

# UNEARTHING HIMALAYAN TREASURES

# INDICA ET TIBETICA

MONOGRAPHIEN ZU DEN SPRACHEN UND LITERATUREN  
DES INDO-TIBETISCHEN KULTURRAUMES

Begründet von  
Michael Hahn

Herausgegeben von  
Jürgen Hanneder, Jens-Uwe Hartmann,  
Konrad Klaus und Roland Steiner

Band 59

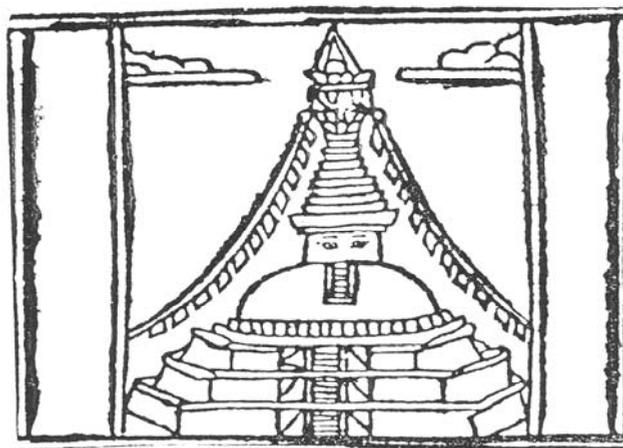
Indica et Tibetica Verlag  
Marburg 2019

# Unearthing Himalayan Treasures

Festschrift for Franz-Karl Ehrhard

Edited by

Volker Caumanns, Marta Sernesi  
and Nikolai Solmsdorf



Indica et Tibetica Verlag  
Marburg 2019

**Signet:** Bodhnāth stūpa, after Ehrhard 2005 (<sup>1</sup>1991): 3

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung der TARA-Stiftung

**Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek**

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

**Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek**

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Marburg 2019

Alle Rechte vorbehalten / All rights reserved

Ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung des Verlages ist es nicht gestattet, das Werk oder einzelne Teile daraus nachzudrucken, zu vervielfältigen oder auf Datenträger zu speichern.

Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, no part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photo print, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission. Enquiries should be made to the publishers.

Satz: Oliver von Criegern

Herstellung: BoD – Books on Demand, Norderstedt

ISBN 978-3-923776-62-7

ISSN 0723-3337

༡༡། ཨོྲོ་སྤྲི། མངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་དགོ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།

གནའ་དེང་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལ་སྤྱན་ཡངས་རིས་མེད་སློབ་ཚོགས་རྒྱ་སྐྱར་བཀ།  
|ཐུན་མིན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ལ་དབྱེས་ལྷག་བསམ་ཉ་གང་རྒྱུ་འོད་འཚོར།  
|ཡོན་ཏན་ལྷན་གྱི་ལོ་འབྲས་སྤྱི་ཡང་ཁེངས་བྲེགས་དར་བྱེད་རི་བོ་བསྐྱེལ།  
|རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ཉམ་རྒྱུང་པལ་བའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བདག་གིར་བཞེས་མཛད་ཁྱེད་ཉིད་ཅམ།  
འཛམ་གླིང་འདི་ན་སྤྲོན་གྲགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བའི་རྣམ་གྲོ་ཆེ་མཐོའི་སློབ་མཐར་ཕྱིན།  
|མད་བྱུང་དགའ་བཅུ་རབ་འབྲམས་ཞེས་བྱའི་མཚན་གྱི་ཚོད་པན་བདག་གིར་བཞེས།  
|བལ་ཡུལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྟེ་གནས་དབུ་མེད་གནང་བཞིན་ཀ་སྐྱ་མན་བྱུ་ར།  
|ནང་བསྟན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གཞུང་དང་བཅས་སྣ་མང་དཔེ་ཆར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས།  
རུབ་སྤྱོད་ལ་ལྷན་ལྷན་སྤྲོ་སྤྱོད་ལ་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད་ལ་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད་ལ་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད་ལ་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད།  
|ལུ་ལྷན་བྱུང་དགའ་བཅུ་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་ཁྱོད་ཉིས་སློང་གསུམ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར།  
|མཐོ་སློབ་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོ་ཆུན་གནང་ཞིང་སློབ་ཕྱག་གང་མང་སྤྱིད་སྲིང་མཛད།  
|དེ་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་འཛམ་གླིང་འདི་ན་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད་བསྐྱབས་སྲིད་ཉིད་དང་མཚུངས།  
འདས་མོང་བསྐང་བྱ་སུམ་ཅུ་ལྷག་བཀལ་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་མའི་རི་རྒྱུད་ནས།  
|ཆོས་དང་རིག་གཞུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོངས་ལ་དཔུད་ཞིབ་གནང་བཞིན་འཚོལ་སྤྱད་བྱས།  
|གྲོང་དང་གྲོང་ཁྱེད་དགོན་སྡེ་མང་པོའི་རིན་བྲལ་དཔེ་རྣམས་དུ་མ་ཞིག།  
|བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་དལ་བས་སྤྱང་སློབ་བྱས་ཤིང་པར་སྐྱུན་བྱས་གངས་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་མིན།  
དེ་ཕྱིར་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མཛད་བཟང་དོ་མཚར་རི་བོ་གངས་དགའ་ཏེ་སའི་སློབ།  
|བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་ཁབ་བབ་རྣམ་བཞི་གཅིག་ཏུ་འབྲེལ་བམ་ཕམ་མཚོར།  
|རུབ་སྤྱོད་ལ་ལས་དབང་རྒྱུད་གཉིས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་རྣམ་དཔྱོད་རིག་པས་རུབ་ཀྱིས་བརྱུངས།  
|ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མཛད་བཟང་དམ་པར་བསྟོད་བསྟགས་མེ་ཏོག་འཕྲིང་བ་ཡང་ཡང་ཕུལ།།

༧ དགོ་ཆུན་ཆེན་མོ་ཨོྲོ་ཏར་མཚོག་གི་མཚམས་སློབ་མདོ་ཅམ་བཞེད་པ་ཇོ་མོ་གླང་མའི་གངས་འོད། ཅམ་བྱ་བ་འདི་ཉིད་  
|ཁོང་གི་སློབ་མ་མི་རྣུང་བཞིག་གིས་བསྐྱལ་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ ༧ དགོ་ཆུན་མཚོག་ལུ་མ་སྤྲི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལས་རོགས་པ་  
|ཆེ་རིང་རྒྱུ་མ་ནས་བྲིས་པ་དགོ་ཞིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །།



## TABULA GRATULATORIA

Orna Almogi  
Achim Bayer  
Katia Buffetrille  
Volker Caumanns  
Oliver von Criegern  
Christoph Cüppers  
Olaf Czaja  
Jacob Dalton  
Hubert Decler  
Elena De Rossi Filibeck  
Siglinde Dietz  
Lewis Doney  
Brandon Dotson  
Helmut Eimer  
Marlene Erschbamer  
Karl-Heinz Everding  
Hiromi Habata  
Jens-Uwe Hartmann  
Jörg Heimbelt  
David Jackson  
Matthew Kapstein  
Jowita Kramer

Ralf Kramer  
Leonard van der Kuijp  
Klaus-Diether Mathes  
Petra Maurer  
Gudrun Melzer  
Burkhard Quessel  
Jim Rheingans  
Samyo Rode-Hasinger  
Ulrike Roesler  
Lambert Schmithausen  
Johannes Schneider  
Peter Schwieger  
Marta Sernesi  
Jan-Ulrich Sobisch  
Nikolai Solmsdorf  
Vincent Tournier  
Vinītā Tseng  
Tsering Lama  
Helga Uebach  
Roberto Vitali  
Dorji Wangchuk  
Yotsuya Kodo



## Table of Contents

Introduction . . . . .	xi
Publication List of Franz-Karl Ehrhard . . . . .	xix
ORNA ALMOGI: The Human behind the Divine: Some Reflections on the Scriptural Evolution of the Ancient Tantras ( <i>rNying rgyud</i> ) . . . . .	1
ACHIM BAYER: The World Arises from Mind Only: Candrakīrti’s Affirmation of <i>cittamātra</i> at <i>Madhyamakāvātāra</i> 6.87 . . . . .	27
VOLKER CAUMANN: A Drop from the <i>Ocean of Marvels</i> : ’Jam mgon A mes zhabs’s Discussion of sNgags ’chang Kun dga’ rin chen’s Spiritual Ge- nealogy . . . . .	51
CHRISTOPH CÜPPERS: A Document of the Official Handover by the <i>dkon</i> <i>gnyer</i> of the ’Phags pa Wa ti Shrine in Kyirong . . . . .	79
HUBERT DECLER: A Newar / Bon po Guide to Svayambhū: Ācārya Tenzin Namdak’s <i>The Light Illuminating Nepal: The Self-Arisen Caitya</i> . . . . .	87
ELENA DE ROSSI FILIBECK: “Dear Luciano...” Three Unpublished Letters by Giuseppe Tucci to Luciano Petech from Tibet: In Search for Tibetan Texts . . . . .	119
SIGLINDE DIETZ and HELMUT EIMER: Tibetan Versions of the <i>ye dharmā he-</i> <i>tuprabhavā</i> Stanza . . . . .	133
LEWIS DONEY: Life and Devotion: The Biography of Padmasambhava in Two Works of A mes zhabs . . . . .	143
BRANDON DOTSON: A Fragment of an Early Tibetan Divination Board from Mirān . . . . .	165
MARLENE ERSCHBAMER: Learning, Discipline, and Nobility: rJe ’Ba’ ra ba and his Spiritual Father Zur phug pa . . . . .	189
JENS-UWE HARTMANN and BHIKṢUṆĪ VINĪTĀ: “Bathing the Body with Face Downwards” . . . . .	203
JÖRG HEIMBEL: Producing a Deluxe <i>bKa’ ’gyur</i> Manuscript Set at Ngor Monastery: The Commission (1601–1603) of Shar chen Byams pa Kun dga’ bkra shis . . . . .	219
DAVID JACKSON: The History of Nā lendra Monastery: Sources and Some Recent Findings . . . . .	235

