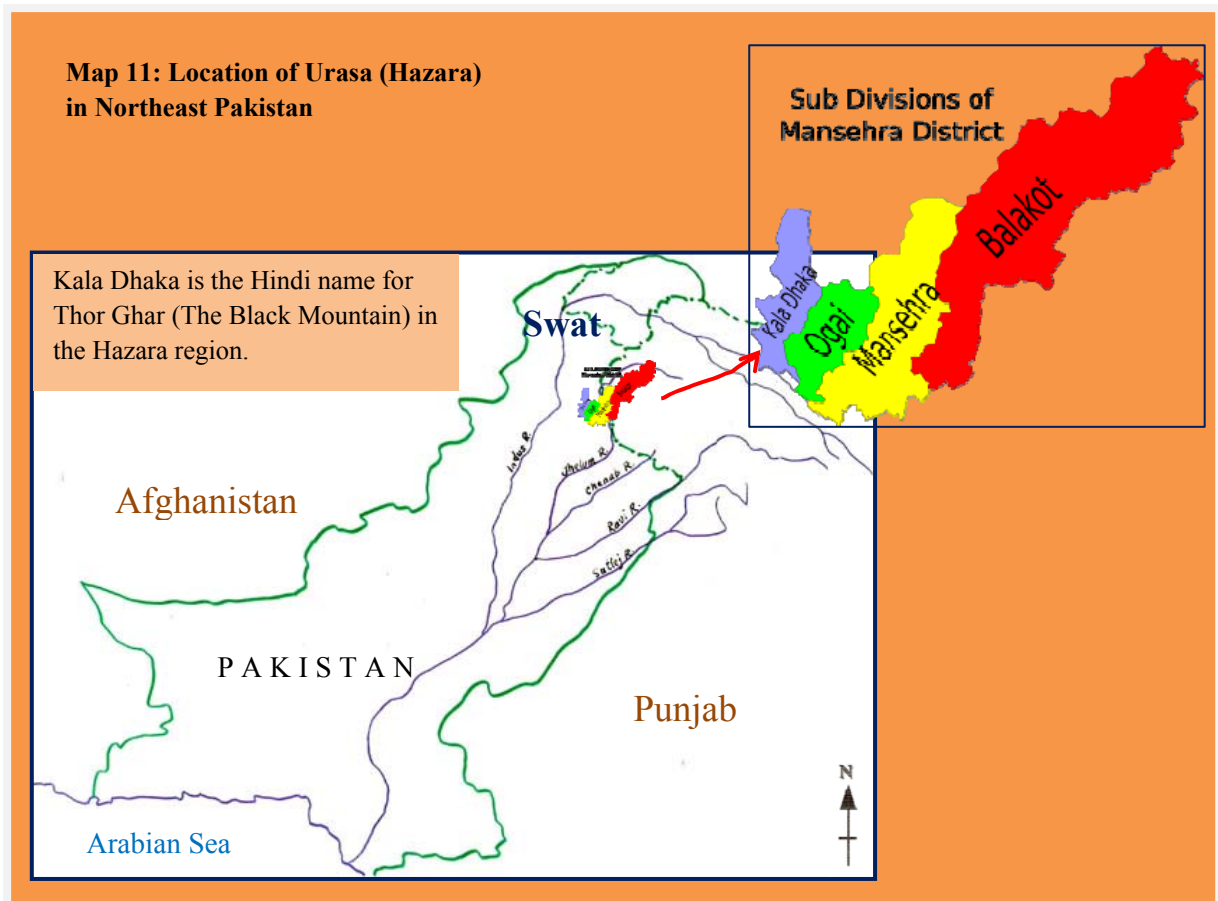
⁴⁶⁵ A similar stanza but with one more line after the 2nd line, is found in A1-SO: 96, A2-SO: 40b and A3-SO: 33b.

⁴⁶⁶ A1-SO: 96, A2-SO: 40b and A3-SO: 33b.

⁴⁶⁷ Tucci 1940: 57 gives Urśar.

⁴⁶⁸ Tucci 1977: 70.

boundry of Attak (Attock)."⁴⁶⁹ The biographies do not mention explicitly by which way U rgyan pa left U rgyan, but certainly he had traced his own steps to exit Swat through Ra dza hur. According to Stein, the easiest and nearest route from Upper Swat to Kashmir was to go "through the open tracts of Lower Swat and Buner to the Indus about Amb. From there it was easy through the open northern part of the present Hazara District (the ancient Urasa) to gain the valley of the Jhelam River at its sharp bend near Muzaffarabad. Through all periods of history the line of the Jhelam from above this point has served as the **only** practical route for trade or invasion leading up to the great valley of Kashmir proper."⁴⁷⁰ U rgyan pa had probably taken this route. In fact, Xuanzhuang was on the same route six hundred years earlier.



⁴⁶⁹ Cunningham 1871: 87.

⁴⁷⁰ A. Stein 1919: 100.

Before reaching Urasa, he passed a place called Gha ri,⁴⁷¹ said to be five days' march from Urasa. Since the most notable mountain on the way is the Black Mountain, known for its long narrow ridge, high peaks and deep passes, running along the east bank of the Indus on the northwestern border of Hazara,⁴⁷² one wonders if Gha ri might not be one of its peaks. In the Hindku language the Black Mountain is called Kala Dhaka, the current name of this administrative district. Since another source says that Kala Dhaka is also known as Thor Ghar,⁴⁷³ the proximity of pronunciation between Ghar and Gha might suggest that Gha ri was associated with the Black Mountain.

In another three days he arrived at rTsi kro ʒa.⁴⁷⁴ It is said that he used his tantric power to pacify the dreadful fights of some traders on the way.

⁴⁷¹ This place name is only mentioned in A2-SO: 40b and A3-SO: 33b. Tucci 1940: 58 does not locate this place.

⁴⁷² Meyer 1907/09 v.8: 251–52.

⁴⁷³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kala_Dhaka. "Thor Ghar (historically known as The Black Mountain which also known as Kala Dhaka in Hindku), is a mountain range and is one of the 25 districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan." Hindku (or Hindko) language is the sixth main language of Pakistan. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindko_language.

⁴⁷⁴ Tucci 1940: 59 Note 64 suggests that it was in the proximity of Mozufferabad (Muzffarabad), where the Krisenganga (Neelum) River joins the Jhelum at an abrupt bend of the latter.

Stage Twelve: On the Way to Kashmir

གནས་དེ་ནས་ཞག་བཞི་ཤར་དུ་ལམ།
ར་མི་ཤ་ར་སྒྲིན་པའི་གནས།
སྤང་བྱིམ་དུ་བསོ་ཞིང་ཆང་དུ་འཚོད།
ངས་ཟན་སྤྲུག་ཅིག་ཡང་བྱིར་བ་མེད།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁷⁵

From that place (Urasa) I marched eastward for four days.

In Ra mi sha ra, the 'eyebrow' of the Sacred Places,

I rested and boiled *chang* in a household.

I did not carry away even a lump of barley dough.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Approaching the Valley of Kashmir

According to two of the three long biographies, after another day of eastward travel U rgyan pa reached Ra mi ko kra.⁴⁷⁶ On the other side of the river was Ra mi sha ri, the holy place which corresponded to the space between the eyebrows of the Vajra body. The 'four days' given in the above stanza might have been counted from Urasa, which was three days' march from rTsi kro ṭa, the last destination. Lu, drawing on materials from an 11th-century travel account, suggests that Ra mi sha ri is possibly the huge mountain mass of Shamilan (the ancient name of a southern branch of the formidable Nanga Parbat Mountain Range) located between the Indus and the Jhelum just above present-day Islamabad and Rawalpini.⁴⁷⁷ If Gha ri is indeed the Black Mountain, U rgyan pa was likely to have travelled along the narrow river valley between the Black Mountain on the

⁴⁷⁵ This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 97, A2-SO: 41a and A3-SO: 34a.

⁴⁷⁶ Ra mi ko kra and its location in relation to Ra mi sha ri are only mentioned in A2-SO: 41a and A3-SO: 34a.

⁴⁷⁷ Lu 2008: 62.

northwest and the Shamilan on the southeast, towards Muzaffarabad at the sharp bend of the Jhelum.

Map 12: U rgyan pa's Journey in 1257, from Upper Swat to Kashmir Valley, en route Buner and Urasa. Adapted from *Oxford School Atlas 2000 Edition*, p. 8.

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Traditionally, travellers who wished to enter the Valley of Kashmir from Central Punjab would have to traverse the mighty Pir Panjal Range, which runs like a semicircle from the northwest to the southeast of the Valley, by way of one of the three passes cutting through this mountain range. As for those approaching from West Punjab like Xuanzhuang and U rgyan pa, their **only** option was to go to Domel at the junction of the Jhelum River and Kishenganga River, and then moved eastward up the largely rough and uneven terrain of the Jhelum Valley between two small mountain ranges. After passing through Baramulla Gorge, they would find themselves in the Valley of Kashmir.⁴⁷⁸ This route is said to have great strategical importance. The first devastating Mongol invasion of the Kashmir Valley in the mid-13th century was conducted by this route.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Parmu 1969: 41–42.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 42. See also A. Stein 1919: 92–94.

Kashmir in the 13th Century

The history of Kashmir under Hindu rule from the 9th century onward is said to be full of hardships and miseries.⁴⁸⁰ For one and a half centuries following the rise of the Lohara Dynasty in 1003, most of the kings were weak and helpless, thus resulting in "progressive political disorganization and consequent economical decay."⁴⁸¹ Apart from suffering from internal disturbances of all kinds, Kashmir during this period also shared the fate of the rest of North India in falling prey to Turkic invasions.⁴⁸² In the 13th century, although Kashmir was spared by the Muslim armies,⁴⁸³ it was badly harassed by the Mongols. The first king of significance ruling Kashmir in this century was Rājadeva (1212/13–1235), whose power was limited by aggressive nobles. His son Samgrāmadeva (1235–1252) was a strong man, but was compelled to leave the country. The reign of his son Rāmadeva (1252–1273) was eventful. The next successor Lakṣmaṇadeva (1273–1286) was incompetent, and he is said to have been appointed by Qubilai Khan and Abaqa Khan. The next one, Simhadeva (1286–1301), ruled over a kingdom considerably reduced in size, and dominated by malign counsellors.⁴⁸⁴

Two great Mongol invasions of Kashmir are noted in the 13th century. The following is summed up from Jahn's account.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Lal 1932: 41 and Kaul 1960: 38.

⁴⁸¹ A. Stein 1990: 130.

⁴⁸² Parmu 1969: 64. The Mamluk of Ghazni invaded Kashmir twice from the Punjab in 1015 and 1021, but the second one was unsuccessful.

⁴⁸³ Hasan 1959: 30. It is partly because the Mamluks (Delhi Sultanate) learnt the lesson from Ghazni's unsuccessful second campaign on Kashmir in 1021, and partly because of their being too occupied with fighting against the Mongols.

⁴⁸⁴ Hasan 1959: 32.

⁴⁸⁵ Jahn 1965: lxxxv–xc. The account on Mongol invasion of 13th-century Kashmir written by Kāmalashrī and compiled in Rashīd al-Dīn's *History of India* is very confusing. Rājadeva and Rāmadeva have been treated as one person. This table is summed up from Jahn's analysis.

Mongol Invasions	Reigning King in Kashmir	Commander-in-chief	Mongol General
1 st Invasion	Rājadeva (r. 1212/13–1235)	Ögedei Khan (r. 1229–1241)	Ukutu Noyon
2 nd Invasion	Rāmadeva (r. 1252–1273)	Möngke Khan (r. 1251–1259) Hüle'ü (1217–1265)	Sali Noyon

Van der Kuijp dates the second invasion to early 1250s. He states that the Mongol armies led by Sali Noyon went to India in 1246–1247; he was "active in Kashmir in early 1250s, and it would appear that U rgyan pa had witnessed the results of his campaigns first-hand."⁴⁸⁶ However, in his discussion of the second Mongol invasion, Stein states, "These inroads appear to have commenced from about 1260 A.D., and to have continued right through the reign of Ghiasuddin, Sultan of Delhi (1266–86)...."⁴⁸⁷

When U rgyan pa set foot in Kashmir in spring 1257 the reigning king was Rāmadeva. If the date given by van der Kuijp is correct, U rgyan pa would certainly have witnessed the turmoil of the second Mongol invasion first-hand. If this invasion did not begin until around 1260, as suggested by Stein, then the Kashmir seen by U rgyan pa seemed to be enjoying a moment of relative peace. Nevertheless, the Golden Age of Buddhism in Kashmir had been gone for centuries.⁴⁸⁸ Despite the patronage of some tolerant Hindu kings, Buddhism struggled hard under repeated persecutions by antagonistic rulers, though learned Kashmiri monks were significant in spreading Buddhism to Tibet. Besides, Buddhism degenerated while the Buddhists lost their high ideals and led a corrupt life.⁴⁸⁹ Muslim invasion also accelerated the decline of this religion. It is not sure how many of those Buddhist sacred sites and monuments described in Xuanzhuang's travel account⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ Van der Kuijp 2000: 304.

⁴⁸⁷ A. Stein 1919: 94. See also pp. 92–94 for his discussion on this invasion.

⁴⁸⁸ Ahir 1993: 6. Buddhism saw its Golden Age in the 1st–2nd century under Kuṣāṇa rule. According to one tradition, as given in Xuanzhuang's account, the Great Council of Mahāyāna Buddhism presided by the Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka was held in Kashmir. See Beal 1884: I: 151 and Ji 2000: 331.

⁴⁸⁹ Khosla 1972: 51.

⁴⁹⁰ Beal 1884: I: 148–62 and Ji 2000: 321–347. Some sacred sites were associated with ancient Buddhist scholars while the monuments were mainly monasteries and stūpas, including one with the Buddha's tooth relic.

were visited by U rgyan pa, though he was certainly still able to meet some of the Buddhist scholars, for whom Kashmir was famous for centuries.⁴⁹¹

**Map 13: Kashmir Valley and the Route of U rgyan pa in Spring/Summer 1257.
Adapted from *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*. Map 3. H.C. Ray. 1931.**

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.



U rgyan pa's route



Two possible routes

⁴⁹¹ See Naudou 1968 on a complete discussion of Buddhism and Buddhists of Kashmir.

Stage Thirteen: Kashmir

གནས་དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་གཅིག་ཤར་དུ་ལམ།
ཡུལ་ཁ་ཆེ་བའི་གཞི་བརྟན་མན་ཏི་ལུར།
སློན་གུར་ཞིང་དུ་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡོད།
ངས་གེ་སར་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ཁྱེར་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁴⁹²

From that place (Srinagar) I marched eastward for one month.

In Van ti pur the [ancient] capital of Kashmir,

There were fields grown with saffron.

I did not carry away even a pistil.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Srinagar the Source of Buddhist Learning

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa moved on along the right bank of Kha che'i gtsang po (certainly referring to the Jhelum River) to arrive in the narrow valley of rDo mu pa. In nine days he reached Kashmir [proper], north of which was the lake Ka ma la ra. rDo mu pa is given as rDorjemula in Tucci's book. Tucci believes that it refers to present-day Baramula (Varāhamula in the vernacular) southwest of Lake Wular which is also called Kamalasara (possibly *viz.*, Ka ma la pa).⁴⁹³ However, Baramula is located on the left bank rather than the right bank of the Jhelum. It is possible that in the time of U rgyan pa, as Lu has suggested, the town was on the other side of the river.⁴⁹⁴ Another puzzle is why it had taken U rgyan pa nine days to reach Srinagar, which was just around 40 km from Baramula. It is probable that there were many accomplished Buddhist scholars and tantric

⁴⁹² This stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 102, A2-SO: 43b and A3-SO: 36a.

⁴⁹³ Tucci 1940: 60 proposes that U rgyan pa might have mistaken Varā to be Vajra, and therefore called the place rDorjemula, a name that sounds half Tibetan and half Sanskrit.

⁴⁹⁴ Lu 2008: 63.

yogins to meet, and many sacred sites to visit on the way,⁴⁹⁵ including Dhe ba ra mul and Pa tra na na (both cannot be located).⁴⁹⁶ Kashmir is perhaps the second most fascinating destination on U rgyan pa's itinerary, since its tantric practitioners were well known for their magical powers. The 13th-centry traveller Marco Polo had such a remark for the Kashmiris: "They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment; insomuch that they make their idols to speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them."⁴⁹⁷ It is therefore reasonable that U rgyan pa had lingered on the road instead of just hurrying from one place to the other.

One month had passed since U rgyan pa had left Ra mi sha ri. Now it was probably late spring with a mild weather, because he found the Kashmir Valley beautiful and rich in vegetation, crops and many other natural resources. For most of its history since the date of Xuanzhuang, Srinagar had been the capital of Kashmir. At the time of U rgyan pa's visit, its population had been reduced from 3.6 million to 1.3 million⁴⁹⁸ due to the Mongol invasion. However, it is not sure whether this refers to the first or second invasion. U rgyan pa said that Srinagar was the source of Buddhist learning, and all its people were Buddhists. One wonders whether the latter is his exaggeration or a misunderstanding of what he saw, considering that the Kingdom had been under Hindu rule for at least four dynasties and Buddhism was said to have degenerated.

⁴⁹⁵ Lu 2006: 63 points out that in *Datang Daci'ensi Sanzangfashi zhuan*, a biography of Xuanzhuang written in China in the 7th century, it is said that it also took him "several days" travelling from the West Gate of the Valley to reach the capital (Srinagar). Lu believes that both Xuanzhuang and U rgyan pa must have lingered on the road visiting sacred sites.

⁴⁹⁶ These two names are mentioned only in A2-SO: 41b and A3-SO: 34b.

⁴⁹⁷ Yule 1993(1903): 753 & 754 Note 1. Marco Polo's knowledge of Kashmir is believed to derive largely "from tales of the Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists". See also Waddell 1899: 26.

⁴⁹⁸ All the long biographies give 1.3 million (*'bum phrag bcu gsum*), but both B2a-ZM: 4a and B2b-ZM: 3b gives three million (*'bum phrag sum bcu*). Tucci 1940: 61 and van der Kuijp 2000: 304 also give three million.

Going South of Srinagar

In the itinerary to follow, there is a notable difference between the accounts of the three long biographies. According to A1-SO, U rgyan pa consulted the Paṇḍita Bhu mi shri and other master scholars for various tantric teachings in the city of Srinagar. When he went begging for alms, he was attacked by some children who threw stones at him. Two young women came to rescue and invited him home. The owner of the household summoned an old woman who was well versed in *Kālacakratantra* to come to test whether U rgyan pa was really proficient in this tantra. U rgyan pa confessed that he had largely forgotten what he had learnt after going onto pilgrimage. Despite this, they still had great respect for him. U rgyan pa then stayed as the resident lama of the household. However, on hearing some rumours and mistaking U rgyan pa for the scout of the Mongols, the King (Rāmadeva) sent his guards to arrest him and his companion. They tried to flee but were caught at the pier by thirty guards, who stripped them naked and put them in custody. The guards said they would be executed after being brought in front of the King. Finally they managed to escape.⁴⁹⁹

However, A2-SO and A3-SO contain two extra lines relating that U rgyan pa went from Srinagar to Va ti pur, where the saffron grows,⁵⁰⁰ and then to Be ji bha ra, a town with a population of one million.⁵⁰¹ The episodes mentioned in A1-SO apparently had taken place in this town rather than Srinagar. Tucci's book gives a similar statement, and notes that Va ti pur is the corruption for Avantipur (around 30 km south of Srinagar),⁵⁰² the ancient

⁴⁹⁹ A1-SO: 98–101.

⁵⁰⁰ Saffron is a famous produce of Kashmir (Vigne 1842: II: 33). Throughout the centuries it was traded for Tibet's wool (Cammann 1951: 164), and was used in Tibet as a yellow dye, especially for the hats and shawls of the dGe lugs pa monks (Turner 1800: 384).

⁵⁰¹ A2-SO: 41b–43a and A3-SO: 34b–35b,

⁵⁰² Tucci 1940: 61. Tucci doubts the association of saffron fields with Avantipur, because he remarks that "...this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur." He seems to have suggested that Pamur and Avantipur were quite far apart. However, a search on www.maplandia.com has shown that Pamur (34° 1' N, 74° 56' E) lies just west of the ancient site of Avantipur. Considering that U rgyan pa lived six centuries before present time, it is not impossible that at his time the saffron fields were much more extensive.

capital of Kashmir."⁵⁰³ Be ji bha ra is identified by Tucci as Vijayajeshvara (Bijbehara Temple),⁵⁰⁴ a town named after this ancient (9th century) Hindu temple,⁵⁰⁵ in present-day Anantnag District, about 45 km southeast of Srinagar. It is said in the above stanza that U rgyan pa spent a month going [from Srinagar]⁵⁰⁶ to Va ti pur. Certainly it did not need to take a month to march just 30 km.⁵⁰⁷ U rgyan pa might have taken his time learning from the Kashmiri scholars, visiting sacred places and perhaps also enjoying the hospitality of some Buddhist households on the way. This seems to suggest that the statement given by A2-SO and A3-SO is closer to the truth.

Why not Crossing Zoji la?

After the escape, U rgyan pa and his companion must have been pursued by the King's guards. They fled naked towards the upper course of the river (understood to be Jhelum) and hid amid the naked shepherds. The next morning they went begging for alms and were given some old clothes. On crossing a mountain pass, he met a group of five hundred dākinīs wearing fur-lined cloaks. After saying that they were going from U rgyan to sBud skra to assist him, they disappeared. Then the travel account jumps to Jalandhar and then Mar yul.

Both Tucci and Lu find it puzzling that U rgyan pa went to Mar yul via Jalandhar in the south, instead of using the shortest and easiest route— simply crossing Zoji la east of Srinagar.⁵⁰⁸ However, the circuitous route is understandable in view of the fact that U rgyan pa was being pursued by the fierce guards and therefore dared not turn back! The

⁵⁰³ Vigne 1842: II: 25. The capital derived its name from King Avante-Verma of the 9th century. See also Cunningham 1871: 80. Other variations in spelling are Wentipur and Wantipur.

⁵⁰⁴ Tucci 1940: 61.

⁵⁰⁵ Cunningham 1871: 83.

⁵⁰⁶ The name Srinagar is not given in the stanza, but the capital of Kashmir is mentioned in the line preceding the stanza in the long biographies.

⁵⁰⁷ Because of this seemingly unreasonable itinerary, Lu suspects that Va ti pur is not Avantipur. He suggests Singpur, another place known for its saffron fields, 102 miles southeast of Srinagar. See Lu 2008: 65.

⁵⁰⁸ Tucci 1940: 64 Note 75, and Lu 2008: 65. Cunningham 1854: 149 remarks that this route was "one of the most excellent and most easy routes to be found throughout the Alpine Punjab."

guards coming from Lower Kashmir had certainly blocked his way to go back to Srinagar. All he could do was to flee southeastward to Upper Kashmir Valley. From there he crossed the Pir Panjal Range to go to Central Punjab. As for why he had to go to Jalandhar again instead of heading for Mar yul via Lahaul, there can be two explanations.

First, we need to understand that U rgyan pa was travelling in regions much disturbed by warfare and haunted by hostile inhabitants. Thus the routes he had taken might not always be the shortest and fastest. Rather, safety was likely to have been his foremost concern. Secondly, unlike the traders whose main concern was to get to their destination using the shortest and fastest route, a wandering ascetic like U rgyan pa was likely to follow an itinerary that better suited his religious purpose. Besides, we should not presume that his itineraries were always well planned ahead. The decisions might have been impulsive. Now he had fulfilled his wish of going to U rgyan and he was not in a hurry to go back to Tibet, he might wish to visit some more sacred places that he had not time to visit during his journey to U rgyan.

Fleeing to Jalandhar

Apparently the first explanation is closer to the truth. When he was in Jalandhar again, some Kashmiri merchants asked him who he was and how did he get there. He said, "I am a religious practitioner from Tibet. After visiting O rgyan, I passed through Kashmir on my return journey. Your King tried to kill me."⁵⁰⁹ What he said strongly suggests that he was forced to go to Central Punjab. There are two mountain passes connecting the Upper Kashmir Valley with Punjab—the Pir Panjal Pass (also known as Sidau Pass) that links the southwestern end of the Valley with Central Punjab, and the Banihal (Bānahāl) Pass that links the southern tip of the Valley with East Punjab⁵¹⁰ (see Map 13). U rgyan pa could have crossed the Pir Panjal Range by way of either one of these two passes, and it was also at one of these passes that he met those *ḍākinīs*.

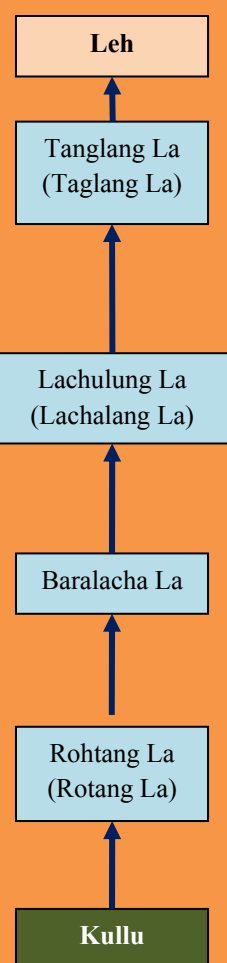
⁵⁰⁹ A2-SO: 103, A2-SO: 44a and A3-SO: 36b.

⁵¹⁰ Parmu 1969: 41–42.

Then he stayed in Jalandhar for a few days. Now it was probably late summer 1257. His fame as an accomplished lama with magic powers, who had visited U rgyan the Miraculous Land, was propagated by the traders along the trade routes. People were greatly amazed by stories about his escaping the pursuit of the Kashmiri guards by vanishing like rainbow before their eyes. He began to be known by the name of U rgyan pa. He believed that he was totally free from defilement and he felt the urge to return to Tibet to benefit others.

Map 14: U rgyan pa's Journey from Kullu to Ladakh in Autumn 1257.
Adapted from *Trekking Map of Ladakh*, 2008.

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.



Going from Jalandhar to Mar yul, U rgyan pa is believed to have travelled eastward through Kangra and Lahaul. From Lahaul to present-day Central Ladakh, there was a well-trodden route crossing several very high mountain passes.⁵¹¹ (See Map 14) This route was hardly passable after early October.⁵¹² If U rgyan pa had to reach Mar yul before this route was snow-blocked, it was wise that he had limited his stay in Jalandhar to just a few days.

⁵¹¹ See Cunningham 1848 and 1854: 154–55 for a detailed description and itinerary of this route.

⁵¹² In the 3rd week of September 2008, on the eve of my intended journey to descend the Himalayas in a jeep from Leh through this route to go to Manali in Lahaul-Spiti, a snow storm broke out over the mountains. In the subsequent days, over a hundred vehicles and hundreds of passengers including the 17th Karma pa Ogyen Trinley Dorje were stranded in the snow-blocked mountains; six were killed by avalanche. In 1846, Cunningham travelled on the same route from Manali to Ladakh. He was just in time to cross the Rotang Pass on Oct 5th, because people assured him that "the Pass would be completely closed by the 5th of October." See Cunningham 1848: 229.

Stage Fourteen: Mar yul

ཡུལ་དེ་ནས་ལྷ་གཅིག་ཤར་དུ་ལམ།
ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་བྱིམ་གྱི་ལྷ་མཚོད་བྱས།
ཏྲ་མདོ་བ་འཇགས་མའི་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱབ།
གོས་དར་ཆེན་དུག་པོའི་ལམ་སོར་བཏབ།
དུལ་བེ་ཆེན་བྱེ་མའི་སླེ་ལ་བོར།
པོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་པའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁵¹³

From that place (Jalandhar) I marched eastward for one month.

I served as the resident priest of Bla chen po De khyim.

I set the fine horses free on the grassland,

Used the silk fabric to patch up my tattered clothes and

Dispersed big bushels of silver onto the sandbank in the river.

Certainly I am supreme among renouncers.

Winter 1257—Mar yul

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa and his companion then travelled to Nub sna in Mar yul in the mNga' ris region. The Mar yul king Bla chen De khyim invited him to his palace. Awed by U rgyan pa's wearing only a thin cotton dress in severe winter and his demonstration of miraculous power, the King had great faith in him. U rgyan pa gave the childless King two lice which later turned into two boys. The king was completely convinced and asked to be ordained. Believing that it was not yet time to benefit others, U rgyan pa refused, but promised to take him to see rGod tshang pa. As they travelled together back to gTsang, one night U rgyan pa dreamt of rGod tshang pa sitting in the sky surrounded by ḍākinīs. Soon the news of his death arrived. U rgyan pa refused to go back to Mar yul with the King. He also refused to accept the precious gifts offered by the King.

⁵¹³ This stanza with minor variations in wording and spelling is found in A1-SO: 110, A2-SO: 47a and A3-SO: 40a.

King of Mar yul

U rgyan pa's travel through Mar yul on his return journey has been a topic of interest to some scholars. Tucci and Lu doubt its historicity due to the seemingly unreasonable route taken by U rgyan pa,⁵¹⁴ while Vitali points out that Bla chen De khyim is not mentioned in *La dvags rgyal rabs*.⁵¹⁵ According to the chronology of the lineage of Ladakhi kings given by Francke and Petech, the ruler of Ladakh in 1257 was lHa rgyal (c.1230–1260).⁵¹⁶ In the book of the Ladakhi historian Tashi Rabgias, the king was lHa chen lHa rgyal (1250–1275).⁵¹⁷ In other words, the ruler was **not** called Bla chen De khyim.⁵¹⁸ However, Petech doubts the existence of lHa rgyal, and remarks that even his name 'God-king' "looks suspicious".⁵¹⁹ Another book of Vitali notes that in *gDung rabs zam 'phreng* this king is recorded as gZi di khyim, a king of Dard origin and an "indigeneous ruler in the Shel lineage of Mar yul kings".⁵²⁰ However, Vitali has not explained why the two persons were thought to be one, though their names do suggest their non-Tibetan origin. Anyhow, the picture is far from clear. It is also worth noting that the place mentioned in U rgyan pa's biographies is Mar yul, **not** Ladakh. In fact, the name La dvags has never appeared in any one of the eleven biographies, as mentioned before. Thus, a closer look at the chronology of mNga' ris skor gsum has been attempted in the hope of digging up more clues.

Of the 116 entries in the 11th–13th centuries noted by Vitali,⁵²¹ only 10 are related to Mar yul and Ladakh. Despite this, some clues can be traced from the following entries:

⁵¹⁴ One cause of the puzzle is perhaps due to the confusion between Mang yul and Mar yul. In Tibetan text, Mar yul is sometimes also referred to as Mang yul, which is often confused with the Mang yul extending from sKyid rong in the gTsang region to Pu rang in south mNga' ris. See Dict-BG: 2055 and Wylie 1970: 12 Note 6. It is probably because of this confusion that the editor of A1-SO has put Mang yul in bracket after nearly every 'Mar yul' appearing in the book.

⁵¹⁵ Vitali 1996: 389–90.

⁵¹⁶ Francke 1926: 97 and Petech 1939: 166.

⁵¹⁷ RABGIAS: 105. It is uncertain whether the reign years of the Kings in his book are based on Francke 1907: 67.

⁵¹⁸ lHa chen is the common title of all West Tibetan kings. See Francke 1907: 69 and Petech 1977: 17 Note 5.

⁵¹⁹ Francke 1926: 111.

⁵²⁰ Vitali 2003a: 76.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*: 60–79.

1. Around 1024: "...lHa lde sponsored a Byams pa *gser thang* for Shel in Mar yul (La dwags stod)." (Based on *gDung rabs zam 'phreng*)⁵²²

Around 1240: "... He also controlled La dwags stod (Mar yul)." (Based on *Gung thang dgung rabs*. 'He' refers to 'Bhag dar skyabs, a Ladakhi king')⁵²³

Shel is certainly the historical site Shey, 15 km up the the Indus river, in Upper Ladakh south of Leh. These two entries seem to have suggested the equivalence of Mar yul to La dvags stod (Upper Ladakh).

2. In 1024: " The La dwags pa lineage of the sTod kyi mgon gsum lost control of Mar yul at least partially, if not completely...." (Based on *Gung thang dgung rabs*)⁵²⁴

This seems to suggest that different parts of Mar yul might have been ruled by different local rulers at the same time, and all these rulers might claim themselves king of Mar yul.

To my opinion, Bla chen De khyim was either one of the local rulers of Mar yul, whose name had escaped the chronicles, or the equivalent of lHa rgyal (or lHa chen lHa rgyal), especially considering that the latter is said to have particular reverence for the deity Vajrapāṇi and had ordered the *rGyud rdo rje rtse mo* and two other voluminous scriptures to be copied in gold, which "is the first record of the introduction of Lamaist literature into Western Tibet."⁵²⁵ One wonders if the devoutness of this king in Buddhism might not be related to U rgyan pa.

Biography C1-ZS contains a detailed narrative of the teaching and advice given to Bla chen De khyim.⁵²⁶ According to this biography, U rgyan pa explained to him all the horrible and miserable phenomena one would encounter in the moment of death, and urged him to take refuge in Buddhism in order to escape such torture. Apparently the King was *not yet* a Buddhist, but then he became so convinced that he asked to be ordained. U rgyan

⁵²² *Ibid.*: 63.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*: 75.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*: 63.

⁵²⁵ Francke 1907: 67. The title of ther other scriptures are given in Francke 1926: 97 as *Ngang song sbyong ba'i rgyud* and *rGyud 'bum* (in twelve volumes).

⁵²⁶ C1-ZS: 120a–122a.

pa refused to ordain him but promised to take him to see rGod tshang pa. After knowing of rGod tshang pa's death on the way, U rgyan pa insisted on continuing his way to gTsang. Before they parted, U rgyan pa gave the King detailed teachings on how to practise Buddhism, and promised that when it was the right time for him to benefit others, he would make him a *lHa btsun* (king who takes renunciate vows),⁵²⁷ but until then, the King should take care of his kingdom as he would protect the Dharma. Incidentally, according to *La dvags rgyal rabs*, lHa chen Jo dpal and lHa chen dNgos grub, the successors of lHa rgyal, are said to be devout Buddhists, good kings and patrons of Buddhism.⁵²⁸ Whether this owes to U rgyan pa's preaching to the King of Mar yul has yet to find out.

Nub sna in Mar yul

Tashi Rabgias remarks that "the great adept O rgyan pa went to La dvags during this reign [of lHa chen lHa rgyal].... After going to Mar yul La dvags, he went to Nub ra ljongs as predicted by rGod tshang pa, to open the eight self-formed sacred sites of mGon po bKa' brgyad.... "⁵²⁹ Although U rgyan pa's meeting with lHa chen lHa rgyal is not mentioned, at least it shows that it was during the reign of this King he went to Mar yul, and he had been to a place called Nub ra ljongs.

According to the long biographies, U rgyan pa went from Jalandhar to Nub sna in Mar yul, and was invited to the palace of Bla chen De khyim. It seems that the palace was in Nub sna. Nub sna is believed to be present-day Nubra Valley (written as lDum ra in Tibetan, about 150 km north of Leh, at the meeting point of the Nubra River and the Shyok River, a tributary of the Indus River). Nubra was located on the trans-Karakoram trade route between Leh and Yarkand in Central Asia, which was part of the southern extension of the

⁵²⁷ According to the biographies, U rgyan pa visited this King again in around 1265–1269, probably to honour his promise. See A1-SO: 164, A2-SO: 68a–b and A3-SO: 58a–b.