MATTHEW T. KAPSTEIN: <i>The All-Encompassing Lamp of Awareness: A Forgotten Treasure of the Great Perfection, its Authorship and Historical Significance</i> . . . . .	259
LEONARD W. J. VAN DER KUIJP: A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759–after August 1, 1840): On Some Chinese Lexemes and the Chinese Language, Part One . . . . .	287
KLAUS-DIETER MATHES: Mountain Cult and Religious Geography in Dolpo (Nepal): A Guide to Crystal Mountain Dragon Roar . . . . .	299
PETRA MAURER: Obstacles in the Path of the Religious Life: The Early Monastic Years of Grub chen Ngag dbang Tshe ring (1657–1734) . . . .	323
ULRIKE ROESLER: Biographies, Prophecies, and Hidden Treasures: Preliminary Remarks on Some Early bKa' gdams pa Sources . . . . .	345
PETER SCHWIEGER: Cultural Revolution in the Grassland: Tibetan Short Stories Addressing a Collective Trauma . . . . .	367
MARTA SERNESI: Writing Local Religious History: The <i>Abbatial History of Brag dkar rta so</i> . . . . .	387
JAN-ULRICH SOBISCH: Paracanonical Manuscript-Traditions of Tilopa's <i>Ganggā ma Mahāmudrā</i> : Translation of the Version Preserved by the Aural Transmission Tradition . . . . .	417
NIKOLAI SOLMSDORF: The Ocean-Like Conqueror ( <i>rgyal ba rgya mtsho</i> ): A Jina Sāgara Thangka in Mang yul Gung thang . . . . .	433
HELGA UEBACH: Notes on the Postal System ( <i>slungs</i> ) in the Tibetan Empire in the 7 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> Centuries . . . . .	449
ROBERTO VITALI: Bang rim <i>chos sde</i> in Dwags po (11 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> Century): mKhar nag lo tsā ba's Treatment and the <i>Bai ser</i> Follow-up . . . . .	457
DORJI WANGCHUK: Rong zom pa on the <i>Ālayavijñāna</i> Theory . . . . .	471
YOTSUYA KODO: Some Discrepancies between Candrakīrti and Tsong kha pa: On the Critique of <i>Svatantra</i> Reasoning . . . . .	479

## Introduction

Franz-Karl Ehrhard was born on 15 August 1953 in the historic city of Heidelberg, the former centre of Romanticism in south-west Germany. His mother worked as a nurse, his father was a civil servant employed by the German Railways. After completing school, in lieu of military service, he worked at a local hospital. After civilian service, together with a friend, he undertook a trip to Asia which was to shape his academic future: the two travelled widely, visiting also Nepal and India, and it was in Bodhgaya that Franz-Karl Ehrhard was deeply impressed by Tibetans and their culture. The love for Nepal and its rich tradition was also ignited, and would lead him to return to the country regularly throughout his subsequent career.<sup>1</sup>

The decision was made and, after his return from Asia, Franz-Karl Ehrhard moved to the northern part of Germany, to the “Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg,” where he enrolled at the university and began to study Indology, Tibetology, and Social Anthropology. His teachers at the local “Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens” were distinguished scholars such as the venerable Geshe Gendün Lodrö, Prof. Albrecht Wezler and Prof. Lambert Schmithausen—the former a luminary of traditional Tibetan learning who left a lasting imprint on his Western students, the latter two exceptional *mahāpaṇḍitas* who inherited the imposing academic tradition of German Indology and Buddhism.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard continued his postgraduate studies at the same institution, completing his doctoral dissertation in 1987 under the supervision of Prof. Lambert Schmithausen: this work, published in 1990 with the title *Flügelschläge des Garuda* is devoted to a topic that will run like a thread (among many others) through Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s Tibetological career, namely the doctrinal system and the history of the rNying ma school. In particular, it consists of an edition and German translation of the spiritual songs (*mgur*) of Zhabs dkar Thogs drug rang grol (1781–1851): it has to be noted that at the time only the songs of Mi la ras pa had been translated and studied, together with the *dohās* and *caryāgītis*, but the English translation of the *Ocean of Kagyu Songs* and other poetical collections were yet to come. The volume is opened by an introduction to rDzogs

---

<sup>1</sup> We wish to thank Christoph Cüppers for his help in piecing together the information on the early years of Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s career. We are also grateful to Oliver von Criegern for realising the lay-out of this book. The printing of the volume was generously sponsored by the Tara Foundation.

chen—especially the sNying thig tradition—with a discussion of Khregs chod and Thod rgal.

In 1988 Franz-Karl Ehrhard, now in his mid-thirties, succeeded Christoph Cüppers in the Nepal Research Centre in Kathmandu, coordinating the activities of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). He held this position in Nepal for five years (1988–1993), during which he took part in the expeditions aimed at microfilming the textual heritage preserved in private and monastic libraries across the Himalayas: for this purpose, he travelled to Jumla, Jomson, Junbesi, Helambu, Kutang, Nubri, and Dolpo. This experience awoke his keen interest in regional history and sacred geography, as well as his sensibility for archival research and book history. The wealth of documents filmed during the expeditions were partly of local origin, partly originating in south-western Tibet and precipitously carried across the border after 1959, via ancient trade routes and reactivating long-lasting institutional and personal networks. To the latter typology of books belong the Collected Works (*gSung 'bum*) of Brag dkar ba Chos kyi dbang phyug (1775–1837) and of dKar brgyud bstan 'dzin nor bu (1899–1959), as well as 16<sup>th</sup> century printed books from Mang yul Gung thang, that constituted part of the library of Brag dkar rta so hermitage in sKyid grong, and that had been brought to safety to Lobpon Gyurmed in Nubri. These findings, shared with friends and colleagues, were the source material of Franz-Karl Ehrhard's subsequent major publications.

He also contributed to the publication of the recovered literature, in typeset reproduction or facsimile. The earliest was the publication in Tibetan script of *Snowlight of Everest: A History of the Sherpas of Nepal*, a series of texts compiled by Bla ma Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin (1923–1990) from Junbesi. Earlier writings by the same author—including the *Sher pa'i chos 'byung*—had already been published in 1971 in Paris by Alexander Macdonald; the supplement was edited together with this scholar in 1987, and then published shortly after the death of the Sherpa Bla ma (Stuttgart, 1992). It remained a fundamental source for the study of the region, and was translated into Nepali two years later (Kathmandu, 1994). The works of dKar brgyud bstan 'dzin nor bu, filmed in Nubri in 1992, were published in 1996 with a short introduction by their “treasure discoverer.”

Franz-Karl Ehrhard thus acquired a direct knowledge of the land, the people, and the history of south-western Tibet and the Himalayas, which led him to participate in the DFG-funded project “Nation Building and Processes of Human Settlements in the Tibetan Himalayas” (“Staatenbildung und Siedlungsprozesse im tibetischen Himalaya”), developed between 1993 and 1998 by the German Archaeological Institute (Bonn) and the Department of Archaeology in Nepal. His individual research project, titled “Religious Geography as Space-structuring Element”

(“Religiöse Geographie als raumstrukturierendes Element”), focused on the sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the region of Mang yul Gung thang in south-western Tibet, which he could visit for fieldwork in 1997. The research project was hosted by the Institute of Indology of the University of Münster and was overseen by Prof. Adelheid Mette. The main results of this enquiry were presented in the dissertation for his Habilitation, which he submitted at Hamburg University in 1998. The manuscript was published in 2004 as *Die Statue und der Tempel des Ārya Va-ti bzang-po: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Geographie des Tibetischen Buddhismus*, which, as pointed out in the title, is a work devoted to local history and religious geography. Indeed, it is dedicated to the narratives relating to the temple of Ārya wa ti bzang po in sKyid grong: centred on a composition by Brag dkar ba Chos kyid dbang phyug—edited and translated—it presents in detail the life and works of this master and it explores a wealth of related materials on the self-arising image of Avalokiteśvara hosted in the temple, its “brothers,” and the sacred sites of sKyid grong. Another work by the same Tibetan master that had also been filmed by the NGMPP is the genealogy (*gdung rabs*) of the Gur family, which for centuries headed the mDo chen bKa’ brgyud tradition in the region: it is edited, translated, and studied in Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s 2008 monograph *A Rosary of Rubies*. These publications represent breakthroughs into the history and the narrative lore of the south-western Tibetan borderlands and are now essential reference works for scholars furthering these studies.

This project was the inception of Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s rich research output tracing the diffusion of Buddhist lineages and teachings (especially rNying ma treasure traditions) and the foundation of temples and monasteries throughout the Himalayas. He investigated the history of the regions that he had journeyed in Nepal on the basis of hagiographies (*rnam thar*), lists of teachings received (*gsan yig*), genealogies (*gdung rabs*), guidebooks (*dkar chag*), and travel accounts (*gnas yig*) that for the great part had been filmed by NGMPP expeditions.<sup>2</sup> During this period, Franz-Karl Ehrhard begun to compose a picture of the religious history of the Tibetan-Himalayan borderlands, piecing together biographical information, travel accounts, and his own observations in the field. This *opus* is still ongoing, and may be followed up and expanded upon by others thanks to the extensive and

<sup>2</sup> These contributions include, *inter alia*, a follow up to Snellgrove’s classical study on the “Lamas of Dolpo” (“Two Further Lamas of Dolpo,” 1996), “Tibetan Sources on Muktināth: Individual Reports and Normative Guides” (1993), “Sa’dul dgon-pa: A Temple at the Crossroads of Jumla, Dolpo and Mustang” (1998), “Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundation of the Monastery Brag-dkar bsam-gling” (2001), “The Enlightenment Stūpa in Junbesi” (2004), and “Concepts of Religious Space in Southern Mustān: The Foundation of the Monastery sKu-tshab gter-Inga” (2001). “The Lands are like a Wiped Golden Basin” (1997) provides an overview of the Sixth Zhwa dmar pa’s travelogue of the 1629/30 journey to Nepal, a rare source that was later the topic of a PhD Dissertation supervised by Franz-Karl Ehrhard at the University of Munich (Navina Lamminger 2012/13).

detailed bibliographical references to the primary sources that constitute the backbone of his studies. His contributions allow identifying the individual trajectories of influential Buddhist teachers, dating the foundation of specific sites, and tracing the origins of lama lineages in the Himalayan valleys. For example, two articles shed light on the origins of the main temples and lama lineages of Yol mo (Helambu), supplementing and offering substantial correctives to earlier contributions by Graham Clarke: “The Story of How *bla-ma* Karma Chos-bzang Came to Yol-mo’: A Family Document from Nepal” (2004), and “A Forgotten Incarnation Lineage: The Yol-mo-ba Sprul-skus (16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)” (2007). The latter follows for five generations the reincarnation lineage of sNgags ’chang Shākya bzang po (16<sup>th</sup> c.), the “discoverer,” renovator, and first caretaker of the Bodhnāth *stūpa* in Kathmandu: Franz-Karl Ehrhard returns thus to one of his favourite early topics of study, namely the history of the two main sacred Buddhist monuments in the Kathmandu valley: the *stūpa* of Bodhnāth and the Svayambhūcaitya. His articles on the Tibetan sources for investigating the successive renovations of the sites (1989, 1990, 1991) were supplemented in 2007 by another survey of “Old and New Tibetan Sources Concerning Svayambhūnāth.” He also published a study of the register (*dkar chag*) of the small reliquary of the *yogin* Rang rig ras pa (17<sup>th</sup> c.) that flanks to the East the main *stūpa* of Bodhnāth (2002). Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s love for the Kathmandu valley, where he has lived for so long and regularly returns to with joy, transpires from a booklet collecting images of Bodhnāth and verse compositions dedicated to the site, published in Kathmandu in 1991 with the title *Views of the Bodhnāth-stūpa*, and a contribution to *The Changing Town-scapes of the Kathmandu Valley* (1995).

Remaining in the field of sacred geography, we may emphasise Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s important contribution to the study of “hidden lands” (*sbas yul*), a phenomenon that brings together his interest in the masters and teachings of the rNying ma tradition and his work on local Himalayan history. Alongside his well-known articles on “The Role of ‘Treasure Discoverers’ and their Writings in the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands” (1994) and “Political and Ritual Aspects of the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands” (1996), which discuss the tradition and its ideology, he published case-studies of specific sites such as “A ‘Hidden Land’ in the Tibetan-Nepalese Borderlands” (1997), and “A ‘Hidden Land’ at the Border of ’Ol-kha and Dvags-po” (2009–2010). He also wrote about the “opening” of hidden lands in Bhutan (“Addressing Tibetan Rulers from the South” 2008), and Sikkim (“The mNga’ bdag family and the tradition of Rig ’dzin Zhig po gling pa [1524–1583] in Sikkim” 2005), two other Himalayan regions that attracted his scholarly attention.

In 1998 Franz-Karl Ehrhard became Research Fellow at the Lumbini International Research Institute (LIRI), where in the following years he pursued his own project, inspired, once more, by textual materials filmed by the NGMPP. In particular, it was the inception of a twenty-year-long fascination with the beautifully produced, and richly illustrated, 16<sup>th</sup> century printed editions from Mang yul Gung thang. His *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang* (2000) is a contribution to the study of Tibetan xylographic printing: in describing the life and works of Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549) and Nam mkha' rdo rje (1486–1553) it brings together for the first time accounts of book production from biographical sources and exemplars of the mentioned editions. The transcriptions of the full printing colophons of the books, and the study of the artisans that worked in various capacities (scribes, carvers, illustrators, etc.) at their production, complete the monograph, which remains a reference work, in both method and contents, for the study of xylography in Tibet. This study was accompanied by the facsimile reproduction from NGMPP microfilms of two volumes printed in Mang yul Gung thang in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, namely the 1533 *editio princeps* of Klong chen pa's *Theg mchog mdzod*, and a collection of works on the Great Seal by the influential master of the Bo dong pa school bTsun pa chos legs (1437–1521). Franz-Karl Ehrhard continued to pursue this avenue of research in a series of articles devoted to early Tibetan printing projects;<sup>3</sup> in particular, he investigated the transmission history and the editorial history of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, and he also recently co-edited a volume on *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change* (2016). This substantial output has greatly advanced our knowledge of early Tibetan xylographic printing, and has confirmed him as the leading expert in this field of enquiry.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard's interest in history and cultural history led him to study narratives, teaching lineages, cloth paintings (*thang kas*), law and administration, and donation inscriptions. In particular, he has investigated the relationship between secular and religious authority, and patterns of patronage, in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Tibet, focusing on the individual trajectories of influential masters such as Kaḥ tog pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1466–1540), Vanaratna (1384–1468), mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531), dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po (1458–1532), or Chos

---

<sup>3</sup> See “The Transmission of the *dMar-khrid Tshem-bu lugs* and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*” (2000), “The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*” (2013), “Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings” (2010), “Gnas Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581) and His Contribution to Buddhist Block Printing in Tibet” (2012), “Buddhist Hagiographies from the Borderlands” (2016), “Collected Writings as Xylographs” (2016), “Printing a Treasure Text” (2018), and “Apropos a Recent Contribution of Tibetan Xylographs from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries” (in press).

dpal bzang po (1371–1439);<sup>4</sup> *The Life and Travels of Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho* (1424–1482) is introduced by a synopsis of the life of the 4<sup>th</sup> Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi grags pa (1453–1524), and is accompanied by the facsimile publication of the Great Translator’s “Buddhist Correspondence” (2002). As may be seen, Franz-Karl Ehrhard’s contributions to Tibetan and Himalayan studies are highly significant in different fields of research, reflecting the impressive range and depth of his expertise.

In 2003 Franz-Karl Ehrhard became Professor for Tibetology and Buddhist Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. In the years leading up to this appointment he had been visiting Professor at the University of Vienna (2000), and at Harvard University (2001). In Munich, he has been a passionate and inspiring teacher, and has greatly worked to foster the discipline: he acted as Faculty Students’ Dean for many years, he oversaw about twenty Magister, Master and Bachelor theses, and he supervised eight PhD Dissertations and four Habilitation Dissertations.<sup>5</sup> Between 2009 and 2015, he supported and directed five

<sup>4</sup> See “Kaḥ thog pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1466–1540) and his Activities in Sikkim and Bhutan” (2003), and “Kaḥ thog pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1466–1540) and the Foundation of O rgyan rtse mo in Spa gro” (2007), “Spiritual Relationships between Rulers and Preceptors: The Three Journeys of Vanaratna (1384–1468) to Tibet” (2004), “Addressing Tibetan Rulers from the South: mChog-ldan mgon-po (1497–1531) in the Hidden Valleys of Bhutan” (2008), “The Holy Madman of dBus and His Relationships with Tibetan Rulers in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries” (2010), “Chos dpal bzang po (1371–1439): The ‘Great Teacher’ (*bla chen*) of rDzong dkar and his Biography” (2017).

<sup>5</sup> PhD Dissertations: Frank Müller-Witte, “Die Kategorien *bdag* und *gzhan* bei dPa’-ris sangs-rgyas und Dor-zhi gdong-drug und ihre Relevanz für das Verständnis tibetischer Texte” (ss 2009); Volker Caumanns, “Leben und Werk des Sa-skya-Gelehrten gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507)” (ss 2012); Navina Lamminger, “Der Reisebericht des Sechsten Zhwa dmar pa nach Nepal. Textkritische Edition, Übersetzung und Studie” (ws 2012/13); Nikolai Solmsdorf, “Rig’dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje snying-po (1640–1685). A Treasure-Discoverer of the rNying-ma-pa School from mNga’-ris Gung-thang” (ss 2013); Marlene Erschbamer, “Die Lehrtradition der ’Ba’-ra-ba bKa’-brgyud-pa. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und zur gegenwärtigen Verbreitung einer Schule des tibetischen Buddhismus” (ss 2016); Christoph Burghart, “Leben und Werk des 17. Thronhalters der ’Bri-gung bka’-brgyud-Tradition Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–1557) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Schatzzyklus *Dam chos dgongs pa yang zab*” (ss 2017); Marco Walter, “Leben und Lehren des Gling-ras-pa Padma rdo-rje (1128–1188), Gründer der ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa” (ss 2017); Yüan Zhong, “Lives and Works of Karma nor-bu bzang-po (1906–1984) and Karma stobs-rgyal (1944–2014)” (ws 2017/18). Habilitation Dissertations: Petra Maurer, “Die Grundlagen der tibetischen Geomantie dargestellt anhand des 32. Kapitels des *Vaidūrya dkar po* von sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705). Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte Tibets zur Zeit des 5. Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682)” (ss 2006); Ulrike Roesler, “Der *dPe chos rin chen spungs pa* des Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal. Die Verschmelzung indischer und tibetischer Traditionen in einem frühen ‘Stufenweg zur Erleuchtung’ (*lam rim*)” (ws 2006/07); Brandon Dotson, “The Victory Banquet: The Old Tibetan Chronicle and the Rise of Tibetan Historical Narrative” (ss 2013); Marta Sernesi, “Early Tibetan Printed Books: History and Xylography in South-Western Tibet” (ws 2018/19).

externally-funded research projects spanning a wide range of topics, from bKa' brgyud contemplative traditions, to Sa skya hagiographical sources, to Old Tibetan lexicography, and ideals and practices of kingship during the Tibetan Empire.<sup>6</sup> He served as series-editor of *Collectanea Himalayica: Studies on the History and Culture of the Himalayas and Tibet* (Indus Verlag, München), which published five volumes, and, since 2008, of *Contributions to Tibetan Studies* (Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden), which published seven volumes (nos. 6–12). All these endeavours ensured that the small Department of Indology and Tibetology of Munich University developed into a major centre of Tibetan studies, where students and young scholars could learn and work in a stimulating and supportive environment.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard is deeply passionate for his subject and generous with his sources and knowledge, sharing widely the many Tibetan texts of his library, together with his carefully handwritten summaries and notes. His knowledge of academic scholarship published in English, French, and German is impressive, as is his learning in history, anthropology, history of religions, cultural history, book history—just to name a few disciplines. He takes a real pleasure in studying, discussing, sharing, and exploring Tibetan and Himalayan history, culture, and literature. Because of this, alongside his institutional and didactic duties, he always continued to dedicate time and energy to research, producing a wealth of scholarly output throughout his career. Hence, this short sketch cannot make justice to the breadth of Franz-Karl Ehrhard's research interests and the impact of his contribution to the field of Tibetan and Himalayan studies. He is an inspiring role model for his mentees, and a knowledgeable and amiable colleague, and this volume wishes to be but a modest token of our appreciation.

Marta Sernesi

---

<sup>6</sup> “Re-Enacting the Past. The Heritage of the Early bKa' brgyud pa in the Life and Works of gTsang smyon Heruka (1452-1507) and His Disciple rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs rang grol (1482-1559),” funded by the DAAD (2009–2010) and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung (2010–2012), realised by Marta Sernesi; “Die Hagiographie des tibetischen Gelehrten Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507): Quellen und historischer Kontext,” funded by the DFG (2010–2012), realised by Volker Caumanns; “Kingship and Religion in Tibet,” funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung (2010–2015), realised by Brandon Dotson; “Lexikologische Analyse des alttibetischen Wortschatzes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komposita,” funded by the DFG (2013–2015), realised by Joanna Bialek; “bKa' brgyud History and Xylography in South-Western Tibet. The Legacy of Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1213-1258),” funded by the DFG (2012–2018), realised by Marta Sernesi.



# Publication List of Franz-Karl Ehrhard

## Monographs

1. *Flügel schläge des Garuḍa: Literar- und ideengeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu einer Liedersammlung des rDzogs-chen*. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 3. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1990.
2. *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang*. Lumbini International Research Institute, Monograph Series 2. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2000.
3. *Life and Travels of Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho*. Lumbini International Research Institute, Monograph Series 3. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002.
4. *Die Statue und der Tempel des Ārya Va-ti bzang-po: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Geographie des Tibetischen Buddhismus*. Contributions to Tibetan Studies 2. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004.
5. *A Rosary of Rubies: The Chronicle of the Gur-rigs mDo-chen Tradition from South-Western Tibet*. Collectanea Himalayica 2. München: Indus Verlag, 2008.