⁵²⁸ Francke 1926: 97. The reigning years are respectively c.1260–90 and c.1290–1320. RABGIAS: 109–111 gives 1275–1300 and 1300–1325.

⁵²⁹ RABGIAS: 106–107.

transcontinental Silk Route.⁵³⁰ To go to Nubra, after crossing the Taglang Pass, U rgyan pa had to march northwestward down the Indus towards Leh. From Leh there were at least two routes leading to Nubra. The formidable Khardung Pass which rose to over 5,300 meters was on the more northerly route.⁵³¹ Whichever route U rgyan pa had taken, he certainly had a good reason to go to Nubra, especially when the North Himalayan winter was approaching.

As shown in some ancient texts compiled in *The History of Nubra Valley*, the place name is written as Nub ra⁵³² or Nub rva.⁵³³ According to this book, U rgyan pa seemed to have two reasons to be there—to follow the footsteps of rGod tshang pa and to open some sacred sites according to the prophetic advice of his guru. According to a *gnas bshad* (site explanation) written by rGod tshang pa's student, compiled in this book,⁵³⁴ gTsang pa rGya ras (rGod tshang pa's guru) at a time prophesised to rGod tshang pa, "At the border between Hor and Tibet there was an area called Nub ra, [the shape of which is] like a female demon lying on her back. On its right is the abode of the four-armed dPal ye shes mgon po (Mahākāla). You are the right person to open this sacred place."⁵³⁵ It is not certain whether rGod tshang pa had visited this place, though he did stay in rGod tshang cave in Hemis monastery (about 45 km south of Leh) during his travel to North India. Later he had a vision of this sacred site appearing on the face of a cliff. Then he told two of his principal students to go to find this place. They arrived at the right shore of the river at

⁵³⁰ Leh had been the entrepot of Central and South Asian trade since ancient times. On ancient trade routes passing through Ladakh and Leh, see Cunningham 1854: 147–64 and Rizvi 1999: 23–49. See also Wangchok 2009: 272, Vigne 1842: II: 315–17, 360, 358–59 on a brief description of the Nubra Valley.

⁵³¹ Vigne 1842: II: 358–59 and Rizvi 1983: 32. See also Rizvi 1999: 214–15 on the use of these routes by Central Asian traders.

⁵³² NUBRA: 5. This book, written in Tibetan and probably not intended for sale, was given to me by the co-author Nawang Tsering Shakspo during my visit to Leh in summer 2008.

⁵³³ NUBRA: 22.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*: 74–80. Name of author unknown. The text just states: *rGyal ba rGod tshang pas bu slob kyi bris pa'i gnas bshad*.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*: 77. The text reads: *Hor Bod gnyis kyi sa mtshams Nub ra bya ba'i yul srin mo gan rkyal du 'byel ba 'dra ba'i g.yas logs na dPal ye shes kyi mgon po phyag bzhi ba'i pho brang yod | de'i gnas sgo phyas pa'i gdul bya bu khyod la yod do*. Wangchok 2009: 275 has a similar account obtained through an interview with a certain U rgyan Rigzin, but is said to be said by rGod tshang pa, which seems to be incorrect.

lCags ra sa (present-day Charasa Village in south Nubra⁵³⁶) and performed rituals. At midnight the face of the cliff burst open, accompanied by an earthquake. At dawn, the self-formed features of Mahākāla appeared.⁵³⁷

The names of these two students are not mentioned, but earlier in the text the names of the four principal students of rGod tshang pa are given as Yang dgon pa, U rgyan pa, Ne ring ba and Byil dkar ba. Tashi Rabgias notes that the image of rGod tshang pa in the rGod tshang cave near Hemis is flanked by that of Yang dgong pa and U rgyan pa, and U rgyan pa was the one who opened the Eight Sacred Sites in Nubra.⁵³⁸ Sonam Wangchok notes that the two students were U rgyan pa and Yang dgon pa, and the *gnas bshad* was written by the two of them.⁵³⁹ However, the reliability is doubtful for the following reason.

Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213–1258) was a distinguished disciple of rGod tshang pa.⁵⁴⁰ His biography is found in several Tibetan sources, of which the one in *lHo rong chos 'byung* is relatively detailed. However, he is said to have passed away in gTsang on the 19th day of the first month of the Earth Horse year (1258), three months earlier than the death of rGod tshang pa.⁵⁴¹ It was at the end of 1257 that U rgyan pa went to Nubra in Mar yul, and he spent the winter there. Therefore it was not likely that Yang dgon pa was there in the same period. In fact, none of his biographies mentions that he ever went outside of Tibet. It is unclear why the opening of the sacred features of Nubra is attributed to him and U rgyan pa.

Also compiled in the Nubra book is another *gnas bshad* written by a bKa' brgyud pa called dPal ldan phrin las, who affirms that rGod tshang pa had visions of the sacred sites of Mar yul (alluding to Nubra), and had actually travelled there, though some people believed that he did not. At the end of the *gnas bshad*, it states: "Previously, the Great Adept O rgyan pa

⁵³⁶ Wangchok 2009: 281 notes that Charasa is lCag-ra-sa. Srinivas 1997: 254 remarks that Charasa Village is near Tegar (in south Nubra).

⁵³⁷ NUBRA: 77–78.

⁵³⁸ RABGIAS: 106.

⁵³⁹ Wangchok 2009: 274.

⁵⁴⁰ LHORONG: 700–717, DRUGPA: 444–45, DTN: 688–90 and Roerich 1949: 688–91. See also Martin 1997: 40.

⁵⁴¹ LHORONG: 713. Roerich 1949: 690 also gives 1258 as his death year.

Rin chen dpal, the student of rGod tshang pa, whose wisdom is the same [as his guru], *also* passed through [there] (alluding to Nubra) on his way to O rgyan in the West, [and he] profusely praised the good quality of those sacred places."⁵⁴²

Although it is quite certain that U rgyan pa did go to Nubra, and it is also possible that his visit was inspired by some earlier prediction of his guru about opening of sacred sites, there are still many doubts yet to clear.

**Map 15: U rgyan pa's Journey from Winter 1257 to Spring 1258.
Adapted from *Trekking Map of Ladakh*, 2008, HPC Publications.**

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.

⁵⁴² RABGIAS: 79–80.

The Palace of Bla chen De khyim

The location of the palace where U rgyan pa met Bla chen De khyim is not explicitly mentioned in the biographies. dPal gyi mgon, the first king of Ladakh under mNga' ris skor gsum, is known to have ruled from Leh.⁵⁴³ If Bla chen De khyim was indeed the King of Ladakh, his capital should have been Leh as well. If he was just a local ruler of Mar yul, it is possible that Nubra *was* where he met U rgyan pa. An important clue is given in the *History of Nubra Valley*, in the chapter called "IDum ra came under the rule of King of Ladvags". The following is a synopsis of the Tibetan text on the first page of this chapter.

In the past, the whole of Nubra was ruled by bDe skyid rgyal po. After King bKra shis rnam rgyal (c.1500–1535)⁵⁴⁴ of Ladakh defeated the Hor armies and brought Nubra under his jurisdiction, **Nubra had no more [local] kings.** Previously, bDe skyid (present-day Diskit on the shore of the Shyok River in south Nubra) was the castle-cum-monastery-cum-seat of the country. Since coming under Ladakh rule, the palace and the government were moved [down] to near the farmlands, while the bDe skyid monastery stood alone on the top of the mountain. ICag ra sa'i mKhar bde chen mngon dga', the former palace of the King Tshe dbang brtan pa of Nubra, became the palace of the King bKris rnam rgyal. Since then, it became a tradition for the Kings of Ladakh to stay in this castle whenever they went to Nubra.⁵⁴⁵

We thus learn that Nubra was ruled by local kings before c. 1500, though it is uncertain whether the King of Ladakh was ruling as overlord. If Bla chen De khyim was indeed not the King of Ladakh, he still could have been the local king of Nubra in Mar yul. ICags ra sa (Charasa) was where U rgyan pa is said to have opened the sacred sites. At the time of his visit, the palace of Nubra was still up on the mountain at bDe skyid (Diskit). One

⁵⁴³ Francke 1907: 63.

⁵⁴⁴ Petech 1939: 166 and RABGIAS 2000: 149 have noted this date.

⁵⁴⁵ NUBRA: 5. 'Hor armies' here does not refer to the Mongols. Srinivas 1997: 255 notes that the 'Hor armies' attacking Ladakh during the reign of bKra shis rnam rgyal were the troops of the Mirza Haider from Central Asia.

wonders whether this was the castle reported by Vigne: "The most conspicuous object is the castle, built on the summit of a nearly isolated rock that rises more than a thousand feet above the Indus."⁵⁴⁶

Now the picture becomes clearer. In the beginning of the winter in 1257, U rgyan pa went to Nubra according to his guru's prediction. Hearing of his name, King Bla chen De khyim invited him to his palace, probably the bDe skyid Palace built high up on the mountain for strategic purposes. Whether Bla chen De khyim was the local king or the overlord ruling from Leh, spending the winter in Nubra is what one would expect of him. The following lines will explain this.

"Nubra is warmer than Leh as the valley is located at an average altitude of 10,000 feet above sea level, which is significantly lower than other parts of Leh district. Fruits and crops ripen faster than elsewhere in Ladakh, and in summer particularly along the Shayok and Nubra rivers, the valley is awash in shades of green with groves of willow and poplar, and dense bushes of sea buckthorn."⁵⁴⁷

Vigne also remarks that the "aspect of the valley of Nubra is altogether very pretty, and enlivening...."⁵⁴⁸ In fact, the later name of this valley—IDum ra—means 'garden'. A comparison of the temperature of the two places in Table 7 may further explain this.

Table 7: Temperature of Leh and Nubra from Dec 28, 2010 to Jan 1, 2011

	Dec 28, 2010 Actual	Dec 29, 2010 Forecast	Dec 30, 2010 Forecast	Dec 31, 2010 Forecast	Jan 1, 2011 Forecast
Leh ⁵⁴⁹	-12 / -19	-1 / -19	0 / -18	2 / -16	-5 / -24
Nubra ⁵⁵⁰	3 / -2	5 / -7	-1 / -5	1 / -0	3 / -9

Temperature in °C highest / lowest

⁵⁴⁶ Vigne 1842: II: 317.

⁵⁴⁷ Wanchok 2009: 272.

⁵⁴⁸ Vigne 1842: II: 360.

⁵⁴⁹ <http://www.worldweatheronline.com/city-guide/India/1017584/Leh/1035282/guide.aspx>, on Dec 28, 2010.

⁵⁵⁰ http://www.travelindia-guide.com/north/jammu/leh_weather.php, on Dec 28, 2010.

It would be very surprising if Nubra were not the preferred location of a royal winter residence. The *History of Nubra Valley* mentions the tradition of Ladakhi kings staying in the Charasa Palace whenever they went to Nubra since the reign of bKra shis rnam rgyal. This suggests that they did go to Nubra and stay there occasionally. Although the history of Nubra before the 14th century is unclear, it is possible that such tradition was practised by the Ladakh kings of the 13th century.

Stage Fifteen: The Gold Mines

ས་དེ་ནས་ཟླ་གཅིག་ཤར་དུ་ལམ།
བྱང་གུ་ལ་གསེར་ཁས་ལྷ་དངས་ནས།
རྒྱ་བོད་གྲིས་གསེར་ཁ་མང་དུ་འགྲིམ།
གསེར་ར་ཏ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་བྱེད་བ་མེད།
ཕོ་ཞེན་ལོག་ཅན་འཚོགས་བའི་གཡང་རྩེ་ལག།⁵⁵¹ ཞེས་སོ།

From that place (Nub sna) I marched eastward for one month.
I travelled towards the gold fields of Gu la (Gu lang) in the Byang region,
And passed many gold fields in India and Tibet [on the way].
I did not carry away even the tiniest bit of gold.
Certainly I am supreme among renouncers. (End of Song)

Spring 1258—Entering West Tibet

In late spring or early summer of 1258, U rgyan pa continued his return journey to Tibet. According to the long biographies, Bla chen De khyim and his retinue of over a hundred horsemen, accompanied U rgyan pa eastward to meet rGod tshang pa. They marched toward the gold fields in North Tibet (*Byang gser kha*). One night, U rgyan pa had a vision of rGod tshang pa appearing in the sky, surrounded by numerous ḍākinīs, and singing him a song about non-attachment. U rgyan pa had the feeling that his guru had passed away. When they reached the gold fields, a month from the time they set off,⁵⁵² the news of rGod tshang pa's death came. The rest of the details have been mentioned in the previous stage.

⁵⁵¹ With the exception of the first line, this stanza with minor variations in spelling and wording is found in A1-SO: 111, A2-SO: 47b and A3-SO: 40b.

⁵⁵² The first line of this stanza noting that U rgyan pa had travelled for one month to the gold mines is only found in B2a-ZM and B2b-ZM. The long biographies do not mention the time taken.

Map 16: U rgyan pa's route from Ru thog to Targo-Dangra in 1258.

Adapted from Trotter's "Account of the Pundit's journey in Great Tibet from Leh in Ladákh to Lhása and of his return to India via Assam", *JRGS*, 1877.

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.

Map 17: Distribution of gold mines in North Tibet.

Adapted from *Poudre d'or et Monnaies d'Argent au Tibet*, 1983, Fig.23.

The map originally presented here cannot be made available via ORA for copyright reasons.

The Gold Fields

U rgyan pa's passing through the gold fields of Gu lang is very important for determining his route and thus, proving that he had been to Mar yul, and not Mang yul in South Tibet as might have been suggested by the confusion of the two places and the uncertain identity of Bla chen De khyim.

In the ancient times West Tibet was known for having large number of gold fields. In particular the area east of Ru thog, the gold fields stretched like a string along the highway running from Ru thog across Upper mNga' ris and Byang thang to rTa sgo (Mount Targo) and Dvangs ra (Lake Dangra).⁵⁵³ Had the itinerary not mentioned Gu lang, one might have thought that U rgyan pa had taken a more southerly route—via Ru thog and the Kailash area, to go back to La stod. Although according to tradition, digging gold might provoke the earth gods or weaken the fertility of the soil, there were still many gold mines in different parts of Tibet.⁵⁵⁴ Gu lang, about 450 km from Ru thog on this route, was one of the gold mining centres, and known as Thok Daurakpa to the Western scholars.⁵⁵⁵

The detailed account of Nain Singh's journey from Leh to Central Tibet on this route in 1873, recorded by Trotter, is most helpful for the reconstruction of this part of U rgyan pa's journey.⁵⁵⁶ Singh set off from Leh, travelled on foot⁵⁵⁷ along the northern shore of the great salt-water lake sPang gong mtsho (Pangong Lake) and reached Thok Daurakpa in 59 days (15th July to 12th September), including occasional halts. If one presumes that U rgyan pa set off from Nubra, then he could have saved at least a week by marching directly up the Shyok River towards the western end of Pangong Lake. From there, he could have chosen to travel along either the northern or southern shore of the Lake. From the eastern end of the Lake, he could have proceeded directly to the highway without venturing into

⁵⁵³ Hedin 1925: 326–53. See also Boulnois 1983 for detailed discussion of the gold fields in Tibet.

⁵⁵⁴ On taboos about gold digging and the locations of gold fields in mNga' ri and Byang thang, see Cammann 1951: 54–56, Cunningham 1854: 232, Montgomerie 1869: 147–62, and Trotter 1877: 86–100.

⁵⁵⁵ Boulnois 1983: 65. The coordinates of Thok Daurakpa are 85°E / 34°15'N.

⁵⁵⁶ Trotter 1877: 86–110.

⁵⁵⁷ Nain Singh was a spy of British India with the secret mission of surveying the land. He had to measure his paces to obtain the distance. See Montgomerie 1868: 140.

Ru thog. Most likely he had been given a mount as well, since he was escorted by the King and over a hundred horsemen. Considering all these, reaching Gu lang in about a month is just reasonable.

Death Date of rGod tshang pa

The death date of rGod tshang pa is not mentioned in the biographies of U rgyan pa. Nor is it mentioned in the biographies of rGod tshang pa available to my research. However, *IHorong chos 'byung* states that he passed away on the 3rd day of the 5th month.⁵⁵⁸ This date is supported by clues in the long biographies. In a later episode, the *dus mchod* commemorating the death anniversary of rGod tshang pa was performed on the 3rd day of the 5th month.⁵⁵⁹ In other words, rGod tshang pa passed away on the 3rd day of the 5th month of the Earth Horse year, which fell in the 1st week of June 1258.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, if we presume that U rgyan pa was half way between Nubra and Gu lang when his guru died, he could have set off from Nubra in the 3rd week of May and arrived in Gu lang in the 3rd week of June.

Summer 1258—Mount Targo and Lake Dangra

The song ends with U rgyan pa passing through Gu lang, but the return journey did not. After U rgyan pa left Gu lang, another 150 km along the route towards the southeast would take him to the high mountain Targo and the huge lake Dangra. If he had been riding from Nubra to Gu lang, it is not sure whether he had continued to do so after parting with Blachen De khyim, since it is said in the biographies that he set free all the horses offered by the King. If one presumes that he had been walking, it could have been late July when he

⁵⁵⁸ LHORONG: 699.

⁵⁵⁹ A1-SO: 116, 251; A2-SO: 49a, 106a; A3-SO: 42a, 90b.

⁵⁶⁰ Schuh 1973: 60.

arrives in Targo.⁵⁶¹ Upon the invitation of Shākya ras pa, a former religious friend of rGod tshang pa, U rgyan pa stayed at Mount Targo. One night he dreamt of the conception of the incarnation of rGod tshang pa in a valley south of dBus.⁵⁶² It is a bit strange that this incarnation, called Kun dga' bzang po, is said to have been born in the same year in *The Blue Annals*.⁵⁶³ Even if the boy was born at the very end of the Earth Horse year (which would have been early 1259, not 1258), the pregnancy period is still too short!

U rgyan pa stayed in Mount Targo for some while and insisted on leaving despite his host urging him to stay. The Lake Goddess,⁵⁶⁴ instructed by Shākya ras pa to detain him, raised violent waves from the lake and flames on the surrounding mountains to block his way.⁵⁶⁵ He defeated her and smashed her abode, but out of compassion he seemed to have stayed for a long while to help restore her abode before resuming his journey.⁵⁶⁶

Mount Targo and Lake Dangra located in present-day Nyi ma county in Nag chu district close to the border of lower mNga' ris⁵⁶⁷ have great significance in Bonpo history. According to *Ti se'i dkar chag*, they were located in Middle Zhang chung.⁵⁶⁸ It was in the vicinity of this region that Lig mi rgya the Zhang chung king was ambushed and killed by his wife's brother, the Tibetan king Srong btsan sgam po, resulting in the Tibetan annexation of the Zhang chung kingdom.⁵⁶⁹ The area is an important pilgrimage site for

⁵⁶¹ Hedin, who was riding on horseback, spent some two months travelling from east of Pangong Lake to Lake Dangra (see Hedin 1925: 326–44).

⁵⁶² A1-SO: 111–12, A2-SO: 47b–48a and A3-SO: 40b–41a.

⁵⁶³ Roerich 1949: 972. He puts down "the same Horse year (rta-lo —1258 A.D.)"

⁵⁶⁴ Dagkar 1977: 695 remarks that a description of the protector sTa rgo and the nine goddesses of the Lake (*mtsho sman sde dgu*) is found in *The Autobiography of Tenzin Rinchen* (Dolanji 1974). The English translation by Khenpo Tenpa Yundrung and Charles Ramble is due to be published in 2011.

⁵⁶⁵ Violent waves are probably a special feature of this lake, since Trotter 1877: 107 remarks that "...the wind sometimes raises such violent waves, that the Pandit compares it to the ocean."

⁵⁶⁶ A1-SO: 113–14, A2-SO: 48b (but mentions nothing about restoring the losses of the Lake Goddess) and A3-SO: 41a–b. LHORONG: 73 mentions that Shākya ras pa asked him to stay for one year.

⁵⁶⁷ See Hedin 1917: 346–47 on description of the geographical features.

⁵⁶⁸ Dagkar 1997: 697. *Ti se'i dkar chag* is the work of dKar ru Grub dbang bsTan 'dzin rin chen (b. 1801). The term *dvang ra* is a Zhang chung word meaning lake (*mtsho*). See Karmay & Nagano 2003: 103.

⁵⁶⁹ BLG Stod cha: 90.

both Bonpo and Buddhists,⁵⁷⁰ and a location where both Buddhists and Bonpo *gter ma* texts had been hidden and later found.⁵⁷¹

U rgyan pa is said to have arrived in rDo rje gling in Bar 'brog, the former seat of rGod tshang pa, in the Sheep year (1259), probably before the 3rd day of the 5th Tibetan month, the death anniversary of rGod tshang pa. The six-year pilgrimage thus came to an end.

⁵⁷⁰ See Karmay & Nagano 2003: 103 on Bonpo temples in the area, and Ramble 2008: 493 on this place as Bonpo pilgrimage site. See also Trotter 1877: 106–107 on an account of Bonpo presence in the area in the 19th century.

⁵⁷¹ Berglie 1979: 39, citing from Troussaint (1933: 242) and Karmay (1972: 168).

CHAPTER III

The Transformation and the Great Adept

The desperate yogin called Rin chen dpal who left bDe chen stengs six years ago was now gloriously and triumphantly known as Grub chen U rgyan pa, "The Great Adept Who Had Travelled to U rgyan", when he returned to Tibet in 1258. He was twenty-eight years old and he was determined to exercise altruism according to the predictive instruction of his guru. A new chapter of his life began. His fame as a Mahāsiddha grew, and so did his eccentricity. The biographies are replete with incidents about his unconventional behaviour in the later part of his life. However, only one out of the eleven biographies has attempted to explain the cause of this eccentricity on U rgyan pa's part. The passage is found in the condensed biography (B1-KM) written by the 3rd Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje. It is said that U rgyan pa did have high regard for conventions in his youthful days; it was after learning with rGod tshang pa and realising the quintessence of equanimity and nonduality that he began to act like a madman in the eyes of others. After receiving the highest tantric teachings in U rgyan, he became totally enlightened and thus completely free from the bondage of worldly conventions.⁵⁷² This passage is of great importance in the study of the transformation of U rgyan pa from a conventional monk to an unconventional Mahāsiddha. It will be examined in four parts in this chapter in an attempt to find out how far it is justified.

I had the good fortune of being given two private reading sessions by Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche, Senior Professor of Buddhist Philosophy at Dzongsar Khyentse Chökyi Lodrö Institute, while he was a Visiting Scholar at Wolfson College and a visitor at the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies, University of Oxford, in November 2010. With great patience he took me through the passage and cleared many of my doubts. He also gave precious suggestions for the English renderings of many difficult terms.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷² B1-KM: 28b-29b.

⁵⁷³ For any misinterpretations of the original text in the English translation, the fault is entirely mine.

I. An Eccentric Youth

དུས་དེར་ལྷ་བཅུན་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་གྱིས། རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཁྲིགས་ཁ་ཚ་བ་ནས་བྱད་བ་འདི་
དང་པོ་རང་ནས་བྱུགས་རྒྱུད་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལགས་སམ། རྗེ་མོན་ཚང་བ་དང་མཇལ་ནས་བྱུད་
བ་ལགས་ལྷས་པས། ལྷོན་པའི་སྤོད་པ་འདི་དང་པོ་ནས་ཡོད་ | པ་མིན། བྱ་ཚའི་དུས་སུ་འདི་
སྤྲིས་ཤི་སྤྲིག་དང་ཡ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རིགས་རྗེ་མ་སློབ་པའི་དུས་དང་། བོ་དོད་དུ་མཚན་ཉིད་སློབ་པ་
རྩངས་སོ་བུ་དུས་འཁོར་ཉན་པའི་དུས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ། ཤེས་རབ་དང་བརྟུལ་ལྷགས་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཡིན།
བཙུན་ | འགྲུས་དང་ཁྲིགས་ཁ། ལོ་ཆ་དང་ལྷུག་སྲན། ལོ་རུས་དང་ལྷན་ཁམ། ཤེ་མོང་
དང་པོ་རང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཡིན། དེའི་དུས་ན་འདུན་མའི་ཁྲིགས་ཁ་ང་ལས་མཁས་པ་ཡོད། ⁵⁷⁴

(Translation) At that time, lHa btsun Ye shes 'od⁵⁷⁵ asked, "Is that behaviour of rJe Rin po che (U rgyan pa) with total deviation from convention [a manifestation] of his innate nature, or did it come into existence [only] after meeting rJe rGod tshang pa?" [Somebody said],⁵⁷⁶ "At first [he] did not behave like a madman. [Throughout] the time from his childhood when he learnt to copy and read [the texts] of the Father Dharma of the rNying ma tradition, to the time of his studying in Bo dong (monastery) and going to rTsangs so⁵⁷⁷ to hear (learn) the Kālacakra teachings, he had supreme [regard] for intellectual knowledge and religious discipline. He was diligent and convention-abiding, assiduous and perseverant, heroic and chivalrous, daring and staunch, to the greatest extent. At that time [his] regard for conventional values was [even] higher than mine.

⁵⁷⁴ B1-KM: Line 6 of f. 28a.

⁵⁷⁵ B1-KM: 33a. lHa btsun Ye shes 'od was one of the thirteen most notable students of dGe ba'i bshes gnyen, a disciple of U rgyan pa. This dGe ba'i bshes gnyen is believed to be the same person as Lama bShes gnyen pa of the gTsong pa monastery, one of the seats of U rgyan pa. The long biographies contain an incident of U rgyan pa giving Kālacakra consecrations to lHa btsun Ye shes 'od and many other disciples in about 1282 (A1-SO: 206, A2-SO: 85a and A3-SO: 74a).

⁵⁷⁶ It is not known who gave this important long statement in response to the question of lHa btsun Ye shes 'od. Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche suggested that this anonymous informant could have been Karma Pakshi, which has yet to be proved.

⁵⁷⁷ It is not sure whether this rTsangs so is the misspelling of gTsang po.

The Buddhist Scholar

Born to a privileged family in Go lung, in the first twenty-two years of his life before his revisiting rGod tshang pa at bDe chen stengs, U rgyan pa spent most of the time in his native place. His life style was basically sedentary. He was away from home for only two short periods—for eleven months to study with Dus 'khor ba in gTsang and around a year with Rin chen rtse mo in Bo dong E. He was accompanied by two servants on his first study trip, probably the same on the second one. When he was abandoned by the Kālacakra teacher Sangs rgyas rdo rje, he longed to go back to the side of his father, and shed many tears. After taking the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow at Bo dong E and becoming a monk, he was supposed to renounce home and study in the monastery. However, after staying for only about a year he headed home. One can imagine that he was pampered and well protected by his loving parents, paternal uncle and eldest brother since childhood.

Even when he was studying with rGod tshang pa, he was more of a Buddhist scholar than a yogin. He had no experience of going on long pilgrimage and practising austerities including taking long yogic retreats. Although it is said that U rgyan pa left Bo dong E to go home "without any reason", intuition was undoubtedly part of the reason although he might not have been aware of it. As for the remaining part of the reason, it could have been his incompatibility with the immediate monastic and yogic circle around him that had driven him to flee from it. One suspects that he did not feel at ease living for a long period either in a monastery amid a large number of monks or later on in a mountain hermitage amid the community of yogic practitioners. In other words, he did not get along with other people. Although it is possible that his exceptional brilliance, which resulted from his innate propensities, had invited jealousy and thus inhospitality, I believe that the more convincing reason for his incompatibility might be his eccentricity and his pride, as suggested in the biographies.

Innate Eccentricity and Divine Pride

Eccentricity and pride underscored U rgyan pa's character. Compared to his deranged behaviour in his later years, the eccentricity in his youthful days was relatively mild. His mind was preoccupied by his own agenda and he acted according to his own intuition. He held a different set of values in his own heart. For example, when he was a child he did not like to join other children in their childish games, and cried when he saw others injuring small creatures. He used to meditate for five to six days without remembering to eat anything. Thus people took him for an idiot (*glen pa*). He did things his own way, but his eccentricity had never developed to such an extent as to trespass the boundary of ethical codes. The moral values advocated in a conventional society and in orthodox Buddhist teachings had probably prevented the unrestrained development of his eccentricity. Although tantric teachings also constituted part of his early education, I believe that the *Vinaya* rules have to a certain extent contributed to restraining him from transgressing the parameters of social ethics.

As for his pride, it should not be equated with the derogatory qualities of haughtiness and arrogance. It is true that incidents of self-aggrandisement are noted in his early years. However, it is "not uncommon practice in this literature (*rnam thar*) of emphasising the superiority of one's own tradition through belittling another."⁵⁷⁸ Interestingly, this tradition seems to have been endorsed even by the Buddha, as shown in the *Mahāvagga*.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, 'praising' oneself should rather be seen as a manifestation of one's divine pride and conviction. As Shaw points out, this pride is "qualitatively different from arrogance, for it is not motivated by a sense of deficiency or compensatory self-aggrandizement"; rather it is "an antidote to self-doubt and discouragement".⁵⁸⁰ It is necessary for a yogin to see himself as a deity and to have divine pride to traverse the Tantric path.⁵⁸¹ Obviously U rgyan pa's pride largely stemmed from such a context.

⁵⁷⁸ Roberts 2007: 146.

⁵⁷⁹ Horner 1962: 11–12 *Mahāvagga I*. Verses given by the Buddha right after obtaining awakening:
"Victorious overall, omniscient am I, Among all things undefiled,... For me there is no teacher, One like me does not exist, In the world with its *devas*, No one equals me...."

⁵⁸⁰ Shaw 1994: 41.

⁵⁸¹ Williams 2000: 220.

In his early years, his innate eccentricity was largely masked by his submission to convention, while his divine pride had motivated him to distinguish himself and furnished him with the steadfastness to adhere as far as he could to ethical codes. Thus he was said to be "diligent and convention-abiding, assiduous and perseverant, heroic and chivalrous, daring and staunch". While these exemplary qualities are largely evident in the first thirty years of his life, there are also many incidents revealing the softer side of his character—his compassion for small animals, his emotional attachment to his parents, his easily shedding tears when feeling sad and disillusioned, his conciliation and forbearance when being boycotted by other disciples of rGod tshang pa, his reticence when being slighted by other yogins in the Kailash area and his fear of bandits in North India. It is these softer aspects of his character that had made him more real and more human.

II. The Self-Professed Enlightened Being

དེ་ནས་ཚེས་རྗེས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བ་པའི་དུས་སུ། ལྷ་མ་དང་། ལུགས་ཡིད་འདྲེས་ནས། འཁོར་འདས་
དབྱེར་མེད་གྱི་དོན་རྟོགས། མ་བཅེངས་མ་གྲོལ་བའི་དང་དུ་གཟུགས་ ཉམ་ལུང་དེ་འཛིན་གྱི་མཛུགས་
པ་ཞིག་ནས། དུས་གསུམ་མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་དུ་རྟོགས། གཉིད་གྱི་དང་དུ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོར་ཤར། །
འཕོ་འགྱུར་དང་སྐྱེ་ཤི་མེད། ཚེས་སྐྱབ་དང་འགྲོ་འོང་མེད། གཟུགས་ ཉམ་ལུང་དེ་འཛིན་དང་རྟོགས་
ཆད་མེད། མཐའ་དབུས་དང་ཕྱི་ནང་མེད། ལྷངས་རྟོགས་དང་མཐོ་དམན་མེད། བཅེངས་
གྲོལ་དང་སྐྱོས་པ་མེད། དངོས་པོ་དང་མཚན་ ། མ་མེད་པའི་དོན་རྟོགས། མ་ལྷམས་མ་སྐྱོད་པར་
རང་སོར་བཞག་པས་མཛུགས་པ་མ་བཤིག་པར་རང་སར་གྲོལ། རང་དག་རང་གྲོལ། གྲོལ་མཁན་
མེད་པར་གྲོལ་བ་སྐྱུལ་མཛུགས་བཞིན་དུ་ཞིག་གས། བཅེངས་པ་དང་གྲོལ་ ། བ་དུས་མཉམ།
མ་བསྐྱེམས་མ་གསལ་བར་མངོན་སུམ་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཀྱན་ནས་རྣམ་པར་བྱང་བ་མེད་པ།
མཐར་ཕྱིན་རྒྱ་དང་ཕྱིན་མཁན་མེད་པ། ལྷ་དན་ལས་འདའ་བ་དང་འདའ་ ། མཁན་མེད་པ།
མིག་གི་ནད་གྲོལ་བས་སྐྱ་ཤད་སངས་པ་སྐྱ་བུའི་རྟོགས་པ་ཤར་བས། སྤྱིགས་ཆགས་གྱི་འདུན་
མ་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་སར་ཞིག་ནས། ཚེས་མེད་སྐྱོན་པའི་སྐྱོད་པ་འདི་འདྲ་ཅིག་བྱང་གངལ།⁵⁸²

(Translation) "Then, after [he] came [to study] at the feet of Chos rje (rGod tshang pa), [he] merged the mind of the teacher with [his] own [in meditation], and [subsequently] realised the ultimate meaning of the indivisibility of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. In a state of neither bound nor liberated, [his] knots (*mdud*, dualistic perception) decomposed, and [he] realized the integration of the Three Times. Great bliss arose in the state of sleeping, and he realised the ultimate meaning of [nonduality] between birth and death in transition and changes, between appearance and disappearance of effort and achievement, between permanence and cessation in subject and object, between outside and inside or edge and centre, between basic and elevated in renunciation and realisation, and between fabrication [and non-fabrication] in bondage and liberation, actuality and conceptualization. In the spontaneous state of neither concentration nor laxity, the unraveled coils uncoil of their own accord—intrinsically pure and naturally freed. Nobody is

⁵⁸² B1-KM: 28b–29a.

[actually] liberated, like an uncoiling snake—bondage (coiling) and liberation (uncoiling) [happen] simultaneously. Without trying to be attentive or discernible, [the mind] is in direct and complete purity and there is nothing to be purified. There is no unachieved goal and no goal-achiever. There is no *nirvāṇa*, and nobody passes into *nirvāṇa*. It is like an eye disease being cured and [the patient] waking up from the illusion of seeing hair that is fallen. His regard for all conventional values spontaneously decomposed, and such unrestrained crazy behaviour came into existence.

The Moralist and Perfectionist

Thanks again to Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche for drawing on many inspiring examples and metaphors in elucidating the deep meanings of the religious philosophy contained in the above citation. These lines give a succinct description of the psychic changes undergone by U rgyan pa during the short period when he was studying with rGod tshang pa.

The religious scenario of U rgyan pa's time was not only replete with contentions for power and resources between different schools, sects and even within the same lineage or under the same guru,⁵⁸³ but also tinged with esotericism that had been challenging the moral ethics of the society and used by corrupt Tantric practitioners as a pretext for sensual pleasure and abuse since at least the 10th century.⁵⁸⁴ Although esoteric doctrines sanctioning the practice of the *higher* tantras⁵⁸⁵ had probably overridden part of the *Vinaya* rules governing fully ordained monk vowed for celibacy, U rgyan pa's hesitation in being initiated by 'Gro bzang into sacred commitments probably reveals to some extent his scruples about practising the higher tantras. His dual attitude towards the *ḍākinīs* and his

⁵⁸³ An earlier example of religious hegemony about Mar pa is provided by Wylie 1962. The 'Bri gung Rebellion and the story of U rgyan pa being boycotted by his colleagues are also good examples.