## Articles

1. "Tibetan Texts in the National Archives, Kathmandu." *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 4, 1980: 233–250.
2. "Observations on Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka in the rÑing-ma-pa School." In Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung (eds.). *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer, Munich 1985*. Studia Tibetica: Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexikographie 2. München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988, 139–147.
3. "A Renovation of Svayambhūnāth Stūpa in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and its History (According to Tibetan Sources)." *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 114, 1989: 1–8.
4. "The Stūpa of Bodhnāth: A Preliminary Analysis of the Written Sources." *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 120, 1990: 1–9.
5. "Further Renovations of Svayambhūnāth-Stūpa (From the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)." *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 123–125, 1991: 10–20.
6. "The Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project." *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 2, 1991: 20–24.
7. "The 'Vision' of rDzogs-chen: A Text and its Histories." In Ihara Shōren (ed.). *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*. 2 vols. Monograph Series of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies, Occasional Papers 2. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992, vol. 1: Buddhist Philosophy and Literature, 47–58.
8. "Two Documents on Tibetan Ritual Literature and Spiritual Genealogy." *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 9, 1993: 77–100.
9. "Tibetan Sources on Muktināth: Individual Reports and Normative Guides." *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 134, 1993: 23–39.
10. "The Role of 'Treasure Discoverers' and their Writings in the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands." *The Tibet Journal* 19/3 (special issue: *Powerful Places and Spaces in Tibetan Religious Cul-*

- ture), 1994: 2–20 (reprinted in Toni Huber [ed.]. *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*. Dharamsala, 1999, 227–239).
11. “Religious Places in the Valley.” In Andreas Proksch (ed.). *Images of a Century: The Changing Townscapes of the Kathmandu Valley*. Kathmandu: GTZ and UDLE, 1995, 12–25.
  12. “Two Further Lamas of Dolpo: Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (born 1628) and rNam-grol bzang-po (born 1504).” *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 10, 1996: 55–75.
  13. “Political and Ritual Aspects of the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands.” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 9, 1996: 37–53 (reprinted in Toni Huber [ed.]. *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*. Dharamsala, 1999, 240–257).
  14. “A ‘Hidden Land’ in the Tibetan-Nepalese Borderlands.” In Alexander W. Macdonald (ed.). *Maṇḍala and Landscape. Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies* 6. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 1997, 335–364.
  15. “‘The Lands are like a Wiped Golden Basin’: The Sixth Zhva-dmar-pa’s Journey to Nepal and his Travelogue (1629/30).” In Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant (eds.). *Les Habitants du toit du monde: Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald*. Recherches sur la Haute Asie 12. Nanterre: Société d’ethnologie, 1997, 125–138.
  16. “Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the rNying ma rgyud ’bum from Nepal.” In Helmut Krasser, Michael Thorsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (eds.). *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*. 2 vols. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 21. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, vol. 1, 253–267.
  17. “Sa’dul dgon-pa: A Temple at the Crossroads of Jumla, Dolpo and Mustang.” *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 140: 3–19.
  18. “The Transmission of the *dMar-khrid Tshem-bu lugs* and the *Maṇi bka’ ’bum*.” In Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Volker M. Tschannerl (eds.). *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*. Indica et Tibetica 37. Swistal-Odendorf, 2000, 199–215.
  19. “A Printed Laudation of Si-tu Chos-kyi ’byung-gnas and a Note on his Tradition of Tibetan Medicine.” *Lungta* 13 (special issue: *Situ Pañchen: His Contribution and Legacy*), 2000: 28–32.
  20. “Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundation of the Monastery Brag-dkar bsam-gling.” *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 12, 2001: 101–114.
  21. “Concepts of Religious Space in Southern Mustān: The Foundation of the Monastery sKu-tshab gter-Ingā.” In Perdita Pohle and Willibald Haffner (eds.). *Kāgbeni: Contributions to the Village’s History and Geography*. Giessener Geographische Schriften 77. Gießen: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geographie der Justus-Liebig-Universität, 2001, 235–246.
  22. “The Transmission of the *Thig-le bcu-drug* and the *bKa’ gdams glegs bam*.” In Helmut Eimer and David Germano (eds.). *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism. PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library 2/10. Leiden: Brill, 2002, 29–56.
  23. “The Register of the Reliquary of Lord Rañ-Rig Ras-pa.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 46, 2002: 146–167.
  24. “Kaḥ thog pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1466–1540) and his Activities in Sikkim and Bhutan.” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 39/2 (special issue: *Contributions to Sikkimese History*), 2003: 9–26.
  25. “Spiritual Relationships between Rulers and Preceptors: The Three Journeys of Vanaratna (1384–1468) to Tibet.” In Christoph Cüppers (ed.). *The Relationship between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet: Proceedings of a Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2000*. LIRI Seminar Proceedings Series 1. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004, 245–265.
  26. “‘The Story of How *bla-ma* Karma Chos-bzang Came to Yol-mo’: A Family Document from Nepal.” In Shoun Hino and Toshihiro Wada (eds.). *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers: Prof. Mushashi Tachikawa’s Felicitation Volume*. Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 2004, 581–600.

27. "A Monument of Sherpa Buddhism: The Enlightenment Stüpa in Junbesi." *The Tibet Journal* 29/3 (special issue: *Tibetan Monuments*), 2004: 75–92.
28. "The mNga' bdag Family and the Tradition of Rig 'dzin Zhig po gling pa (1524–1583) in Sikkim." *Bulletin of Tibetology* 41/2 (special issue: *Tibetan Lamas in Sikkim*), 2005: 11–29.
29. "A Short History of the g.Yu thog snying thig." In Konrad Klaus and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds.). *Indica et Tibetica: Festschrift für Michael Hahn, zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 66. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2007, 151–170.
30. "Kaḥ thog pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1466–1540) and the Foundation of O rgyan rtse mo in Spa gro." In John A. Ardussi (ed.). *Bhutan: Traditions and Changes. PLATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford 2003*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 10/5. Leiden: Brill, 2007, 73–95.
31. "A Forgotten Incarnation Lineage: The Yol-mo-ba Sprul-skus (16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)." In Ramon N. Prats (ed.). *The Pandita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith*. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2007, 25–49.
32. "The Biography of sMan-bsgom Chos-rje Kun-dga' dpal-ldan (1735–1804) as a Source for the Sino-Nepalese War." In Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael T. Wieser-Much and Helmut Tauscher (eds.). *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of his 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday*. 2 vols. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 70. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2007, vol. 1, 115–133.
33. "Old and New Tibetan Sources Concerning Svayambhūnāth." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 36, 2007: 105–130.
34. (together with Christoph Cüppers) "Die Kupferplatten der Könige Ādityamalla und Punyamalla von Ya-tshe." In Petra Maurer and Peter Schwieger (eds.). *Tibetstudien: Festschrift für Dieter Schuh zum 65. Geburtstag*. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2007, 37–42.
35. "Addressing Tibetan Rulers from the South: mChog-ldan mgon-po (1497–1531) in the Hidden Valleys of Bhutan." In Brigitte Huber (ed.). *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek: Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. 2 vols. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 12. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008, vol. 1 (*Chomolangma*), 61–91.
36. "Turning the Wheel of the Dharma in Zhing sa Va lung': The dPal ri sPrul skus (17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)." *Bulletin of Tibetology* 44/1–2, 2008: 5–29.
37. "The Lineage of the 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud-pa School as Depicted on a Thangka and in 'Golden Rosary' Texts." *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde: Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde München* 13, 2009: 179–209.
38. "A 'Hidden Land' at the Border of 'Ol-kha and Dvags-po." *The Tibet Journal* 34/3–35/2 (special issue: *The Earth Ox Papers: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, Held at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, September 2009 on the Occasion of the 'Thank you India' Year*), 2009–2010: 493–521.
39. "Buddhist Fasting Lineages: A Thangka of the Eleven-faced and Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara." In Eli Franco and Monika Zin (eds.). *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010, 291–302.
40. "The Holy Madman of dBus and His Relationships with Tibetan Rulers in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries." In Peter Schalk (ed.). *Geschichten und Geschichte: Historiographie und Hagiographie in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 30. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2010, 219–246.
41. "Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings: The Early Years of rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559)." In Anne Chayet, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin and Jean-Luc Achard (eds.).

- Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir.* Collectanea Himalayica 3. München: Indus Verlag, 2010, 129–161.
42. “The Narrative of the Birth of the Buddha as Told by Bskal-bzang Chos-kyi Rgya-mtsho (15<sup>th</sup> Century).” In Christoph Cueppers, Max Deeg and Hubert Durt (eds.). *The Birth of the Buddha: Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, October 2004*. LIRI Seminar Proceedings Series 3. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010, 355–376.
  43. “‘Flow of the River Gaṅgā’: The gSan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma and its Literary Sources.” In Henk Blezer and Roberto Vitali (eds.). *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012, 79–96.
  44. “Gnas Rab ’byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581) and his Contribution to Buddhist Block Printing in Tibet.” In Charles Ramble and Jill Sudbury (eds.). *This World and the Next: Contributions on Tibetan Religion, Science and Society. PLATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 27. Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2012, 149–176.
  45. “The Scribe’s Remark: A Note on the ‘Rig-’dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (Waddell) Edition’ of the rNying ma rgyud ’bum.” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 41, 2012: 231–237.
  46. “The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka’ ’bum*: Its Catalogue and Colophon.” In Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer (eds.). *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe for Christoph Cüppers*. 2 vols. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 28. Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2013, vol. 1, 143–172.
  47. “Spreading the sNying thig Teachings: The Biographical Account of rDzogs chen pa bSod nams rin chen (1498–1559).” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 49/1 (special issue: *rNying ma Studies: Narrative and History*), 2013: 55–76.
  48. “Lowo Khenchen (1456–1532) and the Buddhist Pilgrimage to the Ārya Wati Zangpo.” In Benjamin Bogin and Andrew Quintman (eds.). *Himalayan Passages: Tibetan and Newar Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2014, 15–43.
  49. “‘An Ocean of Marvelous Perfections’: A 17<sup>th</sup>-Century *Padma bka’i thang yig* from the Sa skya pa School.” In Jim Rheingans (ed.). *Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*. Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library 37. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 139–181.
  50. “Glimpses of the Sixth Dalai Bla ma: Contemporary Accounts from the Years 1702 to 1706.” In Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod (eds.). *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*. Contributions to Tibetan Studies 12. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015, 131–154.
  51. “‘A Thousand-spoke Golden Wheel of Secular Law’: The Preamble to the Law Code of the Kings of gTsang.” In Dieter Schuh (ed.). *Secular Law and Order in the Tibetan Highland: Contributions to a Workshop Organized by the Tibet Institute in Andiastr (Switzerland) on the Occasion of the 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Christoph Cüppers from the 8<sup>th</sup> of June to the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2014*. Monumenta Tibetica Historica III/13. Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2015, 105–125.
  52. “‘Throne-holders of the Middle Valley’: Buddhist Teachers from Southern Dolpo.” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 51/1–2 (special issue: *Buddhist Himalaya: Perspectives on the Tibetan Cultural Area*), 2015: 7–45.
  53. “Collected Writings as Xylographs: Two Sets from the Bo dong pa School.” In Hildegard Diemberger, Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Peter Kornicki (eds.). *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change*. Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library 39. Leiden: Brill, 2016, 212–236.
  54. “Buddhist Hagiographies from the Borderlands: Further Prints from Mang yul Gung thang.” In Orna Almogi (ed.). *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions: The Written Word and Its Media within the Tibetan Culture Sphere*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 4. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2016, 127–169.

55. “Chos dpal bzang po (1371–1439): The ‘Great Teacher’ (*bla chen*) of rDzong dkar and his Biography.” In Volker Caumanns and Marta Sernesi (eds.). *Fifteenth Century Tibet: Cultural Blossoming and Political Unrest. Proceedings of a Conference Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2015*. LIRI Seminar Proceedings Series 8. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2017, 1–32.
56. “A Thangka from Brag dkar rta so and its Inscription.” In Katia Buffetrille and Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy (eds.). *Musique et épopée en Haute-Asie: Mélanges offerts à Mireille Helffer à l’occasion de son 90e anniversaire*. Le Pré-Saint-Gervais: L’Asiathèque, 2017, 371–383.
57. “Printing a Treasure Text: The 1556 Edition of the *Bya rung kha shor lo rgyus*.” In Oliver von Criegern, Gudrun Melzer and Johannes Schneider (eds.). *Saddharmāmṛtam: Festschrift für Jens-Uwe Hartmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 93. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2018, 75–93.
58. (together with Marta Sernesi) “Apropos a Recent Collection of Tibetan Xylographs from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 48 (special issue: *Perspectives on Tibetan Culture: A Small Garland of Forget-me-nots Offered to Elena De Rossi Filibeck*, ed. by Michela Clemente, Oscar Nalesini and Federica Venturi), 2019 (in press).

### Edited Volumes

1. (together with Christoph Cüppers and Philip Pierce) *Views of the Bodhnāth-Stūpa*. Kathmandu: Bauddha Book, 1991.
2. (together with Alexander W. Macdonald) *Snowlight of Everest: A History of the Sherpas of Nepal*. Nepal Research Centre Publications 18. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1992. (Nepalese translation, Kathmandu, 1994).
3. (together with Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber) *Das Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe und Lehrsysteme, Philosophie und meditative Praxis, Literatur und Kunst, Meister und Schulen, Geschichte, Entwicklung und Ausdrucksformen von ihren Anfängen bis heute*. München: Scherz, 1992.
4. *The Collected Works of dKar-brgyud bsTan-'dzin nor-bu: A Recent Lama of Brag-dkar rta-so*. Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod 142. Leh: D. L. Tashigangpa, 1996.
5. *The Oldest Block Print of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa's Theg mchog mdzod. Facsimile Edition of Early Tibetan Block Prints*. Lumbini International Research Institute, Facsimile Series 1. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2000.
6. *Four Unknown Mahāmudrā Works of the Bo-dong-pa School. Facsimile Edition of Early Tibetan Block Prints*. Lumbini International Research Institute, Facsimile Series 2. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2000.
7. *A Buddhist Correspondence: The Letters of Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. Facsimile Edition of a 15<sup>th</sup> Century Tibetan Manuscript*. Lumbini International Research Institute, Facsimile Series 3. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002.
8. (together with Petra Maurer) *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*. 2 vols. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 28/1–2. Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2013.
9. (together with Hildegard Diemberger and Peter Kornicki) *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change*. Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library 39. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

### Lexicographical Contributions

1. “Tibetischer Buddhismus.” In Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber *et al.* (eds.). *Lexikon Östlicher Weisheitslehren: Buddhismus, Hinduismus, Taoismus, Zen*. München: Scherz, 1986. (English translation:

- “Tibetan Buddhism.” In *The Rider Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*. London, 1989; *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*. Boston, 1991.)
2. “Himalayan Buddhism.” In Lindsay Jones (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Second Edition. 15 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2005, vol. 2, 1230–1235.

## Reviews

1. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450–1527) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)*, by Michael Aris. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142/1, 1992: 206–208.
2. *Tibet: Civilisation et société. Colloque organisé par la Fondation Singer-Polignac à Paris, les 27, 28, 29 avril 1987*, ed. by Fernand Meyer. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142/2, 1992: 395–398.
3. *Divinity Secularized: An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Songs Ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama*, by Per K. Sørensen. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 143/1, 1993: 223–225.
4. *Materials for the Study of Āryadeva, Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti. The Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, Chapters XII and XIII, with the Commentaries of Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti: Introduction, Translation, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Texts, Notes*. 2 vols., by Tom J. F. Tillemans. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144/1, 1994: 221–224.
5. *The Buddha Within: Tathāgatagarbha Doctrine According to the Shentong Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga*, by Susan K. Hookham. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144/2, 1994: 415–419.
6. *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin*, by Matthieu Ricard. In *The Tibet Journal* 22/1, 1997: 87–90.
7. *The Full-Fledged Khyung-chen Bird: An Essay in Freedom as the Dynamics of Being*, by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med 'od-zer and Herbert Guenther. In *The Tibet Journal* 22/3, 1997: 116–119.
8. *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*, by Yael Bentor. In *The Tibet Journal* 23/3, 1998: 129–132.
9. *Natural Liberation: Padmasambhava's Teachings on the Six Bardos*, by Gyatrul Rinpoche and B. Alan Wallace. In *The Tibet Journal* 24/4, 1999: 68–71.
10. *sDe-dpon sum-cu: Ritual und Ikonographie der “Dreißig Schutzgottheiten der Welt”*, by Namgyal Rongge, Utz Poley, Rudolf Kaschewsky and Pema Tsering. In *The Tibet Journal* 25/2, 2000: 60–62.
11. *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha, Part 3*, by Heinz Bechert. In *The Tibet Journal* 25/3, 2000: 70–71.
12. *The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang and the Lhasa Kanjurs: A Synoptic Edition of the “bKa' 'gyur rin po che'i mtshan tho” and the “rGyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i chos ts'an so so'i mts'an byañ dkar chag bsdu pa”*; *The Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue: A Structured Edition of the mDo snags bka' 'gyur dkar chag and of Nor chen kun dga' bzañ po's bKa' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me*, by Helmut Eimer. In *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44/2, 2001: 174–179.
13. *Pèlerin, Lamas et Visonnaires: Sources orales et écrites sur les pèlerinages tibétains*, by Katia Bufetrille. In *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44/3, 2001: 279–285.
14. *Himalayan Hermitess: The Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Nun*, by Kurtis Schaeffer. In *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2, 2006: 1–8.
15. *Life, Transmission, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sa-skyapa Bibliophile*, by Jan-Ulrich Sobisch. In *Indo-Iranian Journal* 50/2, 2007: 193–196.

# Learning, Discipline, and Nobility: rJe 'Ba' ra ba and his Spiritual Father Zur phug pa

MARLENE ERSCHBAMER

(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München)

## 1. Introduction

Many centuries before Buddhism reached Tibet and long before the different bKa' brgyud traditions emerged, the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (c.520–460 BCE) elaborated on the concept of flow and expressed this in his river images. He put this concept in a nutshell using the meanwhile famous aphorism *panta rhei*, everything flows. He meant the natural process of change, an allegory on continuation but also on impermanence. It may sound contradictory but for Heraclitus it forms a unity. This image of a river can also be used for lineages within Tibetan Buddhism, as a lineage includes continuation but also a natural process of change. Lineages are fluid as well, transmissions being handed over from one generation to the following, from teacher to disciple.<sup>1</sup>

The student-teacher relationship is important in Buddhism, main teachers being called spiritual teacher or spiritual father. Such a spiritual father serves as a good example for one's own spiritual path, passes on teachings, and provides the student with further guidance, explanations, and helpful advices. Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang (1263–1330), a master belonging to the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud tradition, was the main teacher of rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391), who is also known as rJe 'Ba' ra ba. The latter is regarded as the founding father of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa, a tradition whose teachings have been practiced since the fourteenth century.

According to tradition, learning, discipline, and nobility (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*) are the three good qualities of a teacher. rJe 'Ba' ra ba perfected all of them under the guidance of his main teacher Zur phug pa.

The aim of this article is to present the connection between rJe 'Ba' ra ba and Zur phug pa as an ideal example of a student-teacher relationship. First, the life of Zur phug pa will be presented. This is followed by his relationship with his

---

<sup>1</sup> Miller (2005: 374–375) used the image of a river when speaking about Tibetan transmission lineages: “Just a river erode and change the terrain, lineages impact the religious, political, social, and economic environment. [...] Lineage is a fluid and adaptable collection of material and non-material transmissions that are passed down from one generation to the next [...]”

heart disciple rJe 'Ba' ra ba. Both of them stood in the transmission lineage of the *Ri chos skor gsum* by Yang dgon pa (1213–1256/8). Furthermore, the significance of trilogies (*skor gsum*) within the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud tradition will be set in context.

## 2. Zur phug pa and the Good Qualities of a Teacher (*mkhas btsun bzang*)<sup>2</sup>

Zur phug pa was born in a village called Shen gyi dpe'u chung, which lies in the valley of Śrī dpal, in a water-pig year, that is 1263.<sup>3</sup> After having seen people suffer in his early years, he became interested in Buddhist teachings and soon decided to practice and to live a life according to the Buddhist doctrine. He took the first vows of a novice under mKhan po Tshul khriims snying po at the age of seven. The latter also gave him the name Rin chen dpal bzang po. At the age of 22, he took the full vows of a monk from mKhan po Me nu ba rin chen rdo rje and mKhan chen rDo rje rin chen pa.<sup>4</sup>

He studied under many teachers, such as mKhas btsun Tshul rin po, who gave him many cycles of empowerments, tantra, and texts for practice (*dbang rgyud sgrub skor*). Furthermore, he served under his maternal uncle mKhan chen rDo rje rin chen pa for many years. Then he served and studied under Chos rje sPyan snga Rin chen ldan pa (born 1202), the heart disciple of Yang dgon pa, for twelve years.

<sup>2</sup> Several hagiographies of Zur phug pa are preserved: The texts entitled *Kun mkhyen zur phug pa'i rnam thar rin po che* (*gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2, 4 fols.: 13–20) and *Bla ma zur phug pa'i rnam thar mdor bsdu pa* (*gSer phreng/a*, vol. 3, 10 fols.: 37–56) are part of the four-volumes work entitled *bKa' brgyud gser phreng chen mo: Biographies of Eminent Gurus in the Transmission Lineage of Teachings of the 'Ba'-ra dKar-brgyud-pa* [= *gSer phreng/a*], which was published in 1970. They were also published more recently in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* [= *gSer phreng/b*]; see vol. 27: 13–20 and vol. 28: 37–56. In 1970, another compilation was published under the title *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng: A Golden Roseary of Lives of Eminent Gurus* [= *gSer phreng/c*], comprising a hagiography of Zur phug pa written in *dbu med* (fols. 447–449). Additionally, shorter hagiographies of this master were published: in 1986 within the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*: 852–854; in 2009 within the *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba*: 121; and in 2013 within the *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 154–156. For further reading on Zur phug pa in western languages see Ehrhard 2009: 189, 195; Erschbamer 2017: 32–34; and Smith 2001: 47–49.

<sup>3</sup> Different spellings of the name of this village exist: rDe shon gyi grong dpe chung in *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 14.4–5; Te shon gyi se chung in *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 3: 39.5; sTe shon gyi grong dpe' chung in *gSer phreng/c*: 447.3–4; and Shen gyi dpe'u chung in *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*: 852 and *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba*: 121.

<sup>4</sup> See *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 16.1–2, vol. 3: 39.5, 40.3–4, 42.3–4; *gSer phreng/c*: 448.1–2; and *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 154.