⁵⁸⁴ Karmay 1979: 151–54 contains an English translation of the ordinance issued by the King of Pu hrangs in the end of the 10th century, addressed to the Tantrists, and denouncing immoral rituals performed under the pretext of religious practice.

⁵⁸⁵ Following Onians 2003: 195, the term 'higher' is used euphemistically to replace terms such as 'sexual' or 'exotic'.

caution in maintaining his chastity and avoiding hedonistic indulgence⁵⁸⁶ during his long pilgrimage are evident in the biographies.⁵⁸⁷ He might also be a perfectionist, who was displeased with anyone or anything that appeared to him as corrupt, immoral, dishonest and unrighteous. The pitiless children who injured and killed small creatures, the Kālacakra teacher who abandoned him for worldly pursuits, the arrogant and pretentious yogins who slighted him in the Kailash area, the impudent yoginīs who insisted on sitting close to the yogins in bDe chen stengs, the jealous fellow disciples who censured and boycotted him, the mercenary yoginī who refused to let him join the tantric feast in Jalandhar, and those women who seduced him on his way to U rgyan, are presented as offensive to his perfectionistic morality. His returning home after staying in Bo dong E for just a short while and never taking up monastic life again might also reflect his unwillingness to live among degenerated religious scholars and practitioners in a monastery.

The Self-Professed Enlightened Being

rGod tshang pa was definitely one of the very few people who were able to read U rgyan pa's mind and understand his mentality. While the biographies are replete with his compliments on U rgyan pa's remarkable propensities and progress, they also bear some of his reprimands, admonitions and warnings towards this intelligent and diligent, yet at the same time eccentric, stubborn and naïve disciple. U rgyan pa's unpopularity at bDe chen stengs and the problems thus derived had put his guru in quite a difficult position in maintaining harmony within his congregation. U rgyan pa's eccentricity and stubbornness had more than once stirred up a tempest in his guru. His attempted suicide had certainly caused his guru difficulties, if not a major shock. He argued that he was also an enlightened being (*sangs rgyas pa*) when confronting his guru after making the third

⁵⁸⁶ Wallace 2001: 125 points out that celibacy in the Kālacakra tradition is often interpreted not as abstinence from engaging in sexual tantric practice, but as the practice of retaining sexual fluids during sexual tantric practices. Thus, hedonistic indulgence is not to be mixed with higher yogic practices.

⁵⁸⁷ In his own words: "... Dākinīs of the Three Places assume human forms, enjoying inexhaustible bliss and sensual pleasures. I did not have desire for earthly pleasures. Certainly I am supreme among renouncers." (See Stage Ten, Chapter II.)

supplication for leave. However, his guru's subsequent remark—"Good omen!"—has shown that, as far as the guru was concerned, he was not *yet* an enlightened being though he would become one.

The point of the narrative is that studying at the feet of rGod tshang pa had *not* turned him into a truly enlightened being though he is presented as believing that he was one. If he were really enlightened and had truly understood the essence of nonduality, he would not have been bothered by emotional disturbances at all, and would not have attempted suicide to escape from an unpleasant situation. Apparently he had realised most of the experiences taught in the higher tantras, but this so-called realisation could not stand the trials of the harsh reality in the mundane world. He was far from truly liberated. The full gamut of exoteric and esoteric teachings he received from rGod tshang pa and other earlier teachers had only provided the fundamental elements for the creation of a Great Adept. Without the transmutation process of alchemy, these elements alone would never have turned him into one. It was the alchemy that took place during his subsequent arduous journey to West Tibet and U rgyan that had completed the process of transforming him from a self-professed Enlightened Being into a real Great Adept.

As mentioned in Chapter II, when U rgyan pa was staying in a household in Srinagar, he confessed to the old woman who was a famous adept of the *Kālacakratantra* that he had forgotten most of what he had learnt after embarking on his pilgrimage. He had "discarded his acquired knowledge as if they were weeds" (*shes bya rnams rtsa bzhin dor*). He was no longer a monk bound by scholastic learning and monastic rules. This seems especially true after he became a wandering yogin; all this acquired knowledge had been brushed away to recover his spontaneous awareness. The biographies of the Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas of India are replete with examples of learned and virtuous monks discarding their honoured position and monastic robe in order to be a yogin in pursuit of the highest tantric practices. Treading the path of these predecessors, U rgyan pa was also moving away from 'monastic and scholarly' towards 'experiential and practical'.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁸ Samuel 2006: 46.

III. The Ascetic and the Alchemy

དེའི་སྤྲོད་དུ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་། སྤྲུལ་པའི་ཞིང་དུ་བྱིན་པའི་དུས་སྟེ། བཙམ་ལྷན་མ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་ཀྱིས།
དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་མངོན་པར་རྫོགས་པར་སངས་མ་རྒྱས། མི་རྒྱ་རྒྱས།
སངས་རྒྱས་པར་མི་འགྱུར། རྒྱས་པ་དང་མི་འགལ་བའི་། དོན་རྫོགས་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་
ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱན་ནས་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་མ་སྤངས། མི་སྤོང། སྤོང་བར་མི་འགྱུར། ངས་པ་དང་མི་
འགལ། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་རྣམས་རྣམ་པར་བྱ་བ་མངོན་དུ་མ་བྱས། མི་།
བྱང་བྱང་པར་མི་འགྱུར། བྱས་པ་དང་མི་འགལ། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་
ཚོག་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་གསུངས། མི་གསུང། གསུང་བར་མི་འགྱུར། གསུངས་པ་དང་མི་འགལ་
བའི་དོན་སྟོགས།⁵⁸⁹

(Translation) "In addition to this, with the blessings given by Bhagavatī (Vajrayoginī) when he was travelling in U rgyan the Miraculous Land, he realised that all Buddhas of the Three Times had never attained, were not attaining and would not be attaining [any] complete perfect enlightenment, [yet] this did not contradict the attainment of enlightenment; that all the Tathāgatas had never abandoned, were not abandoning and would not be abandoning afflictions [to the mind-stream], [yet] this did not contradict the abandoning of afflictions; that all the Tathāgatas had never really performed, were not performing and would not be performing any perfect actions, [yet] this did not contradict with the [performance of perfect] actions; and that all the Tathāgatas had never expounded, were not expounding and would not be expounding any words of Dharma, and [yet] this did not contradict the expounding of words of Dharma.

The Odyssey

U rgyan pa was in his early twenties when he left bDe chen stengs for West Tibet in 1253. After practising austerities in the Byang region for nine months, he marched to Mt Kailash.

⁵⁸⁹ B1-KM: 29a.

He was very conscious and proud of his eruditeness and extraordinary religious experience, but his name and ability were known to nobody. He meditated amid hundreds of yogins in the Kailash area but he was often slighted by others who judged him by his humble appearance and lack of means. On one occasion, he was driven by some arrogant and pretentious yogins to sit at the very back when participating in a tantric ritual. He did not protest but simply laughed it off.⁵⁹⁰ Obviously his emotional intelligence had improved significantly, presumably thanks to his practising asceticism and living in the wilderness surviving extremely harsh condition, which was instrumental in sharpening his inner awareness and broadening his mind apart from toughening his body. Practising in solitary places must have improved his observations of the world around him and his reflections on himself and his life. His inner eyes opened and his vision developed. He also marked his positive and negative thoughts respectively with some white and black pebbles until he had no need of black pebbles. One begins to see a more broadminded and positive U rgyan pa.

So far, the only incident that associates U rgyan pa with 'madness' occurred in Pu rang gdong dmar. He marched to this place after visiting Lake Manasarovar. When he arrived there he had already starved for three days. Desperate for food, the worn-out yogin banged madly on the door of a noble household, scaring all people away. At last a servant came out to ask him to stop banging because the house belonged to a noble lady. After knowing that U rgyan pa was begging for alms, the noble lady asked her servant to give him a big bowl of tsampa and other provisions, and to invite him to stay as her resident lama. U rgyan pa declined the invitation and teased the household for attempting to keep him by offering "just a bit of food and a bowl of tsampa". He was thus known as "The Madman of Pu rang gdong dmar".⁵⁹¹ This accusation of 'madness' was mainly due to his starvation and his ungracious response to the kind invitation of the household owner. This incident is a good example illustrating his bluntness and disregard for social grace and etiquette, and to a certain extent explains his unpopularity among his peers and his nonconformity to the social norm.

⁵⁹⁰ A1-SO: 57, A2-SO: 24b and A3-SO: 21a.

⁵⁹¹ A1-SO: 59, A2-SO: 25b and A3-SO: 21b–22a.

He continued his pilgrimage journey as a humble yogin and did not arouse any attention. At the same time he kept up with his inward odyssey in quest of a truly enlightened self. He used his *siddhis* to protect himself and to facilitate his journey. He performed exorcist rituals discreetly to remove karmic hindrances (*bar chad*) caused by malignant spirits. He made himself invisible to the mastiffs to avoid being attacked. Sometimes he made use of the skill of 'speed walking' (*rlung 'gro*) to travel. However, traversing foreign lands infested with savage bandits must have been extremely threatening. Despite travelling by night to reduce the risk of being harassed, U rgyan pa still felt nervous and frightened in the earlier part of his journey in India.

He kept practising during his journey. He meditated in holy places and discussed the Dharma with other accomplished practitioners. During his summer retreat in a huge mountain near Maru, he gave teachings of various Vehicles and became freed of all negative thoughts. His *siddhis* increased. When he was in Jalandhar in winter 1255, it is said that he could even walk through objects without being obstructed. Now he was away from bDe chen stengs for two years. The extremely arduous and perilous journey as well as the advancement of his religious knowledge and tantric practice in the last two years had definitely further sharpened his wits, invigorated his alertness, fortified his perseverance, raised his self-confidence and strengthened his willpower. He also became calmer and more tolerant. When the head-yoginī of a tantric feast in Jalandhar refused to let him join the assembly, he did not beg or force his way as rGod tshang pa had in 1217. Nor did he keep silent as he himself had when he was being slighted in the Kailash area in the previous year. Rather he retorted eloquently, declaring his credentials as a monk ordained at Bo dong E and a yogin studying at the feet of rGod tshang pa, and telling that woman he did not care to join if he was unwelcome.

U rgyan pa seemed to have no concept of monetary wealth. Before he set off for U rgyan from Jalandhar in the company of dPe ye, a religious friend gave him two gold coins and asked him to make offering (probably on behalf of him) in U rgyan. After stringing them around his neck he felt unpleasant in the heart. Then he tossed them away and felt comfortable again. When people told him it did not matter to carry the coins, he retrieved

them and tied them casually to the pinnacle of his staff. When he met people and told them those were gold coins, people thought that he was an idiot and did not believe in what he said.⁵⁹² While this incident apparently suggests his lack of worldliness and his ignorance of the value of gold coins, it also illustrates the manifestation of his concept of nonduality.

***rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*—The Alchemy**

According to the biographies, in summer 1256, after taking the soup given to him by the emanation of Vajrayoginī in the town of Ka 'o ka in U rgyan, the earth shook,⁵⁹³ and U rgyan pa had fearful visions of the Six Realms of Transmigration and all kinds of terrifying illusions. Afterwards he had full realisation of the true nature of all phenomena. All his channel knots were loosened and his body became totally undefiled (*zag pa med pa*), and all those experiences and phenomenon coincided with the signs mentioned in the tantric texts. Although the biographies seem to have suggested that it was taking soup that had brought about these experiences, another two sources relate that in addition to food, there was also physical contact.⁵⁹⁴ The soup, I believe, should be understood as a symbol because the action it alluded to was supposed to be secret.

U rgyan pa had certainly read all the descriptions about attaining ultimate enlightenment in tantric texts, but he did not undergo these experiences until now. Then Vajrayoginī appeared to him in glowing red light, and gave him the special Vajrayāna teaching (*rDo rje theg pa'i khyad chos*) known as *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*. The teaching he

⁵⁹² A1-SO: 67, A2-SO: 29a, A3-SO: 24b and B1-KM: 12a.

⁵⁹³ A1-SO: 89, A2-SO: 37b and A3-SO: 30b–31a. U rgyan pa explained to his disciples that the quaking of the earth at that time was due to the disintegration of his karmic residues and the loosening of his channel knots. Also, the shaking of his channel knots in the course of untying caused his body to shake; the vibration so produced then caused the earth of U rgyan to shake as well (A1-SO: 89. *Rang gi lus sprug pa ltar snod kyi 'jig rten gyi 'byung bas tshugs mi thub par | O rgyan gyis sa khol por g.yos nas sprug gin 'dug gsungs*).

⁵⁹⁴ Ringu 2007: 153 states: "She gave him food and drink and the pleasure of touching, and through this she loosened the knots in his channels." Jamgon 2007: 331 relates that U rgyan pa was "granted the bliss of contact and victuals". DRUGPA: 448, DTN: 820 (Roerich 1949: 701) and LHORONG: 726 mention only the food.

received was in the form of Vajra verses (*rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, Skt. *Vajrapāda*).⁵⁹⁵ According to the explanation of the renowned 19th-century Buddhist master 'Jam mgon kong sprul, this teaching is "the oral transmission of the exceptional, secret path that enables those of sharp faculties and diligence to progress to the level of Vajradhāra in a single lifetime, as found in the Vajra Verses composed in thirty-five verses." The name of the teaching is derived from the way it is practised. The Three Vajras refers to "the indivisible Body, Speech, and Mind that are experienced after the temporary deluded fixations of ordinary body, speech, and mind are purified through the three practices that are called approach, attainment, and great attainment." In these special instructions, at the stage of the ground, the Three Vajras are established as indivisibly connected, as stated in *Guhyasamājantra*: "Your body is like mind; and mind is like body; and mind is like an utterance." Then at the stage of the path, one meditates on the yoga of these Three Vajras. Finally at the stage of fruition, the principle (*bdag nyid*) of the three secrets will be actualised.⁵⁹⁶ This teaching is an extremely rare tradition and is closely linked with the Kālacakra tantra.⁵⁹⁷ It is also practised in conjunction with the Yoga of Six Branches (*sByor drug*).⁵⁹⁸

According to the alchemy concept of medieval India, "as in metal, so in the body", the human body can be refined in the way metal can.⁵⁹⁹ Through "tantric, yogic and alchemical practice", humans could "climb the ladder of being and accede to the ranks of the semidivine Siddhas."⁶⁰⁰ Physiologically, the practitioner can be "viewed as essentially androgynous with sexual intercourse an affair between a female serpentine nexus of energy, generally called the *kuṇḍalinī*, and a male principle, identified with Siva, both of which were located within the subtle body." The transformation involves the "intricate

⁵⁹⁵ These oral teachings of the *ḍākinīs* are often said to be whispered to the practitioner by the divine voice of the *ḍākinī* and often in the deeply enigmatic and symbolical 'twilight language' (*dgongs pa'i skad*, Skt. *sandhyābhāṣā*). See also Campbell 1996: 132–33, J. Gyatso 1998: 245–56 and Skorupski 1996: 106.

⁵⁹⁶ Jamgon 2007: 331–34. See also J. Gyatso 1998: 245 and Ringu 2007: 189–90.

⁵⁹⁷ Kapstein 1996: 279.

⁵⁹⁸ Jamgon 2007: 289 & 331. The Yoga of Six Branches, in conjunction with the Yoga of the Three Vajras, contains the quintessence of all the completion phase practices in the extensive root tantras of the Kālacakra, Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara, Guhyasamāja and Vajrabhairava, etc.

⁵⁹⁹ White 1996: 5, citing a classic aphorism from the foundational *Rasārṇava* summing up the alchemists of medieval India: "*yatha lohe tatha dehi*" (Sanskrit).

⁶⁰⁰ White 1996: 3.

metaphysics of the subtle body" and "the bipolar dynamics of its male and female constituents."⁶⁰¹ The tantric instructions he received previously were just like the outer husk while these secret oral teachings from Vajragoyinī were the innermost essence.⁶⁰² He has thus attained the supreme *siddhi* known as *Mahāmudrā Siddhi*.⁶⁰³ This alchemical metamorphosis occurred to U rgyan pa's psycho-organism in the summer of 1256. Through the practice of fulfilment yoga with Vajrayoginī in the Miraculous Land of U rgyan, his gross, fleshy body was transformed into the indestructible 'vajra body', an 'uncontaminated body' (*zag pa med pa'i lus*) with no leakage and was totally free from samsaric impurity.

U rgyan pa kept the vajra verses given by Vajrayoginī in mind and did not write them down until fifteen years later. The alchemy was the critical but *not* the sole factor of U rgyan pa's transformation into a Great Adept, the so-called Mahāsiddha. Nor was the transformation completed overnight. The process was gradual. Studying under rGod tshang pa laid the foundation, practising austerities and surviving the long and perilous journey refined his body and mind further, while receiving the highest tantric teaching in U rgyan brought about the alchemical transformation. However, the metamorphosis process was not yet complete—not until he had gone on pilgrimage to Bodhgaya in India and exercised altruism around Tibet, and made use of the *siddhis* he had acquired to benefit sentient beings. These four factors combine to create a Great Adept; none of these four can claim its being the sole factor. Without the teaching of rGod tshang pa, there would be no foundation for still higher practices; without austerities and the perilous journey to U rgyan, there would be no broadmindedness and self-confidence; without the secret teaching in U rgyan, there would be no perfect enlightenment; without the later pilgrimage and benediction activities, there would be no use of his *siddhis*. His companion dPe ye had also

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 4–5. Wallace 2001: 202 cites the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary of the *Kālacakrantra*: "the empty form-consort, who is the nature of a prognostic mirror and is not imagined" is believed to "induce supreme, imperishable bliss that is devoid of pulsation." See also Shaw 1994: 183 on the transcendence of the dualism of gender. See also Ricard 2001: 255.

⁶⁰² The metaphor was borrowed from Trungpa 1986: 90.

⁶⁰³ Wallace 2001: 202. It is explained in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary that the one who is able to embrace sublime emptiness is called the omniscient Bhagavān who has attained the *mahāmudrā siddhi*. It is also stated in p.123 that the *Vimalaprabhā* affirms that it is impossible to attain the *mahāmudrā siddhi* without the gift of sensual love (*kāmadāna*).

travelled to U rgyan, and he was also a distinguished yogin. However, he was not known as U rgyan pa and he did not leave a name to posterity.

The Hermit

rGod tshang pa spent the last two years of his life (1256–1258) in rDo rje gling in Bar 'brog. When U rgyan pa arrived there in 1259, he was no longer the yogin of six years earlier in the eyes of others. His eccentricity and divine pride certainly had not diminished, but the awe-inspiring title of 'U rgyan pa' and his self-confidence probably won him respect and reverence from his former colleagues.

Travelling on the road for six years had taught him the meaning of not abiding to a single place for long. He told his attendant Shes rin he did not want to attach to where he was staying; he had no more unfulfilled wish for this life but he hated to see the degenerated *dge shes* in Tibet, who were jealous of others' advantages and strived against each other for worldly interest. Thus he contemplated spending the rest of his life in these three ways:

1. To practise altruism in the West (outside of Tibet) where the human heads severed by Hüle'ü piled up like excrement.
2. To renounce all worldly affairs and stay in a mountain hermitage, where he would teach a few accomplished disciples and devote himself to the study of Dharma.
3. To go to remote places to practise altruism as a wandering yogin.

The campaigns of the Mongol prince Hüle'ü in Central Asia have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. U rgyan pa certainly had heard of many stories describing the cruelty and relentlessness of his armies while he was travelling in India. Certainly he cherished the days of his long pilgrimage in Northwest India and wished to trace his own footsteps to visit those places again. However, he also knew well that his life would be threatened in those war infested regions apart from having little chance of finding worthy followers. Thus he had but to drop this idea. The jealousy and rivalry between the learned

monks have also reflected to a great extent "the competitive climate of Tibetan sectarian politics".⁶⁰⁴ However, although U rgyan pa was sickened by this unpleasant scenario in Tibet, he decided to remain in this country, which would be more favourable to the continuation of his lineage in addition to being less hazardous to his life. He heard a voice telling him in a dream that he was Ras chung pa. Epidemics raged again and many people and livestock died. He performed rituals and recited the mantras given by a woman in his dream. The epidemics stopped.

Seven years earlier in 1253 he spent nearly a year practising austerities in the island of Darog and the deserted Byang region before travelling further westward to pay homage to Mt Kailash and other sacred sites outside of West Tibet. Before going to Bodhgaya he did a similar thing—spending a year practising austerities in seclusion in the mountain hermitage of bDe chen stengs. Living and practising in seclusion was one of his preferred ways of spending the rest of his life. To be a hermit would not mean running away from the world, especially since he had pledged to take up the mission of benefiting sentient beings. Thus, each substantial period of hermitage over the past seven years—in the Byang region in winter 1253, on the huge mountain near Maru in summer 1255, in rTa sgo and Dang ra in 1258–1259, in bDe chen stengs in 1260—contributed to the metamorphosis of U rgyan pa. He emerged from each hermitage to show noticeable progress in spiritual liberation and marked changes in his vision of life.

Pilgrimage to Bodhgaya via Nepal

In an earlier dream, U rgyan pa dreamt of rGod tshang pa telling him it was beneficial to go to Bodhgaya in the Bird Year. Then he set off for Bodhgaya via the Kathmandu Valley at the end of 1260 or the beginning of 1261.⁶⁰⁵ Shes rin accompanied him for a distance

⁶⁰⁴ The phrase is borrowed from J. Gyatso 1998: 103.

⁶⁰⁵ A1-SO: 132 states that he went to Bodhgaya in the Year of Iron Bird (1261). Later in the text (A1-SO: 139) he was said to be in Bodhgaya on the 15th day of the first Tibetan month. Thus, U rgyan pa should have set off in the winter season at the end of 1260 or beginning of 1261 to avoid the summer heat of the Ganges Plain.

but could not proceed further due to sudden illness. U rgyan pa continued his way alone. There were two great trade routes linking Tibet to Kathmandu Valley, traversed by many Tibetan traders and pilgrims. The westerly one passed through the town of sKyid grong and ran down the river valley of the Trisuli while the easterly one passed through the town of gNya' lam.⁶⁰⁶ It is not sure which route U rgyan pa had chosen. Although the biographies do not emphasise any hardships, certainly there were plenty, as vividly described in the biography of Ras chung pa.⁶⁰⁷ However, instead of dwelling on U rgyan pa's itineraries and the hazards encountered in Nepal and India, this section will look into incidents revealing the ongoing process of his transformation.

The great hardships U rgyan pa underwent during this journey certainly had further broadened his mind, increased his boldness, fortified his will and raised his self confidence. Nevertheless, they also progressively heightened his eccentricity, diminished his care for social convention, and intensified the arbitrariness and bizarreness of his behaviour, sometimes to a dramatic extent. As his *siddhi* increased and his spiritual experiences transcended further, visions and reality became indistinguishable. Deities and spirits appeared to him real as life. His 'seeing' and 'meeting' them were not restricted to visions and dreams. On his way to Nepal, a four-armed protector god told him Bodhgaya in Magadha (Middle Kingdom) had been invaded by Turuṣka armies.⁶⁰⁸ He said many prayers and it is said that the invaders were driven away. In Ye rang⁶⁰⁹ near Kathmandu he heard two women singing and recognised their voices; he heard the same voices singing the same Vajra song before when he was in Jalandhar. During the time when U rgyan pa passed through Nepal, the king ruling the Kathmandu Valley was Jayabhīmadeva (r. 1258–1271).⁶¹⁰ According to Petech, he "ushers in a period of internecine struggles which

⁶⁰⁶ Landon 1928:II: 29–35 contains a detailed description of these two routes from Kathmandu Valley up to Tibet.

⁶⁰⁷ Roberts 2007: 150.

⁶⁰⁸ Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 319 and Dutt 1969c: 31. The invasion of Magadha by the Turuṣka (Kashmiri Turks) allied with Bengal in 1203 almost wiped out Buddhism when many monasteries including Vikramasīla Vihāra, the last stronghold of Buddhism in India, were destroyed, and many monks killed.

⁶⁰⁹ Wylie 1970: 13 Note 10. Ye rang refers to Lalitpur-Patan. The name Ye rang is a Tibetan rendering of the Newari name Yala or Yalai.

⁶¹⁰ Shaha 1992: 47–48 and 139. See also Bendall 1903: 25.

off and on lasted for one century and a quarter".⁶¹¹ Other than this, very little is known of his reign. The country probably also still suffered frequently from earthquakes and famine⁶¹² at the time of U rgyan pa's visit.

In the city of Ti ra hu ti (Tirhuti)⁶¹³ on the Nepal-India border, provoked by the arrogance of the King Ram shing (Ram Singh) and his retinue, he snatched the staff from the hand of the king's minister and dashed up to the king's palanquin. The king jumped off his seat but U rgyan pa chased after him trying to hit him. At first the king was terrified by this 'madman' (*smyon pa*) but was then amused by his grotesque behaviour and finally 'subjugated' by him. U rgyan pa showed his contempt for the Hindu religion (referred as *mu stegs*) by riding over the shoulder of the stone statue of Śiva (IHa dbang phyug) in one Hindu temple and making a mess of another temple by urinating and defecating everywhere, and even pouring his urine over the head of the image of Śiva.⁶¹⁴ It is possible that U rgyan pa's mischief was derived from his intention of subjugating these 'heretical' deities, rather than from mere aversion towards them.

His frenetic response on seeing the Bodhi tree in Bodhgaya is reminiscent of that of a religious maniac. He knocked his head madly against the ground and nearly lost his consciousness. His passion even heightened to the degree of giving rise to the maniacal idea of burning himself as sacrifice, though finally this project was abandoned due to the lack of fuel. Unbearable great compassion arose from his heart and he pledged that from then on he would devote himself to benefiting sentient beings. Afterwards he was aware of the negativity of his excessive emotion. He had believed that he had succeeded in cutting off all negative sentiments when he was practising in the great mountain near Maru in the

⁶¹¹ Petech 1958: 91–92.

⁶¹² Petech 1958: 91 and Shaha 1992: 47 mention a disastrous earthquake occurring in 1255, and repeated earthquakes and famines in the reign of the succeeding king.

⁶¹³ Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 34 identifies Tirahuti with Tirhut, corresponding to the ancient region of Mithila. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mithila> notes that Mithila was in modern day Janakpur in Dhanusa district of Nepal.

⁶¹⁴ Bhattacharyya 1932: 116 opines that "the attitude of the Buddhist priests towards Hindu religion and its gods and goddesses was entirely unfavourable, if not antagonistic. They were not only hostile to the Hindu gods; but their hostility proves further that they had a great hatred towards the members of their religions also".

winter of 1255, and was thereafter indifferent to happiness and suffering. Now he realised that he had overestimated himself; he had not been freed from dualistic thought. It was only after this self-criticism that he became truly devoid of emotions.

When he was worshipping in front of the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodhgaya on the 15th day of the first Tibetan month (1261), the elephant-headed Hindu god Gaṇeśa (Tshogs kyi bdag po),⁶¹⁵ manifesting as a monkey, removed his 'self-grasping' (*bdag 'dzin*) thought. Then the monkey revealed itself as Gaṇeśa and submitted to U rgyan pa, offering to be his protector and giving him oral instruction (*man ngag*). With the assistance of Gaṇeśa, Mahākāla⁶¹⁶ and the Eight Classes of Gods and Spirits (*sde brgyad*), U rgyan pa and three other adepts performed rituals to drive away the invading troops.⁶¹⁷ After staying in Bodhgaya for a month, U rgyan pa wanted to leave. Mahākāla, who was guarding the East Gate of Bodhgaya, managed to convince him to stay for another month. During this month, he performed many rituals to expel the invading armies and discussed dharma with other paṇḍitas. When U rgyan pa was staying in the ferocious cemetery of Śītavana (bSil ba'i tshal),⁶¹⁸ he evoked Gaṇeśa to help save an Indian yogin from being killed by a monstrous spirit. Afterwards he bound the spirit with an oath.

On his return journey he suffered from leg problem (*zhabs snyung*) and could not walk. The dākinīs came to cure his disease. He crossed a big river by holding his breath using a yoga technique, and walking on the surface of the water. He also petrified a tiger with magic and avoided being harmed. On reaching the Kathmandu Valley, he was greeted by many of his followers who made a special trip from Tibet to greet him on the way. Some

⁶¹⁵ Dict-ID: Often shortened to Tshogs bdag in Tibetan, the term usually refers to Ganesh (Gaṇeśa), one of the eight great gods of India. Bhattacharyya 1932:118 notes this god is often shown as trampled upon by Buddhist deities, reflecting the Buddhists' aversion towards Brāhmanical faith.

⁶¹⁶ Dict-ID: Mahākāla is the wrathful, protector form of Avalokiteśvara, and the leader of the non-worldly dharma protectors.

⁶¹⁷ A1-SO: 141, A2-SO: 59a and A3-SO: 50b refer to the invader as Sog po (so far used in the biographies to refer to the Mongols), but B1-KM: 23b states Tu ru ka (Turuška). Since earlier in the text (A1-SO: 133) it is mentioned that Bodhgaya was threatened by the Turuška, the enemies are believed to be Turuška (Turks from Hindu Kush). Moreover, there is no record of the Mongols attacking Magadha.

⁶¹⁸ Dict-ID: It is located about ten miles to the north of Bodhgaya. It is one of the Eight Charnel Grounds and is regarded as the dwelling place of the dharma protector Mahākāla.

*yakṣas (gnod sbyin)*⁶¹⁹ and the goddesses known as *bKra shis tshe ring ma* (The Five Long-lived Sisters)⁶²⁰ also came to welcome him. Naturally U rgyan pa did not appreciate the pomp at all. Later on when the protector god *Ye shes mgon po* joined the welcoming team at the Tibet-Nepal border, U rgyan pa lost his temper and chased them all away with his staff.

The return of U rgyan pa to Tibet in 1258 unfolds a new chapter of his life. The most noticeable difference between the accounts of his life from this year onward and the previous accounts is that his visions were largely seen as real occurrences and matters of fact, and no longer clearly distinguishable from reality. The "outer, inner and secret" aspects of his life are treated as one. The U rgyan pa presented in the accounts spanning 1259–1261 was boosted with self-confidence and divine pride, and very conscious of his miraculous powers. His travelling to Bodhgaya alone demonstrates his daring and independence. Despite his grotesqueness, he attracted followers. His altruistic career was yet to flourish.

U rgyan pa's pilgrimage to Bodhgaya is believed to have ended before the summer of 1261. After returning to the mountain hermitage in *bDe chen stengs*, he dreamt of himself building a bridge spanning a deep ravine; his body was huge and the bridge conveyed many people coming to and fro. He also dreamt of himself saying that he was the Indian Mahāsiddha *Ḍombī Heruka*.⁶²¹ He was able to realise the true nature of emptiness not just during meditation, but also outside meditation (*mnyam rjes med pa*). He was entirely filled with compassion. He did not have the least bit of self-concern. The Eight Worldly Concerns⁶²² crumbled like a wall. Then he did as he pleased regardless of convention.

The transformation process was thus completed.

⁶¹⁹ Dict-ID. It belongs to one of the Eight Classes of Gods and Spirits.

⁶²⁰ Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 177–81. They are also called *lHa sman tshe ring mched lnga* and *dPal ldan mkha' 'gro mched lnga*. Tradition has that they were mountain goddesses on the border of Tibet and Nepal, and bound by an oath by Padmasambhava to act as protectors of Tibet.

⁶²¹ This Indian Mahāsiddha is also known as *Ḍombīpa* or The Tigress Rider. According to Schmid 1958: 35, he was a king of Magadha in the 8th century, who renounced his power to practise tantric yoga.

⁶²² Dict-THDL. The Eight Worldly Concerns are gain and loss, fame and infamy, praise and blame, and pleasure and sorrow.

IV. The Mahāsiddha and the Madman

དེ་ཡན་ཚད་ | རྣམ་བས་ཁྲིགས་ཚུང་དུ་སོང་ནས། གཤམ་གྱི་གཏད་སོ་དང་བལ་བས་ཅི་བྱེད་ཆ་
མེད་པ། ཚོག་གི་གོ་རིམ་དང་བལ་བས་སློན་པ་ལྟ་བུ། འཕྲལ་ཕུགས་གྱི་ཁྲིགས་ཁ་མེད་པས་སྤང་
སོ་ལྟ་བུ། ཚོག་ལ་ངོས་བཟུང་མེད་པས་ | ལྷོན་ཚུང་གི་བཞད་གད་ལྟ་བུ། སྤྲོན་ལོ་མི་
འཛོན་ དོན་སློན་སྤོ་ལ་མི་འཛོག། གོང་འོག་གི་འགལ་འབྲེལ་མི་ཚེ། ཚུམ་པར་རང་ཡང་ཁར་
ཕོག་སྐར་ཕོག་དེ་འདྲ་ཚོ་བྱེད་པ་གཅིག་བྱུང་གདའ་གསུང།⁶²³

(Translation) "Since then, his regard for convention diminished. He became free from all fundamental foci and he had no agenda in what he did. Devoid of order in speech, he was like a madman. Without concern for short-term or long-term perspectives, he was like a beggar. His words had no grammar and his laughs had no reason. His words were incomprehensible. He was not bothered by others' faults. He did not care for up or down, incongruous or congruous. In his writings he expressed himself freely heedless of impropriety."

Siddha, Mahāsiddha and Siddhi

Before commenting further on the 'insanity' of U rgyan pa in the latter part of his life, it is necessary to explore how far he had justified himself to be a Mahāsiddha (*grub chen*) and what *siddhis* he had achieved.

Williams points out that the siddha is the "ideal of the Yoginī tantras", who is portrayed "as typically a non-monastic, non-celibate yogin or yoginī, living on the margins of society, frequenting cremation grounds, and generally behaving in an unconventional manner."⁶²⁴

The Tibetans borrowed the concepts and translated the terms of siddha and mahāsiddha into *grub thob* and *grub chen (grub pa chen po)*.⁶²⁵ Tradition seems to use the terms siddha

⁶²³ B1-KM: 29a–b.

⁶²⁴ Williams 2000: 239.

⁶²⁵ Samuel 2006: 37.

and mahāsiddha interchangeably,⁶²⁶ and this is also the case with *grub thob* and *grub chen*. While monks could be regarded as siddhas, classic Tibetan siddhas were more typically noncelibate lay practitioners.⁶²⁷

The concept of siddha and mahāsiddha implies the achievement of *siddhi*, which may be defined as "the attainment of super-normal powers of the mind, body or the sense-organs".⁶²⁸ The biographies of the classic Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas of ancient India and famous Tibetan yogins are replete with examples illustrating the *siddhis* of these 'holy madmen'.

Table 8: The Eight *Siddhis* Acknowledged by the Buddhists and in Tibetan Scholastic Tradition

Eight <i>Siddhis</i> acknowledged by the Buddhists, listed by Bhattacharyya. In Sanskrit.	Eight <i>Siddhis</i> according to 'Tibetan scholastic tradition', listed by G. Smith. In Tibetan.	Description of <i>Siddhis</i> ⁶²⁹
<i>khadga</i>	<i>ral gri</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The perfection which enables one to conquer in battle with the help of a sword empowered with mantra.
<i>añjana</i>	<i>sa 'og</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The magic unguent which enables one to perceive the treasures buried underground.
<i>pādalepa</i>	<i>mi snang ba</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The mysterious ointment which enables one to be invisible in others' eyes.
<i>antardhāna</i>	<i>ril bu</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The mysterious power which enables one to disappear miraculously before the eyes of others.
<i>rasarasāyana</i>	<i>rasa, bcud</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The magic solution which turns base metals into gold, or the medicine which gives immunity from death.
<i>khecara</i> <i>bhūcara</i>	<i>mkha' spyod</i> <i>rkang mgyogs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enables one to move in the sky. The power to go at will anywhere on this earth in a moment.
<i>pātāla</i>	<i>mig sman</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The power of going to the nether-worlds. The ability to obtain a magical eye ointment, when rubbed on the eyes, everything in the world becomes clearly visible, small and large, near and far.

⁶²⁶ Robinson 1996: 59.

⁶²⁷ Samuel 2006: 37–38.

⁶²⁸ Bhattacharyya 1932: 85

⁶²⁹ The first eight descriptions are taken from Bhattacharyya 1932: 88–89. The last description is taken from G. Smith 2006: 67.

Table 8 contains the Eight *Siddhis* respectively listed by two scholars. Seven of these *siddhis* listed by Gene Smith⁶³⁰ more or less coincide with the first seven *siddhis* listed by Bhattacharyya.⁶³¹ These *siddhis* have to be interpreted literally or figuratively

From the life accounts of U rgyan pa, one can find examples of all the Eight *Siddhis* listed by Bhattacharyya, most of which have already been mentioned in this thesis. The *siddhi* called *mig sman* listed by G. Smith is different from *mngon shes* (clairvoyance), which refers more to the extrasensory power of *knowing* by acute intuitive insight or perceptiveness rather than really *seeing* the thing. Various examples of U rgyan pa's possessing this *siddhi* are also contained in the latter part of the long biographies. Examples of U rgyan pa's telepathy, clairvoyance, clairaudience, memory of past lives, ceasing emotivity, and even flying in air and walking on water, are also ample in his life accounts.

According to the 17th-century Hindu tantric work *Tantrasāra*, there are three varieties of siddhas.⁶³² A siddha of the First Class is "able to fulfil all his desires by mere thought". The *siddhi* list of a siddha of the Middle Class is long. In summary, he has the powers of performing all the mundane *siddhis*. Siddha of the lowest class "obtains fame, long-life, conveyances, ornaments, familiarity with the king, popularity with royal personages and the people, power to bewitch, wealth and prosperity, children and family." In short, he is simply rich and powerful and hardly a real siddha at all. Therefore, only siddhas of the First and Middle Class are considered real *siddhapuruṣas*, Perfect Beings.⁶³³

As presented in his life accounts, U rgyan pa undoubtedly possessed all the mundane *siddhis* that a Middle Class Siddha was expected to possess. These *siddhis* did not emerge all at a time, but were built up one after the other in the course of his transformation, and became increasingly pronounced and efficacious in the latter part of his life. On top of these "superhuman feats",⁶³⁴ he also acquired the supreme *Mahāmudrā siddhi* through the

⁶³⁰ G. Smith 2006: 67.

⁶³¹ Bhattacharyya 1932: 88–89, citing the *Sādhanamālā* (p. 350)

⁶³² Bhattacharyya 1932: 84–85. The work was composed by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*: 89.

alchemy he underwent in U rgyan, though it is not sure to what extent he was "able to fulfil all his desires by mere thought". In other words, he met the criteria for being considered as a Mahāsiddha.

The Holy Madman and the Eclectic Approach

A look into the biographies of the classic Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas of India would reveal that many of these semidivine figures were quite mad in the eyes of the mundane people. Since the Mahāsiddha tradition had strongly influenced the tantric Buddhism of Tibet, the notion of 'holy madmen' also found its way into the yogic world of Tibet. According to Gene Smith, the cult of the holy madman (*smyon pa*) in Tibet did not become widespread until the beginning of the 15th century; almost all the spiritual traditions in Tibet produced a sacred madman. Among the most popular were gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po (1458–1532) and 'Brug pa Kun legs (1455–1539).⁶³⁵ In fact, the notion of Holy Madmen existed in Tibet long before the 15th century. Mi la ras pa, the greatest yogin of Tibet, had practised ascetism to such an extent that he was seen by many as a 'madman'. Our hero U rgyan pa affords another example.

The youthful U rgyan pa was said to be "diligent, assiduous, perseverant, heroic, chivalrous, daring and staunch". In fact, these qualities never forsook him throughout his life; only that he became increasingly illogical, uncompromising, uninhibited, and heedless of social conventions and proprieties in expressing his mind and his natural character. He had travelled to places that others had never been to and did not dare to go to, undergone what others had never gone through and could not even imagine; he could perceive and experience what others could not. Logic and rationality crumble in face of his inconceivable, inexplicable and unutterable experience of pure awareness and emptiness, and miraculous powers. The logical and ethical system that governed human speech, behaviour and values thus saw him as an alien. However, like most other 'holy madmen', U

⁶³⁵ G. Smith 2006: 67.

rgyan pa's contempt for conventionalism was not for personal gain, but rather for enlightening others.

The nature of Ultimate Reality and the aforementioned non-restrictions applicable to an accomplished yogin or a mahāsiddha are part of the themes of the famous *Treasury of Songs (Dohākośa)* of Saraha, the Indian Mahāsiddha to whom U rgyan pa had compared himself. These songs, believed to have been written in the 9th century, were later translated into Tibetan. The lines translated by Snellgrove are replete with Saraha's denial of renunciation, scripture reading, worshipping, meditation, concentration, discussion, thoughts, mantra recitation, asceticism, pilgrimage and maintaining secrecy of the great bliss, because these are "all a cause of self-deception". Rather, the yogins should "indulge the senses". By seeing things as one and not discriminating, the yogin will be able to recognise the Supreme One within himself. However, the criteria are that the yogin enjoys the world of sense without abiding to it or being enslaved by it, and in clinging to the Void, the yogin must not neglect Compassion otherwise he will never reach the highest stage.⁶³⁶

Very likely U rgyan pa was familiar with the story and the songs of Saraha and might have seen him an exemplary figure among the enlightened beings. In any event, the life accounts of U rgyan pa suggest that his 'madness' was far from that kind of indiscriminate transgression of moral ethics characterising many of the classic Mahāsiddhas of India. Rather, it largely epitomises the accentuation of his divine pride, the intensification of his eccentricity, the recovery of his true nature and the manifestation of his divine experience. One might say that he was taking an eclectic approach to achieve the same goal. It is understood that the rationale behind the sanctioning of all moral and social transgressions advocated by the notion of Mahāsiddha is but to destroy self-attachment and habitual propensities, and to counteract social bonds and cultural boundaries⁶³⁷ in order to realise the true nature of emptiness; passion and impurities are turned into powerful means to remove passion and impurities⁶³⁸ so as to attain the state of great bliss. In the time of U

⁶³⁶ Snellgrove 1954: 239. See also Introduction p.13.

⁶³⁷ Wallace 2001: 120.

⁶³⁸ Snellgrove 1954: 221, citing *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa*: "remove passion by means of passion itself... the wise man renders himself free of impurity by means of impurity itself."

rgyan pa, the tradition of Holy Madmen was yet to become established in Tibet. His eclectic approach was thus necessitated by the cultural, religious and social acceptability of his time. I believe that his compassion for sentient beings and aspiration to altruism also checked unrestrained transgression. He was unquestionably one of the forerunners of the Holy Madman tradition in Tibet.

CHAPTER IV

An Altruistic Career

The notion of caring for and benefiting others out of compassion rather than for any selfish motive is central to Mahāyāna Buddhism. Bodhisattvas are said to be enlightened beings who have vowed to save all sentient beings from being trapped in endless sufferings brought by their cyclic existence, and bringing all of them to perfect buddhahood. Their hallmark is the "lack of selfish concern and the willingness to undertake a much more difficult and long journey for the sake of others".⁶³⁹ The cultivation of the Bodhisattva aspiration and path involves meditating on "equalising of self and other" (*bdag gzhan mnyam brje*), through which the suffering of others become one's own.⁶⁴⁰ It is explicitly stated in the biographies of U rgyan pa that he was a bodhisattva. Thus, salvation was his destined career.

The life account of U rgyan pa from 1261 onward after his Bodhgaya pilgrimage is as eventful as that in the earlier part of his life. He was active in the religious and political arena. As his altruistic career flourished, he became increasingly famous and influential. The size of his following grew, and so did the number of his enemies. However, it is beyond the capacity of this thesis to comment on each episode in detail. Hereinafter, his life account will be divided into several phases and summed up in brief; only noteworthy incidents will be given comments. Nevertheless, his mystical religious experiences will be related as they are given in the biographies.

⁶³⁹ Dict-ID.

⁶⁴⁰ Williams 1994: 307–308.

I. 1261–1269

(Aged 31–39)

Beginning of an Altruistic Career

General Account

According to the long biographies, after dreaming of himself building a bridge and calling himself Ḍombī Heruka, U rgyan pa recalled the prophecy of rGod tshang pa and realised that the time to practise altruism had come. Then he resolved to devote himself to an altruistic career. In the next decade or so, he spent most of his time in the hermitage in bDe chen stengs in the mountain of sBud skra, while making occasional benediction trips, mostly to nearby regions. He decided to take charge of rDo rje gling, where rGod tshang pa spent his last two years. All the people from the nearby valleys gathered in the place to pay him homage. He forecast that in future in support of his altruistic undertakings, there would be four monasteries situated respectively in sBud skra (in gNya' lam), Bar 'brog (in Ding ri), Cung pa (in La stod) as well as Tshang thang mo (in Yar klungs). He believed that nobody of his time was better versed in Kālacakra than he was. Among his extensive following were dignitaries, learned scholars, heads of clans and ordinary people. He gave profound teachings of his own tantric practice, *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*, to qualified students, and many of them were liberated. He also performed rituals to invoke the assistance of Tibet's gods and demons to drive away the sTod Hor armies coming from the West to harm Buddhism. The sTod Hor general rDo rje dpal died on the way and his troops retreated back to the West. Then he was invited by Bla chen De khyim to visit the capital of Mar yul again to restore Buddhism which had declined due to the Hor invasion; five hundred monks were ordained. When he learnt that Bodhgaya was badly damaged by the Sog po, he sent large donations to restore the monuments there, and throughout his life he never stopped sending donations to Bodhgaya. He thought of nothing else except Buddhism and rGod tshang pa.

Political and Religious Disorder

The chronology of U rgyan pa from 1261 to 1269 cannot be clearly established due to lack of dating references in the biographies. The political and religious scenario in Central Tibet during this period was eventful and unquiet. According to Wylie, Sa skya 'Phags pa's return to Tibet in 1265 after an absence of twenty-one years signifies Qubilai's "first attempt to impose direct Mongol authority in Tibet", and "actual Mongol rule in Tibet thus began". No sooner than 'Phags pa had set off for Beijing in 1267, his brother Phyag na rdo rje died.⁶⁴¹ This was followed by serious unrest. In the same year, a certain lord of 'Dam was executed by the Mongols after an uprising against the Sa skya pas, which is believed to be "the first instance of local rebellion against the forced imposition of Sa-skya rule in Tibet."⁶⁴² A census was conducted in Tibet in 1268 and Central Tibet was divided into thirteen Myriarchies.

As already mentioned in Stage Two of Chapter II, the authority of the Mongols over Upper West Tibet was confirmed in 1250, and the sTod Hor armies coming "from the West" (*nub phyogs nas*) to harm Buddhism are unlikely to be associated with Qubilai Khan. Nor is it likely that they were from Hüle'ü of the Il Khanate because Hüle'ü was an ally of Qubilai and the patron of the 'Bri gung pa.⁶⁴³ It is therefore very likely that they were from the Islamised Chaghatay Khanate, which was opposed to Qubilai and Hüle'ü.⁶⁴⁴ The exact year of this incident is unknown but it probably occurred in the early half of the 1260s. U rgyan pa's second visit to Mar yul is believed to be not too long after this incident. It is said that after Mar yul was defeated by the Hor armies, all the monks violated the monastic disciplines and got married. This attack by the Hor probably happened after U rgyan pa's last visit at the end of 1257. As to whether it refers to the sTod Hor from Central Asia or the sMad Hor from Qubilai Khan is not sure. It has been discussed in Chapter II that the

⁶⁴¹ Wylie 1977: 123 states that no cause of death is given; but "given the sibling rivalry and political resentment his return generated, it is not improbable that he was murdered."

⁶⁴² Wylie 1977: 121–22. See also Petech 1990a: 20–21.

⁶⁴³ Zhang 1994: 102 (in Chinese), citing *Bod rGya yig tshang*.

⁶⁴⁴ Atwood 2004: 631. In 1269, the Golden Horde, the Chaghatay Khanate and the Ögedeid Qaidu allied against Qubilai Khan and the Il Khanate. See Li 1998 (in Chinese) for the Islamisation of the Chaghatay Khanate. Petech 1990a: 22 also opines that the sTod Hor who attempted to invade Tibet refers to the Chaghatay.

date of the second Mongol invasion of Kashmir could have been before or after 1260 according to different scholars. Stein opines that the invasion appears to "have commenced from about 1260 A.D."⁶⁴⁵ If he is correct, the Hor armies invading Mar yul in early to mid-1260s could have been the same armies led by Sali Noyon sent by Möngke Khan or Hüle'ü to invade Kashmir.

⁶⁴⁵ A. Stein 1919: 94. See also pp. 92–94 on his discussion on this invasion.

II. 1270–1274

(Aged 40–44)

Rise of the Influential Lama

General Account

According to the biographies, Rin po che 'Khar chu ba came from gYa' bzang monastery (in Yar klungs) in the Horse Year (1270) to request the teaching of *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*. When U rgyan pa was in sKyid rong, he had a vision of Vajrayoginī giving him permission to write down the secret teachings she had bestowed on him. He also translated some tantric works. The construction of his residence (*gzims khang*) in sBud skra was in progress, but he predicted that it would be destroyed by others. It is said that Qubilai Khan on the one hand out of veneration of U rgyan pa sent an envoy to summon him to the Yuan court, and on the other hand made preparation to despatch an army to invade Nepal. U rgyan pa told the envoy the Mongols would not be able to conquer Nepal and there was no purpose in doing so. He presented to Qubilai three pieces of his writing—*Chu po rabs kyi phreng ba* (Garland of Tales about Rivers), *rGyal po'i rabs kyi phreng ba* (Garland of Tales about kings) and a eulogy, and successfully dissuaded Qubilai from invading Nepal.

Then U rgyan pa again went to Bodhgaya via Nepal and Tirhuti, with a retinue comprising some seventy people, and made generous offerings in Bodhgaya. Afterwards he visited other sacred places in South India and witnessed the ablution of the Buddha's relics. On his return journey he helped relieve the ordeal of several thousand Tibetan refugees in the Kathmandu Valley (see below). He initiated numerous yogins and yoginīs into the Mind Arousing ritual and gave them the twelve Kālacakra consecrations.

Qubilai's Unrealised Expedition

The aforementioned account has revealed that these five years saw U rgyan pa travelling in South Tibet, Nepal and India either on pilgrimage or to bestow benedictions. A noteworthy episode is U rgyan pa's dissuading Qubilai Khan from attacking Nepal. Two interesting remarks about this episode are found in van der Kuijp's article on U rgyan pa's geographical treatise *Chu po rabs kyi phreng ba*.⁶⁴⁶ First, he points out that this work about hydrography is the only and the earliest work of its kind in Tibet. Second, he doubts the claim of U rgyan pa in successfully dissuading Qubilai Khan from invading Nepal; apart from the improbability of the emperor reversing a military decision upon receipt of several works he could not read, there is no evidence of such an alleged threat was known by any Nepalese authority. Although Rossabi's comprehensive study of Qubilai Khan makes no mention of his ambition of conquering the Indian subcontinent,⁶⁴⁷ Shakabpa does points out that, according to the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Qubilai Khan did have such a plan but it was strongly opposed by the Sa skya administrator.⁶⁴⁸ Thus the Mongols might truly have had an interest in the Indian subcontinent, but they never went so far as to launch an invasion.

The relationship of the Malla kings of Nepal with the Sa skya pa sheds light on this. When U rgyan pa passed through Kathmandu Valley on the way to India, the ruler should be Jayaśiha Malla (r. 1271–1274) from the House of Tripura.⁶⁴⁹ Petech points out that his short reign was believed to be "a fairly happy one" because "He did not oppress the subjects and the land was happy."⁶⁵⁰ U rgyan pa is believed to have stayed in India for at least a year. When he passed through Kathmandu Valley again on his way back to Tibet in around early 1274, the king on the throne might still have been Jayaśiha Malla or his successor Ananta Malla (r. 1274–1308).⁶⁵¹ According to Petech, Ananta Malla did not

⁶⁴⁶ Van der Kuijp 2004: 302–303.

⁶⁴⁷ Rossabi 1988.

⁶⁴⁸ Shakabpa 1967: 70 relates that Qubilai's plan of sending his armies through Tibet to attack India and Nepal was strongly objected by "Shang Tsun, the administrator at Sakya", cited from the Karma pa section of *mKha' ba'i dga' ston*. See also van der Kuijp 2004: 303 Note 12.

⁶⁴⁹ Shaha 1992: 48 & 139. See also Petech 1958: 93–94 and Bendall 1903: 25.

⁶⁵⁰ Petech 1958: 93–94.

⁶⁵¹ Bendall 1903: 25 and Shaha 1992: 48 & 139. Petech 1958: 95 dates Ananta Malla's reign to 1274–1310.

have direct intercourse with the Mongol court of Yuan China, but through the Sa skya monastery in Tibet, which enjoyed the favour of Qubilai Khan.⁶⁵² Shaha shares the same opinion and further notes that Nepal had maintained a close relationship with the great monasteries of Central Tibet since the time of Jayabhīmadeva (r. 1258–1271).⁶⁵³ Therefore, the incident of the Sa skya pa dissuading Qubilai Khan from sending an army to Nepal and India through Tibet mentioned in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* is not impossible.

Van der Kuijp dates this event to the late 1270s, based on the discovery of a thirteen-folio manuscript of U rgyan pa's *rGyal po'i rabs kyi phreng ba* written in sBud skra and dated to the Earth Tiger Year (1278).⁶⁵⁴ Taking into consideration the absence of significant chronological confusions in the long biographies of U rgyan pa, it is quite unreasonable that an event taking place in the late 1270s would have been placed among episodes that occurred in the early 1270s. The same incident of U rgyan pa meeting the Mongol envoy is recalled in early 1290s in the later part of the long biographies, and the content of part of the twenty-stanza eulogy is also cited,⁶⁵⁵ but there is *no mention* of submitting the *Chu bo rabs kyi phreng ba* and *rGyal po'i rabs kyi phreng ba*. A possible hypothesis is that the event did occur in the *early* 1270s, while the work found in Beijing was a later composition by U rgyan pa with the same title.

According to Petech, "the historicity of the tale is much open to doubt". Nevertheless, he dates this "half-legendary event" to the last years of 'Phags pa, in the late 1270s.⁶⁵⁶ In any case, Shakabpa's dating of the event to around 1286,⁶⁵⁷ as also pointed out by van der Kuijp,⁶⁵⁸ is surely incorrect.

⁶⁵² Petech 1958: 99.

⁶⁵³ Shaha 1992: 48. His statements bear a close resemblance to Petech's. It is likely that the content in Petech 1958: 99 has been used as a base.

⁶⁵⁴ Van der Kuijp 1996: 43 and 51 Note 16. The manuscript is found in the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, under catalogue no. 002452(8). According to van der Kuijp (2004: 320), the colophon of this manuscript states that it was completed in 'Sbu skra' (*viz.*, sBud skra) in the Earth Male Tiger Year (*sa pho stag lo*), corresponding to 1278. Martin 1997: 45 also mentions the recovery of this manuscript.

⁶⁵⁵ A1-SO: 224–25, A2-SO: 95a and A3-SO: 81a.

⁶⁵⁶ Petech 1990a: 24.

⁶⁵⁷ Shakabpa 1967: 70.

⁶⁵⁸ Van der Kuijp 2004: 306 Note 20.

Second Visit to Bodhgaya and First Visit to South India

Another noteworthy issue is the year of his second visit to Bodhgaya. He went to Bodhgaya for the first time in a Bird Year in early 1261, because rGod tshang pa told him it was beneficial to go there in a Bird Year. Incidentally, the chronology given in the biographies suggests that his second journey to Bodhgaya occurred around 1272/73. Thus, it is very probable that he had again chosen to go there in a Bird year, i.e. 1273. If this hypothesis proves correct, the event of his writing down the secret teachings of Vajrayoginī and translating the tantras could have happened in 1271/72, and the building of his residence in sBud skra and his meeting with Qubilai Khan's messengers in 1272/1273. Since his pilgrimage to Bodhgaya and South India lasted for at least a year and he is said to have returned to Tibet in winter, it was probably the end of 1273 or early 1274 when he came back to Tibet.

When U rgyan pa went to Bodhgaya for the first time, he journeyed alone. When he found his disciples and followers coming down to the Tibet-Nepal border to welcome him back, he was displeased and wielded his staff to chase them all away. On the second occasion he was accompanied by a retinue of some seventy people. In Tirhuti he even bought an elephant as his mount. The change is obvious. He had assumed the role of a guru and a high lama with ease, and felt comfortable with being constantly surrounded by a big retinue. The Tibetan refugees he met in Kathmandu on his return journey in winter 1274 were victims of famine in Tibet due to bad harvest in the previous summer and autumn. At first they sought help from three persons—a local paṇḍita, a Sa skya pa *dge shes* and U rgyan pa, but U rgyan pa was the only one to care for them and help relieve their ordeal. Like its southern neighbour, South Tibet must have been suffering frequently from famine, if not earthquake. In addition to warfare, human and livestock epidemics are also repeatedly mentioned in the biographies. The borderlands were infested with greedy and

savage tax collectors too.⁶⁵⁹ The miserable life of the people around South Tibet and the borderlands is evident. One can imagine a compassionate lama like U rgyan pa busily visiting different regions performing benedictions in an attempt to relieve the suffering of poor sentient beings.

⁶⁵⁹ C1-ZS: 118a contains a short passage about people warning U rgyan pa that the road to India was blocked by tax officers (*khral pa*) and some bad Sog pos; those unlucky people would be killed by them. Trungpa 1986: xxviii and 42–43 mentions that Mar pa also encountered famine and greedy tax collectors in the borderlands.

III. 1274–1281

(Aged 54–61)

Intriguing Relationship with the Sa skya pa

General Account

U rgyan pa's altruistic career continued. He had probably not kept himself aloof from the political arena. Maybe it was impossible for an active lama of his time to avoid being dragged into the turbulence of power struggles. On hearing gossips about himself in sBud skra, Kun dga' bzang po, then dPon chen (Great Governor) of Central Tibet, sent his troops to besiege and destroy U rgyan pa's residence, and killed many people trying to flee the place. U rgyan pa was probably still in gNya' lam when this happened. Afterwards he recalled that he had been born many times in various countries. He predicted that the dPon chen would be completely annihilated in five years. Then he managed to rebuild his residence with the donation given by his patron rGyal po A rog chos. U rgyan pa recalled that in his former dream there was a white man telling him if he practised altruism in Central Tibet, the achievement would be much greater than doing the same in Mongolia, La stod or mNga' ris. He therefore decided to go to Central Tibet.

Sometime later, he had a vision of his protector divinity carrying the severed head of dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po. When 'Phags pa came back from the Yuan court (in 1276),⁶⁶⁰ U rgyan pa went to see him. 'Phags pa was very pleased with him but the *mi chen* (high official) called Sang gha⁶⁶¹ mocked his recitation of Sanskrit grammar. He did not go back to sBud skra afterwards but spent the next few years travelling around Central Tibet

⁶⁶⁰ Dict-BG: 1776. 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280). He returned from Yuan China to Sa skya monastery in 1276, an Iron Rat year.

⁶⁶¹ YUANSHI: 4570–76 (Chapter 205, Biography 92). Sang gha is mostly likely the 'Sang-ge' among the six 'villainous ministers' noted in *Yuanshi*. Rossabi 1988: 192, based on Petech's 1980 article on Sang-ko in *AOHung*, notes that he had been the interpreter of 'Phags pa. Rossabi also quotes J. Kuwabara's 1935 article "On P'u Shou-keng" to state that Qubilai Khan assigned him to take charge of Tibetan and Buddhist affairs. See also van der Kuijp 2004: 320–21.

performing altruistic activities. In Chu mig rings mo in Nyang ro,⁶⁶² he used his miraculous powers to revive the spring water. In the marketplace Tshong 'dus mGur mo⁶⁶³ he performed the Mind Arousing ritual to benefit sentient beings. Then he went to gYas ru shangs⁶⁶⁴ where he attracted a large following. He made everybody contented and gave away all the offerings he received. When he was staying in Shangs phu, he stopped the local custom of killing large numbers of animals for funeral purposes. Then he moved northward. When he arrived in West dBus, he prophesied that in the future his people would have a dispute with the Tsha mda' ba, the clan into which his eldest sister married.

The Second dPon chen and the Problem of Dating

The enmity between U rgyan pa and Kun dga' bzang po, and the date of the destruction of the sBud skra residence, have been a topic of interest to some scholars. According to an account of all the dPon chen of Central Tibet written by the Chinese Tibetologist Chen Qingying, the origin of the post of dPon chen goes back to 1244.⁶⁶⁵ The first dPon chen was Sa skya bzang po, appointed in around 1265.⁶⁶⁶ His duty was to govern "by the order (*bka'*) of the Lama ('Phags pa) and by the mandate (*lun*) of the emperor. He protects the two laws (*khrims gnyis*; religious and civil) and keeps the realm tranquil and the religion flourishing."⁶⁶⁷ Kun dga' bzang po succeeded Sa skya bzang po as the second dPon chen,

⁶⁶² Nyang ro refers to the lower basin of Nyang (Myang) river (see next Note). The significance of Chu mig will be discussed later in this chapter

⁶⁶³ Van der Kuijp 2004: 308 states that Bya rog tshang, the place where dPon chen Kun bzang po lived, was "tied to the main postal station of Tshong 'dus mgur mo". Dict-BG: 2128 states that Myang smad is the part of the Myang river basin below rGyal rtse, east of gZhis ka rtse.

⁶⁶⁴ Dict-BG: 2620, gYas ru was one of the four *ru* (horn or wing) in Central Tibet, centred in rNam gling, about 150 km west-northwest of Lhasa. LHORONG: 738 simply uses Shangs for gYas ru shangs. PHAGSPA: 4 states that Shangs is understood to be present-day gZhis ka rtse and the region north of Yar klung gtsang po ("*Shangs*" *ni deng dus kyi gZhis ka rtse'i srid 'dzin khul gyi rnam gling rdzong dang Yar klung gtsang po'i byang rgyud du go bas*).

⁶⁶⁵ Chen 2006: 288 & 294, drawing materials from *Bod rgya yig tshang*, *Bod kyi rgyal rabs rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston* (by the Fifth Dalai Lama) and *Deb ther dmar po*. See also BLG *Bar cha*: 22 and Petech 1990a: 43.

⁶⁶⁶ Tucci 1971: 185–86. However, Petech 1990a: 44 suggests 1264–1265 while Chen 2006: 293–96 does not specify the year.

⁶⁶⁷ Petech 1990a: 44, citing *Bod rgya yig tshang*.

but 'Phags pa disliked him. Although most sources state that Kun dga' bzang po was killed by Mongol troops led by Sang gha **after** the death of 'Phags pa (1280),⁶⁶⁸ there are also sources stating that he was persecuted **before** 'Phags pa's death.⁶⁶⁹ His tenure of office was c. 1269/70–1274/75.⁶⁷⁰ The enmity between U rgyan pa and this dPon chen started from a story about the sudden death of Phyag na rdo rje, the brother of 'Phags pa, in 1267. There was a rumour circulating in sBud skra that he had been poisoned by Kun dga' bzang po.⁶⁷¹ When this came to the ear of the latter, he sent an army to sBud skra to destroy the residence of U rgyan pa and killed many of his people.⁶⁷² According to van der Kuijp, U rgyan pa recalled a dream in which "he actually saw Kun dga' bzang po poison Phyag na rdo rje."⁶⁷³ However, the material available to me only says that he dreamt of seeing Kun dga' bzang po bending down (*'dud gin*) [before] Phyag na rdo rje.⁶⁷⁴

The rGyal po A rog chos who sponsored the restoration of U rgyan pa's residence in sBud skra was the Mongol prince A'uruṅči, the seventh son of Qubilai Khan.⁶⁷⁵ He was given the title of Xiping in 1269.⁶⁷⁶ In 1271 and the following years he was in close contact with 'Phags pa. In 1276 he marched into Central Tibet, accompanying 'Phags pa on his return to Sa skya.⁶⁷⁷ In or after 1277, he sponsored the reconstruction of the residence of sBud skra.⁶⁷⁸ Therefore, it is probable that U rgyan pa came into contact with A'uruṅči during

⁶⁶⁸ Petech 2003b: 348.

⁶⁶⁹ Chen 2006: 299 mentions that the 5th Dalai Lama's *rGyal rabs* states that Kun dga' bzang po died one year **before** the death of 'Phags pa, but *Bod rgya yig tshang* states that he died soon **after** the death of 'Phags pa. *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* states that he died **after** the death of 'Phags pa, and Tucci dates this to 1281 (Tucci 1271: 186). *The Blue Annals* states the same (Roerich 1949: 216, 582) but YARLUNG: 94 (Chinese version) states that he died **before** 'Phags pa.

⁶⁷⁰ Petech 1990a:144 states c.1270–1275. Chen 2006: 296–99 states 1269–1275, while PHAGSPA: 341 (Tibetan version of Chen's biography of 'Phags pa) states 1269–1274. However, Wylie 1977: 128 states 1275–1281, which is quite unlikely. Chen 2006: 299 points that such misunderstanding of some scholars is probably due to the misinterpretation of a certain statement in the 5th Dalai Lama's *rgyal rabs*.

⁶⁷¹ Van der Kuijp 2004: 316.

⁶⁷² Petech 1990a: 21, based on p. 184–85 of the 1997 Lhasa edition of U rgyan pa's biography, viz. A1-SO.

⁶⁷³ Van der Kuijp 2004: 316 and Note 52. This is based on a Gangtok version of U rgyan pa's biography written by Zla ba seng ge, which has the same title as the one I am working on (C1-ZS), but is not exactly the same copy as seen from some minor differences in the text cited in his article.

⁶⁷⁴ C1-ZS: 116a.

⁶⁷⁵ Petech 1990b: 262–64. See also YUANSHI: 2724–25, in Chapter 107.

⁶⁷⁶ Petech 1990b: 263, citing Rashīd ud-dīn from J.A. Boyle's *The successors of Genghis Khan* (p.144).

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, citing Roerich 1949: 973. See also Petech 1990b: 23 and 2003b: 347.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, citing *Karma kam tshang brgyud pa* 87a.

his visit to Sa skya in end 1276 or early 1277. He made his loss known to the Prince and was subsequently given donations to rebuild the residence in or after 1277.

Van der Kuijp dates the destruction of the sBud skra residence to 1272, based on the arrival date of A'uruṅči. He subtracts five years from 1277 and obtains the figure 1272. His statement is supported by his interpretation of a decisive line in the biography of U rgyan pa: "*de nas lo lnga tsam yang med par song ba lags skad*". He translates the line as: "It is said that nothing came to pass for some five years thereafter."⁶⁷⁹ He also notes that "Sbu tra (sBud skra) laid waste for five years".⁶⁸⁰ A similar statement is given by Petech: "... destroyed its dwelling quarters (gzims k'ang) and during five years impeded any kind of religious teaching. sPuñ-shra (*viz.* sBud skra) was restored in 1276."⁶⁸¹

However, thanks to *an additional word* in the same line in all the three long biographies I have, which has given the line an entirely different meaning:

*"Kun dga' bzung po'i phun sum tshogs pa 'di | myur du nyams par 'dug
gsung | de nas lo lnga tsam nas rjes tsam yang med par ba lags skad"*⁶⁸²
(My translation) "'This prosperity [enjoyed by] Kun dga' bzung po will quickly decline,' said [U rgyan pa]. It is said that not even a trace [of his prosperity] remained in about five years' time."

A similar line is found in Biography B1-KM:

*"...gzim khang bshig pas nyin mo sa bsros pa la sogs byung skad de | lo lnga
na rjes med du rlag go"*⁶⁸³
(My translation) "Since the residence was destroyed, restoration work and so forth was done day and night, so it is said. In five years [he] was/would be [completely] annihilated, without [any] traces."

⁶⁷⁹ Van der Kuijp 2004: 316. The original text is from folios 129–30 of his Gangtok version of U rgyan pa's biography.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*: 317.

⁶⁸¹ Petech 1990a: 21 and 2003b: 346, both based on A1-SO: 184–85.

⁶⁸² A1-SO: 185. These lines with minor variations are also found in A2-SO: 76b and A3-SO: 65b.

⁶⁸³ B1-KM: 27a.

What was completely wiped out certainly was not the residence, because it was only partly destroyed, as also agreed by van der Kuijp.⁶⁸⁴ The line from B1-KM clearly states that the place was not "laid waste for five years" as indicated in the text cited by van der Kuijp. Therefore, the annihilation is very likely to refer to Kun dga' bzang po.

As previously mentioned, the death year of Kun dga' bzang po in different Tibetan sources varies from 1279 (one year before the death of 'Phag pa) to 1281 (one year after). Five years prior to his death will give 1274–1276. If one presumes that the destruction of sBud skra occurred during his office, this can be further narrowed down to 1274–1275, one to two years before A'uruŷči escorted 'Phags pa back to Central Tibet. (Since Petech has pointed out that Kun dga' bzang po was likely to have attempted to act as the real dPon chen "behind the back of the shadowy titulars of the office", it is not impossible even if the destruction had taken place after his dismissal.)⁶⁸⁵ Moreover, according to the chronology suggested by the long biographies, the construction of the sBud skra residence was either just commencing or still in progress in 1272, and the episode about its destruction came only *after* U rgyan pa's return from his Indian trip in around early 1274. *lHo rong chos 'byung* also states that Kun dga' bzang po was persecuted by a Mongol nobleman *after* five years (*Kho lo lnga nas mi chen gyis khrims bsad byas...*). The book also states that U rgyan pa did not return immediately to sBud skra after coming back from India; he went to sKyid rong and then gNya' lam, and only went back to sBud skra after the destruction.⁶⁸⁶ These evidences are therefore at odds with Petech's and van der Kuijp's dating of the destruction of the sBud skra residence to 1272.

Kun dga' bzang po was executed by the Mongol troops for his apparent treachery.⁶⁸⁷

According to Biography A1-SO, U rgyan pa gave empowerment to the ferocious spirit known as sTod btsan, and later he had a vision of this spirit carrying the severed head of

⁶⁸⁴ Van der Kuijp 2004: 317. "... he laid waste a portion of Sbu tra, ..."

⁶⁸⁵ Petech 2003b: 348.

⁶⁸⁶ LHORONG: 737.

⁶⁸⁷ Petech 1990a: 25 & 2003b: 348; PHAGSPA: 341–49. All are based mainly on *Bod rgya yig tshang*.