During this time, he received many teachings, among which also the *Ri chos skor gsum* by Yang dgon pa.<sup>5</sup>

At the age of 25, he considered living as a contemplative ascetic and travelling to rTsa ri and other monastic centres in dBus, but his maternal uncle mKhan chen rDo rje rin chen pa advised him not to do so. Therefore, he travelled to other places, such as Byang zur, Lan chab gangs, lHa gdong, rTsibs ri gnam sdings, and Chos sdings, where he meditated for many years.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.1 The Good Qualities of a Teacher (*mkhas btsun bzang*)

In Tibetan tradition, monasteries aim to bring forth monks and nuns, who accomplish erudition or learning (*mkhas*), discipline (*btsun*), and nobility or conscientiousness (*bzang*). According to Buddhist thought, a balance between study and practice is important. Learning, discipline, and nobility (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*) are different steps to become a good teacher:

- (1) One studies many teachings and investigates them very carefully. By studying, reflecting, and meditating (*thos bsam sgom gsum*), one becomes a learned one (*mkhas*).
- (2) One takes the meaning of what was learned as personal advice and practices discipline (*btsun*). The practice of the three trainings (*bslab pa gsum*), that are training in moral discipline (*tshul khrims kyi bslab pa*), training in concentration (*ting nge 'dzin gyi bslab pa*), and training in wisdom (*shes rab kyi bslab pa*), serves as a method to achieve this goal.
- (3) One is kind-hearted and uses what one has learned and experienced for the Buddhist doctrine and for all sentient beings (*bzang*). It is important to be conscientious in the way of giving teachings, debating, and writing (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*).<sup>7</sup>

It is notable that in the hagiographies of Zur phug pa it is said that this 'Brug pa master completed the nine good qualities of a teacher, and not just three as listed above:

<sup>5</sup> See *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 16.2–4; vol. 3: 42.4, 45.5–6; *gSer phreng/c*: 448.2–3; and *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 154.

<sup>6</sup> See *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 3: 46.1–6 and *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 155.

<sup>7</sup> See *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 304–305 and Wangchuk 2006: 227. Furthermore, one biography about Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), founder of the dGe lugs tradition, is entitled *mkhas btsun bzang gsum gi bstod pa*, written by 'Chi med rab rgyas; see Kaschewsky 1971: 35. The first Dalai Lama dGe 'dun grub pa (1391–1474), one of the most important disciples of Tsong kha pa, is also known for having completed the three good qualities of a teacher; see Shen Weirong 2002: 87–114.

To summarize, [Zur phug pa] completed the nine good qualities of a teacher (*mkhas btsun bzang dgu*) and reached the highest degree of a scholar. [He] was everywhere renowned as the omniscient Zur phug pa.<sup>8</sup>

This probably refers to the nine ways of being learned (*mkhas pa'i tshul dgu*), which refers to a person, who:

- (1) accomplished the three good qualities of a teacher, namely learning, discipline, and nobility (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*),
- (2) accomplished without hindrances teaching, debating, and writing (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*), and
- (3) acts in a good manner regarding teaching, practice, and religious activities (*bshad sgrub las gsum* or *bshad sgrub chos spyod gsum*).<sup>9</sup>

In the following a brief account of the monastery Zur phug dgon is given, which is the practice place established by Zur phug pa, and where he has taught many disciples.

## 2.2 The Monastery Zur phug dgon

Zur phug pa, who taught many disciples, established the monastery Zur phug dgon in the vicinity of the monastery Lo paṅ, the latter founded by Lo paṅ ras chen chos skyong, a disciple of Yang dgon pa. It was an important monastery on the pilgrimage route around the mountain rTsis ri, which lies in southern Tibet, northeast of Ding ri and west of Shel dkar:<sup>10</sup>

While staying at Śrī Zur phug, Yol gdong dpon mo jo mo requested empowerments and teachings and offered subsequently a plot of land, where a monastery was established. During the summer and winter, [Zur phug pa] practiced in sealed retreat. During autumn and spring, [he] acted for the benefit of sentient beings. Since the time had come to benefit others, many hundred spiritual teachers (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen* or *dge bshes*) and holders of an umbrella (*gdugs thogs pa*) gathered and a meeting place for scholars and kind-hearted [people] was prepared. The novice as well as the full-monastic ordination was established. Countless empowerments and advices, instructions and means to dispel obstacles, studies, reflections and explanations famously

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 155.5–7; *mdor na bla ma mkhas btsun bzang dgu la gtugs pas mkhas pa'i phul du phyin par gyur te/ kun mkhyen zur phug pa zhes yongs su grags*. See also *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 17.2–3 and *gSer phreng/c*: 448.6.

<sup>9</sup> At least one passage in *gSer phreng/c* leads to this conclusion. It provides the information that Zur phug pa accomplished the nine good qualities of a teacher but above all, he reached highest perfection in learning, discipline, and nobility, the three good qualities of a teacher; see *gSer phreng/c*: 448.6: *gzhan yang bla ma mkhas btsun bzang dgu la gtugs nas chos mang du gsan/ mkhas btsun bzang gsum phul du phyin pa mdzad*.

<sup>10</sup> See *rTsis ri'i gnas bshad*: 96–97 and Buffetrille 2013: 37–39.

filled Northern and Southern La stod, and the teaching [cycles] *Ri chos* and *'Brug skor* were widely spread in the ten directions.<sup>11</sup>

The monastery was abandoned after some time. Years later, the *'Brug pa* master mKhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569–1645) arrived, renovated destroyed parts, and stayed there for some time.<sup>12</sup> According to Buffetrille, only ruins of the monastery Zur phug existed in 1993.<sup>13</sup>

Zur phug pa taught many disciples who accomplished the good qualities of a teacher (*mkhas btsun bzang*). The most outstanding among these, who became the heart disciple of Zur phug pa, was rJe 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391).<sup>14</sup> In what follows, the teacher-disciple relationship of Zur phug pa and rJe 'Ba' ra ba will be illustrated.

### 3. rJe 'Ba' ra ba and the Composition of Trilogies (*skor gsum*)

rJe 'Ba' ra ba (1310–1391) was a great luminary and important scholar of his time. He studied, among others, under the third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339), Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), and Sa skya bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1275), whereas Zur phug pa (1263–1330) was his main teacher. rJe 'Ba' ra ba is best known for his main work called *Thar pa 'jug pa'i gru bo zab don kyi gter mdzod*, which expounds the whole Buddhist tradition in verse and prose commentary, and for being the founding father of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud tradition.

The 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa received its name from 'Ba' ra brag dkar, a place in the Shangs valley, north of gZhis ka rtse. Later in his life, rJe 'Ba' ra ba

<sup>11</sup> Compare *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 155.13–156.2; *de nas shri zur phug tu bzhugs nas/ yol gdong dpon mo jo mos dbang dang chos zhus nas sa cha phul bar/ dgon gnas btab/ dbyar dgun la 'dag sbyar gyis sgrub pa dang/ ston dpyid la 'gro don mdzad/ gzhan don dus la bab pa'i dbang gis/ dge ba'i bshes gnyen gdugs thogs pa brgya tsho mang po 'dus shing/ mkhas pa dang/ bzang ba rnam kyi gtugs sa byed/ rab byung dang bsnyen rdzogs sgrub pa/ dbang dang gdams pa/ khrid dang gegs sel/ thos bsam dang bshad pa mdzad pa sogs bsam gyis mi khyab/ la stod lho byang phogs na snyan grags kyis khyab cing/ ri chos dang 'brug skor gyi bstan pa phyogs bcur dar zhing rgyas par mdzad de. See also *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 17.3–18.5.*

<sup>12</sup> See *rTsib ri'i gnas bshad*: 96–97. mKhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje was a disciple of the fourth *'Brug chen Padma dkar po* (1527–1592). Both of them, Padma dkar po and his disciple Sangs rgyas rdo rje, studied the *Ri chos skor gsum* by Yang dgon pa; see Higgins 2015.

<sup>13</sup> See Buffetrille 2013: 52.

<sup>14</sup> See *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 156.4–5 for a list of Zur phug pa's disciples who accomplished the good qualities of a teacher.

established the monastery Don grub sdings, which became the main seat of the eponymic incarnation lineage, the 'Ba' ra ba sPrul sku.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.1 rJe 'Ba' ra ba and his Spiritual Father Zur phug pa

Zur phug pa and his disciple rJe 'Ba' ra ba both stood in the transmission lineage of the Mountain Dharma Trilogy or Trilogy of Hermit Teachings (*Ri chos skor gsum*), teachings containing Mahāmudrā instructions for yogins in retreat, which were transmitted from master to disciple. The *Ri chos skor gsum* were teachings by Yang dgon pa, a great yogin from lHa stod lho and direct disciple of rGod tshang pa (1189–1258), who is considered the founding father of the so-called sTod 'brug, one among the many branches of the bKa' brgyud traditions. Yang dgon pa passed these teachings to Chos rje sPyan snga Rin chen ldan pa (b.1202), who was the main teacher of Zur phug pa. Zur phug pa, in turn, was the main teacher of rJe 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po, the founding father of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa, a sub-branch of the sTod 'brug tradition. rJe 'Ba' ra ba received many teachings from Zur phug pa, among which the *Ri chos skor gsum* were probably the most important. In this way, these teachings became part of the core teachings of the 'Ba' ra ba tradition.<sup>16</sup>

rJe 'Ba' ra ba was recognised as the incarnation of Yang dgon pa from whom the cycle of the *Ri chos skor gsum* emerged. He stayed at 'U yug when he heard about the glorious Zur phug pa and then set out on a journey to La stod lho. Zur phug pa accepted rJe 'Ba' ra ba as disciple and made a prophecy that he would become a great leader.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa as well as the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud pa, the latter founded by Khyung po rNal 'byor, have their origin in the Shangs valley. However, these are two completely different traditions, which sometimes are confused. The 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa is a branch of the many traditions belonging to the Dwags po bKa' brgyud pa, which are going back to Dwags po lha rje sGam po pa (1079–1153) and his nephew Dwags po sGom tshul (1116–1169); for further readings on the different branches belonging to the Dwags po bKa' brgyud tradition see, among others, Czaja 2013: 77, n. 56; Erschbamer 2017: 1–6; Lobsang P. Lhalungpa 1995: 117–139; Quintman 2004: 47–49; Geshe Lhundub Sopa 2009: 117–137; and Smith 2001: 41–46. For a photograph of 'Ba' ra brag dkar as well as for further reading on the hermitage of 'Ba' ra, whose buildings were only ruins after 1959, see Akester 2016: 547–549.

<sup>16</sup> See Erschbamer 2017: 8. On the *Ri chos skor gsum* by Yang dgon pa, see Higgins 2015. Higgins points out that two main distinctions were made by Yang dgon pa: (1) mahāmudrā in the mode of abiding (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and (2) mahāmudrā in the mode of error (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*). Also other great masters, like the rNying ma master Klong chen rab byams pa (1308–1364) and Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361), the founding father of the Jo nang tradition, distinguished between these two modes, although in a more general way; see Higgins 2015: 53–54. For further reading on Dol po pa, see Stearns 2010.

<sup>17</sup> See *gSer phreng / a*, vol. 2: 69.4–5.

rJe 'Ba' ra ba received many teachings, guidance, and empowerments from Zur phug pa. For seven months, he listened to explanations and guidance regarding the *Ri chos* by Yang dgon pa and he became the best among the disciples of Zur phug pa. He also received the full monastic ordination from Zur phug pa:

At the age of nineteen, [he] called by name for the sake of the truth [that is to request for ordination]. The [master] who had completed learning, discipline, and nobility [the three good qualities of a teacher], called Bla ma Rin chen dpal bzang po [that is Zur phug pa], acted as preceptor (*mkhan po*), 'Dul ba 'dzin pa Slob dpon Grub mchod pa as master of ceremonies (*las slob*), and dGe slong bSod nams dpal as secret preceptor (*gsang slob*). [rJe 'Ba' ra ba] took the full vows of a monk in the presence of the whole qualified monastic community, which has faith in accepting the vows of a fully ordained monk.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, rJe 'Ba' ra ba completed the so-called three good qualities of a teacher (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*) under Zur phug pa. After Zur phug pa had passed away in 1330, rJe 'Ba' ra ba met his teacher in his dreams.

### 3.2 On Trilogies (*skor gsum*)

As mentioned before, the *Mountain Dharma Trilogy* or *Trilogy of Hermit Teachings* (*Ri chos skor gsum*) by Yang dgon pa became core teachings of the followers and practitioners of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud tradition. But not only this important work by Yang dgon pa was arranged as a trilogy (*skor gsum*). Also rJe 'Ba' ra ba, incarnation of Yang dgon pa who stood in the transmission lineage of these teachings, wrote and divided some of his teachings into such trilogies. This raises the question why they preferred to group their writings into three parts, whether this is intentional or rather coincidental.

According to the catalogue (*dkar chag*) of rJe 'Ba' ra ba's writings in *gSer phreng / a* and *gSer phreng / b*, he wrote five trilogies:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Compare *gSer phreng / a*, vol. 2: 66.4–6; *dgung lo bcu dgu la/ don gyi slad du mtshan nas smos te/ bla ma rin chen dpal bzang po zhes pa'i mkhas btsun bzang gsum 'dzom pa des mkhan po mdzad/ 'dul ba 'dzin pa slob dpon grub mchod pas las slob mdzad/ dge slong bsod nams dpal gyis gsang don mdzad/ dge slong bzod pa la sogs pa dad pa'i dge 'dun grangs dang mtshan nyid tshang ba'i drung du/ bsnyen par rdzogs*. For further information on the different persons who partake in an ordination, see Pahlke 2012: 63, 152.

<sup>19</sup> The hagiography (*rnam thar*) of rJe 'Ba' ra ba in *gSer phreng / a* and *gSer phreng / b* was written by Blo gros rin chen, a disciple of rJe 'Ba' ra ba. Another catalogue of collected writings was published in the last of the fourteen volumes of *rJe 'ba' ra ba chen po rgyal mtshan dpal bzang gi bka' 'bum: A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism [= bKa' 'bum]*. It was written by O rgyan Ngag dbang ye shes dpal bzang (1700–1760), a native from Mang yul Gung thang, belonging to the 'Jam [dpal] gling [pa] family of sKyid grong, and an important master within the 'Ba' ra ba transmission lineage. In his catalogue, these texts are part of the theoretical or philosophical writings (*gzhung*) of rJe 'Ba' ra ba, belonging to the “Further texts related to the exegesis of Buddhist thought.” Ngag

- (1) Trilogy of exposition of what has been implied (*dgongs bshad skor gsum*)
- (2) Trilogy of jewels (*nor bu skor gsum*)
- (3) Trilogy of putting [the teachings] into practice (*lag len skor gsum*)
- (4) Trilogy of profound meaning of Mantra (*sngags don zab mo skor gsum*)
- (5) Trilogy of the essence (*snying po skor gsum*)

Furthermore, the verse exegesis of central Buddhist thought by rJe 'Ba' ra ba, called *Thar pa 'jug pa'i gru bo zab don kyi gter mdzod*, is also known under the short title *Thar gru skor gsum*, that is *Boat [towards] Liberation Trilogy* or *Boat [by which one enters the] Liberation Trilogy*.<sup>20</sup> The teachings of rJe 'Ba' ra ba are denoted as a trilogy, for example, in the hagiography of Nam mkha' seng ge (14<sup>th</sup> / 15<sup>th</sup> cent.), the heart disciple of rJe 'Ba' ra ba.<sup>21</sup>

---

dbang ye shes dpal bzang did not group these teachings into trilogies as in the catalogue by Blo gros rin chen. Whereas the different texts contained in the catalogue of the *bKa' 'bum* are accessible, *gSer phreng/a* just gives a catalogue. Some of the texts found in the catalogue of *gSer phreng/a* can be assigned to texts in *bKa' 'bum*, but not all of them; see Erschbamer 2017: 51–86.

<sup>20</sup> Here again is an image of a river, as mentioned in the introduction: the boat takes you from one side to the other, and liberation is the ultimate goal or final destination of the boat trip. Yet, rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559), one of the most famous disciples of the Holy Madman from gTsang (1452–1507), named the texts concerning rJe 'Ba' ra ba three or six cycles (*bskor gsum pa'am drug*); see Ehrhard 2010a: 138, n. 17. For further readings on the Madman from gTsang see, among others, Larsson 2012. The madman from dBus, Kun dga' bzang po (1458–1532), as well as the aforementioned rGod tshang ras chen, transmitted the doctrines of the Great Seal and the Six Doctrines of Nāropa according to the interpretation of rJe 'Ba' ra ba; see Ehrhard 2010a: 136–138, 2010b: 223.

<sup>21</sup> The cycle of teachings is called *sKyes mchog chen po'i zab chos mthar par 'jug pa'i gru bo skor gsum* in *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 240.2 and in *gSer phreng/b*, vol. 27: 241.2, and they are called *Thar gru skor gsum* in *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 170. Nam mkha' seng ge (14<sup>th</sup> / 15<sup>th</sup> cent.) was born in a place called Zam phu in the Shangs valley. He took his first vows under rJe 'Ba' ra ba, who also gave him the name Nam mkha' seng ge. rJe 'Ba' ra ba bestowed numerous empowerments on him, as well as reading-transmissions, and instructions (*dbang lung khrid*), especially on the *Thar gru skor gsum*. He stayed at different practice sites, such as the mountain hermitage dPal ri, and Don grub sding[s], the monastic seat of the 'Ba' ra ba tradition. Both places were strongly connected with his main teacher rJe 'Ba' ra ba, who used to stay at the hermitage of dPal ri during the summer and at the monastery Don grub sding[s] at 'Ba' ra brag, his home region in the Shangs valley, during the winter. Later in his life, Nam mkha' seng ge established the monastery of sGron ma sding[s] in Rong, where he started his teaching activities. He taught, among others, the two 'Ba' ra ba masters Byang sems chen po Kun dga' chos rgyal (1353–1449) and mKhas grub Mon rdzong ras chen zla ba rgyal mtshan (1418–1506). Kun dga' chos rgyal had first studied under rJe 'Ba' ra ba. When, in the second half of his life, the latter left Tibet and went to Bhutan, Kun dga' chos rgyal studied with Nam mkha' seng ge, the heart disciple of rJe 'Ba' ra ba. Kun dga' chos rgyal acted for many years as abbot of the monastery Don grub sding[s] in the Shangs valley before he went to Rong and stayed at the monastery of sGron ma sding[s]. Mon rdzong ras chen, on the other hand, being a native from Rong, went to the monastery of sGron ma sding[s] in his early years, where he studied under Nam mkha' seng ge. After having lived for about ninety years, Nam mkha' seng ge passed away in his monastery sGron ma sding[s]; see *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 236–247; *gSer phreng/b*, vol. 27: 237–248; *Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod*: 170–171; and Ehrhard 2009: 191.

Additionally, even if not explicitly indicated as a trilogy in the title, the entire collected writings of rJe 'Ba' ra ba are grouped into three major parts. The sections are not named identically in *gSer phreng/a* and *bKa' 'bum*, but they are grouped into similar sections:

- (1) Cycle of theoretical or philosophical writings (*gzhung yig*)
- (2) Cycle of the explanatory texts regarding the profound teachings (*khrid*)
- (3) Cycle of supplemental writings (*zur 'debs lhan thabs*)<sup>22</sup>

Thus, it can be suggested that it was common to arrange scriptures as trilogies. A further well-known example of a trilogy is the *Do ha skor gsum*, assigned to the Indian *mahāsiddha* Saraha, who played an important role among the different bKa' brgyud traditions. Although it is controversial if Saraha really composed a trilogy consisting of the Treasury of Couplets of King, Queen, and People, the *Do ha skor gsum*, or whether just the People *dohā* is authentic, a transmission lineage developed from exactly such a trilogy by Saraha in Tibet. As we learn in texts dealing with the life of rJe 'Ba' ra ba, he received the *Do ha skor gsum*, the three cycles of *dohā* literature, at Shug gseb.<sup>23</sup> To that day, the authenticity of Saraha's trilogy might have been already accepted within the bKa' brgyud traditions and it might have served as a model to arrange the own scriptures as trilogies.<sup>24</sup> And yet, another connection between transmitted texts of Saraha and the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud tradition exists: the tradition of spiritual songs, which may be traced back via Mar pa to Saraha and his *dohā* literature.<sup>25</sup> Besides the importance of the

<sup>22</sup> See *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 156.3–5 and *bKa' 'bum*, vol. 14: 447.1–2. The first two cycles are mentioned in both catalogues, the one in *gSer phreng/a* and the one in *bKa' 'bum*, labeled as philosophical writings (*gzhung*) and explanatory texts (*khrid*). The third cycle is named “Cycle of the precious practice” (*nyams su len pa sgrub pa'i lag len rin po che'i bskor*) in *gSer phreng/a*, whereas it is called “Cycle of supplemental writings” (*zur 'debs lhan thabs*) in *bKa' 'bum*.

<sup>23</sup> See *gSer phreng/a*, vol. 2: 85.6–87.5; *rNam mgur/a*: 9v.7–10r.3, 10v.3; *rNam mgur/b*: 10v.1–4, 11r.4; and Erschbamer 2017: 35. On the controversy about Saraha's trilogy see Guenther 1969: 13–15; 1993: 9–11; Jackson 2004: 7–8; and Schaeffer 2005: 59–60, 71–78. For further readings on Saraha see also Braitstein 2011 and 2014. On the different *mahāsiddha* see Linrothe 2006.

<sup>24</sup> See Schaeffer 2013: 204. In 1509, for instance, sNyug la Paṅ chen Ngag dbang grags pa (1458–1515) was urged by the Holy Madmen of dBus, Kun dga' bzang po (1458–1532), to make xylographic prints, among others, of the *Do ha skor gsum*; see Ehrhard 2010b: 239. The *Do ha skor gsum* also played an important role among the holy madmen of Tibet. The Holy Madman of dBus listed these teachings as being characteristic among the bKa' brgyud traditions. Furthermore, they influenced his own lifestyle; see DiValerio 2015: 30–31, 89, 91.