Kun dga' bzang po.⁶⁸⁸ This seems to allude to his instructing the spirit to kill Kun dga' bzang po. *lHo rong chos 'byung* also mentions U rgyan pa seeing 'a red man' carrying a head and telling him that Kun dga' bzang po was dead; but says nothing else about this 'red man'.⁶⁸⁹ Biography B1-KM also mentions about the incident of U rgyan pa empowering the spirit Jo bo sTon (sTod) tsan, but nothing more.⁶⁹⁰ In the long biographies, this episode is placed before U rgyan pa's visit to Sa skya to see 'Phags pa in 1276. Perhaps this chronological irregularity is a special treatment to complete the story of U rgyan pa's final victory over the dPon chen.

The 1277 Chu mig Conference

U rgyan pa's visit to Sa skya is believed to have taken place at the beginning of 1277. In the first month of this year, a great conference known as *Chu mig chos skor* was organised by 'Phags pa in the Chu mig monastery.⁶⁹¹ The biographies do not mention U rgyan pa attending this conference, but he probably did, because it is said that he used his miraculous powers to revive the spring water in Chu mig rings mo. According to *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma*, Chu mig was one of the Thirteen Myriarchies.⁶⁹² The Chu mig monastery is located east of Sa skya and about 5 km southwest of sNar thang (in gZhis ka rtse district). According to Petech, the 1277 conference was chaired by bKa' gdams pa master mChims Nam mkha' grags, abbot of sNar thang monastery. Although it was apparently a conference for "the religious leaders of the country", its motive was not purely religious but also political, including "the final recognition of Mongol paramouncy".⁶⁹³ Ferrari affirms that Chu mig was the site of a great council convened by

⁶⁸⁸ As already mentioned in Section I in Part One of this thesis, this episode is omitted in A2-SO but appears in small interlinear letters in A3-SO.

⁶⁸⁹ LHORONG: 738. The 'red man' implies probably a *btsan* demon because this class of demons are red in colour. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 166 ff.

⁶⁹⁰ B1-KM: 27a.

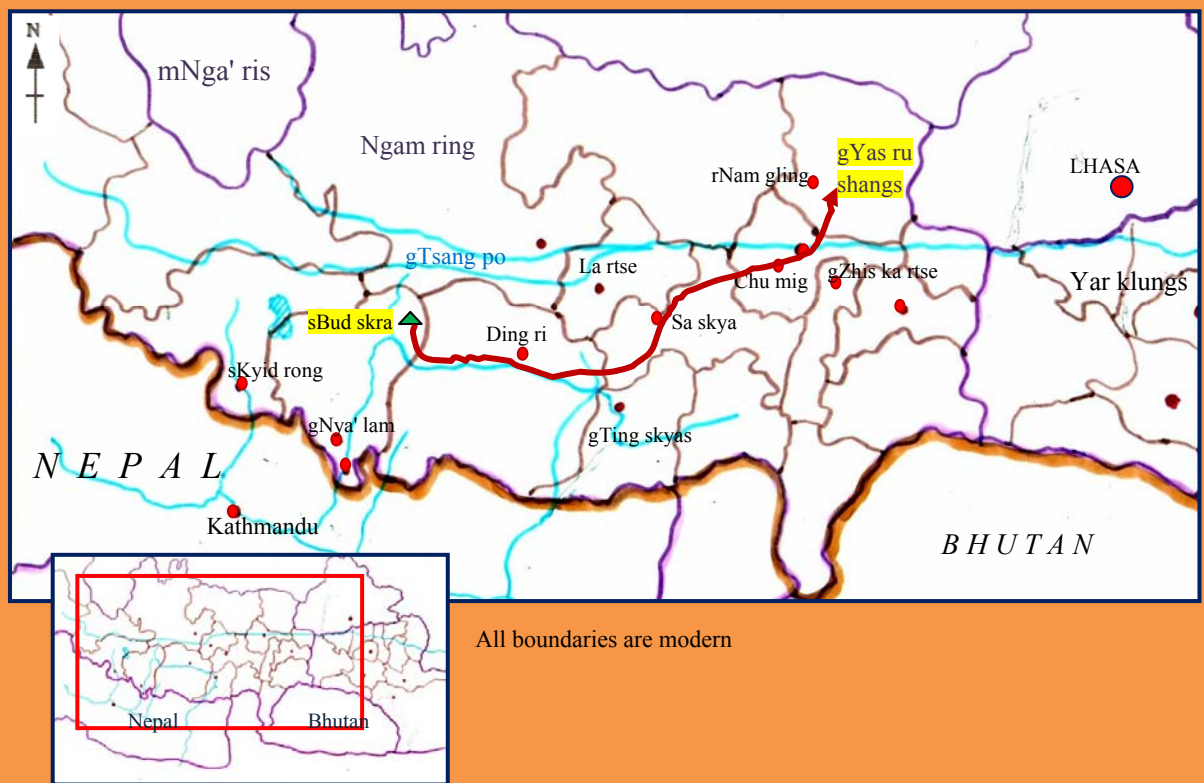
⁶⁹¹ Chen 2006: 298, based on the 5th Dalai Lama's *rGyal rabs*. The *Chug mig chos skor* is also mentioned in Chattopadhyaya 1993: 97–98, Everding 1997: 271, LHORONG: 738, Petech 1990a: 53 & 2003b: 347, Roerich 1949: 212 and YARLUNG: 85.

⁶⁹² Tucci 1958: 62.

⁶⁹³ Petech 2003b: 347.

'Phags pa, but doubts if Chu mig is connected with Chu mig rings mo.⁶⁹⁴ However, since *lHo rong chos 'byung* confirms that it was during the *chos skor* in Chu mig that U rgyan pa revived the spring water,⁶⁹⁵ it is clear that the two names refer to the same place. Besides, it also confirms that U rgyan pa did attend the Chu mig conference in 1277 after visiting Sa skya. In other words, U rgyan pa might also be deemed "a religious leader of the country" of his time.

Map 18: Route Map of U rgyan pa's First Benediction trip to gTsang and West dBus, c. 1277–1281.



Benedictions in Central Tibet

The itinerary in the biographies shows that U rgyan pa was travelling eastward from sBud skra, first to Sa skya, then further east to Chu mig and Tshong 'dus mgrur mo, both located in the lower basin of the Nyang (Myang) river. Afterwards he continued eastward to gYas

⁶⁹⁴ Ferrari 1958: 62 and 146 (Note 466).

⁶⁹⁵ LHORONG: 738.

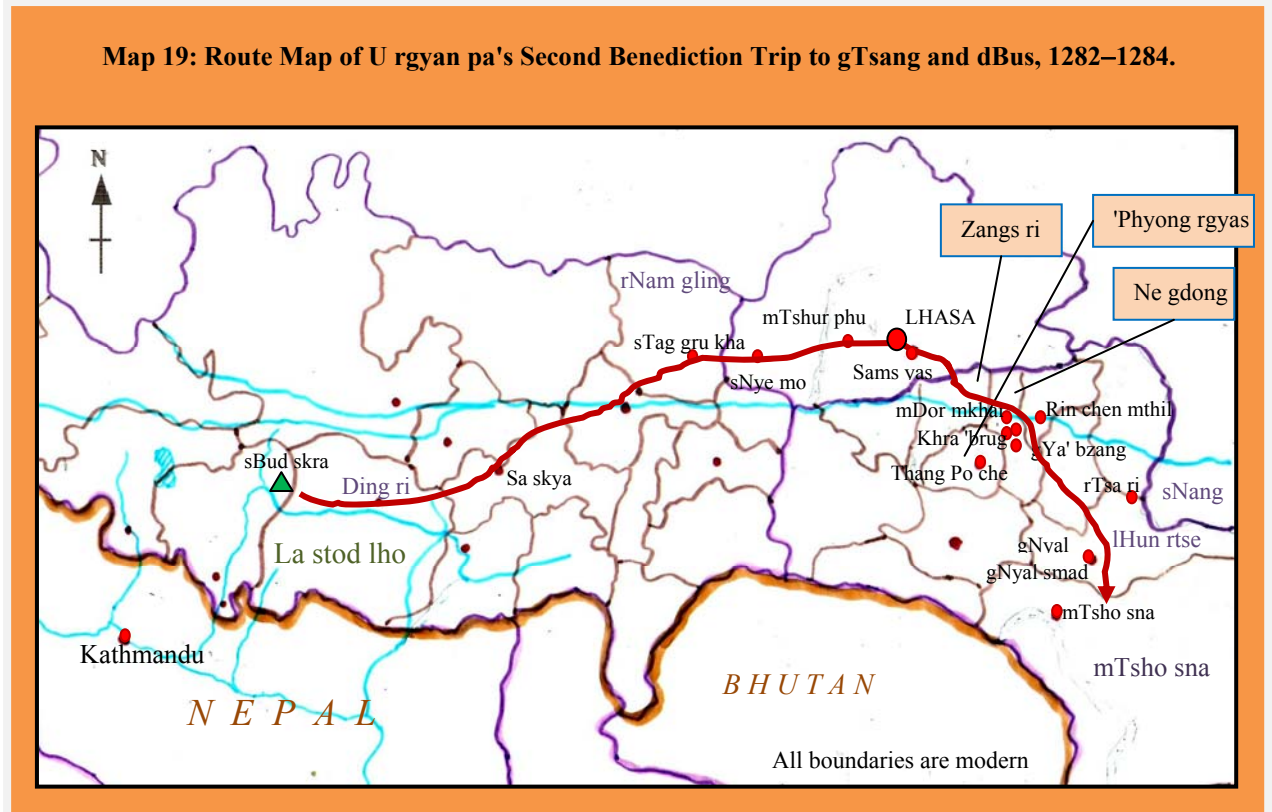
ru Shangs, 150 km west-northwest of Lhasa. Then he is said to have made a north turn from here.⁶⁹⁶ It is not sure why he had to go northward from here, but anyway he did not seem to have ventured far into the dBus area. It is believed that his benediction trip had lasted for at least a few years. By the time he returned to sBud skra, it was probably around 1281. The restoration of his residence had probably been completed.

⁶⁹⁶ LHORONG: 738 mentions a few more places, such as rMog cog and Nyi ma lung pa, after Shangs. These are believed to be small towns or villages around the area.

IV. 1282–1284

(Aged 52–54)

Another Benediction Journey



General Account

U rgyan pa's altruistic activities continued. In the Horse Year (1282),⁶⁹⁷ he was asked to mediate in the dispute between dPon chen Byang rin⁶⁹⁸ and bSam yas rgyal po, but his efforts were unsuccessful. Eventually the dPon chen died. Afterwards, U rgyan pa continued his way towards the Yar klungs valley in Central Tibet. At sTag gru kha⁶⁹⁹ he

⁶⁹⁷ A1-SO: 192, A2-SO: 79a and A3-SO: 68b only mention "in the Horse Year" (*rta lo'i la*), but B1-KM: 27b mentions "in the winds of autumn in the Horse Year" (*rta lo'i ston ser*); Dict-THDL (Dan Martin): *ston ser* = the winds of autumn. However, judging from the busy itinerary afterwards in the Horse Year, it is quite doubtful that the incident started so late in the year.

⁶⁹⁸ Dict-BG: 2890. Byang rin was the fifth in the succession of twenty-two Sa skya dPon chens.

⁶⁹⁹ It is shown on the map that this pier is located about 45 km downstream (east) from gZhis ka rtse (Shigatse), in present-day rNam gling county, west of Lhasa.

changed his mind and turned north to go to mTshur phu monastery,⁷⁰⁰ the seat of Karma Pakshi (1203–1283), the second holder of the Karma bKa' brgyud lineage. The Karma pa entrusted him with his own black hat. In Lhasa, his retinue ran into a skirmish with the men of Kun dga' rgyal po, Prefect (dPon) of dBus district, and the latter were defeated. Then he went to sNye mdo monastery to meet sNye mdo ba, the incarnation of rGod tshang pa. Afterwards he visited bSam yas monastery where he gave consecrations to thousands of faithful. He also inscribed onto the gallery of the middle story a chronology (*bstan rtsis*) of Buddhism up to the year of Male Water Horse (1282).⁷⁰¹ At Rin chen mthil monastery,⁷⁰² he was slighted by the arrogant Phag mo gru'i Rin po che and his attendant. Then he visited Khra 'brug,⁷⁰³ the seat of his disciple mKhar chu ba. He spent three winter months in the region.

It was probably the beginning of 1283 when he was on the road again. He was invited by the commander (dPon) of the Phag mo gru Myriarchy to give teachings in mDo mkhar in Central Yar klungs. He gave Kālacakra consecrations there, and commissioned the copying of Kālacakra commentaries and distributed them to the *dGe shes*. He also cured patients with his unique Beating Therapy (*dByug bcos*).⁷⁰⁴ His men ran into a skirmish with the Mongol troops. He was summoned to the barrack where he overpowered the Mongols with his eloquent speech and ferocious presence. Then he was invited to the neighbouring region Thang po che by Seng ge dpal, head of a lordly household, to

⁷⁰⁰ Dict-BG: 2316. mTshur phu dgon pa (built in 1189) was the seat of the Karma bKa' brgyud lineage. It is situated in sTod lung, northwest of Lhasa. See Richardson 1982: 31–34 on a description of this monastery.

⁷⁰¹ Dict-BG: 3233 Chronology Table also notes that U rgyan pa composed a *bsTan rtsis* in this year. See also Chattopadhyaya 1993: 96. The text in A1-SO: 203 reads: *Bar khang gi 'khyams (khyams) su Shākya'i rigs kyi rgyal po | Zas tsang (gtsang) ma'i sras Shākya seng ge nyid du sku bltams pa dang | mngon par byang chub pa dang chu pho rta'i lo yan chad la lo dus song ba'i rtsis mdzad cing yi ger bkod.*

⁷⁰² Dict-BG: 1342. Probably the same as gDan sa mthil, seat of Phag mo gru lineage of the bKa' brgyud school, built in 1158 in Zangs ri in Yar klungs.

⁷⁰³ Dict-BG: 270. Khra 'brug lha khang is the earliest Buddhist temple in Tibet, founded by Srong btsan sgam po in Ne gdong in Yar klungs.

⁷⁰⁴ DORJE3. The therapy involves tapping/beating the patient with a stick. While I was doing bibliographical research in Lhasa in summer 2009, I was given access in the Paltseg Institute to a rare eleven-folio manuscript (of which I had taken photographs) entitled *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub kyis dbyug bcos rin po che bzhugs so*, written by *Grub chen O rgyan pa'i slob ma Legs pa dpal bzang po*. It is a detailed treatise about the application of U rgyan pa's Beating Therapy developed from his unique teaching *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*.

subjugate an evil spirit. Seeing the misbehaviour of some bKa' gdams pa monks there, he criticised 'Brom ston pa⁷⁰⁵ and preached to these monks.⁷⁰⁶ He stayed in Yar klungs for three months.

Then he travelled southward to Lower Yar klungs. He initiated the death anniversary memorial service for rGod tshang pa in dGon gsar in gNyal⁷⁰⁷ and delegated the task of performing rituals to the hermits of Tsa ri.⁷⁰⁸ He criticised a Chag Lotsava in gNyal smad for accusing the teachings of the rNying ma pa, the Zhi byed and the discovered texts of being perverted, because he saw with his own eyes in the temple Thang bhi ha ra (*vihāra*) in Nepal a huge number of manuscripts of the translations of both the New and Old traditions. The south borderlands were probably dominated by religions other than Buddhism, because it is said that U rgyan pa warned the people of gNyal smad of the bad karma from burning the Buddhist temples. He also succeeded in dissuading the craftsmen of Lo ro⁷⁰⁹ from smelting metal Buddhist images into handicrafts for sale.

He stayed at Yar la sham po from summer through autumn. His disciples and patrons built a monastery on the meadow on this mountain and invited him to stay there, but he refused, saying that he preferred to wander on. He persuaded the incarnation of rGod tshang pa to abandon his monastery and go to La stod to take over his, but the young man seemed uninterested. When he was performing some rites in sNye mdo in the twelfth Tibetan month (*rgyal gyi zla ba*)⁷¹⁰ of the same year (Sheep Year)], i.e. the beginning of 1284, he

⁷⁰⁵ Dict-ID. 'Brom ston pa (1005-1064) was the heart disciple of Atiśa and founder of the bKa' gdams lineage.

⁷⁰⁶ This episode is only found in Biography C2-CM: 2a.

⁷⁰⁷ Dict-BG: 978. gNyal is situated in lHun rtse county in lHo kha. It was the birth place of Thu mi Sambhoṭa, the celebrated minister of Srong btsan sgam po.

⁷⁰⁸ Gyurme 1996: 234. Tsa ri is situated on the border of lHun rtse county (lHo kha District) and sNang county (Nying khri District). See Huber 1999b Chapter 6: Tantric Meditation Communities on the colonisation of Tsa ri by the 'Bri gung pa and bKa' brgyud pa in the 12th–13th century.

⁷⁰⁹ Dict-BG: 978. Lo ro (also as gNyal lo ro) is situated in gNyal in lHun rtse county in SouthTibet. In ancient times, the population of the place were largely traders and vendors who travelled far and near to do business. Roberts (2007: 85, 209) mentions that it was one of the principal residences of Ras chung pa in his later years.

⁷¹⁰ Dict-BG: 557.

had a vision of Karma Pakshi riding towards the east on a black horse, and giving him the black hat.⁷¹¹

The 5th dPon chen and the bSam yas rgyal po

The dPon chen called Byang rin was the fifth dPon chen under Yuan Sa skya rule. His death is also a topic of interest to some scholars. According to *Shel dkar chos 'byung*, his full name was Shangs mkhar po che pa Byang chub rin chen.⁷¹² He died during his short tenure of office (1281–1281/2).⁷¹³ Chen Qingying remarks that he set the precedent of dPon chen taking up the post of Pacification Commission (in *pinyin*: *Xuanweishi*).⁷¹⁴

Chen Qingying points out that the reasons for the death of Byang rin mentioned in the 5th Dalai Lama's *rGyal rabs* and in *Bod rGya yig tshang* (the latter is not available to me) are quite different. The former mentions that he was murdered by his own attendant in sTong mo thang in Shangs; the latter says that he was murdered in the camp of sTong po thang by Byang pa Ye shes bzang po, the third of the four "trusted attendants" (*g.yog snying*) of the deceased dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po, to avenge his dead master.⁷¹⁵ Whichever is the case, Chen opines that Byang rin's death was the repercussion of the conflict between 'Phags pa and Kun dga' bzang po.⁷¹⁶

Van der Kuijp's interest in this 5th dPon chen is no less than his interest in the 2nd dPon chen. He has explored in detail the aforementioned episode in an attempt to reconstruct the

⁷¹¹ Although Roerich 1949: 487 states that the Karma pa "passed away on the "3rd day of the **third month** of the Year Water-Female-Sheep (1283)", Manson 2009: 44 has noted that "The demise date of Karma Pakshi is first recorded in the *Deb ther dmar po*—3rd day of the **9th month** in the Sheep Year (1283–4), which the later accounts generally agree with." Therefore, it was a few months after the Karma pa's death when U rgyan pa had the vision of him appearing in the sky.

⁷¹² Wangdu & Diemberger 1996: 27, based on *Bod rgya yig tshang*. Roerich 1949: 216 refers to him as Byang rin.

⁷¹³ Petech 1990a: 144, Wangdu & Diemberger 1996: 27.

⁷¹⁴ Chen 2006: 300, quoting the Chinese historian Chen Dezhi. Petech 2009a: 27 gives a similar statement, based on the Tibetan source *Blon po bka' thang* quoted in Tucci's *Tibetan Painting Scrolls*, p.258.

⁷¹⁵ Chen 2006: 300 relates both reasons while Petech 2009a: 27 mentions only the second one.

⁷¹⁶ Chen 2006: 301.

scenario, but it seems that the reconstruction is not very satisfactory due to some puzzling "locutions in the texts".⁷¹⁷ From his "very tentative" summary of the incident, there seem to be quite a number of misinterpretations of the texts as well as some important clues overlooked, resulting in a big misunderstanding of the whole story. The following is my summary of the incident based on the long biographies of U rgyan pa. Van der Kuijp's interpretations are in the footnotes.

On a certain day in the autumn of 1282, U rgyan pa stared into the sky on the east and told his disciples that the dharma protector Gur mgon⁷¹⁸ had entered his residence (in sBud skra) and told him that the dPon chen was seriously ill, and requested him to give the dPon chen empowerment. Gur mgon also promised to assist U rgyan pa's activities and thus asked U rgyan pa to give him *gtor ma* offerings. A few days later, bSam yas rgyal po appeared (*byung nas*) and told U rgyan pa that dPon chen Byang rin had come to bSam yas gtsug lag khang, smashed the door (*'go rdung*, viz. *sgo rdung*),⁷¹⁹ stole the turquoise⁷²⁰ and did a lot of humiliating things; but he also caused Byang rin some harm. He requested U rgyan pa to be the mediator. Four days afterwards, Byang rin sent four horsemen/envoys to invite and escort U rgyan pa to go to where he was staying, in Dar sding in 'Jad.⁷²¹ On seeing U rgyan pa, Byang rin said that since he always bore in mind previously his (Byang rin's) paternal uncles (*khu mtshan*) had benefited from U rgyan pa's consecrations and empowerments, and he therefore relied solely on U rgyan pa to cure his serious illness.⁷²² U rgyan pa said if Byang rin had trust in him (*khyed rang blo gtod na*), he might be able to

⁷¹⁷ Van der Kuijp 2004: 311. The biographies of U rgyan pa he bases on are the 1997 Lhasa edition by bSod nams 'od zer (viz., A1-SO) and the Gangtok version by Zla ba seng ge (similar to A3-SO).

⁷¹⁸ Dict-THDL. A dharma protector.

⁷¹⁹ This description of "smashing the door" is not mentioned in A3-SO. Van der Kuijp 2004: 311, "...whereas the Lhasa manuscript says with greater specificity that the piece of turquoise belonged to Bsam yas' *'go rdung* (= ?*sgo rdung*, "door bell")..."

⁷²⁰ A1-SO: 93–94 uses the terms '*g.yu*' (turquoise) and '*g.yu rkus*' (steal/stole the turquoise) and '*g.yu rkus pa*' (the one who has stolen the turquoise), but A2-SO: 80a–b and A3-SO: 68b–69a use '*g.yu sku*' (turquoise image) throughout.

⁷²¹ Van der Kuijp 2004: 311 notes that 'Jad was located west of gZhis ka rtse along the gTsang po river. Since the term '*bzhugs par*' is used, the place may or may not be his residence.

⁷²² *Ibid.*: Van der Kuijp: "...reminding U rgyan pa he had previously given one [empowerment] to his relatives on his father's side and said that his hope for a return to health rested only in him."

cure him using mantras and medicine.⁷²³ However, one Bla ma gSal ba sgang pa said they would treat him their own way and did not need U rgyan pa's treatment. Since Byang rin did not confess the theft he had committed, U rgyan pa told him bSam yas rgyal po had come to see him with the accusation that Byang rin had stolen his turquoise, and that the one who had stolen the turquoise must return it. Byang rin sent a white horse loaded with silk fabric and turquoise and the like, and sent it eastwards. However, the horse returned to his door still carrying the load. In the evening, knowing by clairvoyance that the raging bSam yas rgyal po would seek further vengeance, U rgyan pa woke up the two attendants who were sleeping (probably guarding) at the door of the tent (*gzim sbra*) [of the dPon chen]. He told them to fix four *phur pa* (ritual daggers) at the four cardinal points of the camp (*sgar*).⁷²⁴ Byang rin seemed to be fast asleep (or unconscious). Bla ma gSal ba urgently sent for U rgyan pa; he told others that U rgyan pa might have camphor (*ga bur*), which might be useful in reviving the dPon chen. U rgyan pa doubted if the dPon chen would rise again at all.⁷²⁵ He told the lama camphor was useless for bringing back the wind (*rlung*). He also said, "[If he dies after using the camphor], people might say that he died of the drug prescribed by U rgyan pa. [In any case,] I don't have any camphor."⁷²⁶ It is said that Byang rin died that night. Later, U rgyan pa conducted the funeral rites for him in 'Jad, and the monks of 'Jad lung gave him many offerings.⁷²⁷

The purpose of the above summary is not to establish the true cause of Byang rin's death. Nor is it meant to contradict van der Kuijp's interpretations. Rather, it is for mapping out all the details that might help reveal the answer to the next and the most interesting question.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*: Van der Kuijp: "U rgyan pa replied that he may possibly be of benefit provided he focuses his mind on him alone."

⁷²⁴ The mention of the tent and camp suggests that *Bod rGya yig tshang*'s claim that the dPon chen was murdered in a camp might be evident to some extent. The fixing of *phur pa* of course was meant to expel evil forces sent by the enemy.

⁷²⁵ Van der Kuijp 2004: 312: "But U rgyan pa told them that the grand-governor might be awakened..."

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*: Van der Kuijp: "..., but it appears that Lama Gsal ba [sgang pa] was nonetheless inclined to the view that he had ended up killing the grand-governor with his treatment."

⁷²⁷ A1-SO: 193–94: A2-SO: 80a–b and A3-SO: 68b–69a.

Who was the Mysterious bSam yas rgyal po?

Van der Kuijp has tried to identify this "unnamed king of bSam yas". He says that there was a certain Shākya mgon, who is referred to as "the king (*btsad po*) of Bsam yas" in a 17th-century chronicle;⁷²⁸ and the bSam yas rgyal po is believed to be either his son Shākya bkra shis (1230–1300) or his grandson Grags pa rin chen (1255–1328).⁷²⁹ According to Sørensen's translation of the *rGyal rabs gsal ba' me long*, Grags pa rin chen belonged to the royal lineage of the Yar klungs lords (*jo bo*); he obtained the mandate of Qubilai Khan and exerted his secular rule (*chab srid*, *rgyal srid*) for forty years (1268–1307), during which he was very powerful.⁷³⁰ Although nothing has been mentioned of this lord being referred to as bSam yas rgyal po in the *Me long*, van der Kuijp's hypothesis is not without grounds. However, on scrutinising the texts describing the episode about the 5th dPon chen's death, I believe that bSam yas rgyal po was not human, but a ferocious deity!

The Gur mgon who came to inform U rgyan pa about the dPon chen's serious illness was undoubtedly a spirit. bSam yas rgyal po's visit a few days later was *also* U rgyan pa's vision. As already mentioned in Chapter III, our hero had reached a level in which reality, dreams and visions were no longer clearly distinguishable. In fact, the term *rgyal po* refers not only to human kings, but also to a category of 'high-ranking spirits'.⁷³¹ They 'inhabit' and 'own' an area, hence the name *rgyal po*. They can be good or bad, depending on the individual. In Tibetan Buddhist liturgies, they are associated with temples and religious places.⁷³² According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the 'treasure-master' of bSam yas is a spirit known as dKor bdag rgyal po.⁷³³ If we identify bSam yas rgyal po with this 'spirit king', the story becomes much clearer. The following is the same account retold in this new context.

⁷²⁸ Van der Kuijp 2004: 312. It is a chronicle of Sa skya's ruling families written in 1629 by A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659).

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*: 312–13. The names of the son and grandson are found in Sørensen 1994: 479.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*: 313.

⁷³¹ Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 94 ff, 107.

⁷³² Dict-ID.

⁷³³ Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 96. "... *dKor bdag rgyal po*, 'the king (or *rgyal po* demon), the treasure-master',—a title given to him on account of the position he occupied at Samye (*bSam yas*)..."

Byang rin coveted a certain piece of turquoise in bSam yas and took it by force. To punish him, the *rgyal po* of bSam yas made him seriously ill. Gur mgon, probably the protector spirit of Byang rin, thus came to entreat U rgyan pa to give his master empowerment. Since U rgyan pa was an influential lama and a renowned exorcist in La stod, bSam yas rgyal po also came to ask him to be the mediator. It seems that if Byang rin had immediately returned the turquoise, his life would have been spared. However, he did not do so; he believed that U rgyan pa's empowerment and exorcising power could counteract the evil force of the *rgyal po*. From the time he stole the turquoise to the time U rgyan pa arrived at his camp east of Sa skya, probably at least half a month had passed. The rage of the *rgyal po* was imaginable. Although it is said that Byang rin sent a horse loaded with silk and turquoise onto the eastbound road, the texts do not specify at all whether the stolen turquoise was included. At the height of his rage, the *rgyal po* decided to kill Byang rin. Knowing this by clairvoyance, U rgyan pa tried to use his specialty, the powerful *phur pa* magic, to expel the punitive force. However, the *rgyal po* was too powerful; even U rgyan pa could not suppress him.

Thus, according to the biographies, both the 2nd and the 5th dPon chen were killed by non-humans; U rgyan pa was involved in the former and witness to the latter.

Karma Pakshi and the Black Hat⁷³⁴

According to the long biographies, knowing by clairvoyance that U rgyan pa was coming to mTshur phu to visit him, Karma Pakshi (1203–1283) told his disciples to get ready for the welcome. Also knowing by clairvoyance that the Karma pa's disciples were busy getting things ready, U rgyan pa halted on the way for three days to give them ample time to get things done. U rgyan pa's arrival at mTshur phu was met with a big welcome. When the Karma pa half jokingly accused him of coming late, he simply made up an excuse to

⁷³⁴ See Richard 1998: 338–58 for a concise account of the Karma pa lineage, the origin and symbolism of the Black Hat and Karma Pakshi's relationship with the Mongols. See also Manson 2009 for an introduction to the life of Karma Pakshi.

dismiss the accusation. U rgyan pa's meeting with Karma Pakshi took place in 1282, one year before the latter's death. The incident of U rgyan pa being entrusted with the legendary Black Hat, the symbol of transmission of the Karma lineage, is not found in the earlier accounts such as *Deb ther sngon po* and *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung*, while *lHo rong chos 'byung* gives only a brief account.⁷³⁵ However, quite a detailed one is found in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*.⁷³⁶ It may well be the case that U rgyan pa had given the Karma pa a somewhat unfavourable impression of being arrogant and conceited. Thus, according to *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, the Karma pa demonstrated his miraculous powers in various ways and thereby shattered the arrogance of U rgyan pa.⁷³⁷

The biographies go on to say that the Karma pa put his black hat on the head of U rgyan pa, and performed a ritual by stirring some barley in a bowl above the head of the latter. Afterwards he entrusted U rgyan pa with the black hat and his iron staff, and predicted that the lineage would be suspended for a while and that there would be a successor coming from the direction of La stod. There is *no mention* of the Karma pa explicitly saying that he would take birth again and be his own successor at all. Then he gave U rgyan pa teachings and consecrations and the six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara (*sNying po yi ge drug*).⁷³⁸ After saying that he and U rgyan pa had been master and disciple for many lives, he also said this: "You have to bring [me] up, take care [of me] and guide me." (*nga'i mgo 'don yang khyed kyis byed dgos*).⁷³⁹ However, it is said in two of the long biographies that U rgyan pa at that moment did not understand the significance of these words; the Karma pa read his thoughts but did not explain his statement.⁷⁴⁰ *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* also states that the Karma pa only told U rgyan pa to take care (*mgo 'don byed*) of the hat and scripture and so forth he gave him, and give them back to him when he (the Karma pa) came back again.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁵ LHORONG: 739.

⁷³⁶ KPGT: 462.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.* See also TSURPHU: 363.

⁷³⁸ Roberts 2007: 218 remarks that the Karma pa is considered an emanation of Avalokiteśvara.

⁷³⁹ Dict-BG: 478. The Tibetan explanation of the term *mgo 'don* reads: "Pha mas phru gu'i mgo 'don 'tsho skyong byed pa." Thus, Karma pa was bidding U rgyan pa to raise him (his incarnation) and take care of him like a parent.

⁷⁴⁰ A1-SO: 200 and A3-SO: 71b mention this, but A2-SO: 83a does not.

⁷⁴¹ KPGT: 462. See also TSURPHU: 363.

According to my colleague Charles Manson, it is a feature of the "Karmapa reincarnate ecclesiastical succession tradition" that "the lineages goes on from Karmapa to 'regent' and on to next Karmapa child, ensuring a degree of continuity of transmission."⁷⁴² Obviously, Karma Pakshi was appointing U rgyan pa as the 'regent' of his incarnation (though he did not say it explicitly). As seen in the later accounts of the biographies of U rgyan pa, this 'regent' seems to have done his job quite well although in the beginning he had no idea at all he was the chosen one.

A Skirmish with the Mongol Troops in 1283

While U rgyan pa was staying in mDo mkhar in early 1283, the Hor (Mongol) general Nang kha ta and his younger brother Bal mur came to the place with their troops. At that time U rgyan pa and his disciples were probably engaged in the copying of the Kālacakra commentaries, either sponsored by the Commander of the Phag mo gru Myriarchy, who invited him to this place, or by another patron (see later part of this subsection). Probably appalled by the brutality and atrocities of the Mongols, the followers of U rgyan pa ran into a skirmish with them. U rgyan pa was summoned to see the Mongol general. Being conveyed in the sedan chair sent by the Mongols and escorted by all his disciples, U rgyan pa proceeded to the barracks. All his men carried only slingshots and wooden sticks and no other weapons. He overpowered the Mongols with his ferocious manner and even beat up the head officer with his staff. The Khri dpon of the gYa' bzang and Phag mo gru Myriarchies were probably witnessing all this. Since they acted as mediators, U rgyan pa stopped the beating and left the barracks with his men. All the people of mDo mkhar were awed by his courage.⁷⁴³

Although it is not sure who the Mongol general and his brother were, and why their troops were in mDo mkhar, this episode at least discloses to some extent the antagonism between the Tibetans and the Mongol troops, and the difficult role of the Khri dpon in maintaining

⁷⁴² Manson 2009: 31.

⁷⁴³ This incident is only found in Biography C2-CM: 3b–5a.

peace and harmony between the two. The real picture and the heroism of U rgyan pa might have been exaggerated, but the episode is believed to have demonstrated to a certain degree the ferocious aspect of U rgyan pa, which was complemented by his peaceful aspect to achieve the altruistic goal of educating, enlightening and liberating sentient beings.

The mass reproduction of the Kalācakra commentaries by handcopying rather than woodblock printing also affirms that the latter was not yet widespread in Tibet.⁷⁴⁴ Another possible patron who sponsored the copying of these commentaries was Bya rin chen. According to the history of the Bya clan in Lower Yar klungs, contained in *The Blue Annals*, U rgyan pa formed a priest-patron (*mchod yon*) relationship with Bya rin chen, one of the three brothers collectively referred to as *Bya rigs gsum mgon po* (Three Lords of Bya). Bya rin chen had repelled the Mongol troops and was recognised as chief of gYe, dMyal, Bya Dags and Lo ro in the Lower Yar klungs region (also known as Bya yul because most of its inhabitants belonged to the Bya clan).⁷⁴⁵ According to the long biographies, his altruistic attitude was much praised by U rgyan pa.⁷⁴⁶ One wonders if U rgyan pa was also backed up by this patron in some way in his confrontation with the Mongol troops in mDo mkhar.

⁷⁴⁴ See subsection B2b-ZM, Section I, Part One of this thesis.

⁷⁴⁵ Roerich 1949: 1087–88.

⁷⁴⁶ A1-SO: 213. The text translates as "Since Geshe Byang rin has the mind to benefit others, even though he has eighteen wives, still people rush to him to ask for blessings."

V. 1284–1290

(Aged 54–60)

Enemies and Obstacles

General Account

In 1284, U rgyan pa believed that his two-year benediction trip in the dBus-gTsang region had come to fruition. Then he went back to sBud skra. Many people offered him monasteries and lands, but at the same time there were enemies among his close relations. He recalled that rGod tshang pa had predicted that he would have many enemies among his close relations as he became increasingly famous. He continued to show his powers of clairvoyance and telepathy. His following grew in size. In around 1288, after a dream about the Karma pa he was told by a monk that the little boy of a potter couple in Mo phug⁷⁴⁷ claimed himself the Karma pa. Believing that the boy was the incarnation of Karma Pakshi, U rgyan pa sent people to usher him to mTshur phu monastery. U rgyan pa crowned the boy with the Black Hat and took him as his disciple.

The Grudge with the Tsha mda' ba

The great fame that U rgyan pa later acquired seems to have left his family unimpressed. His grudge with the clan called Tsha mda' ba is the most prominent example illustrating the efficaciousness of rGod tshang pa's prophecy. While the long biographies only mention U rgyan pa's own prediction of this grudge, more details about this decade-long enmity are given in the shorter biography C2-CM written by Chu mig pa Rin rgyal, interwoven with episodes of sTod Hor invasion and 'Bri gung Rebellion.

⁷⁴⁷ Roerich 1949: 488 states that the 3rd Karma pa was born in Tsa'i phu gangs zur mo (in Gung thang), the birth place of Mi la ras pa. TSHURPU: 365 states that the birth place is Mang yul gung thang Gangs zhur mo. Mo phug probably is a small place there.

Tsha mda' ba was the clan into which U rgyan pa's eldest sister Jo lcam dPal 'dzes rgyan married. She had a daughter and a son. According to the chronology suggested by the life accounts of U rgyan pa, it was in around 1280 he predicted that his people would have a grudge with this clan in the future. At that time, the relationship between U rgyan pa and this clan was still an amicable one. The later grudge was instigated by two incidents, both associated with the 'Bri gung Rebellion, starting from the latter half of 1280s. The first incident was the Tsha mda' ba chieftain's refusal to submit to the sTod Hor who came to assist the 'Bri gung Rebellion, while U rgyan pa submitted on behalf of La stod under pressure. The second incident was Jo lcam dPal mdongs's (daughter or grand-daughter of U rgyan pa's sister) collaboration with the sTod Hor general Rin chen in order to gain back the properties that had fallen into the hands of her uncles and brothers. Since a brief account of these two incidents has already been given in the summary of Biography C2-CM in Section II, Part One of this thesis, it will not be repeated here. The purpose of mentioning this grudge between U rgyan pa and the Tsha mda' ba is to better facilitate the exploration of some scenarios of the 'Bri gung Rebellion.

Historical Context

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to look into the historical context of this disastrous event in 13th-century Tibet under Yuan Sa skya rule. The 'Bri gung pa were very active in the political arena of Tibet throughout the 13th century. The antagonism between 'Bri gung and Sa skya can be traced back to the first half of this century. As already mentioned in Stage two of Chapter II, the 'Bri gung was very aggressive in opening up new domains, particularly in West Tibet. In 1240, Ögedei Khan appointed a governor, titled *gNam sa dpa' shis*, to rule over West Tibet, and granted authority over it to the 'Bri gung pa. By 1250, 'Bri gung was exercising authority over the whole of Upper mNga' ris. However, after 'Phags pa's first return to Sa skya in 1265, 'Bri gung was under the pressure to cede control of Upper mNga' ris in exchange for the smaller sNa dkar rtse region in Yar klungs. 'Bri gung refused and thus came into direct conflict with Sa skya. Following the death of the Gu ge king Grags pa lde (a supporter of 'Bri gung) in 1277, the land of Gu ge

Pu rang was controlled by Mang yul Gung thang, a vassal kingdom of Sa skya. When the head of 'Bri gung pa refused to give up Upper mNga' ris again, it is said that the 1st dPon chen Sa skya bzang po instigated the *gNam sa dpa' shis*'s attendant to murder him. Afterwards, mNga' ris skor gsum passed under the Sa skya pa.⁷⁴⁸ In the latter half of 1280s, unrest was mounting and the monks of 'Bri gung were increasingly hostile to the Yuan Sa skya regime. In 1285, they burnt down the monastery of Bya yul (a Sa skya monastery in Lower Yar klungs) and killed its abbot.⁷⁴⁹ Rebellion started in around 1288. Both the 7th dPon chen gZhon nu dbang phyug and his successor the 8th dPon chen Byang chub rdo rje were unable to handle the situation.⁷⁵⁰ The 'Bri gung *sgom pa* (civil administrator and military commander)⁷⁵¹ sought military support from the sTod Hor while the 9th dPon chen Ag-len applied to the Yuan court for help. In 1290, the Mongol troops commanded by Prince Temür Boqa together with the militia of the Thirteen Myriarchies under the command of Ag-len, defeated the sTod Hor. The 'Bri gung monastery was stormed and burnt, and most of its inmates massacred. The *sgom pa* was killed and Prince Rin chen taken prisoner.⁷⁵²

Before or After?

In contrast to Petech, Tucci and Wylie who maintain that the sTod Hor troops led by Rin chen⁷⁵³ came to assist the 'Bri gung pa *before* the 1290 rebellion, Sperling cites the 'Bri gung *gser phreng* to the effect that they only came *in the wake* of the rebel.⁷⁵⁴ Dung dkar

⁷⁴⁸ Vitali 2003a: 70–78, based on 'Bri gung *Ti se lo rgyus*, 'Bri gung *gser phreng*, *gNyos lha nang pa'i rnam thar* and *Si tu bka' chems*. On 'Bri gung Rebellion, see also Petech 1978: 315–19, 2003b: 350–51, Sperling 1987: 36–37, Tucci 1971: 186–87 and Wylie 1977: 31–32.

⁷⁴⁹ Petech 2003b: 350, citing Roerich 1949: 303.

⁷⁵⁰ Vitali 2003b: 350–51, based on *The Blue Annals*, *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. See Everding 1997: 271 on the establishment of Mang yul gung thang by Sa skya in about 1268.

⁷⁵¹ Petech 1978: 313 notes that the 'Bri gung *sgom pa* took charge of the secular administration and held both civil and military powers. See also Sperling 1987: 33.

⁷⁵² Petech 2003b: 351, based on *Deb ther dmar po* and *Bod rGya yig tshang*. Temür Boqa was the elder son of A'uruγči, the seventh son of Qubilai Khan (see also Zhang 1994).

⁷⁵³ Zhang 1994: 99–105. Rin chen was Kaidu's subordinate.

⁷⁵⁴ Sperling 1987: 345 (Note 34) states that Petech (1983), Tucci (1949) and Wylie (1962) maintain that it was *prior*. This 'Bri kung *gser phreng* was written by Che tshang sprul sku.

Blo bzang phrin las seems to have sided with the majority, but he states that they came in 1285, five years before the *gling lo*, and were sent by Hüle'ü.⁷⁵⁵ A close look at Chu mig pa's narrative below may help determine which statement is closer to truth:

(Summary) Many years have come to pass.⁷⁵⁶ At the time when 'Bri gung sGom pa On po⁷⁵⁷ brought in Prince Rin chen of the sTod Hor and his troops, the sTod Hor troops descended to dPal ma dpal thang and sPyad lungs (in central Ding ri).⁷⁵⁸ [Since] at that time, the troops of Prince Temür Boqa were [still] at Chu 'dus, all [people] had [no choice] but to submit (*ngo lta*) to [the sTod Hor].⁷⁵⁹ Then all the major monasteries and all the clans in La stod lho submitted under the lead of sBud skra....

(Interjected by the episode of the head of Tsha mda' ba refusing to be manipulated by U rgyan and thus fled to sNya nam (gNya' lam), while his eldest son later on joined the sTod Hor to fight against Sa skya).... When Slob spon Byang chub mchog, the leader of the vanguard of Prince Rin chen [and his] troops, arrived at Pal ma (dPal ma), the [representative of] sBus skra greeted him with the tea-offering ceremony. When ['Bri gung sGom pa] dPon po and Prince Rin chen arrived at Sum mdo, rJe Rin po che pa (U rgyan pa) himself and his retinue went in a large party to welcome them, paying them good service and respect, [and] presenting a good horse mounted with a gold saddle to each of them. [U rgyan pa said],

⁷⁵⁵ Zhang 1994: 99–100, citing Chen Qingying's 1985 Chinese translation of Dung dkar blo bzang's *Bod kyi chos srid zun 'brel skor bsad pa*. The incident of the sTod Hor coming from 1285 is also mentioned in BLG *Bar cha*: 91, but source unspecified.

⁷⁵⁶ The previous episode is about U rgyan pa's prediction of the grudge between his men and the Tsha mda' ba clan, made around 1280. "Many years later" therefore should mean the end of 1280s.

⁷⁵⁷ Sperling 1987: 36 states that he is referred to as sGom pa dbon (dpon) po in '*Bri gung gser phreng*.

⁷⁵⁸ The location of dPal ma dpal thang (or dPal ma thang) is uncertain but sPyad lungs (or bCad lung) is located on the southern shore of Phung chu river in central Ding ri. dPal ma dpal thang is likely to be nearby.

⁷⁵⁹ The location of Chu 'dus is uncertain but since it is said that the people of La stod lho had no choice but to submit to the sTod Hor, the Mongol troops led by Temür Boqa must be either on the way or some distance away east of Ding ri.

"Bri gung's divisions at La phyi Chu dbar⁷⁶⁰ are entirely managed by me. Since I am handing them over to you now, I will have no responsibility [of them] from now on.".... The sGom pa and the Prince praised him inconceivably. All the Mongols knelt down to request his blessings.... Then when [the troops] all camped at the grassland of Pho ri and Ru rings,⁷⁶¹ they demanded many vessels and utensils to be delivered to them,... They [also] said, "[You] need to send some tattoo-faced ones (convicts) [as soldiers] and many horses to us." Rin po che said, "Since we are real disciples of 'Phags pa, how can we supply troops to fight against Sa skya? Please don't say that." Then [Rin chen's officer said], "We didn't mean to ask you to host troops, [but] many of those people under you, who have submitted [to us], need to host troops. All the Byang ris [people]⁷⁶² who have [already] submitted [to us] are also supplying troops." [U rgyan pa] said forcefully, "Even though I feel [honoured] to be trusted by you with the task of procuring [troops] from those who have submitted, please don't talk about waging war." Thus, they were not required to send soldiers and horses.... (Interjected here is the episode of the young dPon of Tsha mda' ba submitting to other forces in La stod, and U rgyan pa's niece [or grand-niece] betraying him and collaborating with Rin chen).... Then Rin chen and his troops went eastward. The troops of Temür Boqa and the army of Sa skya based in Drang so tsho Inga (in east Ding ri)⁷⁶³ all went up

⁷⁶⁰ Dict-BG: 2746. La phyi is a mountain situated at the Tibet-Nepal border and running eastward from South Ding ri to Chu dbar in Brin. Huber 2003: 257 states that the 'Bri gung pa sect founded its first community in La phyi in the 1210s.

⁷⁶¹ These two places cannot be located, but are believed to be in the Phung chu river basin in central Ding ri.

⁷⁶² This probably refers to the people in north mNga' ris. Rin chen probably went to La stod lho en route north mNga' ris.

⁷⁶³ The place name cannot be found in dictionaries or other literatures available to me. However, the official website of the Central Tibetan Administration mentions one of the stations of the PLA (People's Liberation Army) troop concentrations is "Drangso (Dhingri)". <http://www.tibet.net/en/index.php?id=154&rmenuid=11>. Subsequently, I managed to identify it with the town marked as 长所 (*pinyin*: Chang suo) on the regional map of Ding ri (p.79) in *Xizang Zizhiqu dituce* 2008. It is located north of the small lake called Gram mtsho on the northern shore of Phung chu on the eastern end of Ding ri, bordering on Sa skya county (see Map 3 of this thesis). It has probably been a place of strategical importance since ancient times. As for 'tsho Inga', my supervisor Charles Ramble points out to me that *tsho* followed by a number generally indicates the entire place. As for Chu 'dus, the

(from east to west) to the front of Bya rog tshang in Shri ri,⁷⁶⁴ and they fight [with the sTod Hor troops] at Mar zhag gi thang. The sTod Hor were all defeated. sGom pa dBon po fled to sNya nam (gNya' lam). Prince Rin chen and his remaining troops fled to high ground (*sa stod*) [but] were unable to escape....⁷⁶⁵

The biography does not mention a word about the 'Bri gung *gling lo* before and within the above narrative. We can only gather these points from the above account:

1. Rin chen's entering La stod lho was led by the 'Bri gung sGom pa, and not long before Mongols' final crack-down on the 'Bri gung Rebellion in 1290.
2. When Rin chen's troops arrived at central Ding ri, Temür Boqa's troops were some distance away, perhaps in east Ding ri or further east.
3. Rin chen's troops camped at Ding ri (probably because they could not go further east at all) and attempted to conscript soliders and horses from local sources, but were not successful (whatever the true reason may have been).
4. There is no mention of Rin chen attacking any Sa skya establishments or joining the 'Bri gung pa in any fighting.
5. Sa skya troops were guarding Drang so, the western entrance to Sa skya. Rin chen's troops had not advanced much eastward when they were intercepted by Temür Boqa's troops and were defeated in central Ding ri.

Dung dkar Blo bzang's statement about the sTod Hor troops coming to assist the 'Bri gung pa in 1285 may refer to an earlier incident rather than this 1290 'Bri gung Rebellion. If Rin chen had indeed arrived at Ding ri prior to the 'Bri gung rebels, his troops should have advanced straight eastward to join the 'Bri gung pa in attacking Sa skya. Travelling from Chaghatay Khanate from north of Tibet to Ding ri took time. Even if the 'Bri gung

previously mentioned location of Temür Boqa's troops, it is not sure whether the place name refers to the region around here, but the map does show that the area is the confluence of at least four streams.

⁷⁶⁴ Since this Bya rog tshang is said to be in front of Shri ri (*viz.*, rTshibs ri in central Ding ri), it is not likely to be that Bya rog tshang in the Nyang ro region west of gZhis ka rtse.

⁷⁶⁵ C2-CM: 7a–8b.

Rebellion had not started at the time when Rin chen set off for Tibet at the request of 'Bri gung *sgom pa*, by the time he arrived in Ding ri the 'Bri gung Rebellion could have *already* broken out, otherwise Temür Boqa's troops would have had no reason to advance. The strategic location of the Sa skya military base at Drang so has also disclosed that access to the east was blocked; Rin chen probably *never* had a chance to leave Ding ri to venture into Sa skya. He was thus forced to halt at Ding ri. He tried to increase his military force to confront the Mongol and Sa skya joint force, but his attempt was unsuccessful. Eventually he led his troops eastward and was defeated.

If the statement of Petech, Tucci and Wylie are based on the departure date of Rin chen's expedition, they are probably correct to say that he came *prior* to the 'Bri gung Rebellion—while it is possible that the 'Bri gung Rebellion just could not wait and thus broke out on their way. However, if the time of Rin chen's arrival at Ding ri is used as the base and the narrative of Chu mig pa is reliable, there are good reasons to say that at the time when U rgyan pa went to submit to Prince Rin chen, the uprising might have broken out *already* in the 'Bri gung monastery east of Lhasa. Thus the statement given by '*Bri gung phreng ba* is *also* correct.

In any case, after killing the *sGom pa* and capturing Rin chen, the united Mongol and Sa skya forces marched through south of Yar klungs towards Assam, "thus consolidating Sa skya and Mongol authority over the south-eastern portion of Central Tibet."⁷⁶⁶ Afterwards, Tibet was followed by a long period of peace.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁶ Petech 2003b: 351.

⁷⁶⁷ Wylie 1977: 131.

VI. 1291–1293

(Aged 61–63)

Visit to Yuan China

General Account

The earliest invitation from Qubilai Khan, according to the chronology suggested by the biographies of U rgyan pa, came in the early 1270s,⁷⁶⁸ probably after Qubilai Khan had declared the Mongol regime in China as the Yuan Dynasty.⁷⁶⁹ It is likely that in 1290 or the preceding year,⁷⁷⁰ the sixth Mongol envoy Temür⁷⁷¹ came bearing the invitation of Qubilai Khan, now the Emperor of Yuan dynasty of China. After the invitation was declined, he captured U rgyan pa and tortured him. Finally U rgyan pa managed to overpower him and frighten him away. Following the next invitation, borne by a more civilised and diplomatic envoy called Ni gur ta, U rgyan pa decided to accept it because he recalled the prophecy given by the emanation of Avalokiteśvara, telling him not to contradict the Emperor in future. He predicted that his journey to Yuan China would last for a year.

In the Dragon Year (1292) in his 63rd year,⁷⁷² U rgyan pa set off for the Yuan capital, probably from sBud skra, accompanied by ninety-seven followers, and riding on horses.⁷⁷³ When he arrived at Lhasa, Prince Temür Boqa and Mi chen I byi la welcomed him with great respect. He was entrusted with Padmasambhava's longevity water to be presented to

⁷⁶⁸ As previously mentioned, this incident was related to Qubilai's intended invasion of Nepal.

⁷⁶⁹ Atwood 2004: 631.

⁷⁷⁰ C2-CM: 5a. The 8th dPon chen Byang dor was in office.

⁷⁷¹ C2-CM: 4b. This Temür was only an envoy, not Temür Boqa. He is said to be the most fierce and haughty of all envoys sent to invite U rgyan pa. It is said that Qubilai Khan exiled him to the ocean coast as a punishment for his ill treatment to U rgyan pa (C2-CM: 5a), while the prince Temür Boqa was among the Yuan dignitaries welcoming U rgyan pa at Lhasa.

⁷⁷² A1-SO: 226 says '*lo bdun bcu rtsa gsum pa la'* (in his 73rd year), which is a mistake.

⁷⁷³ C2-CM: 5b. U rgyan pa told the Yuan officials (probably in the Yuan capital) that they had been riding on horses and therefore did not put on *Hor lham* (Mongol boots, probably more ceremonial than functional).

the Emperor. Continuing eastward, he visited the monasteries of Tshal gung thang⁷⁷⁴ and sTag lung⁷⁷⁵ north of Lhasa, and Ri bo che monastery⁷⁷⁶ in mDo khams.⁷⁷⁷ When he arrived at the Chinese city Shing kun,⁷⁷⁸ the whole town received him with great festivity. He stayed there for only three days. According to *lHo rong chos 'byung*,⁷⁷⁹ he travelled a distance of two postal stations a day.⁷⁸⁰ When he arrived at the palace in the Yuan capital Shang gdor,⁷⁸¹ he was honoured with a grand welcome. The Emperor was very pleased with him. He treated the ailing arm of the Emperor but was stopped by the ministers from performing acupuncture. U rgyan pa felt humiliated and said he wanted to go back to Tibet. The Emperor bade him to stay and bestowed a crystal seal (*shel gyi dam kha*) on him. It is not sure whether U rgyan pa accepted this seal, but it is said that he told the Emperor the reason of his visit was to take the place of the envoy who was ill, to present the longevity water of Padmasambhava. Later U rgyan pa told the ministers that the Emperor was near the end of his life and it was too late to do anything.⁷⁸² He also expressed his resentment towards the badly behaved (*byad ba ngan*) Sa skya priests and the sinful food and drinks (*sdig zas sdig chu*) they served him, and reiterated his wish to leave. He performed ablution of the Buddha's relics and gave teachings and empowerments to the dignitaries.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁴ Dict-BG: 2264. This monastery is the seat of the Tshal pa lineage of the bKa' brgyud order, located in the east suburb of Lhasa on the south bank of the sKyid chu river.

⁷⁷⁵ Dict-BG: 1098. This monastery is the seat of the sTag lung lineage of the bKa' brgyud order, located north of Lhasa.

⁷⁷⁶ Dict-BG: 2676. The monastery is located in Ri bo che (Riwoche) west of Chamdo county in East Tibet. It was founded in the 12th century by sTag lung thang pa of the sTag lung lineage of the bKa' brgyud tradition.

⁷⁷⁷ Dict-BG: 1380. mDo khams is the collective name of the region comprising A mdo and Khams in East Tibet.

⁷⁷⁸ Shing kun is the Tibetan name for Lintao county in Gansu province. It is located on the south bank of the Yellow River, south of Lanzhou city and southeast of Xining city. See Petech 2000b: 263.

⁷⁷⁹ LHORONG: 742.

⁷⁸⁰ Rossabi 1988: 121 & 124. The postal relay system of Yuan dynasty linked the Yuan capital to the rest of China. The postal stations were originally designed to transmit and deliver official mail, and served to facilitate trade. They hosted travelling officials, foreign guests and merchants as well. By the end of Qubilai's reign (around the time of U rgyan pa's visit), China had more than 1,400 postal stations.

⁷⁸¹ Shang dor is the Tibetan rendering of the Chinese name Shangdu (Upper Capital), as opposed to Da du (Grand capital), viz., Beijing, built later in 1267, in a more southerly location. Shangdu was founded by Qubilai Khan in 1256. It was located near the border of Hebei province and Inner Mongolia, 200 km north of Beijing.

⁷⁸² Qubilai Khan died two years later, in 1294.

⁷⁸³ According to A1-SO: 241, A2-SO: 101b and A3-SO: 87a, when U rgyan pa went to the Imperial Temple to bid the Emperor farewell, the Emperor grumbled that U rgyan pa gave consecrations to other people

The court officials and royal priests were jealous of him but the Emperor told them U rgyan pa deserved his fame. He departed after two and a half months despite the Emperor's urging him to stay, and did not accept any titles or gifts that were offered. He went to the Imperial Temple Cha gan na'u⁷⁸⁴ in Beijing (Dadu) to bid the Emperor farewell. The Emperor issued an edict to provide him with an escort as far as sBud skra. Before he left, he demonstrated the alchemic technique of producing silver from base metal. On his way back he visited the sacred mountain Ri bo rtse lnga⁷⁸⁵ and used his miraculous power to revive a dried-up spring. He also gave teachings, initiations and empowerments to many Buddhist scholars and practitioners there. Then he travelled back to Tibet and arrived at the bank of rMa chu gtsang po (Yellow River) in the twelfth Tibetan month (beginning of 1293). He continued travelling along the postal routes⁷⁸⁶ and arrived in sBud skra during the time of the Tibetan New Year (February/March 1293).

A Recent Discovery

Although U rgyan pa's visit to the Yuan capital and his meeting with Qubilai Khan is affirmed in most Tibetan chronicles and *chos 'byung* containing his life accounts, not a word is mentioned in the *Yuanshi*, the official chronicles of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) compiled by the court historians in 1268 under the order of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). We have been told in his biographies that Qubilai was very pleased with him despite his being slandered by the jealous ministers and Sa skya pa priests in court. According to the long biographies of U rgyan pa, he did not accept any title or precious gifts (perhaps including the crystal seal) offered him by Qubilai Khan. This is probably reliable because it is consistent with U rgyan pa's character and style, as shown in

but not him. B1-KM: 30a states that he did not give the Emperor any consecrations except the Longevity empowerment.

⁷⁸⁴ Cha gan na'u is believed to be the Tibetan rendering of the Chinese term Dahonglu, the Imperial Temple. The Imperial Temple of the Yuan dynasty was located in Dadu (Beijing).

⁷⁸⁵ Ri bo rtse lnga is the Tibetan name of Wutaishan (Wutai mountain) located in northeast Shanxi province. It is considered to be the abode of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

⁷⁸⁶ Petech 1979: 234 states there were twenty-seven postal stages in Tibet and each of the Thirteen Myriarchies was responsible for maintaining two stages, with one for reserve. Each stage came to form the centre of a postal district. See also W. Smith 1996: 91.

his life accounts. Since he only stayed in the capital for two and a half months, it is not surprising that his visit has not been recorded in *Yuanshi*.

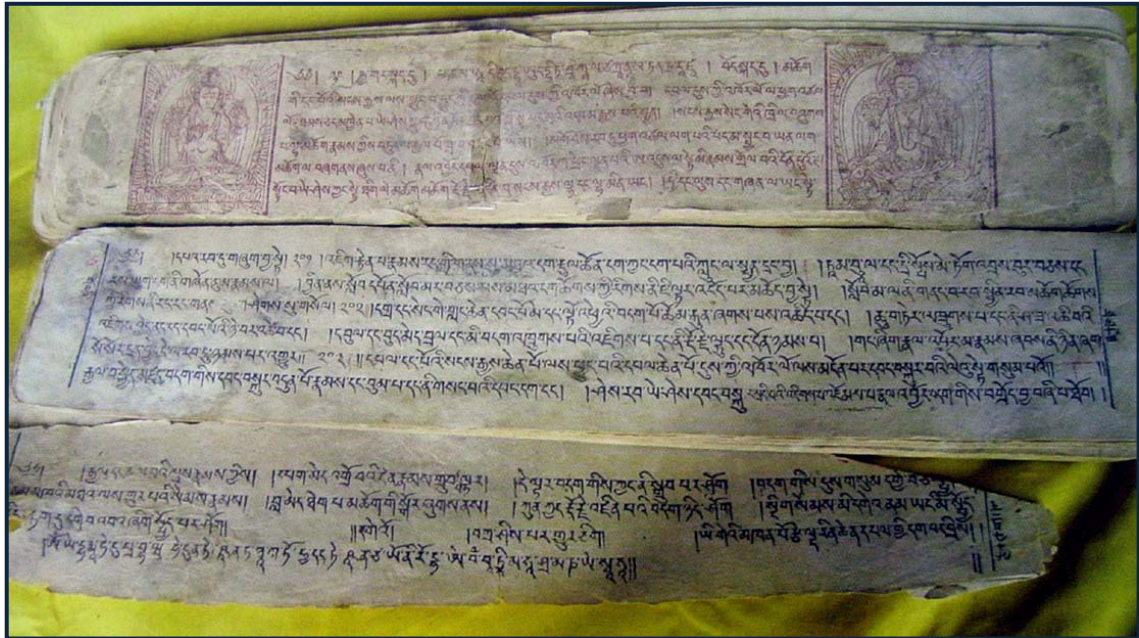


Plate 1: Woodblock text printed by U rgyan pa in Dadu (Beijing) in c.1293. *Zhongguo zangxue* 2009(1).

Thanks to the recent discovery of a Tibetan woodblock printed text, new light has been shed onto this issue. During his recent survey on ancient Tibetan documents in and around Tibet, Sherab Sangpo, Researcher of Paltseg Institute of Tibet University, uncovered a number of rare woodblock printed Tibetan texts. Until this discovery, there had been neither textual nor other material evidence to prove that texts in the Tibetan language were printed in Yuan China. Sherab Sangpo has reported eight of these texts, predominantly religious and mostly printed under royal patronage, in a journal article in 2009.⁷⁸⁷ The second of these eight texts, *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba* (Sovereign Abridged *Kālacakratantra*. Sanskrit: *Laghukālacakratantrarāja*), is relevant to the present thesis. It is currently kept in the 'Bras spungs gNas bcu lha khang, the personal library of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 'Bras spungs

⁷⁸⁷ Sherab Sangpo 2009: 41–42.

To fulfil the wish of Emperor [Qubilai] and
To support the governance of the Queen and the Princes,
So as to benefit all sentient beings.
I dedicate the root [virtues] accrued from [publishing this text]
To all sentient beings [to enable them] to attain enlightenment.

Also, on the recto of folio 179:

Written by Rin che dpal [at Ri bo] rtse lnga upon proofreading [the text].

According to Sherab Sangpo, this printed text is the only object evidence of U rgyan pa's visit to Yuan China; although the colophon does not specify when and where the text was printed, he believes that the text was printed in 1292–1293, and most probably in 1293. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is the precedent of U rgyan pa (or under the auspice of his patron) commissioning the hand-copying of Kālacakra commentaries in 1283 during his visit to mDo mkhar in Yar klungs. Since the biographies mention that he stayed quite a while in Ri bo rtse lnga to give teachings on his way back from the Yuan capital, it is quite certain that the above colophon was written no later than at that time (end of 1292), while the engraving and printing were carried out afterwards in Beijing.

VII. 1294–1309

(Aged 64–79)

The Last Fifteen Years

General Account

The chronology of the last fifteen years of U rgyan pa's life (1294–1309) is unclear. It is only known that he spent most of his time in sBud skra while making occasional benediction journeys mainly to the surrounding regions including the borderlands. A large part of the last one-seventh of his long biographies is devoted to his views on various Buddhist concepts while at the same time citing many incidents exemplifying his *siddhis* and altruistic deeds. He also translated many treatises on tantric practices and wrote many commentaries for the sūtras and tantras.⁷⁹² He made many copies of them to be distributed to the master scholars (but it is not sure whether these were hand-copies or prints). On one occasion, Tibet suffered from serious drought; he performed a ritual dance to invoke rain and afterwards rain poured down. Although the period after the 'Bri gung Rebellion was a relatively peaceful one, it seems that rivalry and skirmishing between U rgyan pa's people and the Tsha mda' ba clan did not stop, as revealed in Biography C2-CM. Incidents of his clairvoyance are not recorded in Biography B1-KM; the reason for this omission has been mentioned earlier.

According to the long biographies, in his 70th year U rgyan pa still looked youthful and even raced uphill with his disciples; despite being surrounded by a thousand yoginīs he had no desire for them because he was totally filled with bliss; he wore only thin cotton clothes during winter while most of the time he stayed naked and was not bothered by any shame. In his 76th year his health was still sound. In his 79th year he lived in sKyid rong and still gave teachings, but he started feeling that his body was heavy (lacking vitality)

⁷⁹² It is not known how much of this written legacy has been preserved. Only a few titles are mentioned in the biographies. See Appendix VI for titles of works attributed to U rgyan pa contained in the *ma* and *ra* sections of the 'Bras spungs catalogue.

and realised that he was really old. In 1309, a Bird Year, he grew weaker and foresaw his own death. He told his disciples he wanted to be reborn in India or Śambhala. He passed away on the 20th day of the 8th month of his 80th year (1309). Many auspicious signs appeared. His disciple gZhon tshul shri nam dreamt of him transforming into an Indian boy who could not speak Tibetan. Twenty-five days later he was cremated in sBud skra. In the next year, his statue was erected in Go lung monastery (in sKyid rong).

Date of Death

All the biographies in Group A and Group B state that U rgyan pa died in his 80th year on the 20th day of the *khrums kyi zla ba* (8th month) of the Earth Bird Year (1309). *lHo rong chos 'byung* gives the same date.⁷⁹³ Both *Deb ther sngon po* and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* also agree that he died in his 80th year in an Earth Bird year.⁷⁹⁴ While the three biographies in Group C do not mention his death, the short account of his incarnation (D-AN) states that he passed away on the 20th day of the 7th month of his 82nd year.⁷⁹⁵ This biography does not say that it was a Bird year, but since later on U rgyan pa's incarnation is said to have been born in the Iron Dog Year (1310), it is obvious that the author meant the Bird Year. Since the birth year of U rgyan pa is not given in D-AN, we cannot tell whether the '82nd year' is a miscalculation or a computation based on a different birth year. *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* is certainly wide of the mark in stating that U rgyan pa died in his 70th year.⁷⁹⁶

Incarnation and Teaching Lineages

Roberts explains that the Tibetan term *sprul sku* (emanation-body; Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*), the rebirth of a lama, according to current Tibetan usage, is differentiated from *sprul pa* (emanation; Skt. *nirmāṇa*), which designates the manifestation of a Buddha or

⁷⁹³ LHORONG: 748.

⁷⁹⁴ DTNP: 822 (Roerich 1949: 702) and KPGT: 433.

⁷⁹⁵ D-AN: 2a.

⁷⁹⁶ DRUGPA: 449.

Bodhisattva.⁷⁹⁷ Through revelations U rgyan pa learnt that he was the *sprul pa* of Ras chung pa and a number of Indian Mahāsiddhas. He had taken the *sprul sku* of two of his teachers as his own students, and at last he also took rebirth and emerged as a *sprul sku* in his next life (according to D-AN). Should the *sprul sku* of U rgyan pa be considered the continuation of the same person, or a separate person? The question is intriguing. Regarding the "Tibetan concept of the person", Janet Gyatso has pointed out "there is the matter of personal identity stretching beyond (i.e.) before birth to include previous lives...."⁷⁹⁸ In the case of U rgyan pa, it is the matter of personal identity stretching *after* his death to include his next life. Something interesting is that none of the other biographies has mentioned anything about the incarnation of U rgyan pa, although there are passages in the biographies where U rgyan pa tells his disciples where he would like to be reborn, and, after his death, a yogin had a vision of him being transformed into an Indian child. Moreover, none of the other historic and religious works I have explored so far has talked about U rgyan pa's incarnation lineage at all. One wonders why and how the direct lineage of such a great adept who enjoyed such fame in his life time and had so many brilliant disciples rapidly passed into strange silence within such a short time after his death, and is not mentioned again in history. Despite the fact that not all Tibetan masters left incarnation lineages, the absence of an incarnation lineage for U rgyan pa seems to have been contrary to his wishes. However, given the political chaos and fierce contention between different religious schools and lineages or even within the same lineage of that period, perhaps it is not too difficult to imagine the answer, though the true reason may never come to light. U rgyan pa's grudge with the Sa skyapa and the Tshamda' ba clan, the many enemies among his close relations and the indifference of his own family have surely contributed to the absence of an incarnation lineage.

As for his teaching lineage, it did not seem to have lasted long either. U rgyan pa himself wrote a large number of treatises on his various teachings,⁷⁹⁹ though the majority of these

⁷⁹⁷ Roberts 2007: 218. However, he also notes that the concept of *sprul sku* has no canonical basis and "there is not even a textual tradition for the Tibetan *tulku (sprul gu)* system." See also Aziz 1976: 346–43 on the concept and practice of reincarnation.

⁷⁹⁸ J. Gyatso 1998: 107. See also Williams 1994 on the matter of self in the context of reincarnation.

⁷⁹⁹ See Appendix VI for the 63 titles attributed to U rgyan pa in the *ma* and *ra* sections contained in the 'Bras spungs catalogue.

are inaccessible. Ringu Tulku states that there are Four Great Commentaries written on *rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*: Go lung pa gZhon nu dpal wrote down the answers given by U rgyan pa to his questions about the Vajra Verses; Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal wrote a large commentary; mKhas pa bzang ston and sNye mdo ba Kun dga' don grub also wrote commentaries on the Vajra Verses.⁸⁰⁰ The 'Bras spungs catalogue does contain some titles written by his disciples but it is not sure whether these four commentaries are included. The teaching is believed to have been popularised by his disciples during the 14th century. Kapstein has stated that this teaching "subsequently seems to have lapsed into obscurity".⁸⁰¹ However, according to Ringu Tulku, there were many lineages and later on the teachings on the Vajra Verses were included in the *Treasury of Instructions (Shes bya mdzod)* compiled by 'Jam mgon kong sprul and mKhyen rtse khyung sprul (18th–19th century), which caused these teachings to survive for a long time.⁸⁰² Perhaps the teachings did manage to continue, but most likely they no longer exist as an independent lineage.

⁸⁰⁰ Ringu 2007: 153.

⁸⁰¹ Kapstein 1996: 280.

⁸⁰² Ringu 2007: 154.

CONCLUSION

In the course of procuring, perusing and analysing the biographies of U rgyan pa and the vast amount of associated secondary literature and reference material, I found myself being drawn into something of a time tunnel and embarking on an odyssey quite beyond my earlier expectations. All the eleven biographies were typed up and every line studied. Preliminary translation (into my mother tongue) were made of the content of the entire 1997 book version and of most other shorter versions, and extensive comments made in the broad right-hand margin that had been reserved for this purpose. Dictionaries, scholars, experts and other literatures (including maps) were extensively consulted. Then the texts were combed through in a hunt for clues; comparisons were made between similar lines and incidents in the different biographies; analyses were conducted to conjure up pictures; references were drawn to support hypotheses; and research trips were made to broaden my knowledge and physical experience of the Himalayas and to obtain further useful materials.