<sup>25</sup> The tradition of spiritual songs is of course not only found within the 'Ba' ra ba tradition but also within many other branches of the bKa' brgyud pa; see Schaeffer 2013: 203–204. A great number of spiritual songs disseminated by rJe 'Ba' ra ba are accessible; see *rNam mgur/a* and *rNam mgur/b*. His incarnation Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1475–1530) also sang many spiritual songs on different occasions in order to give spiritual advice and thus to benefit others; see *mGur 'bum/a* and *mGur 'bum/b* for these songs. Other members of the 'Ba' ra ba transmission lineage also composed such

*siddhadohā* literature within the different branches of the bKa' brgyud tradition and thus also of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa, there is a further link between Saraha and rJe 'Ba' ra ba. The incarnation line of rJe 'Ba' ra ba goes back to Yang dgon pa, Bla ma Zhang g.Yu brag pa (1123–1193), and the Indian brahmin Saraha.<sup>26</sup>

rJe 'Ba' ra ba received the *Do ha skor gsum* as well as the *Ri chos skor gsum*, which might have inspired him to arrange his works similarly as a trilogy, in accordance with his predecessors.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

This study contributes to the little-known tradition of the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa, particularly to its founding father, rJe 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po, and his spiritual father Zur phug pa. In this context, learning, discipline, and nobility (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*) are the three good qualities of a teacher but also steps to become a good teacher oneself. rJe 'Ba' ra ba completed these qualities under the 'Brug pa master Zur phug pa, who reached the highest degree of a scholar and became known as omniscient (*kun mkhyen*) Zur phug pa.

The present study intends to show that lineages include continuation but also a natural process of change. Moreover, they are fluid, transmissions being handed over from teacher to disciple, from one generation to the following. rJe 'Ba' ra ba not only had close relations with Zur phug pa but was also connected to the Indian *mahāsiddha* Saraha via two lineages: (1) through a transmission lineage and (2) through an incarnation lineage. rJe 'Ba' ra ba was the fourth in his line of incarnations going back to Yang dgon pa, Bla ma Zhang, and further back to Saraha. He received the *Ri chos skor gsum* by Yang dgon pa from his main teacher Zur phug pa as well as the *Do ha skor gsum* by Saraha from other teachers. These scriptures might have served as a model, which inspired him to arrange his works similarly as a trilogy, in accordance with his predecessors. rJe 'Ba' ra ba himself composed a verse exegesis of central Buddhist thought, the *Boat [towards] Liberation Trilogy*

---

songs, which are included in their hagiographies instead of collected in a separate corpus. For further reading on Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan see Ehrhard 2000: 51–55; Ehrhard 2009: 193; Erschbamer 2017: 87–114. Furthermore, the Holy Madman of gTsang listed Buddhist masters who stood in a tradition of songs (*mgur*) in his catalogue. This list also comprises the Indian Saraha and rJe 'Ba' ra ba; see Larsson and Quintman 2015: 101–105.

<sup>26</sup> The first Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–93) and Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1288), who is regarded as the founding figure of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud tradition, were also regarded as incarnation of Saraha. Thus, it was quite common among the different bKa' brgyud traditions to legitimise an incarnation lineage by connecting it to Saraha; see, among others, Schaeffer 2005: 50. Miller also refers to the close ties of the bKa' brgyud traditions to Saraha and to the *siddhadohā* literature; see Miller 2005: 307.

(*Thar gru skor gsum*). The image of a boat towards liberation resembles the river images of the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus, whose famous aphorism *panta rhei* means everything flows.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- bKa' brgyud chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba* = bSod nams rgya mtsho (b. 1952). *bKa' brgyud chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba*, 2009 (TBRC W1KG4232).
- bKa' 'bum* = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391). *rJe 'ba' ra ba chen po rgyal mtshan dpal bzang gi bka' 'bum: A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism. The Collected Writings of 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang*. Vol. 1–14. Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltzen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970.
- mGur 'bum/a* = 'Ba' ra ba sPrul sku Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1475–1530). *Shākya'i dge slong nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i [mgur 'bum]*. 64 folios (xylographic edition). Abteilung für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, University of Hamburg.
- mGur 'bum/b* = 'Ba' ra ba sPrul sku Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1475–1530). *Shākya'i dge slong nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i [mgur 'bum]*. In: *Rare dKar-brgyud-pa Texts from Himachal Pradesh: A collection of biographical works and philosophical treatises. Reproduced from prints from ancient western Tibetan blocks*, ed. by Urgyan Dorje. New Delhi: U. Dorje, 1976, pp. 181–271.
- Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* = Mi pham chos kyi rgya mtsho (gTsug lag 'phreng ba, 1504–1564/6). *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnam kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986 (TBRC W7499).
- rNam mgur/a* = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391). *rJe btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i [rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa / 1]*. 200 folios (Bhutanese xylographic edition), in possession of Tashi Tsering, Amnye Machen Institute.
- rNam mgur/b* = 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391). *rJe btsun 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i [rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa / 2]*. In *The rnam thar and mgur 'bum of 'Ba'-ra-ba with his sGrub pa ñams su blañ ba'i lag len dgos 'dod 'byun ba'i gter mdzod. Reproduced from a print from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Western Tibetan blocks by Urgyan Dorje*. New Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1976 (TBRC W1KG9991).
- rTsb ri'i gnas bshad* = Thub bstan shes rab. *rGyal gyi śrī'am rtsibs (= rtsib) ri'i gnas bshad dad gsum 'dren pa'i zhing sa*. Bodnath: Meditation Center Ramhiti, 2004.
- Legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod* = 'Dzi sgar mkhan chen Phrin las rdo rje. *Don brgyud dpal ldan 'brug pa'i mkhas grub bla ma rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod: Jewel Treasure of Elegant Writings: Biography of Saint-Scholars of the Drukpa Lineage*. Vol. 1, ed. by mKhan po bShad sgrub bstan 'dzin. Kathmandu: Khenpo Shedup Tenzin, 2013.
- gSer phreng/a* = *bKa' brgyud gser phreng chen mo: Biographies of Eminent Gurus in the Transmission Lineage of teachings of the 'Ba'-ra dKar-brgyud-pa sect*. Vol. 1–iv. Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltzen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970.
- gSer phreng/b* = *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs: A collection of religious-historical works and biographies in dpe cha format*. Vol. 27–28. Hsining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010.
- gSer phreng/c* = *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng: A Golden Rosary of Lives of Eminent Gurus*. (Smantsris Shesrig Spenzdod, 3). Leh: Sonam W. Tashigang, 1970.

## Secondary Sources

- Akester, Matthew. 2016. *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*. Chicago: Serindia Publications.
- Braitstein, Lara. 2011. "The Extraordinary Path: Saraha's Adamantine Songs and the bKa' brgyud Great Seal." In Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (eds.), *Mahāmudrā and the bKa' brgyud Tradition. Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 55–88.
- 2015. *The Adamantine Songs (Vajragiti): Study, Translation, and Tibetan Critical Edition*. New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University Press.
- Buffetrille, Katia. 2013. "The rTib ri Pilgrimage: Merit as a Collective Duty?" In Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer (eds.), *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers. Band 1*. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 37–63.
- Czaja, Olaf. 2013. *Medieval Rule in Tibet: The Rlangs Clan and the Political and Religious History of the Ruling House of Phag mo gru pa. With a Study of the Monastic Art of Gdan sa mthil*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- DiValerio, David M. 2015. *The Holy Madmen of Tibet*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. 2000. *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- 2009. "The Lineage of the 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud-pa School as Depicted on a Thangka and in »Golden Rosary« Texts." *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 13: 179–209.
- 2010a. "Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings: The Early Years of rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559)." In Anne Chayet et al. (eds.), *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*. München: Indus Verlag, 129–161.
- 2010b. "The Holy Madman of dBus and His Relationships with Tibetan Rulers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries." In Peter Schalk (ed.), *Geschichten und Geschichte: Historiographie und Hagiographie in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 219–246.
- Erschbamer, Marlene. 2017. *The 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud-pa: Historical and Contemporary Studies*. Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde.
- Guenther, Herbert V. 1969. *The Royal Song of Saraha: A Study in the History of Buddhist Thought*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1993. *Ecstatic Spontaneity: Saraha's Three Cycles of Doha*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.
- Higgins, David. 2015. "The Two Faces of Mahāmudrā: Padma dkar po on Yang dgon pa's gnas lugs phyag chen and 'khrul lugs phyag chen." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 44: 51–77.
- Jackson, Roger R. 2004. *Tantric Treasures: Three Collections of Mystical Verse from Buddhist India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kaschewsky, Rudolf. 1971. *Das Leben des Lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzan-grags-pa (1357–1419): dargestellt und erläutert anhand seiner Vita »Quellort allen Glückes«. 1. Teil: Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Larsson, Stefan. 2012. *Crazy for Wisdom: The Making of a Mad Yogin in Fifteenth-Century Tibet*. Leiden: Brill.
- Larsson, Stefan, and Andrew Quintman. 2015. "Opening the Eyes of Faith: Constructing Tradition in a Sixteenth-Century Catalogue of Tibetan Religious Poetry." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 32: 87–151.
- Linrothe, Rob (ed.). 2006. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.
- Lobsang P. Lhalungpa. 1995. "The History of the Kagyupa Order." In Jampa Mackenzie Stewart (ed.), *The Life of Gampopa: The Incomparable Dharma Lord of Tibet*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 117–139.

- Miller, Willa Blythe. 2005. "The Vagrant Poet and the Reluctant Scholar: A Study of the Balance of Iconoclasm and Civility in the Biographical Accounts of two Founders of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud Lineages." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28/2: 369–410.
- Pahlke, Michael. 2012. *Die Hagiographie des La phyi ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1372–1437): Eine Studie über das Leben eines tibetischen Heiligen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Quintman, Andrew. 2004. "bKa' brgyud (Kagyü)." In Robert E. Buswell (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. New York: Macmillan Reference, 47–49.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R. 2005. *Dreaming the Great Brahmin: Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R., Matthew T. Kapstein and Gray Tuttle (eds.). 2013. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Shen Weirong. 2002. *Leben und historische Bedeutung des ersten Dalai Lama dGe 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po (1391–1474): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der dGe lugs pa-Schule und der Institution der Dalai Lamas*. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- Smith, Ellis Gene. 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Stearns, Cyrus. 2010 (1999). *The Buddha from Dölpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dölpopa Sherab Gyaltzen*. Ithaca: Snow Lion.
- Geshe Lhundub Sopa (trans.). 2009. *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems: A Tibetan Study of Asian Religious Thought*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Wangchuk, Dorji. 2006. "Das dPal-yul-Kloster in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Die Wiederbelebung einer klösterlichen Tradition der rNying-ma-Schule." *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 11: 213–234.



Fig. 1. Depictions of teacher Zur phug pa (left) and disciple rJe 'Ba' ra ba (right) from *Chos spyod yid bzhin nor bu'i gter mdzod*, in *bKa' 'bum*, Vol. 10 (TBRC W19975), fol. 477.



Fig. 2. Statues of teacher Zur phug pa (left) and his disciple rJe 'Ba' ra ba (right) at the 'Ba' ra ba monastery of sPa phyug (Papyuk), East Sikkim, India, 2014 (Photos: M. Erschbamer).