Thanks to the informative, eventful, interesting and inspiring life accounts of U rgyan pa as well as the wide range of reference materials in English, Chinese and Tibetan languages from the 13th century onward, it was possible to obtain a very substantial amount of information and indications for the exploration of his life, as well as for the reconstruction of various scenarios of the time in which he lived and the places to which he journeyed, in a much broader and deeper context. The different biographical forms, styles and treatments shown by the four groups of eleven biographies are an illustration of the varied traditions of biographical literature in Tibet, but they also facilitated the process of comparing and analysing the texts, in addition to revealing different facets of the same protagonist as well as presenting particular incidents from a number of different perspectives.

The character of U rgyan pa that emerges from the biographies may not be particularly complex, but it is often very dramatic. The path of his transformation from a Buddhist scholar to a tantric yogin and then to a Great Adept is indeed a breathtaking trajectory, but by no means inconceivable. One sees vivid humanness and humanity in his character,

despite the many incidents of a more mystical character, and 'madness' that characterised his behaviour in the later part of his life. He may not be considered one of the most prominent *grub chens* of Tibet—due in part, no doubt, to the fact that his own teaching lineage has failed to survive as an independent tradition—but he is clearly unique. Owing to constraints of space, a number of interesting topics remain unexplored in this thesis. It is hoped that there will be an opportunity to address these in future, and that this thesis will promote an interest in the study of this important historical personage, bringing him the attention he justly deserves. If all or part of the sixty-odd titles of his work recorded in the 'Bras spungs catalogue⁸⁰³ are made available for scholarly research, an even more complete picture of U rgyan pa's life and his times will surely emerge.

I would like to conclude this critical study of the sources for U rgyan pa's life with the summary of a song written by one of his disciples, sNyi mo ga pa.

⁸⁰³ See Appendix VI.

The Fifteen Wonders

It is a Great Wonder

That U rgyan pa was born to a family of good lineage and was able to meet eminent teachers, and to travel to the great holy place to receive direct transmission of tantric teachings from the Ḍākinī of Wisdom;



That on attaining liberation he attracted a large following despite his apparent eccentricity and use of different approaches to deliver religious messages;



That on gaining perfect realisation he developed broad understanding of situations and was able to accept deficiencies and weaknesses as natural;



That he fascinates the listeners with his erudition, well-articulated words and powerful speech;



That he enchants the tantric priests with his unmatched heroic spirit, an illusory body and unique magical power;



That he is able to satisfy every mind and fulfil all wishes, assimilate the elixir of realisation and suppress illusions;



That he uses both peaceful and wrathful means to guide people to seek refuge in the Precious Jewels, and to save them from falling back into transmigration;



That behind his peaceful countenance is a mind deep as the ocean, and wisdom vast as the sky, which gauge perfectly the receptiveness of the trainable ones;



That behind his wrathful face he has great compassion for the subjugated beings, yet he responds to senseless requests with contempt and reprimands;



That with skilful means his teachings are given to suit different degrees of mental capacities, bringing about different ways of self-liberation;



That his dramatic and eccentric behaviour is an outcome of his immense talent and his non-attached and unobstructed mind;



That leaping over great difficulties in his spiritual practices has brought about sudden advancement in experience and deeper faith;



That he satisfies every individual need, attained equanimity and comes back without being empty-handed from the wish-fulfilling land;



That despite his occasional eccentricity and his using violent actions to cure others' fallacies, his countenance glows with grace deriving from his compassion and blissful experience;



That the exceptional strength of his mind and his realisation of emptiness has prevented him from drifting with the tide or being caught in shackles;



And finally,

That he achieves the above with the blessings of his predecessors in the bKa' brgyud lineage.



**May this thesis contribute to the
sustaining of Tibetan culture and the development of human culture**

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Abbreviations of Tibetan Texts Forming the Basis of this Thesis

- A1-SO bSod nams 'od zer. Book title: *Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar* (1997 edition, 289 pages, Tibet). Manuscript title: *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byiin rlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba*.
- A2-SO bSod nams 'od zer. *dPal ldan bla ma Grub chen U rgyan pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba*. 125 folios.
- A3-SO bSod nams 'od zer. *Grub chen O rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. 122 folios.
- B1-KM Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje. *dPal O rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa bzhugs so*. 33 folios.
- B2a-ZM mKha' spyod dri med dpal ye shes. *Chos kyi rje rgyal ba Au rgyan pa'i rnam thar rdzogs ldan bdud brtsi'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs lags s.ho*. 15 folios.
- B2b-ZM mKha' spyod dri med dpal ye shes. *Chos kyi rje rgyal ba Au rgyan chen po'i rnam par thar pa rdzogs ldan bdud brtsi'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. 17 folios.
- C1-ZS Zla ba seng ge. *Chos rje rin po che U rgyan pa'i rnam thar gsung sgros ma bzhugs so*. 17 folios.
- C2-CM Chu mig pa Rin rgyal. *gSung sgros rnam thar chung ba bzhugs*. 16 folios.
- C3-DT mDo stod pa gZhon nu ye shes. *rJe U rgyan pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa bzhugs so*. 10 folios.
- C4-NM sNyi mo ga pa. *Ngo mtshar bco lnga*. 3 folios.
- D-AN Anonymous. *U rgyan sprul sku'i rnam thar bzhugs so.ho*. 6 folios.

Abbreviations of Dictionaries Used in Footnotes:

- Dict-BG *Bod rGya tshig mdzod chen mo* 1993. Lhasa: Mi rigs dbe skrun khang.
- Dict-CBT Soothill, William E. & Lewis Hodous 1937. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali*

Index. Delhi: Moptilal Banarsidass.

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- BLG Chap spel tshe brtan phun tshogs *et al.* (ed.) 1989. *Bod kyi lo rgyus rags rim g.yu yi phreng ba. sTod cha. Bar cha. sMad cha*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.
- BMT *Bod ljongs sman rtsis khang gi lo tho* 2007. Lhasa: Bod ljongs sman rtsis khang gnam rig skar rtsis zhib 'jug so'o.
- DORJE3 Grub chen O rgyan pa'i slob ma Legs pa dpal bzang (13th–14th century).

rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub kyis dbyug bcos rin po che bzhugs so.
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- DTM Tshal pa Kun dka' rdo rje 1363. *Deb ther dmar po.* Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las *et al.* (ed. and annotated). Sichuan: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. Modern edition in book form (year unspecified).
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Appendix I

Colophons of Biographies Transcriptions of Original Texts

With the exception of Biography A1-SO, line-break in the text is represented by ' | '.

Biography A1-SO

(From line 10 of p. 288 to end of p. 289)

རྗེ་སྤྲུལ་པའི་སྐྱེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ། ཤིན་ཏུ་ངོ་ཚར་(མཚར་)བའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ནའང་།
སྤྲུལ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་ཤས་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། སློབ་མི་རྣམས་པ་དོགས་པས་ཁོ་བོས་འདིར་མ་
བྲིས་སོ། །

བདག་གིས་བྲིད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྩལ་ཟད་གང་མཐོང་འདིར་ཤིན་ཏུ་དད་པའི་སློ་ཡིས་ན། ། བརྗོད་ལས་
བྱུང་བའི་རྣམ་པར་དཀར་བ་ཡི་དགོ་བ་སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་འདི་མི་བཟོད་འཁོར་བ་ཡིས། ། རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་བས་དཔལ་
ཕན་སླ་མ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་རྟེན་གྱུར་ཅིག །

སླ་མ་དམ་པ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་བྲིན་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱན་ཅེས་(ཞེས་)བྱ་བ།
སླ་མ་དང་གོགས་མཆེད་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྣམས་དང་། གོགས་མཆེད་དམ་པ་གཞན་ལས་
ཐོས་པ་རྣམས་དང་། རང་གི་རྩལ་ཟད་མཐོང་བ་རྣམས་ལྷོགས་གཅིག་བསྐྱུས་ཏེ། བསྐྱུས་པའི་དོན་གྱིས་ཚིགས་སྤྲུལ་
བཅད་པ་དགུ་བཅུས་རྣམ་པར་ཅི་ནས། གྲུབ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཀྱི་པད་མོ། ཡན་ལག་གི་མཚོག་གི་
དུས་ལུན་རིན་ཏུ་ཉེ་བར་རྟེན་(བསྟེན་)པ། བསོད་སྟོམས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་དད་པའི་སློ་ཁོ་ནས།
དཔལ་ཕན་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་པའི་དགོན་པར་སྐྱར་བ་རྗོགས་སོ། །

འདི་བྲིས་དགོ་བས་བདག་སོགས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས། ། སློ་ཡི་མ་རིག་ལུན་པ་རབ་གསལ་ནས། །
ཤེས་བྲིའི་རྣལ་བ་མ་ལུས་ཆེར་རྒྱས་ཏེ། ། འགྲོ་བའི་མི་ཤེས་ལུན་པ་བསལ་(སེལ་)བར་ཤོག ། ། །

Biography B2a-ZM

(From line 3 of f. 15a to last line of f. 15b)

དེ་ལྟར་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འདི་ཡི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ། ལྷ་མ་སྟེ་མདོ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དག་གིས་མཛད་པ་མང་ཞིག་དང་།
 རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གསུང་སློབ་དང་། གཙུ་ཆེར་ལྷ་མ་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར་བས་མཛད་པའི་རྣམ་པར་། ཐར་པ་གཞིར་
 བྱས་ནས། ཕྱི་དང་ནང་གིས་ཡོན་ཏན་མདུ་བྱུང་པ་ཉུང་ཤས་བསྐྱས་ཏེ་མོས་པའི་རྟེན་དུ་བྱོས་པའོ།། ཤིན་དུ་
 གསང་བའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་བཙུན་པར་མ་སྟོབས་ཤིང་། གཞན་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་འདི་།
 དག་གིས་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་མཐོང་བར་འདོད་ན། ལྷ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ལམ་ཡིག་ཆེ་ཆུང་དང་། འགྲུ་འབྲུམ་དང་། བམ་
 ཐར་ཆེན་མོ་རྣམས་སུ་བཟུང་བར་གྱིས་ཤིག། འདིར་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་མངས་ཀྱི་དོག་པས་མ་སྟོབས་སོ།། ལ་བ་ཨེན་བྲ་སྟོ་
 ཏི་ཀེ་མྱོ་། པ།། བཟླ་ཀེ་རྟེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་འབྱོར་གཙོ།། མཐའ་དག་གཅིག་བསྐྱས་དོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པའི་དངོས།།
 འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱལ་དབང་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་དབྱངས།། དོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པས་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྗེས་བཟུངས་ཕྱིར།། གངས་ཅན་
 ཁྲོད་འདིར་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་། པ།། གངས་དེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཟབ་ཅིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལས།། ཉུང་དུའི་ཉུང་དུ་ཅུང་
 ཟད་འདིར་བསྐྱས་སོ།། མགོན་ཏྲོད་ལྷ་མར་རྟེན་དུ་རབ་རྟེན་ཞིང་།། དོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་མཚོག་གངས་ཅན་སྟེང་པའི་དོན།།
 གཞོམ་མེད་ལ་སྐྱོར་འོད་གསལ་བདེ་བ་། ཆེ། རྣམ་གཅིག་གིས་མེད་ཚོན་དུ་བྱེད་ལྟར་ཞིག། ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་
 རྒྱལ་བ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྗེས་ལྷན་བདུད་རྩིའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། ལྷུ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཐོག་
 མར་བྱོན་པའི་རི་པོའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དོགས། དཔོན་། པའི་རི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མཁས་སྐྱོད་པ་དྲི་མེད་དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་
 བསྐྱས་ཏེ་རྣམ་པར་བཀོད་པའོ།། འུ་རྣམས། དགེའོ།།

Biography B2b-ZM

(From line 2 of f. 18b to last line of f. 19a)

དེ་ལྟར་རྗེ་འཇིག་པོ་ཆེ་འདྲིའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ། ལྷ་མ་སྟེ་མདོ་ | བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དག་གིས་མཛད་པ་མང་ཞིག་དང་།
རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གསུང་སློབ་དང་། གཙུ་ཆེར་སླ་མ་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར་བས་མཛད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གཞིར་བྱས་ནས།
བྱི་དང་ནང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་མདུ་བྱུང་བ། ཉུང་ཤས་ | བསྐྱུས་ཏེ། མོས་པའི་རྟེན་དུ་བྱས་སོ། །ཤིན་ཏུ་གསང་
བའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྣམས་ནི་བརྗོད་པར་མ་སློབས་ཤིང་། གཞན་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་འདི་དག་གི་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་
མཐོང་བར་འདོད་ན། ལོ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ལམ་ཡིག་ཆེ་ཆུང་དང་། | མགུར་འབྲུམ་དང་། རྣམ་ཐར་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་སུ་
བརྟེན་བར་གྱིས་ཤིག། འདིར་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་མངས་ཀྱིས་དོགས་པས་མ་སློབས་སོ། །ལ་བ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་གྱི་ལྷ་ བ། བརྗོད་ཀི་
རྟེ་ལ་སོགས་རྣམ་འབྱོར་གཙོ། །མཐའ་དག་ | ག་བསྐྱུས་དོ་རྗེ་འཇིག་པའི་དངོས། །འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱུར་རྒྱལ་
དབང་པོ་འཇིག་ཆེན་དབྱངས། །དོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པས་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྗེས་གཟུང་བྱིས། །གངས་ཅན་ཁོད་འདིར་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལོ་རྒྱུ
ན་པ། །གང་དེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཟབ་ | ཅིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལས། །ཉུང་ཏུ་ཅུང་ཟད་འདིར་བསྐྱུས་སོ། །མགོན་ཁོད་སློབ་སླ་
མར་རྟེན་ཏུ་རབ་བསྟེན་ཞིང་། །དོ་རྗེ་ཐེག་མཚན་གསང་ཆེན་སྟོང་པའི་དོན། །གཞོན་མེད་ཁ་སློབ་འོད་གསལ་བ
དེ་བ་ཆེ། །སྐད་ཅིག་གོགས་མེད་མདོར་དུ་བྱེད་ལྷུར་ཅིག། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ལོ་རྒྱུན་པ་ཆེན་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་
པ་.....རྗོགས་ལྷན་འདུད་ཅིའི་དགའ་ | བསྟོན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། ལྷུལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་པོ་ཐོག་མར་བྱོན་པའི་རི་བོའི་
རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དོགས་དབེན་པའི་ཁོད་དུ། །མཁའ་སློབ་པ་དྲི་མེད་དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱུས་ཏེ་བཀོད་པའོ།
༡་ལྷུས། || ༢་ལྷུས། || ||

Biography C1-ZS

(From line 2 of f. 122a to last line of f. 122b)

འོད་གསལ་དང་མི་ལམ་རྒྱུར་ | ལུས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཟིན་བྲིས་འདི་རྣམས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་མཁར་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཟིན་བྲིས་སུ་
 གདམ། ཁོང་པ་ལ་ཡང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པ་རང་གི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པས་སྤེལ་པའི་གནས་མ་རྟེན་པར་མ་སྤེལ་བ་ཡིན་སྟེ།
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་མཁར་རྒྱུ་བ་ཞེ་ | བར་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཟིན་བྲིས་རྣམས་ཉེ་གནས་གཅིག་གི་ལག་ན་ཡོང་བ། ཉེ་
 གནས་དེས་ཀྱང་རྟེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱང་དུ་མཚོན་ཡུལ་དུ་བཞག་གདམ། དེ་ནས་ཉེ་གནས་དེ་གྲོངས་པའི་དུས་སུ་རི་
 ཞིག་ཅིག་ལ། དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་སངས་ལོ། | ཟེར་བའི་ཐང་པོ་ཆེ་བའི་དཔོན་རྒྱུད། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པ་ཐང་པོ་ཆེར་གདམ་
 འདྲན་དེའི་ཕྱག་དུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་གདམ། ཁོང་གིས་ཟིན་བྲིས་འདི་འདྲ་ཚོ་བས་མི་རྣམས་པ་ཡོང་བའི་རྒྱུ། རིན་པོ་
 ཆེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་མང་དག་དང་། | མཁར་རྒྱུ་བ་རང་གི་ཡང་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིབ་པ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པར་ཐོས་ཞིང་།
 ཁོང་གི་ཕྱག་རྩ་མ་བྱུང་པས་དེར་ཚད་བཅད་ཀྱང་ཡེ་མ་ཚོད་གསུང་ཟེར། འདི་རྣམས་ཁོང་གིས་སུ་ལ་ཡང་མ་བཤད་
 པར་མོས་གུས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ལ་ | བཞག་ཡོད་པར་གདམ། ཁོང་གྲོངས་པ་དང་ཁོང་རང་གི་སྤྲོས་པོ་སྤོབ་དཔོན་རིན་
 དཔལ་གྱི་ཕྱག་ན་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་ངེད་ལ་ནན་ཉར་དད་པ་ཅིག་བྱུང་པས་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དམ་འདྲི་གསུང་། བ་དག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པ་
 ཉིད་དང་སྐྱེ་བུ་འཇལ་བའི་དུ་ | ལྷོད་རིན་ཆེན་སངས་ལོ། ལུང་ཅན་འཇལ་དུ་འོངས་པ་དེ་ནན་ཉར་བཟང་།
 ལྷོད་དང་རྒྱན་འདལ་གྱི་བར་བྱས་པ་དེ་བཟོན་པོ་བྱུང་། ད་ཡང་ང་ཅན་ཡང་ཡང་ཤོགས་གསུང་པ་ལགས་ཏེ།
 གཞོན་པ་ཐལ་ཐོལ་དུ་སོང་ནས་བྱང་དུ་འགོ་བ་མ་བྱུང་། | ད་རྗེ་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་པའི་དོད་པོ་ལྷོད་ལ་རེ་བ་ཡིན་པས།
 ལྷོད་དང་གདམས་པ་དང་ཚོས་བཀའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕྱགས་ལ་འདོགས་པར་ལྷ་ཟེར་ནས་བཀའ་ཆ་དང་བསྟེན་བཀའ་
 ཆ་དང་བསྟེན་བཀའ་དང་འབྲལ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས། དེ་དུས་སུ་ཚོས་བདག་པོ་ལ་གཏོད་ཟེར་ནས་གསུང་། | ལྷོས་འདི་
 རྣམས་དེ་ལ་སྤེལ་བ་ལགས། གཞན་ཡང་སྤེལ་སྤེལ་སྤེལ་མགོན་ཆེན་བ་སྤེལ་མཚེད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཟིན་བྲིས་མཚོན་པའི་
 གསུང་ལྷོས་མང་དག་དང་། ཁོང་གི་ཕྱག་ན་འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ངེད་ལ་གཏད་ལགས། | དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་བ་སངས་ལོ།
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བདག་གིས་གསུང་ལྷོས་སེལ་བུ་རྣམས་ངེད་དུས་ཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལགས་སོ། དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་
 ཀུན་གྱི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་པའི། ལྷ་གསུང་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཁྱད་འཕགས་ | ཀྱིས།
 བསྟན་པ་གསལ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་སྤོབ་མེ་རྣམས། ཚོས་ལྷ་ཚོན་པོ་སོལ་ནག་ཐང་ཆེན་ནས། ལྷ་སངས་ལོ། ཞེས་བྱས་
 རྟེན་པ་ལགས། འདི་བྲིས་དགོ་བས་སྤྱེ་དགུ་མ་ལུས་པའི་སྤོབ་གསུམ་བསལ་ནས་སྤྱེ་གསུམ་མངོན་གྱུར་ཤོག།
 གསྐྱེ་རོ། ། ལུང་།

Biography C2-CM

(From line 5 of f. 15b to line 4 of f. 16b)

སྟོང་ཉུང་གི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཟིན་བྲིས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཐོག་དུ་མུར་གྱི་སྐོར་ལོགས་པ། འདྲིའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཟིན་བྲིས་པལ་ཆེ་
བ་ | གཅིག་བསྟོན་པ་དདུལ་ཚུ་བ་ཅེས་པ། གསོལ་གྱི་དདུལ་ཚུ་འཚོད་མཁན་བསྟོན་པ་བཙོན་བྱང་གིས་བྱས་པ་
ཡིན་པ་བདེ། ཡང་འདྲི་ཚོའི་ཡར་ལུངས་སྐོར་གྱི་ཟིན་བྲིས་ནམས། དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་མེད་གཏེ་གཙུང་ |
པོ་མདོ་མཁར་དུ་བདན་འདྲེན་མཁན་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་སྤང་། བསྟོན་གྱི་ལས་འཕྲོ་སད་པས་བསྐལ་ལྡན་
རྗེ་དང་མཇལ། ཡིད་དམ་བསྟེན་བསྐྱབ་རྗེས་པས་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་སྟེན་ | དཔུང་འབྲིགས། ལྷུངས་པ་བསྟོན་
དུ་མོང་བས་ཚོལ་མེད་རྟོགས་པ་ཤར། འཁོར་བའི་གནས་ལྷགས་རྟོགས་པས་དམིགས་མེད་སྟོང་རྗེ་འཕྲུངས།
གདུལ་བྱ་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས་སྟེན་གྲོལ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས། ཞེ་ | དག་རུས་པ་རྗེས་པས་ཕྱིན་ལས་ནམ་བཞི་སྟོལ།
དིང་སང་གངས་ཅན་ཚོད་ན་འགྲན་ལྷ་བུལ་བ་ཡི། མདོ་སྟོང་བདག་ཉིད་ཟུ་བརྒྱན་རྒྱལ་པོས་བྱིན་གྱིས་ |
བརྗོདས། ལྷ་མ་ལྷ་བ་མེད་གཏེ་དུང་དུ། སྟོབ་དཔོན་བཙོན་བྱང་གི་སྟོབ་མ། ཚུ་མིག་པ་རིན་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ལུས་པ་
གསུང་སྟོས་གྱི་ནམ་ཐར་འདྲི། སྟོབ་དཔོན་བཙོན་བྱང་གི་ཟིན་རིས་སུ་བདེ། མོང་དཔུས་པ་དང་འབྲིས་ཆེ་བས།
ཡར་ལུང་གྱི་ཟིན་བྲིས་འདྲི་ཚོ་ཡང་མོང་གི་ཕྱག་དུ་བྱང་ནས་སྟེགས་པར་བདེ། མོང་གིས་བདག་ལ་བཏང་བ་
ལགས་སོ། ཡིརམ། | དགེའོ། ལྷ་མ་ལྷ་བ་མེད་གཏེ་ཟིན་རིས་འཛད་པ་ཡིན། དག་གོ། དཔལ་
ལྡན་ལྷ་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་བསོལ་བ་འདེབས་ལྷ་བ་མེད་གཏེ་ལྷག ཕྱོགས།

Biography C3-DT

(Lines 3 and 4 of f. 10a)

ཕྱབ་དབང་ལྷ་མ་དམ་པ་ཡི། མཛད་པ་དྲི་མེད་ཚུ་གཏེར་ལས། སྐྱ་ཚེའི་ཁྱོན་གྱིས་སྤངས་པ་བཞིན། འདྲིན་
བསྐྱུས་གསལ་བྱེད་ལུང་ལུང་བྲིས། འཛོངས་ | ར་མཁའ་འཕྲོའི་ཚོགས་ལ་བཤགས། འདག་བས་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཐོབ་
པར་ཤོག། | རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པའི་ཐོན་བསྐྱུས་པ། གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། མདོ་སྟོང་པ་གཞོན་ ལུ་
ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱིས་སྐྱར་བ། རྗེས་སྟོ། དགེའོ། (Two verses omitted.)

Biography C4-NM

(From line 5 of *f.* 125a to line 1 of *f.* 125b)

རྗེ་ལྷ་མ་ཐར་དབག་མེད་ལ། ཐམས་ཅད་མཐོང་པར་ག་ལ་རུས། རང་ཚོད་ཙམ་གྱི་ | ཕྱོགས་མཐོང་ལ།
 ང་སྟེ་མོ་ག་པའི་མཐོང་ལྷགས་ཡིན། ཞེ། སྐྱུངས་པ་རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་ལ་སང། མདོ་རྒྱུད་བཀའ་ལ་མཁས་པར་གྱུར།
 བོད་ཚང་རྒྱལ་བས་བྱིན་གྱིས་རྒྱབས། ཡུལ་དོན་གཉིས་ཚོས་ | དོན་གཟིགས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་རྒྱན་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱི།
 མཁའ་འགོ་མས་བརྩུང་གནང་བ་ལ། ལྷང་སྲིད་ཀྱན་གསལ་དོ་རྗེ་ལྷས་གྱི་གནས་ལྷགས་གཟིགས་ཤིང་། དོ་རྗེ་
 གདན་གྱི་ཤིང་དུང་དུ་བྱང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་གྱི་ཤིང་ | དུང་དུ་བྱང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་གྱི་ཉན་པ་ཐོབ། ལྷ་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་
 རྒྱུད་ཉིད་དང་ནི་མི་འབྲལ་བར། ལྷ་མ་ཐར་མཐོང་བས་རྗེ་ཆེ་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལ་འབྱེད་རང་ལྷ་བྱས་བྱིན་གྱི་རྒྱབས། ཡོན་ཏན་
 ལྷང་ཆེན་ལྷ་ | རྒྱན་པ། རང་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་གྱིས་མཐོང་ལྷགས་མང་། རོ་མཚར་བཅོ་ལྷའི་དབྱངས་རྒྱུང་
 ང་སྟེ་མོ་ག་པའི་ལྷ་སྐྱང་ཚོས་དབྱངས་ཡིན། དགེའོ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྟོ།

Biography D-AN

(Last 2 lines of *f.* 6a)

ལྷ་ཏར་གདན་དངས་པའི་ལྷ་མ་ཐར་ཟུར་རྩམ་ | གྲིས་པའོ། དེ་ལས་གཞན་པ་ལྷ་མས་ནི་ཞིབ་དུ་གཞན་དུ་
 ཞེས་པར་བྱའོ། འདིས་འགོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་པན་ཐོགས་ནས་འཁོར་བ་སྐྱག་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་མཚོ་སྟེམས་
 པར་གྱུར་ཅིག། མྱ་སྟོན།

Appendix II

English Synopses of Selected Chinese Articles

**Travel account of U rgyan pa:
Ancient routes from Ngari to Kashmir, India and Wuzhangna
Huang Hao⁸⁰⁴**

This article outlines U rgyan pa's pilgrimage route from West Tibet to Wu-zhang-na (*viz.* U rgyan, Uḍḍiyāna) and back, based on travel account contained in pp. 59–244 of the biography *Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar* (1997 Tibet)⁸⁰⁵ and pp. 41–64 of Tucci's *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* (1940 Calcutta).

During the 13th–14th century when Buddhism still prevailed in U rgyan, many monks of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud school travelled there on pilgrimage. Their routes were mentioned in eight texts (title of texts listed).

This is followed by a brief remark of the 1997 book, an acknowledgment to the Tibetologist Feng Zhi who lent him this book, and his apology in not being able to identify many of the place names due to inaccessibility of reference materials. The rest of the article is a synopsis of U rgyan pa's pilgrimage routes from Lake Manasarovar to U rgyan, his return journey, his later benediction trips in Central and South Tibet as well as his visit to Yuan China to meet Qubilai Khan. The place names are noted in Chinese transliteration with Tibetan originals inserted in brackets. No footnote, endnote and bibliography are provided.

⁸⁰⁴ As stated at the end of the article, Huang Hao (1933–2004) is Researcher at the Institute of Nationalities Studies, The Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS).

⁸⁰⁵ *Viz.*, Biography A1-SO in this thesis.

About some foreign place names in *The Travel Account of U rgyan pa*

Lu Shuilin⁸⁰⁶

Part I (2007):

The article was inspired by Huang Hao's 2003 article on the pilgrimage routes of U rgyan pa. References are drawn mostly from Chinese and Urdu secondary sources. Western sources⁸⁰⁷ (in English or translated into Chinese) and Tibetan sources (translated into Chinese) such as *Deb ther dmar po* have also been consulted. The article begins with an introduction of the Swat Valley (where Uḍḍiyāna lay)—its geographical setting, its significance in early Buddhism and its relationship with various ancient Chinese dynasties. This is followed by a biographical sketch of U rgyan pa and a brief account of how Buddhism had managed to survive in Swat Valley until at least the time of U rgyan pa's visit despite political and religious turbulence in Northwest India since the 8th century.

Then four place names—Ku lu ta, Ma ru, Dza lan rda ra and Ri bo chen po Ghan rda la—in Northwest India recorded in the biography *Grub chen U rgyan pa'i rnam thar* are identified with present-day Kulu, Maru Wardwan, Jalandhar and Mt Chandra, and discussed in relation to their geographical, historical, economic and religious significance. In reconstructing U rgyan pa's pilgrimage routes from Western Tibet to the Swat Valley, Lu finds that the itinerary is strange in some stages, which he deems as doubts yet to be clarified.

Part II (2008):

The writer goes on examining the itinerary of U rgyan pa's journey to Swat through Kashmir. Some more place names including Ra dza hur, Bha so ba (Peshawar) and a certain Gru kha (pier at Ohind) and Bho ne le (Bunar) are discussed while some other place names remain unidentified. Next he discussed the identity of the two Indrabhūtis, one being the king of Uḍḍiyāna and the other supposedly the founder of Indian Tantricism. He finds it difficult to identify the place names in Swat due to huge changes in the religion and language of the region brought about by Islamic invasion, Islamic rule and frequent warfare after the 13th century. When Lu visited the Swat Valley in 1996, he could still see remnants of some Buddhist monuments mentioned by Xuanzhuang in his 7th-century travel account. Therefore he is surprised that they are not mentioned in the biography of U rgyan pa. Some place names around Kashmir along the course of the upper Indus and its major

⁸⁰⁶ As stated at the end of the article, Lu Shuilin is Translator and Censor of Urdu Department of Radio China International.

⁸⁰⁷ These include the works of Frederic Drew (1877), John Marshall (1918), Aurel Stein (1899, 1900, 1929 & 1933) and Giuseppe Tucci (1940).

tributaries are also examined. The presence of Mongol nomads and cavalry around the upper Indus and the sight of women in Tibetan costumes in U rgyan, as mentioned in the travel account, are explored. The two traditional trade and pilgrimage routes linking the Swat Valley to Kashmir, which the writer partly visited in 2005, are described. A brief remark is made on the great charnel ground and the place called dBur sha (Urśar) on the way from the Swat Valley to Kashmir. Attempts in identifying still more place names are made.

The article goes on exploring U rgyan pa's journey to India and Nepal. The Indian city Ti ra hu ti is identified with Tirhut. Textual records of this place in Tibetan and Chinese chronicles are cited. Remarks are made on Magadha and Bodhgaya in India, and Pal po rdzong in Nepal.

A study on the 'Yuan edition' of [woodblock printed] Tibetan texts

Sherab Sangpo⁸⁰⁸

This article is a report on eight Tibetan texts, predominantly religious, printed under royal patronage during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), uncovered during the writer's recent survey on ancient Tibetan documents in and around Tibet. The second of these eight woodblock printed texts, entitled *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba* (Sovereign Abridged *Kālacakratantra*), is relevant to the present thesis.

⁸⁰⁸ He is Associate Researcher at the Centre of Tibetan Documents and Information of the University Library and Researcher at Paltseg Ancient Tibetan Texts Research Institute, Tibet University.

About the origin of Sog-po

Yang Ming⁸⁰⁹

In this article, Yang explores the origin, evolution and application of the term *Sog po*, which is often used in ancient Tibetan historical texts to denote people from regions west of Tibet. References are drawn mainly from chronicles of China and Tibet as well as secondary materials in Chinese (including Chinese translation of Tibetan, Mongolian, English, French and Russian papers), English and Japanese. Yang draws on evidences from Tibetan texts uncovered from Dunhuang and Chinese Turkestan as put forward by various Chinese, Japanese, European and Russian scholars to suggest that *Sog po* (sometimes as *Sog dag*) refers to Sogdiana and its people. It was also a generic term of the 7th–9th century referring to people from regions west of Tang China.

The term *Sog po* also appears alongside *rGya* (Jin dynasty of China) and *Mi nyag* (Xixia, the Tangut Empire) as political regimes annexed by the Mongols in the famous letter written by Sa skya Paṇḍita to the Tibetans. Materials are drawn from Chinese and Mongolian sources to suggest that *Sog po* here refers to the Turks or the Iranian state Khwarezm around Aral Sea. Again, it is also a generic term used around the 13th century for Islamic states and people of Central and West Asia. According to *Deb ther dmar po*, the king of Ya rtse in West Tibet and Nepal, a contemporary of U rgyan pa, paid the *Sog po* a substantial amount of silver annually to buy back the forty-two villages donated centuries ago to Bodhgaya by King Aśoka, and offered them to Bodhgaya. Citing a stele inscription dated 1270 mentioned by Petech (2003a: 48), it is suggested that *Sog po* here refers to "the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi or the governors of Bengal".

Materials drawn from the Chinese chronicle *Yuanshi* are used to suggest that the *Sog po* ministers who rebelled against the Yuan court in 1358 recorded in *Deb ther dmar po* refers to the Turkic descendants of the Önggü tribe serving the Yuan court. Tibetan historical records written from the 14th to the 16th centuries used to refer to the Turkic people as *Sog po* and the Mongols *Hor*, though the term *sTod Hor* often refers to the Islamised Il Khanate founded by the Mongol prince Hüle'ü in West Asia. As shown in the chronicle written by the Fifth Dalai Lama and in several later Tibetan literary texts, from the 17th century onward the term *Sog po* was increasingly used to replace *Hor* to refer to the Mongols. Yang concludes that the term *Sog po* denotes different people during different historical periods.

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A study of sTod Hor

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Whether the Tibetan term *sTod Hor* actually refers to Chaghatay Khanate in Central Asia or the Il Khanate in West Asia is still a controversial topic. In this article, Zhang attempts to identify the sTod Hor who supported the 'Bri gung pa in rebelling against the Sa skya and Mongol authorities in 1285–1290, by plying through materials obtained from Chinese chronicles and Tibetan texts as well as secondary materials in Chinese (including Chinese translation of Tibetan and English papers), English, German and Russian.

According to *rGya Bod yig tshang* and *Deb ther dmar po*, sTod Hor refers to the region in West Asia where the Mongol prince Hüle'ü founded the Il Khanate. However, Zhang points out that *sTod Hor* does not exclusively refer to Il Khanate; in fact, it also includes Chaghatay Khanate in Central Asia. He disagrees that the sTod Hor who collaborated with 'Bri gung was from Hüle'ü, partly because Hüle'ü had died already in 1265 and partly due to the remote location of the Il Khanate, and the absence of evidence suggesting their hostility towards Qubilai Khan or their having any close relationship with the 'Bri gung pa.

Zhang basically agrees with Petech's (2003b: 348) identification of sTod Hor with army from Chaghatay Khanate, but doubts that the army was sent solely by its ruler Du'a Khan. Wylie (1977:125) suggests that Prince Khaidu (son of Ögedei Khan, third son of Chinggis Khan), an ally of Du'a, was probably the one who dispatched an army to support the 'Bri gung pa. Supported by *Yuanshi*, Zhang believes that the army was jointly sent by Du'a and Khaidu, both known for their hostility towards Qubilai Khan. Since the sTod Hor general Rin chen defeated by the Sa skya and Mongol forces in 1290 is proved to be the subordinate of Khaidu, it is obvious that Khaidu was involved.

Zhang goes on explaining that different religious schools in Tibet were associated with different Mongol princes and khans in establishing the mutual benefiting *mchod-yon* relationship. The 'Bri gung school was associated with Möngke Khan and Prince Arik Boke. Arik Boke is known for his hostility towards Qubilai Khan. However, both Möngke and Arik Boke had died decades before the incident. That Khaidu had come to support 'Bri gung is probably because they were both under the oppression of Qubilai Khan. The *rgyal bu* who was sent by the Yuan court to suppress the 'Bri gung Rebellion is identified with Prince Temür Boqa, the son of A'uruyçi, the seventh son of Qubilai Khan.

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Appendix III

Chronology of U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal

Year	Tibetan Cyclic Year	Age	Life Events of U rgyan pa (as given in the 11 biographies)	Selected Events of Significance in Tibet and its Neighbourhood
1230	Iron Tiger	0	Born in Na zlum in La stod lho (Ding ri); named Seng ge dpal	
1231	Iron Hare	1		
1232	Water Dragon	2		
1233	Water Snake	3		Mongol siege of the Jin capital Kaifeng.
1234	Wood Horse	4		
1235	Wood Sheep	5		
1236	Fire Monkey	6		
1237	Fire Bird	7	Learns under his paternal uncle Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan from childhood.	
1238	Earth Dog	8		
1239	Earth Pig	9		
1240	Iron Rat	10	Afterwards, until his 16 th year, he learns the commentaries of various tantric texts.	Mongols sack Kiev and complete conquest of Russia; attack dBus and gTsang, burn Rva sgreng and rGyal lha khang.
1241	Iron Ox	11		Mongols attack Punjab, sack Lahore; ravage Poland and Hungary; Ögedei Khan dies.
1242	Water Tiger	12		
1243	Water Hare	13		
1244	Wood Dragon	14		Sa skya Paṇḍita summoned by Prince Kodan to Kokonor, going with 'Phags pa and Phyang na rdo rje.
1245	Wood Snake	15	Studies under Slob dpon Rin rtse at Bo dong E monastery.	Mongols cross Sutlej but get defeated.
1246	Fire Horse	16	Goes back to Go lung and meets rGod tshang pa; takes the novice vow and becomes rGod's disciple; stays in sBud skra; continues learning with his brother.	Güyüg elected Khan in Central Mongolia; 1246-47, Sali Noyan dispatched to India with a military force, reaches Lahor & Multan.
1247	Fire Sheep	17		Tibet submits to the Mongols.

1248	Earth Monkey	18		
1249	Earth Bird	19	Ordained at Bo dong E; given the name Rin chen dpal.	
1250	Iron Dog	20	Learns Kālachakra from his brother; travels to gTsang and learns Kālachakra from Sangs rgyas rdo rje for 11 months.	In 1250s, Sali Noyan was active in Kashmir; Sali Noyan's campaign & Mongol conquest of Kashmir.
1251	Iron Pig	21		Möngke elected khan and purges his opponents; Sa skya Paṇḍita dies.
1252	Water Rat	22	Father dies; revisits rGod tshang pa; receives Mahāmudrā and Kālacakra consecrations.	
1253	Water Ox	23	Leaves La stod in search of Śambhala; practises austerity in Byang in West Tibet; spends 9 months in Byang.	Qubilai conquer Dali in Southwest China; Hüle'ü's 3 rd expedition to Central Asia and founds the Il-Khanate in Iran; 'Phags pa goes to the Mongol court and becomes Prince Qubilai's spiritual teacher.
1254	Wood Tiger	24	Summer: travels to Dol po, Kailash, Lake Manasarovar, Pu rang; composes a treatise near Kailash. Winter: goes to Ru thog	The Mongols conquer Dali.
1255	Wood Hare	25	Goes outside Tibet for the first time, Spring: to Kullu and Maru Summer : to Ghantala Winter: to Jalandhara	Karma Pakshi arrives in Khams to meet Qubilai. 7 th June, an earthquake and subsequent famine and plague cause the death of one-third of the population of the Kathmandu Valley.
1256	Fire Dragon	26	Summer: arrives in U rgyan (Swat Valley); stays for 5 months.	Qubilai founds the capital Shangdu.
1257	Fire Snake	27	Return journey: U rgyan—Kashmir—Mar yul Acquires the name 'U rgyan pa' Winter: stays in Nubra in Mar yul	Mongol armies invade Annam.
1258	Earth Horse	28	Summer: hears the news of rGod tshang pa's death on his way back to La stod from Mar yul; has a vision of the conception of rGod tshang pa's incarnation while staying in rTa sgor snow mountain.	Prince Hüle'ü conquers Baghdad. In March; Mongol armies overrun Chengdu; Qubilai joins Möngke in invading Song China; rGod tshang pa dies in the 5 th Tibetan month; his incarnation is born in the same year.
1259	Earth Sheep	29	Arrives in rDo rje gling in Ding ri.	Möngke Khan dies; 'Gro ba bzang mo dies.
1260	Iron Monkey	30	Practises asceticism in bDe chen stengs; erects stūpas for rGod tshang pa.	Qubilai's brother Ariq Böke elected Great Khan; Mamluk armies defeat the Mongols of Il-Khanate; Qubilai thrones himself in Shangdu and becomes the Great Khan; epidemics rage in Tibet.
1261	Iron Bird	31	Sets off for Bodhgaya via Kathmandu in winter; arrives in Bodhgaya in the 1 st Tibetan month; goes back to bDe chen stengs later this year.	Bodhgaya is threatened by the Turuška.
1262	Water	32	Erects image of rGod tshang pa in dGa'	The Golden Horde invades Il-Khanate;

	Dog		Idan gling in gNya' lam.	Turuška in Bodhgaya.
1263	Water Pig	33	Goes to rDo rje gling in Bra 'brog; on the way back goes to Go lung to visit his eldest brother	Karma Pakshi constructs the mTshur pur monastery.
1264	Wood Rat	34		Ariq Böke surrenders to Qubilai Khan; Qubilai confers Hüle'ü with the title of Il Khan; Karma Pakshi returns to Tibet.
1265	Wood Ox	35	Performs rituals in bDe chen stengs to drive away the sTod Hor armies invading Tibet. Goes back to sBud skra.	Hüle'ü dies; 'Phags pa returns to Tibet for the first time since 1244; the post of sPon chen is created to rule over Tibet and impose Sa skya rule; actual Mongol rule in Tibet thus begins.
1266	Fire Tiger	36	Invited by King of Mar yul to go there to revive Buddhsim.	Ariq Böke dies.
1267	Fire Hare	37		'Phags pa is conferred the title Tishi; new capital of Yuan China is built in Beijing; 'Phags pa's brother Phyag na rdo rje dies.
1268	Earth Dragon	38	Goes back to sBud skra. Gives donations to Bodhgaya.	Census conducted in Tibet and Tibet is divided into 13 Myriarchies (not including Sa skya).
1269	Earth Snake	39		The Golden Horde, Chaghatay Khanate and the Ögedeid Qaidu ally against the Il-Khanate and Qubilai Khan; Sa skya 'Phags pa returns to Yuan court and presents the new Mongol script.
1270	Iron Horse	40	His disciple Rin po che mKhar chu ba comes from gYa' bzang to learn from him; eldest brother dies; builds image for him in sKyid rong.	Qubilai Khan appoints 'Phag pa as Imperial Preceptor.
1271	Iron Sheep	41	Writes down <i>rDo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub</i> in sKyid rong; translates many tantric commentaries.	Qubilai Khan renames the Mongol regime in China the Yuan dynasty.
1272	Water Monkey	42	Stays in sBud skra; building of his residence in progress; dissuades Qubilai from invading Nepal.	
1273	Water Bird	43	Second visit to Bodhgaya via Kathmandu, and then goes to South India.	Famines due to bad harvest in South Tibet.
1274	Wood Dog	44	Returns to see many Tibetan refugees in Kathamandu; meditates in sKyid rong; stays in gNya' lam; sBud skra is besieged and destroyed by dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po.	Qubilai moves his court to the new capital Dadu.
1275	Wood Pig	45		Marco Polo enters the service of Qubilai.
1276	Fire Rat	46	Year end: Goes to Sa skya monastery to meet Sa skya 'Phags pa; meets Prince A'uruyči end of this year or next year and obtains donation to rebuild sBud skras.	'Phag pa returns from the Yuan court to Sa skya and starts organising the Great Congregation at Chu mig.
1277	Fire Ox	47	Attends the Chu mig Congregation.	<i>Chu mig chos 'khor</i> held in the 1 st Tibetan month.
1278	Earth Tiger	48	Sets off for his first benediction trip to dBus:	
1279	Earth Hare	49	Goes to Nyang ro, Tshong 'dus mGur mo and being offered a monastery at gYas ru	Mongols conquer Song China;
1280	Iron	50		'Phags pa dies at the end of the year.

	Dragon		shangs; predicts dispute with Tsha mda' ba clan;	
1281	Iron Snake	51	Spends 2–3 years on the road; does not go beyond west dBus; returns to sBud skra.	Mongol troops enter Tibet, conquer Bya rog rdzong and kill dPon chen Kun dga' bzang po; Dharmapāla (nephew of 'Phags pa) appointed Imperial Preceptor by Qubilai.
1282	Water Horse	52	Mediates dispute between the 5 th dPon chen and Sam yas rgyal po. Sets off for his 2 nd benediction trip to sBus; goes to mTshur phu to meet the Karma pa, who entrusts him with the Black Hat; composes a chronological treatise at bSam yas; meets the incarnation of rGod tshang pa; visits Phag mo gru monastery. Winter: visits Khra 'brug lha khang;	
1283	Water Sheep	53	Spring/summer: goes to mDo mkhar in Yar klungs and commissions the copying of the Kālacakra commentaries; subjugates the trouble-making Mongol troops; visits the tombs of the kings of the Tibetan Empire; then goes south of Yar klungs. Summer/autumn: goes to mTso sna and stays in Yar lha sham po. Winter: stays in sNye mdo.	Karma Pakshi dies.
1284	Wood Monkey	54	Spring: stays in south Yar klungs; dreams of the Karma pa going to the East (death); stays in La stod and preaches in the surrounding regions.	Birth of Karma Rang byung rdo rje in Gung thang.
1285	Wood Bird	55		The 'Bri gung pa burn down Bya yul monastery of the Sa skya pa and uprising begins.
1286	Fire Dog	56		
1287	Fire Pig	57		The Mongols carry out census in Tibet; Sa skya Dharmapāla dies;
1288	Earth Rat	58	Meets Karma Rang byung rdo rje.	
1289	Earth Ox	59		
1290	Iron Tiger	60	Submits to the sTod Hor on behalf of La stod lho. End of this year or earlier next year, the Mongol envoy Temür comes to invite him to see Qubilai Khan; rivalry with Tsha mda' ba clan.	Mongol troops led by Temür Boqa go into Tibet to suppress the 'Bri gung Rebellion; the 9 th dPon chen Ag-len is in office.
1291	Iron Hare	61	Another Mongol envoy Ni gu ta comes to invite him.	
1292	Water Dragon	62	Sets off for the Yuan capital. Summer/autumn: stays in the palace (in Shangdu) for two and a half months. Autumn/winter: goes back to Tibet; visits Ri bo rtse lnga on the way.	Epidemics rage in Bo dong ri in lHa rtse.
1293	Water Snake	63	Travels past the bank of rMa chu; travels along postal route; Tibetan New Year:	

			arrives in sBud skra.		
1294	Wood Horse	64	The last 15 years of his life: Stays mostly in sBud skra while making occasional benediction journeys to the surrounding regions.	Qubilai Khan dies; succeeded by Öljeitü Khan.	
1295	Wood Sheep	65			
1296	Fire Monkey	66			
1297	Fire Bird	67			
1298	Earth Dog	68			
1299	Earth Pig	69			
1300	Iron Rat	70			
1301	Iron Ox	71			
1302	Water Tiger	72			
1303	Water Hare	73			
1304	Wood Dragon	74		General peace declared between the five Mongol houses—the Yuan court, the Chaghatay Khanate, the Ögedeids, the Il-Khanate and the Golden Horde.	
1305	Wood Snake	75			
1306	Fire Horse	76			
1307	Fire Sheep	77		Öljeitü Khan (emperor of Yuan dynasty) dies.	
1308	Earth Monkey	78			
1309	Earth Bird	79		Passes away in sBud skra on the 20 th day of the 8 th month.	
1310	Iron Dog				The incarnation of U rgyan pa is born.

Appendix IV

Variations of Selected Personal Names

The Hero	U rgyan pa, O bran pa, O rgyan pa, Au rgyan pa, Aurgyan pa, U gyan pa, U brgyan pa
Great great-grandpa	bSod nams grags se, Sod nams grags ba, bSod rnams grags so, bSod nam grags so
Ancestor	Byang chub grags se, Byang chub grags ba, Byang chub grags so
Ancestor	Yon tan grags se, Yon tan grags ba, Yon tan grags so
Great-grandpa	Nag bde gshegs, rGyus Nag bde gshegs, rGyus ban bde gshegs
Grandpa	(Rus) rGya tsha bsod nams 'phags, rGyal tsha bSod nams 'phags, rGyal tsha bSod nams 'phags se, rGyal tshab bSod nams 'bras, rGyal tsha bSod nams grags
Paternal uncle	Nam mkha' Go lung rGyal mtshan, (Khu bo) Chos rje Go lung pa (ba) Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, Go lung pa Gam mkha' dran, (Khu bo) Chos rje Go lung pa Nam mkha' rgyan, Ge lung ba, Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan
Father	dBon Jo 'phan, dPa' jo 'phan, Jo 'phan, dPon rGyal tsha Ngo 'phan
Mother	(sMan 'gab ngu rings kyi) Men mo Phyug mo dug dge, (sMan khab ru rings kyi) Man mo Phyug mo du ge, sMan 'gab ru rings kyi mon mo Phyug mo du ge, Dru ge, Phyug mo du khe, Phyug mo dug dge
Eldest brother	Jo btsun mDo sde dpal rgyal mtshan, gCen po Bla ma Go lung pa mDo sde dpal rGyal mtshan, gCen po Bla ma Go lung bam, Do sde dpal rGyal mtshan, Jo btsun mDo sde dpal rgyan, mKhas btsun mDo sde dpal gyi rgyal mtshan, gCen po dge ba'i bshes gnyen mDo rje dpal rgyal mtshan
Elder brother	dPon Nam mkha' dpal, Nam mkha'dpal
Youngest brother	dPon Dar dpal, dPon Dar ma dpal, Dar ma dpal
Sister	(Jo lcam) dPal mdzes rgyan, dPal mdze rgyan, dPal 'dzes rgyan
Sister	(Jo lcam) bZung mo, gZung ma, Jo lcam gZungs pa
Sister	(Jo lcam) rDo rjer (rje) 'bum, Jo lcam rDo rje 'bum
Teacher	Slob dpon Rin rtse, Bo dong Rin rtse, Yul mthun pa Bo dong Rin rtse, Slob dpon Rin chen rtse mo, Slob dpon Rin chen rtse ba, Po yul 'thun pa Bo dong Rin rtse, Be dong Rin rtse, Bo dong Ri rtse, Bo dong Rin tse, Bo dong ba Rin rtse, dGe shes Rin rtse
Teacher	Slob dpon Dus 'khor ba Sangs rgyas rdo rje, gTsang po Dus 'khor ba, Dus 'khor ba Sangs rgyas rdo rje, Sangs rgyas rdo rje
Companion	dPon Srin po gdong pa, dPon Rin po gdong pa, dPon Srin po, dPon Srin pos dong, dPon Srin po bsdong, dPon Srin dpe sdong
Companion	Pa tshab, Pa tshab pa, sPa tshab pa, sPa tshab
Companion	dPal Ye, dPal yes, dBal ye

Tribe	Be re, Bi ri, Be ri
Attendant/disciple	Nye gnas Shes rin, Nye nas She rin, Nye gns Sher rin, dGe shes Sher rin, Bla ma Shes rab rin chen, Slob dpon Sher rin (??), Shes rab rin chen (??)
Deity in Jalandhar	Ma ghu ra, La ghu ra
Deity in Jalandhar	Dza la mu khe, Dzva la ma khe
Deity in Jalandhar	Mi ti sva ra, Mi tra sva ra
Hindu	Sin rdu, Hin dhu, Hin du
Muslim	Mu sur men, Mu dur man, Mur su ra man
Sog po Governor	Sog po Ma ling kar, Sog po Ma ling kar dhi na, Sog po'i mi Lig kar dhe na
Mahāsiddha	Intra bho ti, Intra bho dhi, Indra bho dha, In dra bho ti, In dra bho te, In dra bo dhi, Indra bo dhi, Indra bo ti, Intra bhū ti, Indra bho te dhe, Intra bhū tī
Mahāsiddha	La ba pa, Zla ba pa, Lā ba pa, La ba, La ba pa
Deity in U rgyan	(rJe btsun) Ma gha la dhe ba, Mam gha la de bi, Ma gha de ba, Ma gha la hor, Mam gha la Bhri kṣa, Mam la gha dhe ba, Mam gha dhe wa, Ma ga la rdo wi, Mangga la dhe wi
Dākinī in U rgyan	Ga su ri, Na ku ri
Dākinī in U rgyan	Ma tam ge, Ma tang ge, Ma tang gi
Dākinī in U rgyan	Sa ta si, Dha pa si, Ta pa si ni
Paṇḍita in Kashmir	Bhi mi shri, Bhu mi shri, Bhū mi shrī
King of Mar yul	Bla chen De khyim, Bla chen De gyim
Yogin at sTa sgo	Shākya ras pa, Sha ka ras, Shag ras
Turuṣka	Tu ru kha, Tu ru ka, Du ru ka
Enemy	(Bla ma) dBu ma pa, U ma pa
Protector spirit	(Jo bo) sTod btsan, sTed btsan, (Jo bo) sTon tsan, sTong tsam, sTod tshan
Tibetan official serving the Yuan court	(Mi chen) Sang gha, (Mi chen) Sam gha
5 th dPon chen	dPon chen Bya rin, dPon chen Byang rin
Prefect of dBus	dPon Kun dga' rgyal po, dPon dGa' rgyal po
Incarnation of rGod tshang pa	Chos rje Kun dga' 'od zer, Chos rje sNye mdo ba, Chos rje sNye mdo ba Kun dga' 'od zer, Chos rje sNyi mdo ba Kun dga' 'od zer, Chos rje sNyi mdo ba, Chos rje sNye mdo pa; (Bla ma sNye mdo ba) Kun dga' don grub dpal bzang po, Bla ma sNye mdo ba Don grub dpal bzang po, Bla ma sNye mdo ba; Kun dga' 'od bzang po, sNye mdo ba Kun mkhyen kun dga' don grub, sNye mdor rJe rGod tshangs pa'i skye ba, sNye mdor rJe rGod tshang pa'i skye ba, sNyi mdo ba
dPon of Thang po che	dPon Seng ge, dPon Rin chen seng ge, dGe shes Rin seng
Son of dPon Seng ge of Thang po che	Slob dpon Rin dpal, Rin chen dpal
Patron (of Bya clan)	dGe bshes Bya(ng) rin, Slob Bya Rin chen, Slob dpon Bya rin, dGe bshes Ja rin chen, dGe bshes Bya rin chen

bKa' gdams pa	'Grol ston pa,'Brom ston pa
Mongol envoy Temür	Mi chen Ti mur, Mi chen Thog the mur, Mi Thog thi mur, Mi chen thog thi mur, Hor Thog du mur
Mongol envoy	Mi chen Ni gu ta, Mi chen Ne gu ta, Mi chen Ne'u gu
Mongol prince A'uruγči	rGyal po A rog, rGyal bu A rog, rGyal bu A tog che
Mongol prince Temür Boqa	rGyal bu The mur bho ga, Thi mur bho ga, rGyal bu The mur bo ga, rGyal bu The mur po ka
4 th Zhva dmar pa	mKhas spyod pa Dri med dpal ye shes, mKha' spyod pa Dri med dpal ye shes
Disciple	Rin po che 'Khar chu ba, (gYa' bzangs pa) Rin po che mKhar chu ba
Disciple	Slob dpon sNyi mo gangs, Slob dpon sNyi mo ga pa, Slob dpon sNye mo ga pa, Grub thob sNye mo ga pa
Disciple	Zla ba seng ge, Slob dpon Zla ba seng ge, rTogs ldan Zla ba seng ge, Bla ma Zla ba seng ge
Disciple	bSod snyoms pa bSod nams 'od zer, Glang 'khor gyi 'Jam dbyangs bSod nams 'od zer, Bla ma bSod nams 'od ze, sBud bkra ba'i bSod snyoms pa, bSod snyoms pa, Slob dpon bSod nams 'od zer
Disciple	Chag lo tsā ba'i dbon po Bla ma sTan 'dzin, (Bla ma) sTan 'dzin dpal, (Bla ma) Chag lo tsa ba'i dbon po Bla ma bsTan 'dzin dpal, (Bla ma) Phyang lotstsha ba'i dBon po Bla ma bstan 'dzin dpal, Phyang lo'i dbon po bsTan 'dzin dpal, Phyang lo'i dBon po

Appendix V

Variations of Selected Place Names

	U rgyan, O rgyan, Au rgyan, Aurgyan, dBu rgyan, U bgyan
Ancestry	Khams kyi gYar thang, Khams kyi gYar mo thang, Khams kyi gYer mo thang, Khams dByar mo thang
	gTsang, Tsang, bTsang, rTsang
	La stod, Las stod
South Tibet	Las sTod lho, La sTod lho
Monastery in La rtse	Bo Dong E, Bo dong, Bo dong dbye, Be dong
Hermitage in in gNya' lam	bDe chen stengs, sDe chen sdings, bDe chen steng, sDe chen stengs, bDe chen bstengs, bDe chen stings, bDe chen
In Ding ri	bCad lungs, sPyad lungs, sPud lung
East of Sa skya	'Jad dar sding, 'Jad lung pa, 'Jad kyi 'or mo dar stings, 'Jad ky bor mo dang sdings, 'Jad kyi 'od mo dar stings, 'Jad
Mt. in N.E. gNya' lam	sBud sKra, sBud kra, sBud tra, rBud trar, sBud bKra
In gTsang	rTsang po rnal 'byor ma sa, rTsang po rnal 'byor mangs, gTsang po rnal 'byor yang dgon pa, gTsang so rnal 'byor mangs dgon pa, rTsang so rnal 'byor mang
In Ding ri	Shri ri rGod tshang, rTsibs ri rGod tshang
Lake in West gTsang	Da rog, mTsho kha, (mTsho) Da 'og, 'Tsho dar 'og, Dang 'og, (Byang) Dar 'og
In mNga' ris	Pu rang gdong dmar, Pu rangs gdong dmar, Pu rangs rdong dmar, sPu rangs rdo dmar, Pu hrangs stong dmar, Pu rangs, sBu rangs
In West Tibet	Mar yul, Mang Yul
Jalandhar	Ja lan dha ra, Dza lan rda ri, Dzha lan dha ra, Dzā lan dha ra, Dza lan dha ra, , Dza lan rda ra, Dzi lan dha ra, Dzā landha ra, Dzā lan ra
Jalandhar	(Shri) Na ka ra kro hre, Shri Na ga ra ko dre, Shri na ga ra ke kro dha, Shri nag a kro ta
Charnel ground in Jalandhar	Dur khrod Lang gyur, Dur khrod La ghu ru, La ghu ra'i dur khrod, Dur khrod Lam ghu ra, Dur khrod La gu ra
Candrabhaga River	(Chu tsan) Dan bha ga, Chu tsan rDa bha, Chu tsan Dhan bha ga, Chu tsan Bhan dha gha, Chu tsan Dang bha ga, Chu tsan Dab ha ga, Chu tsan Dha bha ga
In Indus Valley	Indra ni, An tra ni, An dra ni, In tra ni
In Indus Valley	Sil ba, Bil pa, Sil pa
Kashmir	Kha che, Kha phye
In Indus Valley	Sra ho ra, Pra hva ra (hva=ho), Pra ho ra, Bha tro la
Salt mountain west of Jhelum R.	Na bu tre, (Ri bo) Na hu gri, Na'u tri, Na'u 'di, Na'u 'gri, Na du gri, Na hu tri, Na'u ti, Na'u dri
Marlot?	Da (dang?) ma bo, Ma la bo, Ma la bho

In Indus Valley	mGo dznya ra, Gho dza ra, Gho dznya ra
In Indus Valley	rDo ku ra, Dho ru ka, Dho ku ra
West of Jhelum R.	Bha tro la, Bha kro la
West of Jhelum R.	(mKhar) Ma la ko trar, Ma la ko trer, mKhar Ma la ko tre
Gate to U rgyan	Ra dza hur, Rva dza hur, Ra tsa hur, Rā dzā hur, Ra tse hūr
Gate to U rgyan	Ni li ba, Ni li pa
Peshawa, Gate to U rgyan	Pu sho ri, Pur sho, Pur sho ri, Pur shva ra
Gate to U rgyan	Ka vo ka, Ka bo ka, Ka 'o ka, Ka he ka, Ka ko ka Ko sa ka, Ka'o ka, Ka he ka Ka ka ma, Ka'o ka, Ka la ka. Kā ka ma, Ka 'ong ka, Ka ka la
Indus River	(Chu po) Sindhu, Sidhu, Sin dhu, Si dhu, Yin dhu
In Iran	sTag gzig, sTag gzigs
Pier at Ohind River	Sindhu gru kha, Sin dhu gru ga, Si dhu'i gru kha, Gru ga
Capital of U rgyan	Dhu ma tha la, rDo ma thal na, rDo ma tha la, sDu ma tha la, rDu ma tha la, rDo ma tha rang la, Dho ma tha la, Dhu ma thā la, sPrul pa tha la, rGyu ma tha la
In Lower Swat	Ka la pur, Ka la spur
In Lower Swat	Bha so ba, Bhi khro ba, Bha khro bha sa
In Lower Swat	Sing nga bo, Sing ha bho
River west of Mt. Ilam	(Chu) sGo dar ma 'bar (Chu) Ko ta bha ra, (Chu) Ko tam bha ra
Mt Ilam	I lo spar pa ta, I lo pa, I lo par pa ta, I lo
Town in U rgyan	Ra'i 'khar, Ra'i kha, Ra hi kha, Ri'i kha
Town in U rgyan	Ma gha la 'or, Ma gha la hhur, Mang ga la 'or
Mt. cave west of Dhu ma tha la	Ka ma rde ba'i phug, Ka ma dho ka'i phug, Ka ma do ka'i phug, Ka ma dhe ka, Ka ma dro ka, Ka ma dho ka, Ka ma la dho ka, Ka ma do ka, Ka ma dha ko, Ka 'das ko, Phug Ka ma pa, Phug Ka ma ghu pa, gNas Ka ma ghu pa, Ka ma ka dha gu pa
Temple in U rgyan	Mam tha la rde ba, Mam gha la dhe wi
River west of Dhu ma tha la	Ko tam bha ra, (Chu bo) Ltam pa ra, Ko dam bha ra, (Chu) Ka ta bha ra, (Chu) Ko tam bha ri
Charnel ground west of Dhu ma tha la	A bhir sna sha na, A bhir sma sha na, Ka bir sma sha na
River in Dhu ma tha la	Ma gha la pa, Mam gha la pa, Ma gha la pa ni, Ma gha la ni, Mangga la na
Place in U rgyan	La ba, Lo ba, Lo pa
In Urusa, viz., Hazara	Ra mi sha ri, Rva mi shva ri, Ra mi shas ri, Rasmi shva ri, Ra mi shva ri, Ri smi shva ri, Ra mi shva ra, Ra mi sha ra
Urusa	dBur sha, Ur sha
In Urusa	Tshi kro ṭa, Tsi kro ta, Tsi kro tra
In Urusa	Ra mi ko kra, Ra mi ko tra
Valley in Kashmir	rDo mu pa, Dho ha mul, Dhe bar a mul, Dho har mul
Lake in Kashmir	(mTsho) Ka ma la ra, Ka ma pa la, Ka ma la pa ra

Capital of Kashmir	Shri na ga ra, Na ga ra, Shri nā ga ra
In Kashmir	Pa tra na na, Sa tra na
Capital of Kashmir	Va ti pur, Van ti bur, Va tir pur, Vinta ta pur, Van ti pur, Vinta pur
Nubra in Ladakh	Nub sna, Nub snang
Gold mine in North mNga' ris	Byang gser kha, gSer kha
Gold mine near Gu lang Peak	Gu lang, Gu la gser kha, Gung lang gser kha, gSer kha, Gu lang gser kha
Sacred Mt in Nag chu	(Gangs) sTa sgo, sTa rgo, rTa rgod gangs
Sacred lake in Nag chu	(mTsho) Dang ra, mTsho Da ra, Dang ra ma
In Ding ri?	Bar 'brog, Bar 'phro
Mt. in Dingri	Gang Pu le, Bu le
gNya' lam	sNya nang, sNya nam, gNya' nam, sNya nas, Na snyam, gNye nams, sNye nam, mNye nam
Ganges River	(Chu po) Gha gha, 'Ga gha, 'Ga' ga, Gang ga, Gangga, Ga ga
In Nepal	Thang ga me, Tha 'ga' me, Thang 'ga' me, Thang gha me, Thang ghe me
Kathmandu Valley	Bal yul 'thil, Bal po'i thil, Bal po'i 'thil, Bal po 'thil, Bas yul mthil, Bal po mthil, Bal po thil
Magadha Kingdom	Ma ga ta, Ma gha dha, Ma ga dha, Ma gā ta
In Kathmandu Valley	Ye rang, sPe rang
Tirhuti	Ti ra hu ti, Ti ra hur ti, Ti ra hū stir
In Ding ri	sKong chad, rKong chad
	sKyid rong, Kyi grong, sKyid grong, sKyid grong, Kyid rong, Gyi rong, sKyid rong, Kyid grong
In sKyid rong	Bar sga, Bar dga', Bar sgar, Bar sgar
In sKyid rong	Ri bo shar gangs, Ri bo, gangs shar
In sKyid rong	Shel ri, She ri
In La stod	bCung pa, gCung, Cung pa
Tibet-Nepal border	Bal po rdzong, Bal rdzongs, Bal po ljong, Bal po rdzongs, Bal bo rdzong
In Myang R. basin	Tshong 'dus mgur mo, Tshong 'du mgur mo, Tshong 'dus 'gur mo
In rNam gling	g.Yas ru shangs, Shangs
S.W. of gZhis ka rtse	Chu mig rings mo, Chu mig rin mo, Chu dmig rings mo, Chu dmig rin mo, Chu mig
In rNam gling	dGon pa Tsha ri 'dum po, dGon pa Sa ri zlum po, dGon pa Tsha ri zlum po
In Nyang / Myang	Bya rog tshang, Nyang smad Bya rog ching, Nyang ro Bya rog tshang, Nyang ro smad kyi Bya rog tshang, Myang ro Bya rog tshang
Seat of Karma pa	mTshur phu, 'Tshur phu, Tshur phu, Tshur bu
East of gZhis ka rtse	sTag gru kha, sTag gru
West of Lhasa	sNye mo, sNyi mo, sNye mo, sNying mo
Monastery	sNye mdo dgon pa, sNyi mdo dgon pa, sNye 'do
Seat of Phag mo gru	Rin chen mthil, mThar rtsa Rin chen thel, Rin chen thel

Yar klungs Valley	Yar lungs ,Yar lung
Yar klungs Valley	lHa yar sham po, Yar lha sham po, Yar lha shar pa, lHa yar la sham po, lHa war la sham po, lHa yar ma sham po, Yar la sham po
Monastery	Khra 'brug, Khram 'brug
In Yar klungs	mDo 'khar,m Do mkhar,, mDong mkhar, 'Od mkhar
In Yar klungs	bSol nag thang po che Thang po che, Sol nag thang po che
In Lower Yar klungs	gNyal, sNyal, dMyal
In Lower Yar klungs	Tsa ri, rTsa ri, rTsa ru, rTsha ri
in Lower Yar klungs	sNyal smad, dMyal smad.
Amdo-Khams	mDo khams, 'Do khams
Lintao in North China	Shing kun, Shing khun
Sacred mt in North China	Ri bo rTse lnga, Ri bo rTsing lam shan
Upper capital of Yuan	Shangs gtor, Shang ta'o, Shang dor, Shang do, Shangs mdor
Imperial Temple of Yuan	Cha gan na'u, Cha ga nu, Cha gan ga'u
Birth place of U rgyan pa's incarnation	sKrangskya, sKrangskya, Krangskya, Krangskyas

Appendix VI

Titles of U rgyan pa's Works as Recorded in 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag

I. 59 titles are found in the *phyi ma* section

Page no.	dPe cha no.	Title	Author	Number of folios
584	006358	བསྟེན་སྐབ་སྐོར་ཚན་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ་དང་བརྒྱུད་བཞུགས།	ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	328
661	007257	རྩི་རིན་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇིགས་ལ་རི་ཁྲོད་པས་ ཟིན་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་དབྱུག་པའི་མན་ངག།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇིགས་ ཚེན་དཔལ།	2
702	007740	བསྟེན་སྐབ་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པས་མཛད་པ་ བཞུགས་སོ།	རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	1
	007748	སྐྱ་ལྷག་གི་མན་ངག་གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པས་མཛད་ པ་བཞུགས།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པས་མཛད།	4
704	007768	དོ་རྩི་གསུམ་གྱི་ཞལ་གདམས་ཟབ་མོ་བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པས་མཛད་པའོ།	1
705	007777	ཤོག་རིལ་གྱི་འབྲུལ་འཁོར་ཟིན་གྱིས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པའི་ཤོག་རིལ།	1
719	009948	རིན་ཚེན་ཤེལ་གྱི་ཤེང་བ་བཞུགས་པའི་དབྱུག་སྟེགས་ ལགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	27
1020	011552	དོ་རྩི་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྟེན་སྐབ་ཀྱི་དོ་སྟོད་ཟབ་མོ་ བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ།	6
1068	010530	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུལ་ཀ་པ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིན་ཚེན་ཤེང་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	10
	010533	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གྲུང་ འབྲུལ་དང་པ་མགུར་འབྲུལ་བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	87
	010534	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུལ་ཅ་པ་བསྟེན་སྐབ་ཁྲིད་ཡིག་བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	12
	010535	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུལ་ཆ་པ་གསུང་རྒྱུས་རིན་ཚེན་རྒྱུ་མེ་བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	40
1069	010536	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུལ་ཇ་པ་སྟེན་སྐབ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིན་ཚེན་སྟེ་མ་ བཞུགས་སོ།	གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ།	26
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	010541	རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུམ་པ་པ་གསུང་རྣམས་འཇམ་ཆེན་གྱི་འཕྲེང་བ་ བཞུགས་སོ།	རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་།	32
	010542	རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་ འབྲུམ་པ་པ་རྣམ་ཐར་གསུང་རྣམས་མ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་གཉིས།	རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་།	22
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